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THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND
III
THE PEOPLE ON ITS TRIAL

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND
BY STANLEY LEATHES, K.C.B., M.A.

I THE PEOPLE IN THE
MAKING

(To the Introduction of Printing)

II THE PEOPLE IN
ADVENTURE

(To the French Revolution)

III THE PEOPLE ON ITS
TRIAL

The last volume brings the story
down to the present day

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN, Ltd.

I read it.
THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

THE PEOPLE
ON ITS TRIAL



čís. 1958/I.

BY

STANLEY LEATHES, K.C.B., M.A.

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of "The Cambridge Modern History."*



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TO
C. S. EVANS
AS A TOKEN OF AFFECTIONATE REGARD

PREFACE

I OWE to my kind readers an explanation of the long delay in the completion of this work. So long as the Great War continued, I could not touch my last volume. Until I knew that our People of England, of Britain, of the British Empire, had safely passed through the greatest of its trials, I did not dare to continue my story. All the experiments of the nineteenth century—democracy, industrialism, trade-unionism, education—were by that war brought to a final test; and until success was assured no judgement on our acts and aspirations was possible. History judges the worth of man and of his operations; had our people failed to uphold its righteous cause, all the hope and love and joy and pride that the study of our past may justly inspire would have merged in despair. The years to come will be hard, but hope and joy and love and pride are still our British heritage; that heritage is not diminished but increased.

When the war was over, I had my share of the new burdens and anxieties; my leisure, never abundant, was curtailed. Moreover, work such as I try to do is matured in the unconscious recesses of the mind. Care is its enemy, tranquillity its friend. He who has enjoyed tranquillity in the last four years must be greater or less than a man. Apart from that I have never hidden from myself that the task of this last volume would be infinitely more difficult than any that I had ever faced before. I have set myself to treat as history events and movements, the issue of

which is still unknown, which are still distorted by prejudice and passion. The material is immense and imperfectly digested. There are dark areas where no knowledge can be found. I have sometimes wondered if my enterprise were possible, but never that it has taken three years.

Since I have found it difficult, I cannot hope to have made the history quite easy for young minds. I had hoped to tell the story for children of fifteen; some children of fifteen may be able to read it with advantage, but it is better suited to those of riper age. The great scale on which the modern world operates, the masses in which modern life is organised, the rapidity of change and communication, the swift diffusion of news, with eager and free discussion, extend the area of consciousness and the range over which any given force will operate. The world, through and through, is more aware of itself; it may well be troubled by its own complexity. We know more about the whole modern world than our great grandfathers knew about the country in which they lived. The apparent simplicity of medieval history is partly due to ignorance; but it is also partly due to the more limited range of communication and the greater force of habit and custom. Our modern explanations must therefore be more cumbersome; we cannot dispense with theoretical economics and politics. We have to talk of abstractions, such as socialism and capitalism, where more fortunate historians can speak of kings and statesmen and constitutions. It seems strange that we can seem to understand the England of Edward I or of Cromwell more easily than we can understand our own days; but so it is. I make no doubt that it is easier to make the thirteenth century intelligible than the nineteenth. The difference is not illusory; it is real.

I have said before that History, rightly presented, is the proper school of civics and of citizenship. Partly for

that reason, but also because all understanding is good for its own sake, I have not flinched from the task of explaining whatever—being germane to my chief purpose—appeared to me worthy of comprehension, if I could hope that it would be comprehended. It is a great danger of modern times that we use phrases glibly, such as democracy, trade-unionism, socialism, credit, capitalism, etc., etc., without any attempt to ascertain what each term implies, and what is the history behind it. I have endeavoured at the appropriate places to indicate what such terms are intended to convey, and how and when it first became necessary to use them.

A historian must be judged by his sense of proportion, by his estimate of values, by the matter which he selects for inclusion or exclusion. The proportions, the values, the matter, must be suitable to his purpose. I trust that by my inclusions, by my omissions, by my commentaries, and by my treatment, I may be found to have given a faithful and an intelligible account of the development of the British people in the last hundred and fifty years, together with the external influences that have most greatly influenced its destiny.

My system has been, for the most part, to follow the succession of years, but at the same time to carry through any topic once introduced to its final conclusion, or to a natural break. The importance I attach to modern history for modern readers may be seen from the length of this volume, which, although many interesting subjects have been left aside, is greater than that of the other two volumes put together, while the space given to the last seventeen years is nearly as great as that given to the previous century. Partly because it was needful to reduce the bulk of the book, partly because the cost of manufacture is still high, I have not been able to illustrate this volume so lavishly as the others.

I cannot hope to have avoided occasional error, but I trust that my mistakes will not seriously impair the truth of my presentation. I could not refuse to discuss questions of acute political controversy, nor can I expect that my conclusions will be acceptable to all. As a rule, I have endeavoured to give the reader material on which to found his own judgement; but when history appears to give a certain lead, I have not hesitated to say so.

I commend my finished work to the kindly indulgence of my public. From first to last it has been a labour of love; though I must be glad to have completed my plan, a hungry void is open in my life.

STANLEY LEATHES.

MARLOW,
October 27th, 1922.

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- PLATE VIII, to face p. 97.—Hats. The hat, which we call a top-hat or high-hat, is the distinguishing mark of the nineteenth century. It was originally made of beaver fur, but afterwards of fine silk plush, on a gummied frame. It has assumed many shapes, elegant and grotesque, of which some are figured here. They used to be worn by all classes, even on the cricket-field, but in the twentieth century they are seen more and more rarely. For this, and also for Plate XIV, borrowed from "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," thanks are due to Messrs. Dent and Co., the publishers of that amusing book.
- PLATE IX, to face p. 112.—These are the East Indiamen, which built up our trade with our Indian Empire. For this plate, and also for Plates X, XXI and XXII, we are indebted to the authorities of the Science Museum.
- PLATE X, to face p. 113.—The China-clippers, built on competitive lines to get the tea-crop over to Europe. Their great age was in the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century. The Americans also excelled in building and working these great and swift vessels.
- PLATE XI, to face p. 160.—A gentleman of about 1830. Knee-breeches, which began to go out in the early years of the nineteenth century, continued to be worn in the country for much longer.
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- PLATE XIII, to face p. 192.—(1) W. E. Gladstone (1809-98), thrice Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. (2) Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-81), Prime Minister, 1868, and again 1874-80. (3) Charles-Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-73), elected President of the French Republic, 1848, and Emperor, as Napoleon III, in 1852. Prisoner at Sedan in 1870 and abdicated then. (4) Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), first Minister of Prussia, 1862-71; Chancellor of the German Empire, 1871-90.
- PLATE XIV, to face p. 193.—Louis-Philippe, King of the French (1830-48), Queen Victoria, and the Prince Consort, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (died, 1861), in a railway saloon carriage.
- PLATE XV, to face p. 208.—A picture from du Maurier's "Trilby." It is intended to represent three artists of about 1860 in their best clothes. The tall man in the middle in his long whiskers, known as "Piccadilly weepers," is a typical figure. The detail is probably not correct, since it was drawn long afterwards, but the impression is sound. With acknowledgements to Messrs. Harper Brothers and to the trustees of the copyright.

- PLATE XVI, to face p. 209.—Feminine dress and amusements in four periods: 1860, croquet and crinolines; about 1878, roller skating in flounced skirts tightly tied back—there was a second vogue of roller skating about 1907; about 1880, ladies playing lawn tennis in longskirts, more graceful than convenient; about 1895, ladies playing golf with wonderful padded shoulders. Either the artist or the ladies or both knew little of golf; the second lady would not be placed where she stands while her companion prepares to drive; instead of standing "behind the wickets," she should stand at "point" or at "short leg." Drawing by George du Maurier; grateful acknowledgements to the owners of *Punch*.
- PLATE XVII, to face p. 304.—German war medal. Above: death handing out tickets to passengers by the *Lusitania*. Motto: "Business first." Below: the *Lusitania* sinking. Motto: "No contraband." The date is given as May 5, an error for May 7.
- PLATE XVIII, to face p. 305.—Another German war medal. Above: portrait of Graf Zeppelin, the inventor. Below: two Zeppelins bombing London; in the foreground, the Tower Bridge. The date in this case is also erroneous; the Zeppelins did not reach London until about three weeks later.
- PLATE XIX, to face p. 352.—Leaf from a ration card. Each square would be rendered for the fat allowance for one person for one week. The allowance of sugar was eight ounces, of butter or margarine four or five ounces, of meat twenty pennyworth weekly; but so-called "offal" was not generally included, and many found it most acceptable.
- PLATE XX, to face p. 353.—Notice to the public for behaviour during air-raids. The bill from which this plate is taken is slightly distorted; so the printers of this book should not be blamed. Acknowledgements to the authorities of the London Museum.
- PLATE XXI, to face p. 416.—James Watt's Sun and Planet engine. The oscillating beam at the left hand top-corner of the picture is worked up and down by a piston and cylinder not shown. This vertical movement is communicated by a shaft with a loose joint, which operates the planet wheel fixed to its lower end, and makes it to revolve about the sun wheel, which it causes to revolve by the contact of the two cogged circles. This sun wheel is fixed to the axle of the fly wheel, seen in the background, which rotates simultaneously and by a belt or chain not shown communicates its motion to machines off picture. This is one of the first successful devices for converting the vertical motion of a piston and cylinder working by steam into a rotary motion; many others have since been evolved, but this set the series developing.
- PLATE XXII, to face p. 417.—The earliest motor-car, as it seems, to be introduced to these islands. It is named after Benz, the inventor; petrol-driven, two speeds, ten miles and five miles

per hour; battery coil, and sparking plug ignition; crank shaft vertical; fly wheel horizontal; single cylinder, developing about two horse-power; water-cooled. I have always told my friends that I saw an internal combustion motor-car running about the streets of Munich in 1888; they did not call me a liar, but I doubt whether any of them believed me. This car confirms my story.

PLATE XXIII, to face p. 448.—Bridge over the Forth; on the cantilever plan. The cantilever is a huge structure of inter-lacing steel girders, forming a firm but elastic structure which is balanced on a narrow but solid base; three such cantilevers form the main structure, which is approached by ordinary bridges of piers and horizontal girders. The cantilevers, which are potential see-saws but cannot be rocked by any power that is likely to be applied to them, are connected to each other by a short link of girders strengthened against a downward pull by other arched girders. This bridge, when it was erected, was a great engineering feat; its length is more than a mile and a half; the highest part is 361 feet; and the clear headway at the centre is 152 feet above high water. It still remains to confirm the validity of the calculations of its makers. Another bridge, of different plan, was built to span the Tay at Dundee and opened in 1878, but in the following year it proved unequal to the strain of a train passing over during a gale; the train was hurled into the river, and 3,000 feet of bridge were torn away. This bridge was afterwards reconstructed and reopened. Engineers are wonderful people, but they sometimes cut their estimates too fine; the Forth Bridge is an instance to the contrary. But its day of dissolution will also come; sooner, or less soon, or later.

PLATE XXIV, to face p. 449.—The *Hood*, battle cruiser; 1918; 42,000 tons; 32 knots p.h.; eight fifteen-inch guns, main armament; secondary armament, sixteen 5.5-inch guns. The first ship designed to utilise the experience of the Jutland battle; a super-*Hood* has since been designed with eight sixteen-inch guns, but I do not know if she has yet been completed. With acknowledgements to Messrs Gieves, Ltd.

THE PEOPLE ON ITS TRIAL

CHAPTER I

NEW IDEAS AND A NEW WORLD

THIS volume deals with the great changes that have taken place in the life of this People of England during the last hundred and fifty or sixty years. I think it will be convenient if I begin with an outline of those great changes. They fall into four great classes: changes in our knowledge, changes in our agriculture, changes in our methods of industry, and changes in our political system. You will not, on a first reading, see the whole significance of this brief summary, but it will serve you as a guide through the details which follow; and when you have finished the volume you can come back to the first chapter, and it should then have a fuller meaning.

You will not find the history easy to understand: the difficulties arise from two causes. You live in contact with a few people, a small area, a few sets of things. You have to conceive a great nation, a great country, a great empire; millions upon millions of people each bent upon the business and pleasure of his own life and yet all living and working together; millions of

things in infinite variety, millions of actions and transactions, millions of movements to and fro. You have to think of all these operations as working to the common ends of a great people, of which you and I form a part. It is a difficult but a fascinating task; if you persevere you will begin to understand, and all through your life you will have a subject of interest and study which can never be exhausted.

The second difficulty is that of fitting the words to the things and the things to the words. You read history; you read the papers; you may get a glib familiarity with certain words and phrases—politics, government, capital, labour, industry, commerce, and a score or two of accessory terms. But if you are to have any real comprehension of the things which are denoted by these words you must never let the words take the place of the things. The things matter; the words are only labels. As you use or read each word you must make the effort to call up in your mind the things or actions that it represents. I shall endeavour to help you by explaining some of those common terms which are in constant use but often employed without any useful comprehension of their meaning. That is one of the most valuable services that I can render; but I cannot explain all the words I use. Examine for yourself not only the less common but also the familiar words, and if you have any doubt of their exact meaning use the dictionary. I can help you but you must also help yourselves.

The life of man is continually changing (Vol. I, pp. 40-41; Vol. II, pp. 55-57). Change may be for the better or for the worse, but on the whole it has been for the better, because the desire of man is for good, and not for evil. The blindness, the stupidity, the ignorance, the greed, the hate, the violence of men, may tend to defeat their efforts towards improvement. Thus, by the Wars of the Roses much was lost that had been laboriously acquired. Authority may fail to maintain what has been established from above by a wise use of the strong hand. Thus, the Romans forced upon the people of this land a wiser and more orderly method of life, but when the Roman power decayed the island fell back into barbarism. The Anglo-Saxons and the Normans in eight hundred years restored by painful effort such a stable civilisation as the Romans had built up in two centuries. Set-backs are frequent and sometimes prolonged. But on the whole we struggle upward. What men have learnt is not entirely forgotten; what they have lost they may acquire again.

SEASONS OF CHANGE

There are rare seasons in the history of a people—even of the world—when many causes work together for change. Such a season marks the division between my second volume and my first. At the end of the fifteenth century four great forces made for innovation. The discovery of the new west and the exploration of the

ancient east ; the multiplication of printed books ; the revelation of Greek and Roman wisdom and the liberation of religious belief ; the revolution in the art of warfare through the invention and development of firearms ; these four working together brought about in a short space of time—between the days of Henry VII and the death of Elizabeth—greater alterations in the thoughts and the habits of men than had been seen in the five preceding centuries.

These forces continued to work during all the three hundred years that are covered by my second volume. After Elizabeth there was gradual change but no abrupt transformation ; even the Civil War of 1642-51 and the Revolution of 1688 affected systems of government rather than the life of the people. But meanwhile other new thoughts, new ideas, new inventions, new schemes, were gathering power, and all these came into simultaneous operation in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and have continued to work with increasing rapidity throughout the nineteenth century ; and it may be that we stand to-day upon the threshold of yet more startling transformations. The great war of 1914-18 has shaken the foundations of all that seemed to us most permanent and secure, not only in Europe but also in Asia and America. No man can foresee what the remainder of this century may bring forth of good or ill. But we can follow and trace the revolutions of the past hundred and fifty years ; we can see many of their great

results ; and if we wish to understand the life that we are going to live, we must begin by learning what our fathers and our grandfathers and our great-grandfathers have done and suffered.

I speak of revolutions, and the word is not too strong. But revolution is not an accurate word ; it is only a convenient term for any change that is by far more rapid and complete than the ordinary. To show the purpose and plan of my book, I shall set forth briefly here the nature of the four great revolutions through which we have passed in the last century and a half. Each of these has had great influence on the others, and all together make up what may be called the great Social Revolution of the nineteenth century—a complete and rapid transformation of the conditions under which men live and work together as comrades. None of them is yet complete.

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

First in importance, though not in time, is the Scientific Revolution—that on which all the others depend in a greater or a less degree. Science is that part of man's knowledge which has been brought into order and established by proof. Ever since the days of the cave-man human knowledge has been slowly and laboriously increased. In the days of Greece and Rome ordered and established knowledge was more highly developed than ever before or during a space of more than a thousand subsequent

years. When, in the sixteenth century, students recovered the greater part of the forgotten knowledge, "men had a firm foundation of solid fact on which to build. Slowly, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they learnt and reflected; they looked, they weighed, they measured, they calculated, they reasoned." (Vol. II, p. 295.) In the nineteenth century their patient sowing came more and more rapidly to fruit. Astronomy led the way; the laws which hold the universe together became known. The paths of the heavenly bodies were calculated, and even the substances of which they are made up have been recently revealed. Matter, as we find it on the earth, was broken up into its component parts, its elements, its atoms, its molecules; their properties and the laws of their combination and dissolution were ascertained, and thus the great discoveries of modern Chemistry were reached. The action and nature of the forces which affect matter were studied; heat, light, electricity, and magnetism, contributed great masses of learning to the science of Physics. The earth's crust was studied, and the science of Geology added many millions of years to our knowledge of the history of the globe and of the life which has flourished upon it. The bodies of men and animals and plants were examined and compared in their tissue, their mechanism, and their working, and some of the mysteries of life were brought to light by biologists, and more especially by physiologists, zoologists, and

botanists. Each of all these sciences helped and was helped by the others, and the whole made up, by the labours of many men working together in many countries and each sharing his new knowledge with the others, a great new body of Natural Science.

Some of this knowledge has no apparent utility for the purposes of the human race. It is a noble quality of man that he seeks knowledge for its own sake, and not only for the material advantages that it may bring. But knowledge won by disinterested search seldom fails in the long run to serve some practical end. Since the time of the Greeks men had been puzzled and fascinated by the strange properties of the magnet and the behaviour of amber under friction. The experiments of the eighteenth century found great hidden forces behind these toys; and from the examination of such playthings came the telephone, the dynamo, electric light, and telegraphy, both by wire and cable and through the air. No researches promise less reward than those of the astronomer; but the Nautical Almanac, based upon those researches, enables seamen and airmen to navigate the ocean and the heaven with certainty. The alchemists, with their futile attempts to change base metals into gold and to discover an elixir of life, led the way to modern analytical chemistry, which empowers us to do what we please with iron and other metals, to draw nitrogen from the atmosphere to fertilise our fields, to perform painless

operations on the human body, to dye our raiment with a myriad hues, and to perform a thousand other magical feats. Geology enables us to foretell where coal and iron and oil may be found. Microscopical observation of the tiny living cells that pervade all regions where life exists has taught us how to defeat malaria and yellow fever, and perhaps how we may at length render nearly all disease innocuous. The Abbot Mendel, busy with his peas in the garden of his monastery, discovered some of the laws which govern heredity; he has already enabled us to improve our wheat and other crops and to perpetuate such qualities as we desire in domestic animals; through his teaching we may hereafter learn to improve the breed of men. Such instances might be multiplied to infinity, in proof that no knowledge should be condemned as useless, and they encourage us to seek knowledge for its own sake without reckoning what may be the ultimate reward.

The term science is vaguely used; it may perhaps be defined as exact, certain, and ordered knowledge; scientific methods are those which tend to establish such knowledge. Science is built up by systematic observation and sound reasoning: in addition to these Natural Science often admits of careful experiment. But the science that has to do with man in his political and social life cannot greatly rely upon deliberate experiment. However, a body of orderly and established knowledge concerning man has been

built up by systematic observation and exact reasoning; and the nineteenth century saw a great increase in this knowledge, sought for in the same spirit and acquired by the same methods as natural science. The picture-writing of the Egyptians and the symbols in which the forgotten tongues of Mesopotamia were expressed have been deciphered. The history of primitive man and of lost civilisations was searched out by the study of buried sites and of the implements and monuments surviving from ages that have left no other record. Backward races now living have been studied in their habits and their customs and their beliefs, and light is thus thrown on the stages through which more progressive races have passed. The whole of written history has been examined and compared by bands of fellow-workers, until our knowledge of the history of man, his actions, and his institutions, in the present and the past, has been increased, sifted, put together, and made certain—as in no previous age. This great addition to our ordered knowledge of man, both present and past, and of the world we inhabit and all that is and has been therein contained, has made a revolution in our minds during the nineteenth century, and is a principal cause of all the other changes which I have to describe in this volume.

For new knowledge brings with it new ideas; and of all the forces that change the life of men the most potent is the force of new ideas. The Reformation of the Church in England was

started in this country by Henry VIII because he wanted a new wife, but the forces which Henry released and directed to his own ends came from the ideas of Martin Luther, and those ideas would never have been formed but for the new knowledge that came from the new study of Greece and Rome. The French Revolution was occasioned by the discontents of the French people, but those discontents were nothing new; they were put into shape, made active, and given purpose, by the new ideas of freedom in politics and thought invented and expressed by a brilliant band of French philosophers. We have not yet seen the end of the Scientific Revolution, nor of the changes which it may cause, but we are safe in calling it the most powerful of all the forces that have already made the twentieth century so widely different from the eighteenth.

ADVANCE OF GENERAL EDUCATION

Closely connected with the Scientific Revolution is the advance of general education. The new ideas, the new knowledge, could not have their full influence so long as they were confined to a few. Throughout the nineteenth century men and women were working to teach the multitude, but not until 1876 was education made universal and compulsory in England. The education of the many is still imperfect and insufficient. Many are taught but few learn. But everyone has at least a chance to learn to read, and, once a man can read, all knowledge

is open to him if he has wisdom to desire it and wits to understand it. The uneducated Russian peasant refuses to believe that the earth moves round the sun; ignorant of this, he is ignorant of far more necessary matters; he is therefore unable to use his new-won liberty and falls under the power of brutal tyrants. There is too much false knowledge, too little real wisdom, in this country; but you at least who read this book have the chance to explore all human knowledge; with knowledge you may have wisdom, precious to yourself and useful to others; without knowledge there can be no wisdom.

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

If you turn back to my second volume, pp. 60-63, you may see the beginnings of the Agricultural Revolution; there are a few more words on this subject on pp. 292-5. The old method of husbandry, described on p. 60, was broken down in many districts of England during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But the greater part of the cultivated land of England continued, until the eighteenth century, to be worked by small holders in the great open fields. There were also great tracts of waste and common pasturage which were not cultivated at all. The whole system was very wasteful. But the population was small, and until the middle of the eighteenth century the country produced by its old-fashioned methods as much food as was needed. As after the middle of the

eighteenth century population grew more and more rapidly, as manufacturing towns sprang up, as mines of coal and iron were more and more worked, it became necessary, if the people were to have food, to use the land to better advantage. This could only be done if the common fields, and the common pasturage, and the waste, were divided and enclosed, so that a good farmer could follow his own ideas without interference from his neighbours. Thus, for the space of eighty or a hundred years, from about 1760, enclosure went on continuously, until all the common fields and a great part of the common pasturage and the waste, had been brought into several ownership, and the best methods of tillage were made possible.

During the same period great improvements were introduced in rotation of crops, in the use of machinery, in fertilising manures, in breeds of cattle, horses, sheep, and other stock: until about 1860 England was the best cultivated country of Europe. These changes were for the good of the people as a whole, who could not have lived and multiplied without them. But great hardships were suffered by very many of the poorer country-folk, who lost their rights of pasturage and their little plots with insufficient compensation or none at all.

It was a great revolution. The very aspect of the country was changed. The hedges and hedge-row trees, which are the most characteristic feature of modern England, came for the

most part into existence then. The age of the small farmer passed away; the time of the large tenant-farmer came in. The labouring population on the land became dependent for their entire livelihood on daily wages, and had little share in the general prosperity of the country. Every change on a great scale brings loss, perhaps ruin, to many; and we may think ourselves fortunate if great changes bring on the whole more good than harm.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Many points in the agricultural revolution are peculiar to England, though similar changes took place in other countries of Europe. The Industrial Revolution began in England, though it has since spread over many parts of Europe and North America, and hardly any country of the habitable globe has entirely escaped it. It is continuing and progressing in the present day. It arose in the first instance from the invention of machinery for spinning and weaving, and for the use of steam power. It was rendered possible by the use of coal for working iron. It was furthered through the improvement of means of transport, by railways and steam locomotives, by steamships, built first of wood, afterwards of iron, and lastly of steel, and by such inventions as the electric telegraph. It has been worked out in these last days by development of huge chemical works, of vast engineering plant, of machinery for every possible purpose, including

machinery for making machines and for making machines to make machines. It has progressed furthest in England, Scotland, Germany, and the United States.

It has rendered possible a vast increase of population, chiefly living in new and rapidly constructed cities, not as a rule designed to avoid overcrowding, the spread of disease, the poisonous fumes and grime of smoke. It has produced great classes of men living by the weekly wages of their manual labour, and others who live by the profits of their capital or by buying and selling the goods produced. Whereas before the revolution the great majority of the population lived in the country, now the great majority live in towns, and mostly in large towns. The artisan now works in company with machines, and those who have the pleasure of seeing the work of their own hands grow from beginning to end under their eyes are few indeed. Much has been done of recent years to diminish the bad effects of all this; but we have never obliterated the effects of the total neglect during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution.

The inventions which made the Industrial Revolution possible did not owe much to accurate science; but in the last generation the manufacturer has owed more and more to the man of science; and the recent great war has made known to all the value of exact and ordered knowledge in everything that has to do with industry.

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND AMERICA

England led the way in the establishment of personal freedom and self-government. England first made the ministers who govern the country responsible to a Parliament, which was in some sort elected by the people. The Americans, who rebelled against the government of George III, carried into effect the principles on which the British constitution was understood to be based. When they said "no taxation without representation," they were thinking of the British Parliament, which was supposed to represent the people and was alone competent to impose taxes. When they had obtained their own independence they drew up a Constitution based upon votes and election. They went much further than the British had hitherto done, but they were working on the same principles. Their President was elected, their Senate was elected, their House of Representatives was elected, and the States were governed by elective assemblies. The rulers were supposed to represent, that is to stand in place of and act on behalf of, those who chose them.

The French, who had helped the Americans in their war of independence, carried back to France the ideas which the Americans got from England; and when the French had their own Revolution they set up elective assemblies, to control, direct, and maintain all authority. That Revolution went astray, and the power fell into

the hands of one set of tyrants after another until it came into the hands of Napoleon. But all through the French clung to the idea of a sovereign people, to whom all rulers were responsible—that is, to whom they were bound to render account for their actions. That idea came to them from England. When the French Kings were restored, they were to be constitutional Kings, whose ministers were to be responsible to an elective Parliament.

The unhappy example of the Revolution in France, with its confiscation of property, its disorder, its tyranny, and its crimes, delayed political change in England. The effort of the war against Napoleon—though it was a war for liberty—diminished rather than increased popular liberty in England. But as the dangers of war faded into oblivion, the ideas of popular government that had passed to America from England, and from America to France, gained fresh ground here also. Our Parliamentary system was bad; it could not be defended, except by the argument that we had lived and prospered under it; if it was to be reformed it could only be reformed by a more just and representative system of election. Thus, in 1832, the first Reform Act was passed, which put the election of Parliament into the hands of a considerable section of the people.

This was the beginning of a revolution, but a very slow and peaceful and gradual revolution. From that day to this we have been working out a

system of what is called democracy. Democracy means the rule of the people; or, at any rate, government in accordance with the wishes of the people. In effect, Parliamentary government must be the rule not of the whole people but of the majority of the people. And in truth it would seem that the wish of the people throughout almost the whole of the nineteenth century was to be governed as little as possible. They did not trust the wisdom or the good faith of men in authority; they preferred the evils of excessive liberty to the evils of powerful authority. The system of parties, the slow procedure of Parliament, the conflicts of Lords and Commons, made it difficult to pass any stringent laws or to impose any vigorous system of administration. The greatest possible difficulty was found in making rules for the protection of workers in factories; education, sanitation, improvement of towns and dwelling houses, and other measures needed for the benefit of those who could not protect themselves, moved forward slowly. The great national question of the conditions of partnership between capital and labour was left to be fought out between masters and men. Trade Unions, that is the voluntary associations of workmen in the several trades, were at first discouraged, then tolerated. They tried to secure their ends by strikes, that is by refusal to work until their demands were granted. Sometimes they succeeded, but always at the price of great hardships to themselves and their families,

and often of great damage to the nation through interruption of business. At last they reached great power, but felt no debt of gratitude to the government which had neglected them when they were weak and found it difficult to control them when they had grown to strength.

Still, the general course of the Political Revolution, which has not yet ended, has been to put the ultimate power into the hands of the voters as a whole, among whom women are now included. Power passed in 1832 from the land-owners to the middle classes. It has since passed by degrees to the most numerous class, the class of wage-earners. They can, if they desire, be governed according to their wishes; but first they must learn what it is that they desire, and if what they desire is unwise they themselves with others will suffer the consequences. But more is at stake than the interests of any class. The welfare of the whole people depends upon wise government. Unwise government will injure everyone, including the wage-earners. Every one of you for whom this book is written will one day be a voter himself; he may have influence, perhaps great influence, over other voters, over his fellow-workers, his fellow-townsmen, his fellow-citizens. He will therefore need all the wisdom that he can by any means acquire. The chief source of wisdom is the experience of the past; and the object of this book, and especially of this volume, is to teach you what this people is, how it lives, and upon what

its welfare depends. In order to understand this you must learn how it came to be what it is; that you can only learn from history. You can only comprehend the present by the study of the past. If you begin that study while you are young you can pursue it with increasing profit and pleasure until you are old. If you neglect it while you are young you will find it difficult later to recover lost ground. You need wisdom for the prosperous conduct of your affairs; but your affairs cannot prosper unless the people of England prosper; and the prosperity of the people depends upon the wisdom of its citizens.

CONCLUSION

During the nineteenth century the conditions of our life in this country were profoundly altered. Our knowledge of animate and inanimate nature, and of man in himself and in his relations with his fellows, both now and in the past, was prodigiously increased; it was brought into order, and every part and division of it was linked up with every other. Knowledge sought with a noble and disinterested desire for enlightenment proved valuable for a myriad unforeseen purposes. Our agriculture was reconstituted and improved, so that a vast increase of population was possible. The invention of machines for manufacture was contemporaneous with new devices for working iron; methods were discovered by which the energy of coal could be used to drive the machines

and transport goods rapidly by land and sea. By progressive development of invention, and by operations on greater and greater scales, the whole of industry was changed and with it the life of the whole people. Parliament was reformed, and gradually the political power passed from the few to the many; and the power of the many resided not only in their votes but in their power to form associations and unions which could bring great pressure to bear on the owners of property, on the government, and upon the people as a whole.

You have seen, in my second volume, how the adventures of Englishmen in all parts of the world built up this people to great power without any settled policy of government. In like manner, during the nineteenth century, it was the enterprise of individuals that worked these revolutions. Individuals working under no authority made the researches and the discoveries that increased our knowledge. Individuals made the improvements in agriculture, and persuaded Parliament to do what was necessary for the enclosure and division of land. Individuals invented and worked the new machines and perfected the processes for using coal and iron and the power of steam. Even the political revolution was carried out without an authoritative policy; and the trade unions in particular came to power without aid or control from government. All these great new changes took place without plan or directing authority.

The result was wonderful, but it bore all the marks of disorder and improvidence. Every improvement had its drawbacks, which were often as conspicuous as its advantages.

Then all that we had done in a hundred and fifty years was brought to trial by the Great War of 1914-1918, the severest test that this nation had ever endured. Everything stood the test; our science, our agriculture, our industry, even our system of government, did what the occasion demanded. Our people stood firm and united; though accustomed to liberty and intolerant of authority, they improvised the measures and endured the restraints that were necessary to safety. There were moments of great danger; how narrowly we escaped disaster on more than one occasion is not yet fully known. But the people stood its trial and came forth victorious in the end.

Yet in all our actions there is abundant evidence of disorder. Our efforts and our sacrifices were noble; but our waste of wealth and of heroic endeavour was also conspicuous. It still remains to be seen whether our wisdom and self-control, our intelligence, our knowledge, and our public spirit, will be sufficient to carry us through the dangers of peace. Everything has to be built up anew, everything has to be set going again, nothing can be the same. The old was wonderful, but it was not good enough; the new must be better.

The people is still on its trial: the trial that is

to come will be harder than that which we have hitherto borne. The result of this new and greater trial will not be seen in this volume: the People is still, it will always be, on its Trial.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN NORTH AMERICA, 1763-1787

I HAVE said more than once that you learn history in order that you may be wise. I am not sure that I have ever met anyone who wanted to be ignorant, but I know, and you must know, very many who would rather be ignorant than take the trouble to learn. Such folk are apt to profess contempt for study and to discourage the industrious by taunts and jeers. Pay no attention to them; they are fools.

Knowledge is the foundation of wisdom, but mere knowledge will not make you wise. You must strive not only to remember but to understand. Everything that you learn and understand will help you to know and better understand other things, and as you strive to understand more fully your own life and the world about you, you will come to see what things are good and what are evil, what things are better and what are worse. When knowledge enables you to direct your own conduct to the best ends, according to your capacities and opportunities, then you may justly claim to be wise; you will never be wholly wise, but you may become wiser and more wise

until old age begins to cloud your mind. And so long as you desire to learn and to understand new things and greater things no man can rightly call you old.

THE MEANING OF WORDS

Now in order to understand history—present, recent, or ancient—it is necessary to understand the words that are used. There is no greater impediment to wisdom than to accept and use words which convey to you no real meaning. Therefore, before I begin to say what I have to say about the political revolutions in America and France, which have so greatly altered the course of our history, I am going to put you to the trouble of looking into the meaning of some of the terms which you will find in books and newspapers, but which are used more often vaguely and ignorantly than with sufficient knowledge and comprehension.

POLITICS

I am to speak in this chapter and the next of two political revolutions which took place abroad. It is enough to say, as I said in my first chapter, that a revolution is a change more or less rapid and more or less complete, but in any case more complete and more rapid than the other changes which are always going on. The Greeks were the first nation to study their own history in a philosophical manner, that is, with a desire for deeper and more thorough understanding. From them we got the word *politics*. The Greeks were

a nation, but they did not form one single state; that is, they were not united into one body under one government. Each city with its surrounding country was for them the natural state; that is, the natural unit of independent government, obeying its own laws and its own rulers. You have heard of such states—Athens, Sparta, and others. Of course, one city might become subject to another, but I leave out the complications. The Greek word for city was *polis*, and the citizen was called *polites*; and the constitution of the city—that is its recognised and lawful scheme of government—was its *polity*. All that could be known about the system of government in one state or in many states they called *politics*. Learned men in this country still use the word *politics* in that sense; but when we speak of *politics* we generally mean the business of debating, deciding, and conducting the affairs of government.

DEMOCRACY

The American and the French Revolutions were political revolutions; that is, they overturned the existing government and eventually established another system in its place. In each case the new government was *democratic*; it was a *democracy*. Since the example of these two peoples and the ideas on which their action was based have had great influence in England, and indeed throughout the world, it is necessary that you should understand these words.

The Greeks, when they studied their city states, perceived that in various places and at various times three main forms of government had existed. Government might be by one man; this they called *monarchy*, government by one. Government might be in the hands of a small class—landowners or other men of wealth; this they called *oligarchy*, the rule of few. Since the few rulers had advantages of wealth, nurture, education, and experience, they considered themselves to be and actually were to some extent better than others; and therefore *oligarchy* is more often called *aristocracy*, the rule of the best. Every country should desire to be governed by the best of its citizens; but in practice the rule of a privileged class is commonly called aristocratic, an aristocracy. It is a pity that these last words cannot be reserved for those governments which make it their aim that the best citizens be entrusted with power.

The third form of government was that in which power was given to the whole body of the citizens. In the Greek cities all the citizens could assemble in one place and decide great questions by their vote. They could decide on peace or war; they could vote taxes; they could elect generals and magistrates. This form of government was called *democracy*, *demos* being the Greek name for the people, or sometimes for the poorer classes, the multitude.

REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

But in our modern states, which occupy far greater areas and have populations often a thousand times more numerous than many a Greek city, it is impossible for the people to assemble as a whole. The Americans and the French therefore arranged that all the people in their districts should elect representatives to an assembly or assemblies, and gave to these assemblies power to make laws and levy taxes. This system is called *representative democracy*, because the elected persons are supposed to represent, to act in place of, those who elect them. Even then there must be rulers to give the necessary orders for the government of the country, in accordance with law and the will of the people. These may be chosen in one way or another by the representatives of the people, or may be themselves elected by the people, as presidents, governors, sheriffs, and judges, are elected in America. But in any case they are responsible to the people for the manner in which they exercise the powers entrusted to them; that is, they must render account for their actions and suffer any consequences which may result from popular disapproval.

The best definition of democracy that I know is that of the American President, Abraham Lincoln, who said that democracy was "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." I would make only one alteration.

The people cannot govern itself entirely, though it does largely govern itself by the orderly conduct of its own business in accordance with law and settled custom. I would say "government of the people, for the people, in accordance with the will of the people." And one thing is plain from this, that if the people has no clear purpose, or if it has an unwise purpose, it must suffer the consequences of its own indecision or folly. Democracy in itself is neither good nor bad, but according to the wisdom of the people whose fortunes are in its own hand.

THE STATE

One more point. I have used the word *State*, and it is more and more often used to-day. The State is the people as represented by its government. It is common to say that the State should do this, the State should pay for this or that. The State can do nothing effective without the wise and willing assistance of the people. Whatever is done by the State must be paid for by the people in one way or another. The State has no magical powers; no inexhaustible purse from which it can defray expenses that are thrust upon it. Sooner or later all that the State expends must be paid for with interest by the people; the purse of the State is the same as the purse of the people; and the purse of the people is the purse of each and of all of its citizens.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES

In my second volume, pages 216-218, I have told you briefly how the War of American Independence arose. I have nothing to add to the statement there given of the causes of that war; both parties to the quarrel were, as often happens, partly in the right and partly in the wrong. The thirteen colonies had been occupied by British settlers, who at once began to form self-governing communities, which sooner or later obtained Charters, that is written documents issued by the King's authority conferring upon each colony powers to regulate its own affairs. Each colony had its own elected assembly, which made laws, levied taxes, and raised armed forces, when necessary, to protect themselves against the Indians or the French. They paid their own judges and the Governor who was sent to them by the British Government. They made roads, docks, and quays, opened schools, and maintained such forms of religion as seemed good to them.

This habit, this method of self-government, they brought with them from England. But in England long custom had established certain families, both in town and country, in positions of wealth and power. England was governed by an oligarchy, an oligarchy of great nobles, county gentlemen, privileged citizens. England governed itself, but certain persons, certain classes, were marked out by tradition to carry

out that self-government. England had representative government—in the House of Commons. The members of the House of Commons were elected by the counties and the boroughs. But even in the counties the votes belonged only to those who had land of their own worth at least forty shillings a year; and in the boroughs the vote was a matter of privilege differing from town to town; the voters in any borough might be many or they might be few, even so few as one or two, but in all cases it was a privilege to vote. And those who voted were always under the influence of one or more great men, who had power over the tenants of their property, and had favours and patronage to confer. Bribery was frequent; and bribery gave power to the rich.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

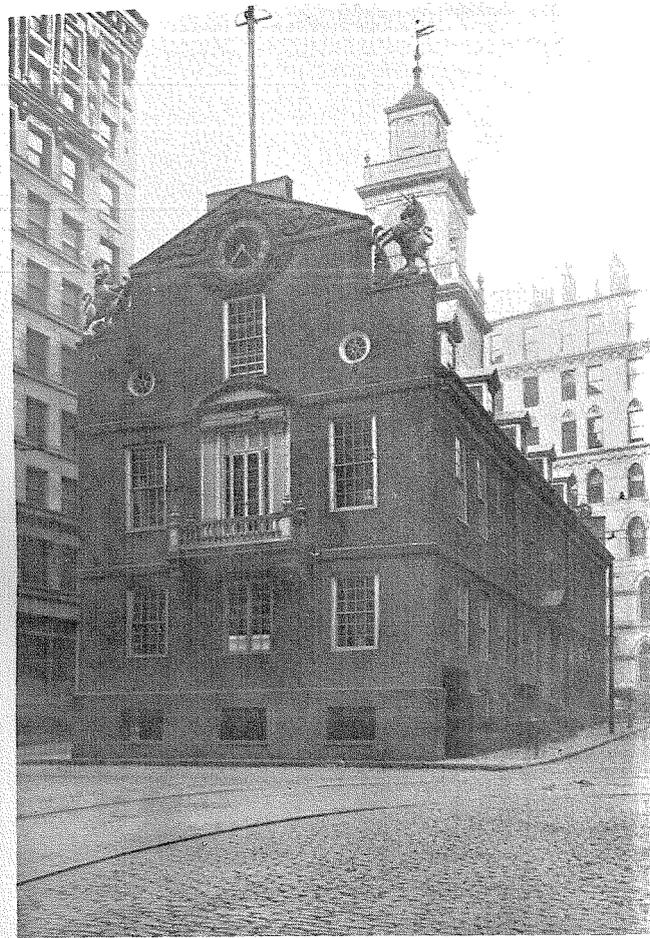
The men who went out to the new world were much more nearly equal one with another than Englishmen at home. Some might be richer, others poorer; some were recognised as of a higher class than others; some were better educated and accustomed to command, some ignorant and wont to serve. But everyone in a new and uncultivated country, without roads or houses, had his own fortune to build up from the first. There were great differences from one colony to another; in the South negro labour was useful for the growth of tobacco and cotton, and slaves were imported in great numbers; in the North there were no slaves. But taking the

whole country all over, the great majority of the white settlers had votes; and by their votes not only were representatives elected to the general assembly of the colony, but sheriffs, judges, and magistrates were chosen. Thus, in the colonies of North America self-government meant more than it meant in England; a much larger proportion of the citizens had a share in the choice of their rulers; the rulers were not lifted so far above the ordinary man; the great mass of the people were more directly represented in general and local assemblies; men were much more nearly equal in politics; in fact, the government was far more democratic than in England.

In their own country the Americans were free and self-governed; they rapidly increased in numbers and attained a considerable degree of comfort and prosperity. They still were part of England, and the English army and the English navy were ready to defend them against any enemies with whom they could not deal themselves. The people of England thought it was their right, in return for the protection that they gave, to enjoy the chief profit of trade to and from the colonies. By their Navigation Laws they kept for the home country most of the import and export trade of the American colonies, and this the colonists were not unwilling to regard as a just and customary perquisite of the motherland. The British endeavoured to discourage manufactures in the American colonies, and to confine the colonists to the production of

raw material and other produce of the land useful to the people at home. These laws the colonists partly evaded, and partly tolerated. But as they became more wealthy and more numerous, they resented more and more the acts of government necessary to enforce the restriction of trade. In the war with France (1756-63) they reaped the benefit of their prudent submission. The French were driven out of the North American Continent by British troops, and the whole of the land east of the Mississippi was opened to be developed by the colonists and their posterity. The quarrels, that had been in abeyance while the French danger lasted, came to a head when the French had been finally expelled.

The chief burden of the war had been borne by the home country. The colonists had given some help, but their assistance was precarious and often grudging. The home government sought to recover part of their expenses by imposing taxes on the colonists—stamp and import duties. They also proposed to set up Governors and judges paid from the product of these taxes, and therefore no longer dependent on the inhabitants. Then an old English maxim—"No taxation without representation"—came to have a new meaning. In the mouths of the Americans it meant: "We can govern ourselves, it is our right to govern ourselves, and to pay only for such government as we set up and approve." Thus the principles of democracy came to America from England; but at a distance



The old state house at Boston.

from the authorities at home and in the new conditions of a new country those principles had a new and far-reaching signification.

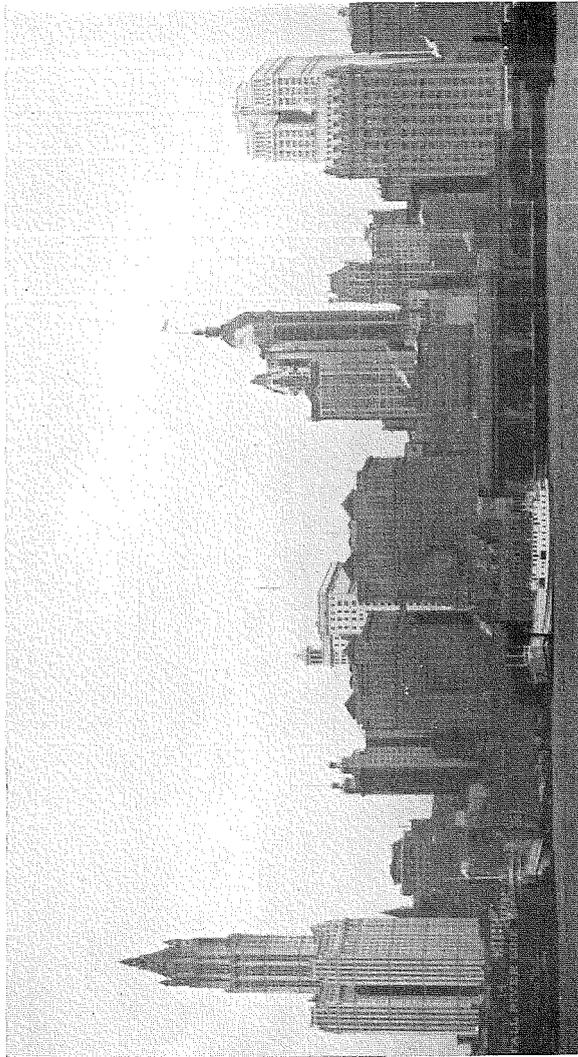
THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In 1775 the first blood was shed, when, after the "Boston tea-party," the British had endeavoured for nearly two years to coerce the State of Massachusetts and its capital Boston into submission, by occupying the town with troops and closing the port. The Governor heard that military stores were being collected at Concord, and sent troops to seize them and to arrest two American leaders at Lexington. The troops were met by American militia under arms; shots were fired, and the troops were driven back to Boston with considerable loss, where they were besieged by a great force of colonists.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

An American Congress met at Philadelphia, and elected George Washington as their Commander-in-Chief. Washington was a good general, but above all he was an upright and steadfast man, and a great leader. Though many wavered and were inclined to shirk, he kept the colonists and the colonies to their purpose, not by compulsion but by his influence and example. (Vol. II, p. 217.)

Reinforcements came to Boston from England, and in 1775 the battle of Bunker Hill was fought with indecisive results. Since volunteers did not



The sea front at New York.
Twentieth century.

come forward in sufficient numbers, the British made the great mistake of hiring German troops to fight against the colonists. An attack was made by the colonists on Canada; Montreal was taken, but the invaders were driven back from Quebec. Nevertheless, the British were obliged in 1776 to evacuate Boston; and on July 4th of the same year the American Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. That famous document, after setting forth the grievances of the Colonies against the King and his Government, declares that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved." And thus the United States of North America came into being.

The Declaration begins with the profession of a new faith. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of their rights, it is the right of the people to alter it or to abolish it and institute new government."

These words of Thomas Jefferson, the orator

of the American Revolution, express the conviction of the American people, which has been strengthened by the experience of life as a democratic nation during one hundred and forty years. In spite of all the faults of their government, its weaknesses, its fraud, its corruption, its party strife, they feel that it is their own government, and that it gives them liberty. Liberty is a comforting word; when they used it they thought first that the rule of distant authorities, which could not understand their needs, would cease. Liberty means the absence of unreasonable restraint. But if no one were under any restraint all would be at the mercy of the lawless, the violent, the unjust. The Americans expected their government to maintain law, order, and justice; that so each might enjoy a just measure of liberty in his private life. Their government was to be by the consent of the governed, whose freedom would not be diminished by obedience to a government which they had set up for themselves. They carried the British ideal of self-government several steps further, and by their example they changed the ideas of many nations, including our own.

It is not so easy to see what they meant when they said that men were created equal. It would be absurd to say that no man is stronger, or has better brains than another. They did not mean that no man should be richer than another nor inherit wealth. They respected and maintained the rights of property. It would seem that they

meant three things. No man should by reason of his birth have political power over other citizens. All men should obey the same laws. Every man should have an equal power by his vote to control the choice of rulers, and an equal right to rise to power by the votes of his fellows. The existence of slavery in some of the States was in direct contradiction to this principle of equal rights for all men. And that was so strongly felt by many that at length, in 1861, slavery led to a civil war which lasted about four years. As President Lincoln said: "This government cannot endure half slave and half free." A special feeling of equality has grown up among Americans which demands a certain free and easy comradeship among men of whatever wealth or station or office. That they call democratic. Ceremony, false dignity, stand-offishness, they condemn as undemocratic. All these are ideals and as such make for good-fellowship among men. But, like other ideals, they are liable to be debased by those who misunderstand and misapply them.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR

I am not going to follow the details of the fighting by which the American colonies obtained the independence which they desired. The British had a hard task. Three thousand miles of ocean, ships dependent on wind and weather, no standing army, no enthusiasm at home, a vast and thinly populated country, generals unused to

warfare in wild places, no railways, few and bad roads. But the Americans had also great difficulties. The Government of the new United States had no authority over the several colonies or their citizens. Money was hard to come by; manufactures were backward; military stores were difficult to procure; the soldiers of Washington were volunteers and anxious to return to their homes and their business after a limited term of service. On the whole it seems likely that the colonists would have grown weary and come to terms if the French Government had not made war on Great Britain in 1778. The English, to supply and reinforce their troops, needed complete command of the sea. The French fleet, though not superior to the British, hampered their operations, and were often stronger at one moment or another than their enemy. The first great victory of the Americans, when Burgoyne was forced to surrender with 6,000 men at Saratoga (October, 1777), was the unaided work of the colonists. But when Cornwallis was forced to surrender at Yorktown (October, 1781) the French fleet was supreme upon the spot, and the British ships arrived five days too late. Peace was finally concluded in 1783, and the independence of the thirteen States was conceded.

LATER HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The American democracy had won its war. They had next, as we say to-day, to win the

peace. Their affairs were in a terrible condition. Each State had borrowed money to carry on the war; and paper money had been issued in such quantities that it became valueless. The country had been damaged by war, and business had gone to ruin. There was no common government for the thirteen colonies: each colony had its own laws, its own customs barriers, its own Government, and its own revenues. In this condition they drifted on until 1787, when the efforts of the wisest men succeeded in bringing together a convention at Philadelphia, which framed a constitution for the United States. Washington presided, and the two most able counsellors were James Madison and Alexander Hamilton.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

The Constitution left to the thirteen States their rights of self-government. Each of them had the power to reject it. But each State that accepted it had to make over to the common authority of the United States certain parts of government. The federal government, that is, the government of the league or union, alone had right to make war and peace and treaties with foreign countries. It alone could regulate trade and traffic between one State and another, it alone could impose and collect customs duties. It alone could raise an army and a navy, though each several State could have a militia to preserve peace and order within its bound-

aries. It settled what money should be current throughout the union. It had the necessary powers to appoint officers and judges to enforce and interpret its own laws. A Supreme Court was created to decide whether any law of the United States or of any several State was valid under the Constitution.

The authority set up consisted, and still consists, of a legislative, that is a law-making, body known as Congress. Congress has an Upper House, the Senate, consisting of two elected members from every State, and a Lower House, the House of Representatives, consisting of members elected by the whole people divided into districts of equal population. The districts are rearranged from time to time as the population changes. The consent of both Houses is necessary for new laws; the Lower House votes money for the use of government and imposes taxes.

The President is elected by electors chosen by the whole people and serves for four years. He can be re-elected, but no President has ever been elected for a third term. He is the supreme executive officer, that is, it is his duty to take the action needed to enforce the laws and carry out the policy of the United States. To do this he needs ministers and officers of every kind. The appointment of these is left to him, but the consent of the Senate is required for most of these appointments. The Army and Navy are under his sole control. He makes treaties with foreign

powers, the consent of the Senate being also required. He can veto—that is, forbid—any law passed by Congress, but if passed again by a sufficient majority of both Houses it becomes law.

The federal judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, but once appointed they cannot be removed from office, except for some grave offence duly proved. This secures their independence.

This Constitution is clearly modelled on that of Great Britain: the President corresponding to the King, Congress to Parliament, and the judges having the same safeguards against undue influence as in England. The Common Law of England was already accepted in the States of the Union and still holds good there; though it has, of course, been developed differently by legislation and the decisions of the judges. But there are great differences, arising first from the previous independence of the several States, and secondly from the absence of any hereditary monarchy or peerage. All authority is directly or indirectly derived from the votes of the people, which within the several States also elects sheriffs and judges.

The American Constitution is set down in writing; our Constitution is largely a collection of customs. Many questions in America can be decided by the judges interpreting the Constitution, which in this kingdom can only be decided by Parliament. In the United Kingdom every law that is made by Parliament is binding on the

judges; neither Congress nor the legislature of any American State can make any valid law contrary to the Constitution.

Within less than three years the Constitution as finally framed was adopted by all the thirteen Colonies. It was proved that a great people by its votes, and its assemblies, and the counsel of its wise men, and the consent of its citizens, can set up for itself a system of government, providing for all that a nation needs of order, justice, and security. The United States began at once to create new States in the unallotted territory east of the Mississippi that had been made over to them by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, was bought from France in 1803, and Florida from Spain in 1819. Further areas were acquired by conquest from Mexico in 1848. The whole of this great North American block has been settled, covered with roads and railways, and almost all of it divided into States under the Constitution. The States which were once thirteen now number forty-eight. The Americans have proved that a rapidly growing people, daily recruited from the diverse races of the world, can, under a democratic government, provide for liberty, justice, and order: not perfect liberty, order, or justice, but sufficient to secure adequate peace and prosperity. There have been and are great abuses in North America, as in Europe; the power of rich men, especially when they are banded together in great companies, is excessive and has

been used for oppression and injustice. The government of the United States is not powerful enough, nor perhaps honest enough, to protect all the citizens against the few rich ; but I have not found in history any government that could do and did this. But there, democracy has given a chance, a voice, to every citizen ; and for that, above all, they love and would die for democracy. In their faith lies the strength of these democrats. They have shown that a democracy can rapidly arm its millions and fight successfully beside and against great military nations in the cause of liberty and justice. They have demonstrated that a very great nation and territory can be tolerably governed by the votes and the will of its own people. Their example has already had the greatest influence in Europe, and will yet have more. They teach us as we first taught them.

CONCLUSION

The Greeks invented the term democracy, meaning a State in which political power was given to the whole body of the people. Representative government was developed in England. The American colonies worked out representative government on democratic lines. When they broke away from Britain they organised their new Republic as a democracy, following the British tradition of election and representation. The democratic ideas developed in America influenced their French allies and had a



A lady of the eighteenth century.

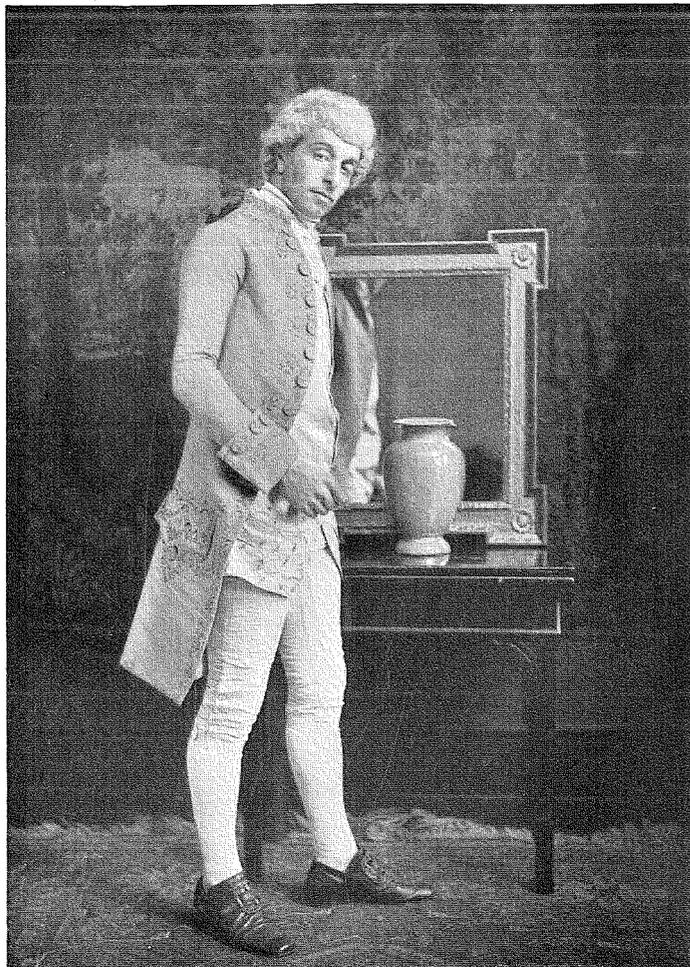
considerable part in shaping the course of the French Revolution.

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A buck of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE WAR AGAINST
NAPOLEON—1789-1815

I HAVE explained, in my earlier volumes, how closely we have been linked with France through eight hundred years of history. No two peoples are more unlike in character than the English and the French; no peoples are more closely bound together, none have learnt more, each from the other. The French Revolution, which changed France throughout, has also done much to transform the sentiments and the ideas of the people of England. The story of it is full of thrilling interest, of movement, incident, personality, fire, blood, and tears. I hope you will read it for yourselves. Here I can only give an outline.

THE STORY OF FRANCE

When the Roman Empire fell to pieces, the land of Gaul was overrun by barbarians of German race, who established their rule over the population that had been trained to peace by Rome. One of these tribes, the Franks, became supreme over the others and gave their name to France. They became Christians and gave great lands to churches and monasteries. Out of the

Frankish kingdom a great Frenchman, Charlemagne, built up a mighty empire that extended from the Elbe to the Ebro, from the Channel and the Atlantic to Rome and beyond. After his death (814 A.D.) this great empire fell rapidly into pieces; the governors of kingdoms, provinces, and districts, did what seemed good in their own eyes; the pirates from Denmark and Scandinavia penetrated up the rivers far inland; there was no security for life and property save in the protection of the strong man armed and upon the spot; peasants, burghers, and fighting men, willingly grouped themselves around him. The strong man might be chief of a larger or of a smaller area; he might be a layman, or he might be a churchman who would not refuse to fight on occasions but was also fortified by the faith and the superstition of his neighbours; but whether he was great or small, churchman or layman, his wealth and his strength came from the support of the fighting landowners and the payments of the peasants and the townsmen who recognised him as overlord. Thus came into being the two great powers of France, a priestly caste, an hereditary nobility; both strong in the possession of the land.

When again a King arose in France (987 A.D.) his power had to be built up anew through many generations, by cunning first and afterwards by force, till all the great men of the country came into his obedience. After this work had been accomplished (say in 1483 A.D.) there was one

king over all the land and people of France, and his subjects fell into four great classes. The great bishops and abbots held wide lands belonging to their churches and monasteries. There were many thousands of nobles possessing lands, greater or smaller, which passed from father to son. There were townsmen in the cities and boroughs who lived a life of their own. And lastly, there was the great multitude of peasants, cultivating their own land at the mercy of their lords, and oppressed by many burdens and dues. The churchmen and the nobles alone had high standing and consideration. The townsmen had a number of privileges and liberties; they were the traders, the masters, and the mechanics; from them came the lawyers, the tax collectors, and the officials. The peasants were little more than serfs. The King ruled over the churchmen and the nobles with more and more unquestioned authority. But he did not protect the peasants from their lords. On the contrary, he laid upon them the chief weight of his increasing taxation, since he could not tax the nobles and the churchmen without their own consent.

The power of the French King reached its greatest height under Louis XIV (1643-1715), whose splendid court and mighty wars were purchased by the impoverishment of his country and his people. His word was law, even in religion; the nobles flocked to his court, intrigued for his favour, and shrivelled at his

displeasure. The tax collectors grew rich; the country grew poor. Under his successors the wars continued but with less success; the splendour was maintained at extravagant cost; taxation, however heavy, could not cover the expense; every year more was spent than was received; public debt became greater and greater and the word "deficit" was in every mouth. One minister was tried after another, but none could find a way to reduce expenses, or increase receipts without imposing taxes upon the classes whose privileges exempted them from any just share of payment. Bad harvests enhanced the general misery.

THE ESTATES GENERAL

France had had a national assembly, not unlike our own Parliament in its beginnings. At one time it seemed likely to obtain real powers, but the people's need during the hundred years' war with England forbade that any assembly or council should fetter the power of the King. This national assembly, known as the Estates General, was summoned less and less frequently: after 1614 it met no more for a hundred and seventy-five years.

It consisted of three Houses. The clergy met by themselves; the nobles had their own House; the third House represented those who were neither clergy nor nobility. These Houses were called Estates, that is, classes or conditions of men. The clergy was one privileged con-

dition, the nobility was another; all the rest of the people were embodied in the Third Estate. Of the Third Estate the citizens of the old and important towns had certain time-honoured privileges; the craftsmen and merchants had their guilds; the peasants had no privileges and few rights. The Kings had found ways to tax the peasants without any consent; the townsmen were almost equally helpless; but if the clergy and the nobility were to pay their shares it was acknowledged that their consent was required, and that consent could only be given by these classes meeting as of old time in an assembly of Estates.

Therefore in 1789 the King, Louis XVI, summoned the three Estates to meet, in the hope that by their counsel and their contributions of money he might find a way out of his difficulties. The voting was arranged so that every taxpayer, however small his payment, should have a voice in the election of delegates. Thus the French Revolution began.

It was the right of the districts to submit to the king, on the occasion of a meeting of Estates, a list of their complaints and grievances that they might be remedied. On this occasion the Estates took full advantage of this privilege. The members of each Estate in every division put in their suggestions for better government. From these lists we can learn something of the public opinion of France just before the Revolution. It is clear that there were great numbers

of men who were conscious of a thousand unjust burdens and disabilities, which they had endured in the past as one endures bad weather, because one cannot change it. Few were prepared to defend the system under which the king had governed the country for a hundred and fifty years. Few were prepared to defend the privileges of the Church and the nobles. The minds of the people were ready for great reforms.

THE PHILOSOPHERS

Considering the absolute power of the monarchy, Frenchmen had been allowed to express their opinions on public questions during the eighteenth century with singular freedom. There were men like Montesquieu, who drew from history the principles by which peoples can and should be governed. There were men like Voltaire, who denounced acts of injustice, current beliefs, and prevailing customs, with indignation, satire, and wit. There were men like Rousseau, who drew on their imagination and pictured a state of life in which all men should be free, all men should be equal, all men should be workers. These were political philosophers. There were also philosophers, of the kind whom we call economists, who discussed how wealth is produced and increased, how it is used, and how it is divided among men. There were practical reformers, who taught how the Government of the day—such as it was—could be better carried on, and now and then had the chance to put one

or two of their ideas into effect. Some of these writers you may read some day. They are among the most brilliant, if not the wisest, of mankind; and from all of them there is something to be learnt. Just now it is enough for you to understand that without these philosophers there might indeed have been a French Revolution, but it would have been very different from that which took place. What these men were saying and thinking others tried to put into effect when the chance came.

All of them alike believed that by thinking and reasoning on known facts you can learn hidden truths; that by reasoning you can persuade men to believe the truth; and that, once men know what is wise to do, they will go and do it. In fact, they all believed too much in the power of reason; they did not allow enough for the covetousness, the obstinacy, the vindictiveness, the combativeness, the blindness, and the stupidity of men. The French Revolution was inspired by noble ideas, which flamed and flickered amid a tumult of evil passions. I should be the last to deny the power of great and true ideas; but we must also reckon with motives in men that are not noble, that are not reasonable, that are "savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust." In a settled state of society these motives are partly kept in leash by law, custom, and authority. When law and government are suddenly relaxed or greatly changed they have free action. At such a time good and honest

men may suffer most; but even the criminal will come to wish that he had never been born.

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

Under the influence of these ideas the men in power, even the privileged classes, even the wealthy and powerful, had lost their faith in government by clergy and nobility under the absolute authority of the king. Louis XVI himself was a worthy man, but without brains or determination. The example of the American revolution was in men's minds. Many Frenchmen had fought by the side of the colonists and taken part in their councils. In America a body of farmers and traders had won their own liberty and set up a successful system of government. Across the Channel the English Parliament maintained liberty and order, and the people taxing itself had no difficulty in meeting the expenses of government. The whole French people had taken part in electing their Assembly of Estates General. Following either example, that of England or that of America, it seemed easy to set up government of the French people by the people and for the people, and to make the French king a constitutional monarch like his brother of England. It seemed easy for the Estates to frame a constitution which the king might adopt, and thus to set up an orderly democracy. The history of Greek and Roman democracy was constantly quoted. A golden age was thought to be at hand.

But one thing the French people lacked; they lacked experience of self-government. That experience the Americans and the English possessed, and it was worth more than all the reason, the knowledge, and the eager enthusiasm of the French reformers. Many a bitter year had to pass before the French people learnt the rudiments of self-government.

THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION

Things moved fast. After some jealous quarrelling among the three Estates, the representatives of the Third Estate, conscious that they stood for the vast majority of the people of France, declared themselves to be the "National Assembly," and were joined by many of the representatives of the other two Estates. The king's feeble endeavours to control and direct the Assembly were brushed aside. Riots began in many parts of France. The houses of the nobles and the rich monasteries were in many places sacked and destroyed. Certain members of the royal family and many nobles fled from the country. The mob of Paris rose (July 14th, 1789) and captured the Bastille, the great fortress prison, which seemed to dominate and threaten the whole city of Paris. The army could not be trusted to obey the king, but neither could it be trusted to obey the people; the National Assembly set up a citizen army, a national guard of volunteers. This was organised under Lafayette, who had fought in the American War of Independence.

All restraint of the press was removed, and journals of every sort were freely published. After a month of disorderly wrangling, on August 4th the National Assembly passed a series of resolutions proclaiming the equality of all before the law and for payment of taxes, abolishing the chief part of the privileges of nobles, claiming for the nation the possessions of the Church, condemning most of the existing taxes, destroying, in short, the old order before any new order had been framed. These resolutions were later embodied in laws and form the durable result of the Revolution.

This Assembly sat for two years, and in 1791 produced a Constitution, the first of a dozen new Constitutions that have been framed in France since the Revolution began. Meanwhile it had abolished the old provinces, and divided France into eighty-three new divisions called Departments. It had done away with tithes, and confiscated the property of the Church. It had begun the issue of paper money, called *Assignats*, the value of which was supposed to be secured—like a mortgage—upon the confiscated lands of the Church, the Crown, and the nobles who had fled the country. But you cannot purchase provisions in the market or pay your weekly bills with bits of land; you cannot foreclose upon national estate to the value of a hundred francs; so the paper remained mere paper, and as more and more was printed it fell in value, until it is said that a pound of butter cost a thousand francs

(nominally worth forty pounds). Nothing seems easier during a revolution than to defray the expenses of the government by printing paper money. In the American colonies the same was done, until a suit of clothes cost paper to the nominal value of £1,440. The same thing is being done now in almost all the countries of Europe with similar results.

MOB AND CLUB RULE

The constitution framed by the National Assembly lasted only a short time. The National Assembly was succeeded by an elective body called the Legislative Assembly, and that again by a body called the Convention. But the Assemblies were more and more intimidated by the mob of Paris, and the City Council and even the Section Councils of Paris usurped the powers and rights of government. When elections took place the good and orderly citizens refrained from voting for fear of the outrageous partisans. Power passed into the hands of one group after another, each more violent than the last. These groups prepared their policies and their measures in clubs, the most famous or infamous of which was called the Jacobin Club, because it met in the hall of the Jacobin friars; and the Assemblies commonly registered what some club had previously decided. When a group of politicians fell from power they were not permitted to live. Thus perished first the group of deputies from the district of the Gironde; then Danton and his

friends; and last of all Robespierre and his associates, who had reigned by terror for many months.

THE REIGN OF TERROR

France was perhaps prevented from falling into hopeless anarchy by foreign war. The kings and potentates of Central Europe looked on with anxiety and sympathy at the indignity and violence with which the French king was treated; they might have decided to declare war on his behalf, but the challenge to war came from the revolutionaries; the Girondins declared war upon Austria (1792), hoping to perpetuate their own power. Prussia joined Austria; Sardinia, England, and Holland were attacked, and lastly Spain. To brave the whole of Europe seemed the act of madmen; but amidst all the disorder the French collected armies; they even won victories; they occupied Belgium and Savoy. The death of the King was decreed. For prompt and merciless action in the universal war which the revolutionaries had provoked, absolute authority was needed in the hands of a few unscrupulous men. After some experiments, the great Committee of Public Safety was set up in July, 1793—eleven members holding unlimited power over the life and property of all Frenchmen. They reigned by terror for a year, during which period the revolutionary tribunals condemned and executed many thousands, suspected or accused of hostility to the Revolution or to

the dominant faction. But meanwhile they rallied the strength of France, they suppressed insurrections, they began to organise a military system for defence and, as it turned out, for conquest. After the fall and death of Robespierre (July, 1794) the country was ready for moderate rule; the remaining Terrorists were swept away and the Republic was secured. In the closing months of 1794 the Revolutionary victories began with the occupation of Belgium and the conquest of Holland. A new constitution was prepared; the mob of Paris was coerced by military force, and in October, 1795, a last rising was put down by the cannon of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. A board of five directors was set up, which ruled for four years and then gave place to Napoleon, in 1799, as First Consul with two others, and in 1804 as Emperor of the French, elected by 3,500,000 votes to 2,500.

CONTRAST OF THE TWO REVOLUTIONS

Both America and France in their Revolutions followed similar ideas. Both alike sought liberty, both desired that all citizens should be equal before the law, both desired to make the whole people sovereign over governors, rulers, and law-makers. But the American revolution was only a revolt against foreign rule. The colonists were accustomed to self-government; they made it complete and independent; under the stress of necessity they made one State out of thirteen. But they had no tyrannous monarchy to over-

throw, no arrogant aristocracy, no powerful clergy to control opinion and dictate belief. They had no class privileges to wound their dignity, no unjust and galling rights of landlords; indeed, there was land enough and to spare for all. They were content with their laws. Thus they used no more force than was necessary to make good their rebellion. Their Revolution was a political revolution, and that alone.

The Revolution of the French was a political revolution, but it did not suffice for them to alter and adapt their institutions. All power was based upon and centred in the monarchy; when they broke that support the whole fabric of institutions tottered and crumbled. Unaccustomed to self-government and embittered by manifold injustice, when they found that they had power to destroy, the lust of renovation came upon them; they changed even such details of ordinary life as men least willingly abandon—their calendar, their weights, their measures, their coinage, and the time-honoured divisions of their territory. A great part of their grievances were bound up with the law of ownership of land; to remove these grievances they had to attack the rights of property; and when property is attacked greed and rapacity are unchained. Under the old order men not only suffered unjust and oppressive burdens; they endured daily humiliation from the arrogant pretensions of the nobles and the clergy. When the old order passed away the clergy and the nobles were

smitten not only in their power and their property but in their pride. The civil war became a class war and a religious war; no passions are more hideous than those of a class war or a religious war. And this was both in one. Moreover, under the King the government of the country had been centred in Paris—a great and populous capital, with an ignorant and degraded mob hitherto controlled only by fear; the new government had to sit in Paris, and all the work of rebuilding and reconstruction was complicated by the presence of a ferocious horde of ruffians, enemies of order and friends of violence.

THE COST OF REVOLUTION

There are some in this country who preach Red Revolution, either in hopes of personal advantage, or misled by zeal and ignorance. The more you read about the French Revolution the less you will be inclined to listen to such foolish and wicked counsels. Unlike the French of that time, if we desire to change our laws or our government, we have orderly and peaceable means by which our ends can be secured. We have only to convince a majority of our fellow citizens that reform is needed, and within two or three years reform will follow. With the French the majority had no power at all; to obtain it force was needed; once violence is used no man can say where it must stop.

Within the last few years we have seen a

revolution in Russia follow a course like that of France. In Russia also there was an absolute ruler, a small and privileged class, an oppressed and ignorant multitude, even greater inexperience of the art of self-government. There also generous revolt destroyed authority; authority removed, violence began; there also a reign of terror has been established and is not yet ended. With a far more barbarous and ignorant people than that of France, the crimes and sufferings of France have been ten times surpassed by Russia, and none can see the outcome.

THE RISE AND FALL OF NAPOLEON

Many a time out of democracy springs tyranny. In Rome, as the power of the Republic passed to the multitude, the tyranny of Marius, the tyranny of Sulla, the tyranny of Caesar, led up to the tyranny of the Roman Emperors, which lasted four hundred years. So in France the disorder of popular assemblies, the rancour of partisans, the passion of orators, the fury of the mob, led up to the tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety, to the tyranny of the Directors, and last to the Empire of that great soldier and statesman, Napoleon, who was raised to power by the enthusiasm of revolution and of patriotism against Europe in arms.

Though the French had to learn the art of self-government they understood how to manage their own business; their good sense and industry soon brought them back to orderly

life. Unlike Russia, they had been for four hundred years an united people. In Russia love and reverence for the Czar was the only strong feeling that held the country together; the love of France was the strongest passion in the mind of every Frenchman. Within five years from the beginning of the Revolution the French shook off their most bloodthirsty tyrants; tired of massacres and executions they obeyed whatever power might arise; they maintained the forms and even the spirit of democracy; industry and agriculture began to revive; they threw their new energies and enthusiasm into foreign war. They set up the system of universal liability to military service by compulsion. This they called and we still call conscription. Thus, when Napoleon, the most successful of their generals, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, forced his way to power, he had an instrument of victory ready to his hand; the whole resources of a war-like, industrious, and spirited people were at his command. At home he gave to the French peace and security. He reorganised their institutions, he settled and simplified their laws, he fixed the work of the Revolution. Abroad he gave them glorious war, and rose to a plenitude of authority which no man has held in Europe since the last of the great Roman Emperors. But, carried on by the impulse of his own success, he endeavoured to subdue Britain and was strangled in the embrace of the mistress of the seas; he endeavoured to subdue Russia, and

was starved and frozen in her trackless and inhospitable plains. The nations of Europe rose against him, twice occupied his capital, and at last imprisoned him until his death in the lonely island of St. Helena. Kings and princes were restored to their thrones and dominions; but Europe would never again be the same as she was before the Lord of the French Revolution had done his work.

LATER HISTORY OF FRENCH DEMOCRACY

In France the King and the nobles returned, but not to their old supremacy and arrogance. They were forced to maintain the forms of popular government and through them the popular will was felt. The Republic seemed to disappear; but it came again in 1848, when the monarchy was destroyed a second time, but the new leaders of revolution failed to maintain order and security. A doubtful claimant to the name and blood of Napoleon, Louis Bonaparte, took advantage of the troubles of his country; and trading on the love, awe, and hope, which the memory of the Great Emperor still inspired, set up a tawdry imitation of his Empire (1852-1870). Like the first Napoleon, the third Napoleon was elected by a *plébiscite*, that is, a vote of the whole people. The wars by which he tried to prove himself a true Napoleon ended in shame and disaster. He surrendered to the Prussians at Sedan (September 2nd, 1870); the Republic was set up again, made a heroic but ineffective

resistance to its conquerors, concluded peace, and restored order. This third Republic came to stay; it has lasted fifty years, and has come victorious out of the greatest war of all history. French democracy has its own weaknesses and failings; it is jealous of great men, and puts its affairs into the hands of second-rate politicians who are not always honest and are constantly changed; it accepts few new laws and those which it accepts are not always obeyed. But it has enabled the French people to live its own life according to its own desires, and what the people demand it obtains. Thus the army has always been maintained at whatever sacrifice; and when the great day came no weakness or faltering or compromise was allowed. The French people carried out its purpose without sparing treasure or toil or life. Thus the results of the French Revolution were justified in France.

BRITAIN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution involved Great Britain in twenty-two years of war, because we desired, not to defend the privileges of the French nobles or the absolute power of the French King, but to maintain our own liberty and internal security. In 1791 we refused to join a league to suppress the Revolution. We recognised the French Constitution of 1791 with alacrity. In 1792 the British Prime Minister, William Pitt, promised his country fifteen years of peace, and told Par-

liament that they could safely reduce the number of seamen for the navy from 24,000 to 16,000, which was done. We had then and afterwards no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of France. But on November 15th, 1792, the French announced their purpose to support revolution in any country where it should be begun. What this meant was clear by the examples of Belgium and Savoy, which they entered as liberators and treated as conquered countries. The same aggressive spirit was displayed by them towards Holland. The river Scheldt, by the treaty of Münster in 1715, had been closed to the maritime traffic of Antwerp and reserved to the merchants of Holland. To that treaty Great Britain was a party, and the Dutch control of the Scheldt had been confirmed so recently as 1785 with the consent of the French. After the French had become masters of Belgium they declared the Scheldt open to navigation, without regard to the treaty rights of the Dutch, who were our allies. Since the Dutch were not inclined to acquiesce, an invasion of Holland by the French seemed imminent.

It is absurd to allege that Great Britain was then jealous of the port of Antwerp as a possible rival to the port of London. In 1780 Great Britain had declared her willingness that the Scheldt should be opened by arrangement between Austria, who then ruled the Belgian Netherlands, and the Dutch. But Britain was naturally anxious that the Dutch ports and navy

should not fall into the hands of an aggressive power, whose declared policy was to spread revolution. The statesmen of that day knew, and we have learnt in the great war, how the coast of the Low Countries can be used against England by an enemy. The French might have been willing to make terms with Britain, but there was no government with which we could securely negotiate. The King had been deposed; the new Republic seemed lawless and untrustworthy; it was maintained by violence and massacre and overawed by the Paris mob; moreover, the treaty of to-day might be torn up by the faction of to-morrow. Pitt's declaration was just and firm. "If France is really desirous of maintaining peace and friendship with England she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." The answer was the declaration of war by the French Republic on Great Britain, in February, 1793.

At no time between that date and the battle of Waterloo, June 18th, 1815, did the rulers of France, for more than a short breathing-space, renounce their policy of aggression and aggrandisement. For a time they were driven back: but in 1794 advance began again. In 1795, by the Treaty of Basel, the French boundary was advanced to the Rhine, and Belgium was incorporated in France. In 1796 Bonaparte began his victories in Italy.



End of the eighteenth century.



Period of the French revolution.

In 1797 the first army was formed for the invasion of England. In 1798 Egypt was occupied. In 1799 Napoleon became First Consul, and the so-called Republic became in effect a military monarchy.

From 1793-1799 the British were fighting against aggressive revolution. They did not like what they knew of the French Revolution. They had no cause to envy the Republics that were set up after French conquest. In any case, they intended to govern themselves according to their own ideas, and were not disposed to accept a revolution forced upon them from abroad. After 1799 it became more and more clear that they were fighting, not only for their own liberty but for the liberty of Europe, against a military tyrant, whose ambition knew no bounds so long as there were countries to conquer, and who could not, if he wished, pursue a policy of peace until he had finally suppressed all those who hated his rule or feared his attack. When his power was at its height (say in 1809) he ruled directly or through subject or subservient kings and confederations almost all of Germany, a large part of Poland, the whole of Italy, and his armies occupied Spain. Prussia had been completely defeated. Austria had lain at his mercy and was permitted to retain her independence, supplying as a bride for the conqueror a daughter of her imperial House. Only Great Britain in western or central Europe retained her freedom unimpaired. This was the first great trial of the English people, from which it came out victorious.

CAUSES OF BRITISH SUCCESS AGAINST NAPOLEON

It was not to the eminent wisdom of her rulers that Great Britain owed her success. Many disastrous mistakes were made in the conduct of the war, and no great War Minister arose to concentrate the whole force of the people and show the shortest road to peace with honour and security. But the aristocracy by which England was governed had the indomitable spirit of the people which they ruled and served. Though Europe crumbled they stood undismayed. With few exceptions they put aside their party factions and united to defend British freedom. The people, though it had little voice in deciding policy, endured its sufferings with great fortitude. There were no bread subsidies in those days. The working classes were far poorer then than now. Population was growing and Britain could not feed all her people. There were no great corn-growing countries beyond the seas from which supplies could be drawn. When harvests were bad there was something like a famine. In the Great War the four pound loaf was kept at nine-pence by enormous payments from the public funds. During the war with Napoleon bread was seldom less than twelve-pence, and sometimes it cost as much as twenty-two pence for four pounds. Yet the multitude worked and suffered; they did not flinch. They were proud of their country; they did not intend to truckle to a foreign tyrant; they refused to be beaten.

In the Great War men said at first: "Business as usual." That soon proved to be impossible. Every man's business had to be suspended or transformed, so sore was the need of the people for men and materials of war. But in the war with Napoleon business did continue much as usual. Our trade and industry prospered exceedingly. Though the privateers took heavy toll of our merchant vessels, they plied their voyages undeterred, while no hostile merchantman could venture far from land. Great Britain won complete supremacy in sea-borne trade over the whole world. The use of machinery driven by coal combustion was rapidly developing. Our manufactures of hardware and of cotton and woollen cloths grew fast, population multiplied, and the national wealth increased apace. By our expanding industry and wealth we were able to defray the cost of our own navies and armies, and to give very great sums to our allies. We continued to improve our methods of agriculture; we enclosed waste and ill-cultivated land to the extent of five million acres. Thus the whole people, by its energy and enterprise and determination, worked together to win the war.

THE ARMY.

We did not call up to fight Napoleon the whole of our fit male population. The aristocracy did its duty, and thousands of well-born youths served as officers in the army. Hundreds of thousands volunteered for home defence. But

the rank and file of the armies that served abroad were chiefly composed of the poorest and least reputable of our citizens. There was a law until 1811 by which men were drawn by lot to serve in the militia, but well-to-do persons were allowed to pay for substitutes. The militia was only bound to serve at home, but volunteers for foreign service were obtained from it in sufficient numbers by the offer of bounties. The sums of money paid to volunteers for foreign service varied from £30 to £60. It is not surprising that only those to whom such sums were a fortune enlisted in the ranks, and that men were taken from the prisons to recruit the forces. For the troops were shamefully neglected, short of clothes, short of boots, short of food, and hospital care was almost entirely wanting. Punishments were savage; as many as 1,500 lashes were administered by sentence of court-martial. The officers, though brave in action, were too often drunken and dissolute, and even Wellington could not teach them that the first duty of an officer is to secure the well-being of his men.

Yet these poor and neglected soldiers fought as no other troops could fight. Napoleon's great levies of men could not be trusted to fight except in massed columns, in which every man felt the support of his comrades. The British could be trusted to attack, or to meet attack, in lines two deep, in which order they suffered less from the fire of musketry and artillery and their own

discharge of musketry was most effective. They would reserve their fire till they could see the whites of their enemies' eyes. When the hostile columns wavered, they would spring forward with a cheer and drive them from the field with the bayonet. British armies were lost by neglect and mismanagement, but never by misconduct in battle. All races of our islands contributed to this glorious army of penniless ne'er-do-weels, but the Irish far more than their proportion. The Duke of Wellington was an Irishman by birth.

THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The resources of France were worn down by many years of war, and especially in conflict with Austria and Russia. The British navy had absolute command of the sea after the battle of Trafalgar in 1805. But it was not until 1808 that the British began to tell in the course of war on land. In 1808 Napoleon in person was preparing to crush a rebellion in Spain, which he had stolen from its sovereign by treachery. Sir John Moore was in Portugal with a small British Army, and threatened the French communications in Spain. Napoleon turned from his task to destroy this troublesome enemy. Moore marched for Corunna, pursued by the French. Through unimaginable hardships he brought his army safe to the sea and put it on board ship. He fell himself in the last rear-

guard fight on the hills before Corunna. Napoleon's plan was spoilt and Spain was never completely conquered.

In 1809 Sir Arthur Wellesley was put in command of the British forces in Portugal, where, as a subordinate officer, he had won the battle of Vimiero in 1808. For more than four years he kept up the fight in the Peninsula, with the help of the Portuguese, whom he trained and disciplined to fight, with some assistance from Spanish armies which he could not trust, and with the more valuable aid of the inhabitants and fierce marauders. He fought when he was obliged to fight; he struck hard when he saw a favourable chance; in 1810, when the forces against him were too great, he retired to his famous defensive position at Torres Vedras, near Lisbon, where he held out through the winter, while the French army starved in the desolated country, and guerilla bands harried its communications.

The next year he moved forward. The tide of battle surged to and fro, until at the end of 1813 he drove the French across the Pyrenees and followed them into France. Meanwhile, other and greater armies of the Allies were advancing from the east. In March, 1814, Paris was occupied by the allied armies, and in April, 1814, Napoleon abdicated.

All through five years Napoleon had been forced to keep great armies in the Peninsula, and some of his best Marshals. He called this war

his running sore; his men, his treasure, and his materials of war, were squandered in the Peninsula; this war was one of the causes of his downfall. It only remained for Wellington, with a hastily levied British army eked out with Germans, Dutch, and Belgians, to stand against Napoleon at Waterloo until his attack was broken, and Blücher came up with his Prussians to complete the victory.

A great nation does not always find great leaders either in peace or war. They may be there, but it cannot always know them. It may be deceived by inferior imitations. But in Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, Britain found a great soldier and a noble and unselfish servant. His high spirit and unwearied courage were the proper complement of his heroic soldiers, and of the unflinching purpose of the people.

THE NAVY

The army completed our victory, but the navy shattered the first attacks, kept the enemy at a distance while we learnt to fight on land, destroyed at length the enemy fleets, and made the power of Britain felt in all parts of the globe. It must not be forgotten that, although the British are great fighters, they are not and have never been a military nation. We wage war from necessity; we do not practise it as a permanent and continuous industry. In peace we do not even make adequate preparations for

defence. Hitherto kind fortune has given us time to recover lost ground; some day our luck may change, and then our ruin will ensue.

Thus it was in 1793. Our ships were superior in number to those of the French, but many of them were out of repair. The number of seamen and mariners had been reduced in the previous three years from 40,000 to 16,000. Volunteers were hurriedly obtained by the offer of bounties. The law permitted seamen to be taken by force for the navy from the sea-ports and from merchant ships at sea. Landsmen were often taken illegally by the press-gang. Finally, it became necessary to levy men from the counties in proportion to their population. Criminals were also taken, as for the army. Food was bad, pay was low and often in arrears, and punishments were barbarous. The ports and dockyards were carelessly and corruptly managed. On the other hand, a seaman of courage and capacity could rise to be an officer. Many of the officers were men of the highest ability, character, and experience. The tradition of fighting methods in the navy were good, and among many good admirals Nelson followed out the tradition with the highest genius. He made it his business not merely to defeat but to destroy the enemy forces. His main idea in battle was to cut off a part of the hostile fleet, and throw his whole fleet upon it before the rest of his adversary's ships could return to help their comrades. He made

all his captains understand the spirit which inspired his attack, and trusted them to carry out his wishes as occasion might suggest.

But the bad conditions of service in the navy almost led to disaster. The danger of mutiny was always great, and the marines were always kept ready to suppress disorder by force. For fear of desertion the seamen were not allowed shore-leave when in port. In 1797 the discontent came to a head with mutinies in the fleets at Spithead and the Nore. The grievances of the men were prudently redressed, and at Spithead a general pardon was granted. But the mutiny at the Nore had to be suppressed by force. Though these great dangers were averted, just cause for disaffection still remained, and even on the eve of Trafalgar some anxiety was felt on this account.

The greater admiration must we feel for those poor seamen, who not only won victory after victory, often against superior force, but kept the seas month after month and year after year, maintaining their irksome and painful watch. Nelson himself did not set foot on land for a space of two years. When war began we had maritime allies; for instance, Holland and Spain. But as time went on the forces of these countries were added to our enemies and we stood alone. In 1807 we were forced to seize the Danish fleet, because Napoleon intended to take it for himself. As time went on something was done to improve the conditions of service at sea. But, ill-treated

or well-treated, the sailors were never found wanting, either in the stress of battle or in the harsh and tedious duty of blockade and cruising. For this we must praise their native worth and their devotion to their country's cause, but also we must recognise the high example set by the great majority of their officers, and above all by the incomparable Nelson.

When Nelson was not in chief command the British won victories. There was, in 1794, the so-called glorious first of June, which later victories threw completely into the shade. In 1797 Admiral Duncan heavily defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown. There was the battle of Cape St. Vincent, in 1797, against a greatly superior Spanish force, in which Nelson himself had a leading share. But Nelson's own motto was "not victory but annihilation"—of the opposing fleet. At Aboukir Bay, in 1798, Nelson found the French fleet at anchor in a long line. He gave orders to attack their van and centre, and, risking the danger of grounding in uncharted waters and with failing light, passed between the French fleet and the shore. Throwing the weight of his whole force on the leading ships, and afterwards taking the others in their turn, he destroyed or captured all but two of the enemy vessels. He thus cut off the communications of Napoleon with France and brought about the complete failure of his Egyptian expedition.

In 1801 the Danes had joined a league of the

Baltic Powers, which was hostile to Britain. A fleet was sent against Copenhagen, with Nelson as second in command. He was entrusted with the attack upon the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, where it was supported by guns in the forts on land. He attacked, and when his superior officer, Admiral Hyde Parker, signalled to break off the action, he disregarded the signal and continued until the Danish fleet surrendered; the Danish Government was thus forced to suspend hostilities.

But Nelson's greatest and completest victory came in 1805. Napoleon had massed an army at Boulogne for the invasion of England. He sent a fleet to the West Indies to lure Nelson away. Nelson pursued it, but hurried home when he found that the French had doubled back to European waters. Napoleon was forced to give orders for a general engagement, and Nelson, nothing loth, met the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar, fell upon them, broke their line, and of thirty-three ships of the line captured seventeen, though his own force numbered only twenty-seven. But in the moment of victory the great Admiral was struck with a bullet fired from the top of a French vessel, and he expired some two hours later. He had lived long enough to complete his task, and no further effective attempt was made by the French to win the command of the sea for the purpose of invading England. No Englishman has won renown equal to that of Nelson; none has an

equal place in the love and gratitude of his countrymen. Alike in genius and in devotion to duty he is supreme.

Though Trafalgar was the last great sea victory that Britain won or needed during the war with Napoleon, the task of her seamen was arduous and unceasing to the very end of the struggle. A constant watch was needed in all the seas: in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic, in the Channel, and in the North Sea. Unable to overcome the British Navy, Napoleon endeavoured to exclude the British trade from all the ports of the European continent. By a series of decrees, which established what is called the Continental system, the European markets were closed to the chief products of the new industries of Great Britain, and to the goods which came from British Colonies. In retaliation, the British attempted by blockade to prevent any foreign trade to and from countries over which Napoleon's power extended. Neither Napoleon's scheme nor the British was completely watertight; but this mutual war on commerce necessitated the most constant vigilance on the part of British ships.

All through the war the merchant vessels of Great Britain were hunted by their enemies on the sea, especially by privateers, that is, by vessels privately owned and equipped to prey on commerce, and licensed by the hostile government. Between 1793 and 1800 not less than 3,400 British merchantmen were captured by the

French, and after the renewal of war in 1803 such losses tended to increase up to 1810. After that date the losses tended to diminish. In 1812 war broke out between the United States and Great Britain, owing to the insistence of Great Britain on the search of American vessels, not only for the enforcement of blockade, but also for the purpose of seizing British sailors, who frequently deserted the navy in order to take service on American ships. No navy, however powerful, can completely ensure the security of sea-borne trade in time of war. What the submarines were to us in the Great War with Germany the French privateers were in the war against Napoleon. But the French privateers were anxious to capture the vessels and their cargo; the submarines had no such hope, and we may be permitted to doubt whether even Napoleon, ruthless as he was, would have ordered the systematic destruction of enemy merchantmen without regard for the safety of their crews and passengers. His methods of warfare were humane compared with those deliberately adopted by the German High Command.

COMPARISON OF THE WAR OF 1793-1815 WITH THAT OF 1914-1918

The war that began in 1793, and ended at Waterloo, was a great test of the courage and endurance of the people of England. But in every respect, except duration, it was incomparably

less in effort and sacrifice than the Great War of 1914-18. Against the French only a small part of the nation was mobilised, whether for war by land or sea or for the production of material for fighting. In the Great War against Germany the greater part of the people was actively and consciously engaged, either in fighting or preparing material for warfare. In the later war the instruments of death and torture were infinitely more elaborate and terrible; the number of British soldiers arrayed in the battlefield was many times greater, and the losses in many engagements reached a far larger proportion of those in action than in even the most bloody battle of the Peninsula. A battle was seldom concluded in a day; it often lasted for weeks, and even for months. But in each war alike the people did all that was required of it; in each it endured to the end, and displayed the same loyalty, courage, and steadfastness, until victory rewarded its efforts. We have enjoyed for a hundred years the fruits of the sacrifice of our ancestors; may our successors profit in equal degree from the sacrifice of those who died and toiled and suffered in 1914-18.

CONCLUSION

The internal conflicts and external wars of France established in the seventeenth century a powerful monarchy, which controlled a wealthy and tyrannical priesthood and a privileged

aristocracy. In the eighteenth century the monarchy fell into weak hands and came under corrupt influences. Great freedom was allowed to speech and thought, and at the same time public affairs fell into great disorder. The example of the American Revolution, in which Frenchmen had a share, set new ideas stirring in French minds, and the dominant classes lost faith in their own right to govern and in the capacity of their rulers. When the French Revolution broke out, lack of experience and exaggerated belief in human reason made the French accept far-reaching changes with insufficient preparation. The mob of Paris and cliques of fanatics seized the power, and enthusiasm led the French people to spread their doctrines abroad by force. Thus they became involved in war with almost all of Europe, and for national preservation a strong government was set up, which ruled by terror but saved the country. After the greatest danger was past the rule of terror was relaxed, but war continued; and the military system thus evolved brought Napoleon to absolute power. That great soldier, statesman, law-giver, and administrator, was led on, step by step, to attempt the conquest of all Europe.

Great Britain, by her power on the sea, was able to maintain her independence, and Napoleon's will to conquest was met by equal determination to be free. His resources were drained by British and native resistance in the Iberian

Peninsula, and the country and climate of Russia ruined his Great Army. But it is hardly too much to say that we owe the liberty of Britain, and of Europe, to the heroism of our soldiers and sailors and to the dogged resolution of our aristocratic rulers. Thus every section of the people had a share in our victorious war of self-defence.

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CHAPTER IV

THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN 1760-1832

THE revolutions of the seventeenth century had settled two questions, the supremacy of Parliament and the domination of the Protestant religion. After Charles I had lost his head and James II had lost his throne, there was still a monarchy in England, but it was not the same monarchy as that which Henry VIII had held and Charles I had endeavoured to restore. William III and his successors were obliged to deal with Parliament as with an equal or even a superior power.

George III was not content to accept that inferior position. During twenty-four years he struggled to bend Parliament to his will, by the influence he possessed over borough elections and by the honours and the patronage which he could bestow; and for a time he succeeded. The breach with the American colonies was largely due to his obstinate and unwise policy, and even after Pitt came into power there were some things in which the King had his way; Catholic emancipation, for instance, was abandoned in

deference to the King. But during the last thirty years of his life his mind became more and more deranged. Thus it became necessary to appoint a Regent, and Parliament was able to limit very narrowly the powers of the Regent. So by the end of the reign all and more than all the power which George III had recovered for the Crown had slipped away.

George IV was a dissolute and worthless man; neither his ability nor his character commanded any respect. When he endeavoured, in 1820, to divorce his wife, Queen Caroline, the necessary bill was brought before Parliament but withdrawn because of the violent opposition of the people, who sided with the Queen. How different from the home life of our good King Henry VIII, who would have cut off the lady's head or had a Reformation if any difficulties had arisen about divorce! George and his Parliament found public opinion a more formidable adversary than the Pope had been to Henry.

Already, by the end of the wars against Napoleon, the King's power had shrunk to little more than the exercise of influence. Throughout the war with Napoleon the task of the people was neither helped nor hindered by the King. His right to forbid a law passed by Parliament was not exercised after the time of William III. He was supposed to choose his Ministers, but if Parliament did not support the Ministers whom he chose he could not carry on his government. He could allow or refuse a dissolution of Parlia-

ment. But when William IV was unwilling to dissolve Parliament his Ministers soon found means to persuade him.

Thus the political revolution of the nineteenth century did not concern the relations between the King and his Parliament, or between the King and the people. That game had been played out and Parliament had won. It concerned the relations between Parliament and the people. Let me try to make clear the system of Parliamentary Government as it existed when the French war came to an end. Its outline has not greatly changed since that time, but its spirit has been completely transformed.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The Parliaments of England and Scotland had been united in 1707. The Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland were united in 1800. Thus there was one Parliament for the whole United Kingdom. That Parliament then, as now, consisted of two Houses. The House of Lords was made up, as to-day, of a comparatively small number of Lords Spiritual (the Bishops) and a much larger number of Lords Temporal. The Lords Spiritual were appointed by the King on the advice of his Ministers, but held their office till death or resignation. They could thus use their vote and influence in Parliament without interference from the King or his Ministers; but since the Church had become dependent on the State their influence in fact was small.

The Lords Temporal succeeded to their peerages by inheritance, excepting that the Scotch peers and the Irish peers did not all have seats in the House of Lords, but elected a fixed number from among themselves to act on their behalf. The temporal peers, like the Bishops, did not need to take orders from any man. The King could and often did create new peerages, though not so often then as now. Thus, if the House of Lords rejected any measure, the King could, on the advice of his Ministers, create a sufficient number of new peers to overcome the opposition. This was done once in the reign of Queen Anne, but never before or since. But more than once the fear of such action has brought the House of Lords to submission.

The House of Lords goes back to remote feudal times, when the whole country was governed through the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal acting as real governors. Those personal powers of government the Lords had lost many centuries before. But almost all the Lords Temporal were landlords, most of them great landlords, and many of them very great landlords. They thus had great influence over their tenants and their neighbours, who for the most part were unwilling to offend them. There were, of course, many landlords, some of them owning very large estates, who had no seats in the House of Lords. Some of these had a great deal of independent influence, but their interests

were for the most part the same as those of the Peers. The Peers and the landlord class were, of course, in the first place anxious for the welfare of the land, but the welfare of the land was closely bound up with the welfare of commerce and industry; and for many generations the landlords of England had shown their concern in trade and manufacture by the laws that they passed and the foreign policy that they favoured. Thus the Peers had great power in their House, they had great power through their property in land, they had great power through the support of nearly all the squires and most of the farmers throughout the country. But above and beyond all this they had great power through their influence over elections to the House of Commons.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Already, by 1815, the House of Commons was the more important of the two Houses. The Commons had equal power with the Lords in making ordinary laws, and moreover, they alone could impose taxes and vote money for the use of Government. They held the power of the national purse. Therefore without their good will no Ministry could carry on the business of the country. Moreover, it was indistinctly felt, and even publicly asserted, that the power of Kings and Ministers depended on the support of the people. In spite of all absurdities of electoral law the House of Commons did represent the

people. Its members were nearer to the people than the Lords. They felt the spirit of the times; they perceived the changes of public opinion. In the House of Commons reputations of statesmen were made and marred. The strength of the elder William Pitt (Lord Chatham) and of his son was in their power over the elected assembly. It was there that Fox and Canning won their authority. The greater number of the King's Ministers were still drawn from the House of Lords, but no Ministry could retain power without the confidence or at least the toleration of the Lower House.

The House of Commons was almost as ancient as the House of Lords; it had become by lapse of time even more antiquated. When the House of Commons was first constituted it was created to obtain from the two great classes of tax-payers, other than the great lords, the grant of special gifts of money, which gradually took the form of voting taxes and the annual budget. The first of those classes was the holders of free land in the country; the second was the merchants and traders of the free towns or boroughs. It would require more space than I can give to explain what was originally meant by a forty-shilling freeholder and a free borough. Even in my first volume, which would have been the proper place, I spared you those difficult matters of ancient law and custom. Those terms belong to an order of society which passed away many centuries ago. But, although their true meaning

had been forgotten for at least three hundred years, they still governed the representation of the people in Parliament.

Under George III and IV no man had a vote in the counties who did not possess freehold land (which then meant land held in absolute ownership) to the value of forty shillings a year. This gave votes to quite a large number of people, from the squires great and small to the little man who had three or four acres of his own. Originally, forty shillings was the value of a nice little property. But the value of money had fallen and the value of land had risen, so that in 1815 a very small plot of freehold land would qualify for a vote. On the other hand, all those who held land by rent were excluded, and the large and growing and important class of tenant farmers had no votes, to say nothing of the cottagers and labourers. And even in the counties the elections were much influenced by the great lords.

The case of the boroughs was even more strange. The selection of boroughs for Parliamentary representation had been made from the first for reasons which were then important but had long ceased to have any meaning at all. Thus, it came about that Cornwall returned forty-four members to Parliament and Scotland only forty-five. About two hundred members were elected by towns with less than a hundred electors apiece. Some of these towns had so far decayed that one man could nominate the

members and feel certain of their election. Such boroughs, of which there were more than fifty, were bought and sold together with the power to return the members. Other boroughs were called rotten because of their insignificance, and because their elections could be controlled by bribery and influence. If the electors broke loose they could be made to suffer for it. Thus, for instance, the borough of Newark belonged to the Duke of Newcastle. In 1829 the electors did not return his candidate, so, after ascertaining which of his tenants had voted against his will, he gave them all notice to quit. Of such boroughs there were probably more than fifty. On the other hand, there were a few boroughs such as Liverpool and Westminster, where there were a large number of electors and elections were fairly free.

The condition of things in Scotland and Ireland was even worse. The forty-five members for Scotland were returned by less than four thousand electors and by the influence of less than one hundred and fifty patrons. In Ireland the hundred members were returned by an even smaller proportion of electors and by the influence of fifty or sixty landlords. But in some of the Irish counties a wave of feeling might overcome all influence and return a popular candidate. Thus O'Connell, the first of the great Irish tribunes, was returned for County Clare in 1828, although as a Catholic he was not legally eligible to sit in Parliament. Out of a

house of six hundred and fifty-eight members it is estimated that less than two hundred members were returned by free election.

It will thus be seen that the House of Commons, hardly less than the House of Lords, was dominated by the influence of the great landlords. It was not a democratic assembly but the instrument of the landed aristocracy. But in the last half of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth a great change had taken place in the distribution of population and wealth. The new manufactures had brought together great masses to live in towns which had previously been insignificant. In 1831 Manchester had 237,000 inhabitants, Birmingham 142,000, Leeds 123,000. Yet these towns returned no members to Parliament. This was felt to be an injustice. So early as 1770 no less a statesman than Lord Chatham had proposed to add one member to each of the counties, and thus to increase the number of seats filled more freely and less corruptly. His son, William Pitt, moved resolutions in Parliament for the reform of elections to Parliament but failed to carry his plan (1782-5). The French Revolution, by its example of cruelty and violence, brought discredit on democratic reform. But as soon as the war was over men began to listen to philosophers like Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, who preached freedom of the press and universal suffrage by secret ballot in order that all should vote without fear of any powerful

neighbour. William Cobbett, in his weekly Political Register, and "Orator" Harry Stunt, in speeches to mass meetings, expressed the general discontent that followed the war and called for political reform. But more important than philosophers and agitators were the men who, rising from the ranks, had made great fortunes from manufacture during the war. There were very many of such rich masters in the great towns of the industrial districts who demanded political power in proportion to their wealth and influence. Thus an opposition arose between town and country. The towns attacked the political privileges of the landowners, and their political zeal was sharpened by self-interest. For the landowners were anxious to maintain the high prices for corn to which they had become accustomed during the war, and the manufacturers were anxious for cheap bread that money-wages might be low and profits might be high. When one of the great parties took up the cause of the manufacturers political change could not be long postponed.

PARTIES AND THE CABINET SYSTEM

The party system in this country goes back to the time of Charles II, when one party in Parliament desired to exclude the Duke of York as a Catholic from the succession to the throne, and another party expressed their abhorrence of interference with the lawful rights of the heir

(Vol. II, pp. 190-1). The exclusionists had their way when James II was driven to flight and finally defeated at the battle of the Boyne. But the parties continued. The more violently Protestant party got the name of Whigs, which was first given to the *whay*-faced and fanatical covenanters of Scotland; the party which was more inclined to support the King, right or wrong, were called Tories, after the bands of Popish marauders in Ireland. Both words were opprobrious nicknames, afterwards cheerfully accepted by the parties. William III endeavoured to govern the country by selecting his Ministers from both parties, but this proved impossible. At the death of Queen Anne the Whigs had another victory, when the Protestant Elector of Hanover was called to the throne as George I, and after that time it was understood that the King's Ministers might be Tories or they might be Whigs, but they could not well be partly Whigs and partly Tories.

Thus the aristocratic body which governed the country through its power in the Lords and in the Commons was divided into two traditional parties, which struggled each with the other for political power and the places and profits which went therewith. After the Protestant succession had been secured for the House of Hanover, it cannot be said that there was any well-marked difference of principle to divide the parties. There were great Whig families and great Tory families, and each set in turn obtained predom-

ance through the ascendancy of some one statesman or some group or the changing circumstances and policies of the time. When the French Revolution took place and the French war followed, Charles James Fox, who led the Whigs in the House of Commons, showed more sympathy with the revolutionaries—it might be said with the enemies of his country—than the majority of his party could endure. Thus the Whig party was split, and the larger section joined the Tories in advocating a vigorous conduct of the war, first against the Jacobins and then against Napoleon. But after the war was over the Whigs came together again. They were more influenced than the Tories by the democratic ideas of the times. They also saw the great accession of strength that might be won by alliance with the wealthy and influential manufacturers. Thus the Whig party became the party of Parliamentary Reform, and the Tories, whose tradition it was to oppose whatever the Whigs advocated, took up the cause of the old order. They would say that they stood for King and Church. But the monarchy was not in any danger and had no ambition of personal power, and the only way in which enthusiasm for the Church could be shown was by opposition to any measures designed to relieve Catholics and Nonconformists from disabilities imposed by law. In effect, the Tories came to stand for the aristocracy of landlords against the growing influence of manufacturers, traders, and

bankers; it may be said that they stood for the country against the towns.

THE CABINET SYSTEM

The Whig party, when they took up Parliamentary Reform, did so with a view to strengthening their power in the House of Commons. It was said of an Athenian statesman that he took the people—that is, the multitude—into partnership when he took the first steps to turn an aristocracy into a democracy. The Whig Lords took the newly-rich middle classes into partnership that they might win the House of Commons. But the House of Commons was only a means to an end, a means to supreme political power. The government of the country had been carried on since the beginning of the eighteenth century by a Cabinet of Ministers responsible—in theory to the King, but in fact to Parliament, and especially to the House of Commons. The Cabinet system, invented in England and since adopted by most of the countries of Europe, though not by the United States of America, is based upon the House of Commons, and upon our party system in that House. Each party has a recognised leader, who is not elected but comes to the head in the course of political strife, and is for the time being accepted as chief by the common consent of his party. No party can hold power, except on sufferance, unless it has a majority in the House of Commons. If any party attempted to seize

or retain power against the will of the House of Commons the House could refuse supplies, that is, it could decline to vote the necessary money and taxes. This is so well recognised that, so soon as any Ministry loses the support of the House of Commons, it either resigns or advises the King to dissolve Parliament.

The leader of the party which has the majority in the Commons becomes Prime Minister. That office has only recently been recognised in any legal form, but it has been recognised in fact for two centuries as the highest office of the State. The Prime Minister generally holds the post of First Lord of the Treasury, which has no special duties attached to it, but is suitable to the Chief as conferring supremacy over the public purse. He allots to his followers all the chief political posts, and from the most important of these Ministers he forms his Cabinet. Every Minister is under the orders of the Prime Minister. Thus, when George III tried to make his individual Ministers take their orders direct from him, he was attempting to destroy the Cabinet system. The Cabinet stands or falls together. That is called the solidarity or the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. If any Minister takes any important step which is disapproved by the Cabinet or the Prime Minister, he must reverse it or resign. If the Cabinet accepts what may be his blunder, they must defend it individually and collectively in the House of Commons, and make it what is called a question of confidence.

If the Prime Minister cannot keep his Cabinet together, or cannot induce his party to maintain his policy, then he will have to resign with his Cabinet or dissolve Parliament and see if a general election will bring him better luck. Thus the several Ministers are responsible to the Prime Minister, and he and they together exercise the supreme power in the State so long as they can command the support of the House of Commons. The support of the House of Lords is not so necessary; its power in recent years has been greatly lessened; but at no time since 1815 has the opposition of the House of Lords been more than an obstacle; it has not involved the resignation of a Ministry. The collective responsibility of the Cabinet does not absolve any Minister from the consequences of any illegal act he may have committed. For such acts he can be brought before a Court of Law and suffer such penalties as the law imposes.

HIS MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION

The party system and the Cabinet system are so closely bound up with each other, and with the whole system of government in this country, that in the Commons the party which is for the time being in a minority is known as His Majesty's Opposition. It is a maxim of State that the business of an Opposition is to oppose. A strong Opposition is thought to be good for a Government; if an Opposition be weak, the discipline of the predominant party is apt to be

relaxed; the team pull different ways; but if an Opposition be too strong the position of the Government becomes precarious; they lose confidence and courage and will sooner or later be defeated. It is good that every action of a Government should be severely and exhaustively criticised. But the tradition which demands that every act or proposal of Government should, as a matter of course, be received with hostility by an organised party is a great hindrance to good government and imposes intolerable delays where prompt action is desirable. The best that can be said for the custom of party opposition is that our people has in the past been more afraid of the strength and activity of Government than of its impotence and inaction. Our institutions have been devised more in the interests of liberty than in those of the best possible order in the State. Liberty is a good thing, but it may be bought too dearly. Any great crisis, such as the recent war or the present peace, brings such faults of the party system into light.

THE WHIG POLICY OF REFORM

The Whig Lords, when they determined to reform Parliament, desired to establish their supremacy in the State by an alliance with the newly-enriched middle class. They were not in favour of a widely extended democracy. They were somewhat surprised and dismayed by the strength of the feeling which they found in the



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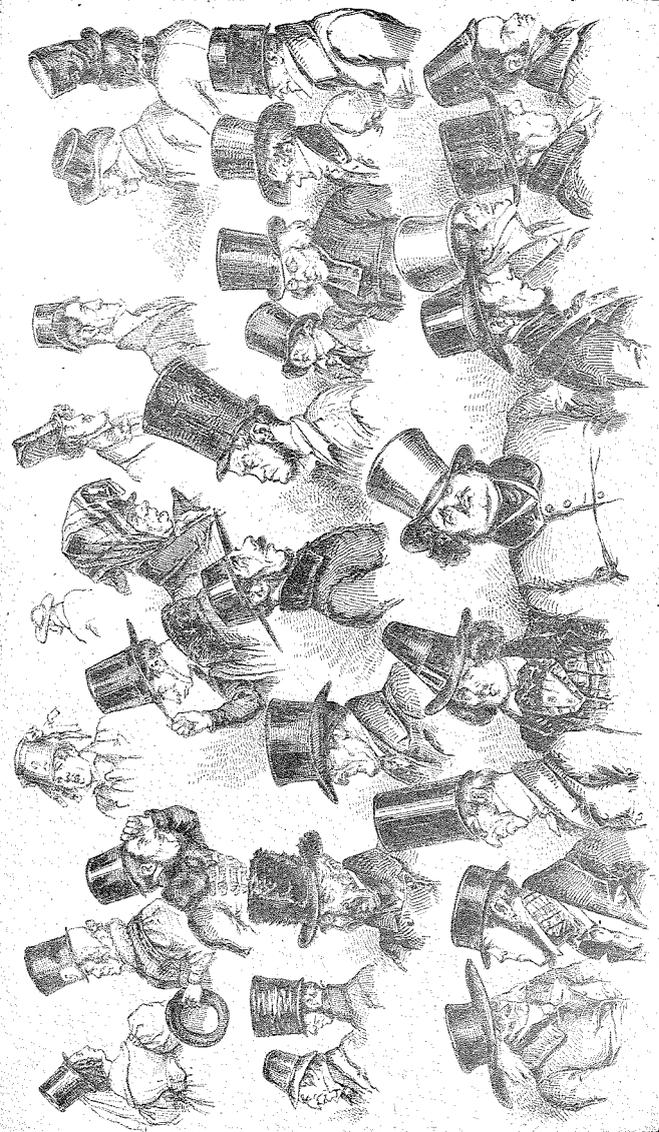
(3)



(4)

- (1) William Pitt, the younger.
 (2) The Duke of Wellington.
 (3) Sir Robert Peel.
 (4) Lord Nelson.

PLATE VI I.



Hats of the nineteenth century.

people, though it carried them to success in their immediate scheme. In the interests of their personal ambition they destroyed the domination of their own class, and initiated a democratic movement to which they could set no bounds. That democratic movement, though protracted already over a century of time, has been so great and profound that it deserves the name of the Political Revolution. But it was far from the minds of the Whig Lords. They were thinking in the first place, as a party, of their own power and patronage and profit and consideration. They had, however, right and reason on their side. The moment the electoral system was attacked it was seen that it could not be defended. The theory of our constitution was representation of the people. In the unreformed Parliament the people was only represented, as it were, by accident.

PARLIAMENT AFTER WATERLOO

Although the Parliament of 1815-1832 was not representative of the people, it must not be supposed that it was a bad Parliament. It contained many men of high character and distinguished ability. Men such as Canning and Huskisson and Sir Robert Peel would have adorned any political assembly. Nor were the views and policies of statesmen devoid of light and wisdom. On the cessation of war the usual difficulty was found in the process of return to normal ways of life. A great debt

had been incurred for the war, and heavy taxes were needed to pay the interest, which went to those who were lucky enough to hold Government Stock. The tax-eaters, as Cobbett called them, were regarded with envy and hatred. Trade and commerce had been organised for war; they now had to be organised for peace. Very great numbers of men were discharged from the army and navy, and from the services which supply the needs of armies and navies. All these had to find other means of livelihood. Great distress and discontent resulted; ricks were burnt and machinery was destroyed; and graver disorders still were apprehended. The governing classes were frightened; they feared rebellion and revolution. Nothing is so cruel as fear, and harsh measures were adopted. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; which means that men could be arrested on suspicion and retained in prison without being brought to trial. Writers were brought to trial for any publications that were held likely to lead to disorder. To discourage dangerous propaganda, the duty on newspapers was increased to fourpence and extended to all pamphlets. A law was passed forbidding meetings to be held for any purpose without license from magistrates. Meetings were dispersed with violence, as at Manchester, in 1819, where forty persons were injured. The laws against combinations of workmen were strictly enforced. Many of these measures may have been unnecessary or unduly

harsh; but there was some real danger; and as prosperity returned disorder ceased and the unusual restrictions were removed.

Then a period of wise though modest reform began. The criminal law of the time was savage and inhuman; death was the penalty for a multitude of trifling offences. Sir Robert Peel passed laws greatly reducing this severity (1826-8); though further reforms were needed in 1832 and 1837. In 1837 there were 438 capital executions; in 1839 the number fell to 56. Soon after it was recognised that death was the appropriate penalty for only high treason and murder; but the barbarous practice of executions in public was not abandoned until 1868. The gaols of this country, before 1822, were a disgrace to civilisation; prisoners were herded together without regard for decency or health, and gaol-typhus was a danger not only to criminals but to judges and juries. Peel, by his Gaol Acts of 1823-4, did much to improve the conditions of prisons; though his work needed to be carried further in 1835, when inspectors of prisons were first appointed. He also (1829) established our modern police system, which is admired by all the world. Because of the importance of the capital, the police of London is administered by the Government; but the police of the provinces of Britain is administered by the counties, cities, and boroughs. Because of the difficulty of maintaining order in Ireland the Irish Constabulary, a semi-military force, and the Dublin

police, were also directly controlled by Government. Policemen are still called "Bobbies" and "Peelers," after Sir Robert Peel. The laws against combinations amongst workmen were abolished in 1824, though it was thought necessary to restore certain restrictions in 1825.

BANK NOTES AND CURRENCY

Legislation for commerce showed the same spirit of wise innovation. When a country, as in war, is incurring great expenses, gold is likely to leave the country in payment of debts incurred abroad. Thus, during the revolutionary wars it was found necessary, in 1797, to forbid the Bank of England to pay out gold on demand for its notes. This prohibition was maintained until the end of the war, so that our current money, instead of gold and silver, which are valuable at all times and in all countries, became chiefly printed paper. The value of paper money depends upon two things; first, upon the credit of the country, that is, the general expectation that it can and will discharge its promises to pay; secondly, upon the amount of paper issued in relation to the amount of money needed to carry on the business of the country. If anything is unusually abundant, its value falls, as you can see when there is an abundant crop of apples. There is a great temptation for a government, when in need of money, to print paper money in excess, which lowers the value of money and sends up prices. During the French wars our

Government was fairly prudent, and bank notes did not fall very much below the value of the gold coins which they represented. Still they did fall somewhat, and a five-pound note was not worth five pounds in gold, but something nearer four pounds. For some time after the war the Government was afraid to issue gold in payment for notes; but at length, in 1819, a plan was adopted by which notes could be redeemed at a steadily rising value, until, in 1823, five sovereigns were to be paid for a five-pound note.

THE GOLD STANDARD

At the same time our currency, which had been based on gold and silver together, so that the gold in a sovereign was always worth nearly four ounces of silver, was fixed on the value of gold alone. The old system is called bimetallic; it was established in France in 1803 and maintained there until 1873, and until the war remained partly in force there. The new standard is called monometallic. In practice this means two things; first, you can pay your lawful debts by gold up to any amount; but no one is obliged to accept in payment more than forty shillings of silver; secondly, while the Government will coin any quantity of gold for any person without charge, the Government fixes the quantities of silver that shall be coined. Until a very recent date five shillings and sixpence were coined from an ounce of silver; but the silver coins, no less than the new nickel

coins, were what is called a token coinage; that is, their value did not depend on the value of the silver they contained, but on the value of the gold for which they could be exchanged. Up to the time of the Great War an ounce of fine gold was always worth eighty-four shillings in coined money. After 1816, when gold was made the only standard, in our country the price of silver still remained steady, because other countries, especially France and Germany, had both a gold and a silver standard, but since Germany, in 1873, gave up the silver standard, the price at which silver could be bought and sold has varied greatly. Within the last forty years silver has been as little as twenty-two pence an ounce; while I write these words, it is worth eighty pence an ounce; when you read this it will be worth something quite different. The high price was mainly due to scarcity of silver, but partly also to the fact that our "Bradburies" had been issued in too great numbers. The ounce of fine gold while I write is worth in "Bradburies" not eighty-four shillings but a hundred and twenty. So you see we have now the same problem to solve as was solved in 1819. I hope it may be solved as successfully in the next few years as then. A fixed value for money is very important, since, if it is allowed to vary, no man can tell what he will be able to purchase with his wages, or his salary, or the profits of his trade. Since the above was written, the ounce of fine gold has fallen to about ninety-five shillings, and the ounce

of silver to about thirty-four pence; when you read this the prices may again be different.

THE NAVIGATION LAWS

Again, this same Government, in which Peel and Canning and Huskisson were the chief persons, saw clearly enough that restrictions on trade are bad in themselves and should only be maintained for imperative reasons.

The old Navigation Laws, which began in the time of Cromwell (Vol. II p. 165) were set up to encourage the carrying trade of English ships. For that purpose they may have been necessary; certainly, our carrying trade progressed greatly under them. In 1822 the produce of Europe was only permitted to come to Great Britain in British ships, or in the ships of the country which produced the goods. The goods of Asia, Africa, and America, could be imported to our country only in British or colonial ships. These laws had in part the same purpose as Cromwell's law, viz., to encourage our merchant shipping; in part, they were intended to reserve all trade to an from our Colonies to the mother country. In 1822-5 these restrictions were greatly relaxed in favour of all countries that would grant similar privileges to Great Britain. It was still intended that direct trade between Great Britain and her Colonies should be reserved for the mother country; and where we had import duties, as for instance on corn, the duties were lowered for the benefit of our Colonies. Some people think that

it is a pity that this policy was ever abandoned. I shall speak further of that when I come to the controversies on what is known as Free Trade. I will here only note that the Navigation Laws were totally abolished in 1849; necessary powers to regulate traffic by ships are given to the Government by a series of Merchant Shipping Acts, beginning in 1854.

IMPORT DUTIES: SMUGGLING

In the same period duties on imports were greatly reduced and many were entirely abolished. The tariff on imports had grown up at haphazard during a very long period, and many new taxes had been introduced during the war to raise a revenue. There were heavy duties on the import of raw materials, such as silk and wool. The duties were generally so high that smuggling was a profitable industry all along the south coast, and the customs officers were often resisted by force of arms. There were bounties on the export of various goods, since the belief had long prevailed that gold was wealth rather than the things that gold will buy, and everything was done to encourage the export of goods in order that gold might flow into the country. Huskisson reduced the duties on foreign manufactures, greatly diminished or removed those on raw materials, and took steps for the abolition of bounties by degrees. Thus external trade was encouraged, and the profits of smuggling were greatly diminished or extinguished.

SPECULATION AND PANIC

The result of returning prosperity, after the French war, was to increase speculation, and new banks sprang up all over the country and old banks unwisely increased their issue of notes. In those days any bank could issue notes, that is, promises to pay, and one pound notes were in customary use. When speculation runs high, some persons or some groups of persons are sure, sooner or later, to be disappointed in their enterprises and fail to pay their debts. Their creditors suffer loss and may themselves become bankrupt, and so the trouble spreads and every one in panic presses his neighbour for payment and is unwilling to give fresh credit. So it was in 1825; as a result, great numbers of banks failed, and the Bank of England itself was in great difficulty. Very many persons and firms were ruined; and all enterprise was checked for several years. This was the first of the great financial panics of the nineteenth century, which came so regularly about every ten years (1825, 1836, 1847, 1857, 1866) that a theory was invented that they were connected with the periodical occurrence of spots in the sun. The truth probably is, that after a panic it took some years to restore confidence; with prosperity imprudence revived, and at the end of about ten years the penalty of folly had to be paid again. Better and wiser banking has reduced the danger, and men have learnt to combine against a crisis.

In 1890, when the great firm of Baring was unable to meet its debts, the financiers of the City of London arranged with the Bank of England to take over its obligations; there was no panic and the credit of the house of Baring was afterwards restored. Since that time there has been no similar trouble; and when war broke out in 1914 the Government knew what to do to prevent panic; the Stock Exchange was closed, and the banks were shut for several days; and when the banks opened again the peril was past.

THE CORN LAWS

But there was one measure introduced after Waterloo which shows very clearly that the unreformed Parliament was elected under the influence of a class of landlords. During the French wars prices of corn had run high. Meadows, pastures, and waste, had been broken up for cultivation, and farms had been let at high rents because of those high prices. It was feared that peace would bring down prices, that tenants would not be able to make their farms pay, and that landlords would lose their rents. Accordingly, a law was passed forbidding the import of wheat into Great Britain until the price in this country was at or over eighty shillings a quarter. I think that such a price would mean that bread could not be sold at less than eleven or twelve pence for four pounds. This law was modified from time to time, but its intention was always the same: to keep up

the price of bread-corn. The Corn Laws were in fact laws in favour of the country and against the towns. Now it is certainly very important for a people to have a large and prosperous agricultural class. The folk who live on the land have a better chance of raising up a strong and healthy race. It is quite possible that we have unduly neglected the interests of agriculture, and it must not be forgotten that under the Corn Laws bread was not so dear as wheat at eighty shillings a quarter would make it. Home production might and did keep the price of bread lower than a shilling. The four pound loaf in 1820 was eleven pence, and in 1835, still under the Corn Laws, it fell to seven pence. But, so far as it went, this was a law not only in favour of the country against the towns, but also a law in favour of the landlord and the farmer and against the wage-earner. It might secure the agricultural labourer against loss of employment, but he also, with the low wages then earned, was greatly interested in the price of bread. The unreformed House of Commons was not a bad House; in many ways it was very enlightened; it was sensitive to public opinion in a surprising degree; but it did represent in the main a landlord class, and on certain questions it was not, and could not be expected to be, fair to all classes alike.

On the other hand, this unreformed Parliament, by repealing the Corporation and Test Acts, in 1828, gave to Nonconformists the full right of

citizenship, of which they had been deprived in 1661. And in 1829, yielding to a great popular movement of the Catholics in Ireland headed by O'Connell, and perhaps to the fear of insurrection, Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, which enabled Catholics to sit in Parliament. At the same time, fearing the Catholic multitude, they took away the vote from the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland. This injustice to the Irish was not remedied until 1885.

THE FIRST REFORM OF PARLIAMENT

From 1820 onwards the Whigs were drifting towards Parliamentary Reform; about 1830 their policy took a definite shape. They rejected the policy of the Radicals, who, following Bentham and James Mill, wished to give every man a vote. They determined to give votes to the middle classes. In 1830 Lord John Russell moved to assign members to Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds. The Tories, who were then in power, persuaded the House of Commons to reject this proposition. But their success was short-lived. They were soon afterwards turned out, and the Whigs took office pledged to introduce a Reform Bill. Their first Bill was introduced in 1831, and, amid a scene of wild excitement, the Bill passed its second reading by one vote. As might be expected, it was defeated soon afterwards, and the Whigs persuaded the King to dissolve Parliament.

It was a time of great discontent. There were

bad harvests and bad trade. The people was deeply moved by a desire for change, and, in spite of nomination boroughs and corrupt boroughs and landlord influence, the Whigs came back with a majority of more than a hundred. Such was the force of public opinion, even upon the unreformed constituencies. Ministers passed their new Bill through the Commons; but the Lords threw it out and showed no inclination to yield. Then disorders began, but there was sufficient hope of ultimate success to keep revolution within bounds. When the third Bill had passed the Commons the Lords began to waver, and the Bill passed its second reading in their house by a majority of nine. Later it was rejected in Committee, and then Ministers demanded of the King a creation of Peers. The King hesitated; disorder increased; there were threats of refusal to pay taxes in the large towns; it was even urged that rich men should draw gold from the Bank of England and thus bring about a financial crisis. The Duke of Wellington was the leader of the Tories; none could accuse him of being a coward, but he yielded to the storm, and his influence with the Lords was sufficient to secure the passage of the Bill without the creation of Peers.

The Act as passed abolished 56 nomination boroughs and took 30 members from rotten boroughs; 65 additional members were allotted to the counties; Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham and 19 other large towns received two members

each, and 21 other towns one member each. In the boroughs the occupier of a house valued at £10 a year received a vote. In the counties leaseholders and tenant farmers holding farms to the value of £50 a year were enfranchised. The agricultural labourers were the chief class which was left without representation; they remained outside the Constitution until 1885. Speaking generally, the control of the elections passed from the landlords to the middle classes, urban as well as rural. For the humbler members of the new electorate, numerous as they were, had no clear political aims, and the industrial towns were represented chiefly by rich manufacturers, merchants, and bankers.

CONCLUSION

The reform of the British Parliament was part of the democratic movement which began in America, continued in France, and has since pervaded almost all the civilised world. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars delayed this movement in Britain, but after the peace of 1815 it soon began to gather force. The Parliament of 1815 was dominated both in Lords and Commons by the landlords; the rich manufacturers wanted a share of power; the interests of the new great towns were not the same as those of the countryside. When the Whigs, for the sake of political advantage, took up the cause of Parliamentary Reform, its success could not be long delayed. But they had no

notion of admitting the masses to political power, and the franchise was not extended beyond the middle class, which found some of its leaders still among the landed aristocracy, but more and more, as time went on, among the merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, and bankers.

FOR REFERENCE.

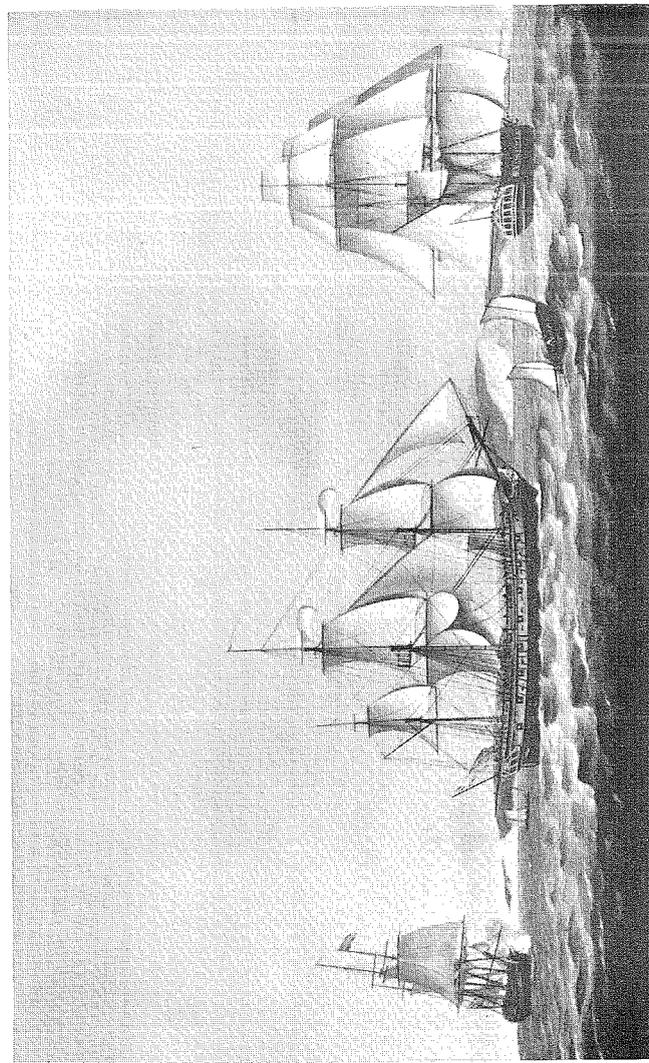
- W. Bagehot. "The English Constitution."
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 H. W. V. Temperley. "Life of Canning."
 G. M. Trevelyan. "Lord Grey of the Reform Bill."

CHAPTER V

THE ADVENT TO POWER OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES
1832-1846

IN the Reformed Parliament for many decades the continuity of the old Parties was preserved. The Whigs adopted the new appellation of Liberals, to express their willingness to regard proposals of change with a free and open mind. The Tories, who had opposed the reform of Parliament, adopted the name of Conservatives, because they wished to conserve the old institutions, the old ways, the old traditions. The strength of the Tories lay rather in the counties than in the towns, but there were exceptions to this rule; there were many Liberal counties and many Conservative boroughs. England was generally much more Conservative than Scotland and Wales. The Liberals themselves were much more conservative than they knew; and the Conservatives were much more liberal than they professed to be. The party system was rather a matter of habit than of principle. Still, though there were party splits and party rearrangements, the old parties remained on the whole little altered, until the Irish forced their own grievances to the front and formed a new party in the State (say 1874).

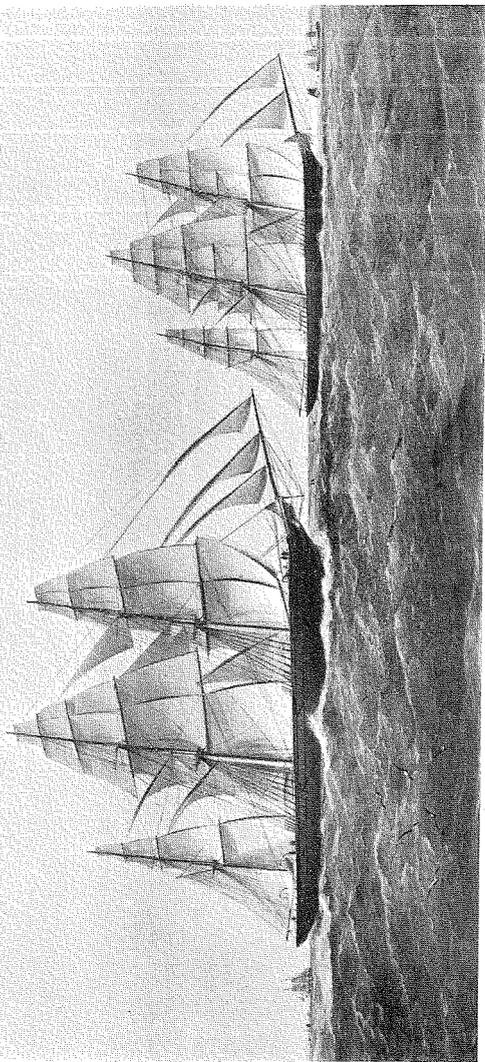
It is not the purpose of this book to follow the



details of party struggles and the rivalry of opposing leaders. It is my desire rather to note those changes that have greatly modified the condition and fortunes of the people, and to indicate those tendencies, not only in Parliament, which have governed successive policies.

THE ACTS OF THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT

The Reformed Parliament was for many years little different from the old. After the Reform Act the Whigs were returned in a large majority by a grateful people. But at heart they were still the same old Whigs, and nothing startling was done. In 1833 slavery was abolished in the West Indies and other British possessions. The abolition of slavery proves a great change of spirit, but this change had begun long before the Reform of Parliament. The slave trade had been forbidden by British law since 1807. At the Congress of Vienna Great Britain had persuaded the Powers to condemn the slave trade all over the world (1815). In 1833 the slaves owned by British citizens were freed, and £20,000,000 were voted to compensate the slave-owners for the loss of their property. See the change of feeling and policy. In the Peace of Utrecht (1713) the British had claimed and obtained the profitable monopoly of supplying slaves to America. A hundred years later our country took upon herself the duty of suppressing this shameful traffic wherever her arm could reach, and she has faithfully executed it ever since.



China tea-clippers, about 1850.

But she had at home evils to cure not less glaring than the slave trade. The abuses of child labour in the new manufactures were a monstrous iniquity. Children went to work in the mills at five or even four years old, and worked for twelve hours a day or even longer. An Act of 1816 laid down that children in cotton mills should not work more than twelve hours a day; in other industries no limit was imposed. Child labour injured the health of the workers in the industrial towns; it is probable that we suffer even yet from its consequences.

The new industrial wealth of Britain was dearly bought; the population was rapidly growing, but its condition was not satisfactory either in mind or body. The thoughts of statesmen were fixed on the growing figures of exports and imports; it was difficult to bring into their balance sheets the increase or decrease of individual health and well-being. The representatives of the great industrial towns were blinded by custom to the misery and degradation which surrounded them; if they took note of it they conceived that thrift and industry were the only and the sufficient remedy. Many of them had risen from the bottom by their own energy and saving; they held that if others had not done likewise it must be by their own fault. In this view they were strengthened by the new teachers of political economy, who, examining the causes of wealth, found that in fact all material well-being came from the efforts of men working for their own

individual advantage. This unconscious co-operation through competition is indeed wonderful; they regarded the blind struggle by which men gradually advanced from primitive barbarism as a beneficent natural order with which it was presumptuous and perilous to interfere. By making what was wanted and selling it for what it would fetch, man had advanced from savage life to an elaborate civilisation. The natural impulse of man is to supply what his neighbours demand; his profit comes thereby; that impulse they praised as if it were a cardinal virtue. They could easily point out the evils that had arisen in the past through efforts to control and direct industry and commerce by customs duties, bounties, and guild monopolies. Individual desire for profit combined with learned theory to discourage all attempt to modify the natural action of supply and demand, either with regard to commodities or the labour of the wage-earner.

When, however, the evil of child labour was fully disclosed by the efforts of Michael Sadler, Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury), and others, no Parliament reformed or unreformed could refuse to take some action. But the least that could be done was done; the Act passed in 1833 limited child labour to eight hours a day under the age of thirteen, and sixty-nine hours in the week up to eighteen. Slowly the doctrine of non-interference gave way to public opinion. In 1842 the terrible conditions of work in the coal mines were revealed, and an Act forbade

that girls and women should labour underground, or boys until they had reached the age of ten. In 1851 the first inspectors of coal mines were appointed. Later Acts have required the appointment of skilled and certificated managers in mines, demanded effective ventilation, and required precautions against explosion of gas or of accumulated coal dust. In 1847 the work of women and young persons in textile factories was limited to ten hours a day, and night work for them was prohibited. Factory inspectors were appointed in 1833, whose duty was to see that the law was obeyed in all matters relating to the health and safety of the workers. The law itself has been progressively strengthened and improved up to the present day. Every improvement has been opposed on the ground that the expense involved would damage our trade in competition with foreigners. But British industry has belied all these gloomy prophecies, and up to the War of 1914 it continued to advance and prosper.

However, the action of Parliament, though wise so far as it went, was very slow. The condition of our people between 1830-40 was not worse than it had been in the recent past; but it was better known and widely discussed and condemned. Since that time it has notably improved, though very many great evils still await a remedy, especially in the provision of houses. In that improvement the steady advance of democracy in the country as a whole and in

the cities and towns has had a considerable share; education has done something and trade unions have done something; but true progress and effective self-government can only result when the people as a whole, and the individuals which compose it, have learnt how to work together for the common welfare. The evils that our grandfathers endured seem to us intolerable; we think their measures of reform timid and half-hearted; it is probable that our grand-children will think the like of us.

THE POOR LAW

The Reformed Parliament was also forced to deal with the great and urgent problem of poor relief. For aid to the destitute, an Act was passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1601), under which we lived for more than two hundred years. By that Act the Justices of the Peace had the power to levy a rate on each parish for the poor of that parish. An overseer of the poor was appointed for each parish. Those who needed relief applied to the overseer, who gave to them out of the money collected by rate such weekly sums as he or the magistrates thought fit. During the eighteenth century many parishes set up workhouses, in which the aged, the infirm, and young children, were housed and clothed and fed—often in most wretched circumstances. Those who were fit for labour were frequently told off to work for employers in the neighbourhood, an arrangement being made

between the parish and the employer as to wages.

Each parish had to pay the cost of its own poor. Therefore it was important that it should be decided to what parish every person legally belonged. Each individual belonged, in the first instance, to the parish where he or she was born. But laws were made in 1662, and altered from time to time, by which a person could acquire a settlement (as it was called) in some other parish. Therefore, the overseers of the poor in each parish took pains to prevent poor persons from taking up their abode in that parish, for fear that they should obtain a settlement and afterwards become a burden on the rates of their new parish. Thus, on the one hand, a parish where employment was insufficient could not get rid of its superfluous workers by migration; and on the other hand, the poor who fell out of work were prevented from going where work was needed. This law of settlement continued long after the wisest men had condemned it, and far into the time when the agricultural and the industrial revolution made it desirable that the movement of labour should be as free as possible.

THE SPEENHAMLAND PLAN

War and mistaken benevolence brought about changes in the management of the poor law, which were well meant, but came near to ruin farmer and labourer and landlord alike. In 1795 the Justices of Berkshire met at Speenham-

land, and declared that according to the price of bread every labouring man should receive so much money weekly for himself and half that sum for his wife and for each child. Because of the French war bread in that year cost a shilling the four pound loaf, as against sixpence previously, and the bench expressed a hope that farmers and other employers would increase the pay of their labourers; but if they did not pay on the scale laid down the overseers of the poor were to make up the difference out of the rates. The example thus set was speedily followed in the south of England, more slowly in the north, until in 1834 there were only two counties that had not adopted the policy.

There was thus no encouragement to farmers to pay just wages to their men, even when they were very prosperous, as during the war; and when, after the war, prices went down and farmers found it difficult to make ends meet, wages were lowered and the parish had to make up the difference. The wage-earner came to rely, not on his own exertions and the just reward of his labour, but on the parish dole. To have a large family was an advantage rather than a disadvantage; there were therefore too many souls in the impoverished country, and the law of settlement made it difficult for them to go where their labour was needed. The landlords, the farmers, and all the dwellers in the country, were overloaded with rising rates. During forty years things moved from bad to worse, until

many parishes were quite ruined and the whole country was burdened beyond bearing.

POOR LAW REFORM

In 1832 the Government appointed a Commission to examine and report on the working of the Poor Law. Every district knew something of its own evils, but the Commission exposed the state of the whole country. In 1834 Parliament, fully apprised of the facts, took drastic action. A Poor Law Board was set up to supervise poor relief, throughout the whole of England, on new lines laid down by law. Parishes were to be grouped in Unions for poor relief. In every Union a workhouse was to be established. The able-bodied who could not maintain themselves and their families were not to receive relief in their own homes—out-door relief, as it was and is still called—but were to be offered maintenance in the workhouse. The workhouse was bitterly detested and men exerted themselves to keep out of it. The cost of poor relief fell quickly by nearly half, and, more important, the number of those receiving support from the rates—the paupers, as we call them—fell at once and continued to fall. It was a harsh measure at the time; the workhouse was hated; it is still hated, in spite of all improvements that have since been made in the treatment of paupers. But the labouring man learnt to value his freedom and independence; the farmers were obliged to pay wages which, though pitifully

small until recent times, were sufficient to keep men and their families alive. Restrictions due to the Laws of Settlement disappeared; and every class concerned benefited materially and morally. Wise severity is better than mistaken kindness.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TOWNS

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the great majority of the population of England lived in the country. By about the middle of that century half the population lived in towns. Now more than four-fifths of all our people are town dwellers. This is due to the increase of manufactures of all kinds, and the free importation of food from distant countries, which was rendered possible by the development of steam navigation and of railways all over the world. It is naturally much more difficult to keep life healthy in towns. Where men are crowded together they poison each other by close contact and by the filth which they engender, unless great care be taken to secure fresh air, good water, and cleanliness in dwellings and streets. All through the history of mankind town dwellers have been reckoned an unhealthy and a puny breed; the countryman is expected to be well grown, hardy, and robust. The rapid growth of towns in this country has brought upon us unhealthy and filthy and grimy conditions; but in the last fifty or sixty years a steady improvement has been visible. This

nation has shown the way to all others in means for the removal of filth by drainage, and for the supply of pure water. The water supply of Berlin was set up by an English engineer, and managed by him for many years. The lighting of streets by gas began in London about 1815; electric light was used on the Thames Embankment in 1880. The brilliant illumination which you see to-day in our thoroughfares is not only cheerful and convenient for traffic, but a safeguard against robbery and murder. When great masses of human beings congregate, there must be overcrowding in the dwellings at the centre, unless there is speedy means of transit from the suburbs to the places of business and manufacture. We now have in all our great towns an elaborate system of omnibuses, tramways, and in London of underground railways. All these improvements would have been impossible if there had not been a tolerable system of town government.

REFORM OF TOWN GOVERNMENT

Before the Reform Bill the government of ancient boroughs was as antiquated and corrupt as the government of the country. It may be said that every town had its own way of managing its affairs and its property, which had come down from the middle ages, unchanged except for the worse. But in every town alike the power had fallen into the hands of a small part of the citizens, who made their own profit

out of it and had no desire nor motive—not even the authority—to make things better for themselves and their neighbours. The City of London had its ancient system of government based upon the City Companies, with its Lord Mayor and Aldermen, which was better than the rest; but the remainder of London was ruled by the parishioners of each parish, meeting in vestries, who often left their interests to a few corrupt busybodies. London had grown up from a multitude of villages; there was no government of London as a whole but only government of its many villages.

A beginning of a change for the better was made by the Reformed Parliament with the Municipal Corporation Act, 1835, which abolished the old system of government in the ancient towns and cities, and set up in each a Town or City Council, elected by the ratepayers. Each Council was to elect a Mayor annually, and could choose Aldermen to aid it in its duties. Rates are payments made by householders, so much in the pound on the estimated annual value of their houses, as may be required for common needs. Thus the election was put into the hands of those who, on the one hand, were interested in the economical management of town affairs because they would have to pay the bill, and who, on the other hand, would benefit by improvements made. This system has been frequently altered since that time, chiefly by giving new power to the town authorities, but its

main principles of collection by rates and election by ratepayers have been maintained. It has worked better in some places, worse in others; it has worked well where the citizens take a keen interest in their own affairs, badly where they neglect them or consider only the saving of money or spend it lavishly.

REFORM OF LONDON

London was left unchanged in 1835, partly because those who controlled the vestries were unwilling to resign their profits, partly because the Government was afraid that a single authority for the whole of London would be too powerful. It became necessary to set up a Metropolitan Board of Works (1855) to execute great operations like the Thames Embankment and a main system of drainage. But this body, based upon the vestries, was suspected of corruption, and at length, in 1889, London was made a county with an elected County Council. To prevent the County Council from obtaining excessive powers, London was at the same time split up into a number of Boroughs, each with its own Council and Mayor, to look after such things as paving and lighting. In 1902 the water supply of London, in 1908 the docks of the Port of London, were put under separate authorities specially created.

Towns have by degrees extended their powers to the manufacture of gas and electricity, the running of tram-lines, and a host of undertakings

which have often been opposed because they interfered with the private trader or contractor. But the greatest of all the powers that have been given to them was the power and the duty of providing and maintaining schools, which was assigned to them in 1902. The smaller towns manage their own elementary schools, the larger ones also their secondary schools; some of the great cities even have a share in supporting and controlling a University of their own.

TOWN PLANNING

Towns in this country have been allowed to grow up at haphazard, though for some time past the town councils have had the right to control the height and solidity and healthy conditions of new houses, and to widen streets and create open spaces. The development and laying out of lands for buildings has been left to private owners, who have built houses and laid out streets to suit their own profit and convenience, without regard to the plan of the town or city as a whole. At length, in 1919, by the Housing and Town-planning Act, the authorities of the cities and towns received power to make plans for the extension and improvement of their city or town, and to require the owners and builders to lay out their work in the manner which is judged to be most healthy, beautiful, and advantageous for the town as a whole. At present (1920) it is difficult to build at all, because of the cost of materials, the cost and scarcity of

labour, and the great arrears of repairs and alterations that have been put off because of the War. Dear buildings mean high rents; and although wages have risen they have not risen so much as the cost of building. But by degrees things will settle down, and we may hope that our towns and suburbs of the future will be planned for health and beauty and convenience. There is nothing more splendid than a fine town; nothing more sordid than a mass of mean and crowded dwellings with narrow and ill-planned streets.

SMOKE ABATEMENT

Our coal has made the wealth of England; the misuse of our coal has been the curse of our cities. When coal is burnt so as to give the greatest amount of heat or power that can be extracted from it, it gives out little smoke. When a factory chimney sends out a cloud of black smoke, it is certain that a great part of the coal burnt is being wasted. When grates and kitchen fires are well constructed, less coal will give more heat than comes from the fireplaces and kitchen ranges that our fathers put into their houses. Laws—partly effective—have been made to prevent factory owners and other great consumers of coal from sending forth black smoke. The coal users have profited by being compelled not to waste their coal. But the household fires of great cities still pollute the air, darken the sun, and throw out their smuts

and corrosive acids to begrime our living rooms, blacken our house fronts, and poison the vegetation of our parks and open spaces. If the high cost of coal forces the English householder to put in better fireplaces, to cook by gas, and use central heating in his larger buildings, it will be a blessing in disguise. For the most economical use of coal gives the least smoke; and in our humid and vaporous atmosphere coal smoke transforms the mists, which we cannot prevent, into a gloomy and acrid pall of fog. Better town government can do much, but to abate smoke the householder and landlord can do more and profit in the doing. Democracy has done much for our towns, but the best democracy is that wherein every individual knows what is best to do and does it to his own and the common benefit.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

When the towns were reformed in 1835 County Government was left unchanged. The ancient towns and cities had their own system of managing their own affairs. But the counties were governed by the justices of the peace, who were appointed by the King, that is, by the Lord Chancellor, from among the persons of position and substance in each county. These magistrates, on the one hand, dealt (and still deal) with petty offences by fine or imprisonment, and send more serious charges to be tried by a Judge of the High Court at the Assizes or elsewhere. On

the other hand, sitting at Quarter Sessions, they managed the common affairs of the county, roads, bridges, police, poor law, and the like. They discharged their duties without pay, and were as a rule both honest and faithful, though they were no doubt more interested in the enforcement of the game laws than in the promotion of general improvements. Gradually it was found necessary to set up other authorities for special purposes. Thus the care of the highways was given, in 1862, to Highway Boards, since the good condition of highways was a question of national as well as of local concern. When, in 1871, Parliament ordered the establishment of schools throughout the country, new authority was given where necessary, not to the magistrates but to elected School Boards. At length, in 1888, by a Conservative Government, an elective authority, the County Council, was set up in every county, and in 1894 similar bodies were set up in smaller districts and in parishes. Thus, in sixty years from the passing of the First Reform Act, all local affairs came to be entrusted to bodies elected by those who are most interested in their good conduct. The progress of democracy was very slow, but it was steady and sure. The words of Edward I—what concerns all should be approved by all—have in long process of time received fulfilment; though too many rate-payers are content to express their approval by abstaining from the polls.

It is desirable that you should know the duties

assigned to County Councils, City Councils, Borough Councils, and District Councils—in order that you may understand the importance of electing to these bodies wise, courageous, and upright persons to further the well-being of their neighbours and expend the public money to the best advantage. Health is the first of all such interests; health depends upon the removal of filth, the purity of water and food and air, the supervision, and, if necessary, the provision of suitable houses, and the regulation of streets, parks, and other open spaces. Convenient means of transport are also needed in order that the citizens may pursue their business and their pleasure without impediment. Therefore roads, cabs, omnibuses, tramways, and the lighting of streets, are under the care of the Local Authorities. Education for the young is also required, in order that children may grow up to be wise and useful citizens, prosperous and happy, careful of themselves and of others. The provision of gas and electricity is also a matter of general concern, which cannot be carried out without power to carry pipes and wires under the surface of the streets. This is always regulated, and sometimes undertaken, by the Local Authorities. The safety of person and property is cared for by the police under the Local Councils. The care of the destitute in workhouses, in infirmaries, and by out-door relief, is a further duty of Local Authorities. There is also a miscellany of public

institutions which must be regulated and may be provided by Local Authorities—hospitals, markets, theatres, cinemas, public libraries, picture galleries, museums, and the like.

By wise administration of the rates, the burdens which fall on the ratepayer can be kept within moderate limits.

Finally, by regulating building and the laying out of streets, the Local Authority may do much to make its towns and even its countryside more beautiful. Thus a very great part of our private life depends for its safety, its convenience, and its beauty, on its Local Councils, which are such as the wisdom and vigilance of the citizens may make them.

I need not trouble you with the intricate laws which assign some of these duties to one set of bodies and others to others. Generally, we may say that the greater the authority the greater the power. The Councils of London and Manchester have far greater powers than those of an Urban District; and the powers of a Borough greatly exceed those of a Parish Council. And all of these authorities, however great, are under the control of the central authority of the land, that is, of Parliament, and of the Cabinet acting under the laws made by Parliament. To the central authority are reserved war and peace, army, navy, and air force, foreign policy, imports and exports, universal taxes, relations with our Dominions and dependencies, justice and law-courts, and all matters which concern the whole

nation and all the citizens and not only the dwellers in particular districts. Let us now see how Parliament itself, and the Ministry which depends upon it, have come to be based, not upon some section or class of the people, but upon the votes of almost all the citizens.

EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE

The right of voting for members of Parliament, what is called the Parliamentary franchise, has, since 1832, been given by stages to a larger and larger proportion of the citizens. In 1867 the vote in towns was given to all householders who paid rates and to lodgers whose rent was not less than £10 a year, and in the counties the franchise was given to all whose rent was not less than £15 a year. This was done by the Conservatives. In 1885 the franchise in the counties was put on the same basis as in the towns; this was done by the Liberals. On each occasion seats were redistributed, so as to make the representation of localities more nearly proportional to the population. But we have never carried to its full extent the principle adopted in the United States, where, as population changes, constituencies are rearranged from time to time, so that each district returning a member represents as nearly as may be an identical fraction of the total number of voters.

It is difficult to say in general why we have been content to maintain unequal constituencies, except that the British people is very tender

towards existing privileges. But in the case of Ireland the motive is plain. Since 1846 the population of Ireland has steadily fallen, owing to the poverty of the country and the facilities for emigration. At the same time discontent has grown in Ireland, in spite of all that we have been able to do to remove their grievances. So long as that discontent prevailed we have been unwilling to reduce the number of members who could speak for Ireland, and the steady extension of the franchise has given the mass of the Irish people more than its due weight in British politics, so that British governments have been broken and British parties dissolved on Irish questions, and up to the present no settlement has been reached. Whatever charges of neglect and injustice can be brought against the British people by the Irish, this policy of generous forbearance during the last fifty years should be reckoned to our credit.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

The last and greatest extension of the franchise was made as a consequence of the Great War of 1914-18. Votes for women were mentioned in 1867, but laughed to scorn by the House of Commons. As the number of women who were obliged to earn their own living increased, the desire of the women for political power steadily grew. In 1873 Girton College for women was opened at Cambridge, and other Colleges were shortly afterwards opened, both at Cambridge and

at Oxford. In the Universities of Scotland and Ireland, and the new Universities that were springing up in the great cities of England, women found a place. At the same time the school education of girls was being steadily improved. The cry of "Votes for Women" was raised by the educated women, and taken up by the working women, who saw in the franchise a protection for their interests. Since peaceful persuasion had no effect, in the years immediately before the War a policy of violence was adopted by women known as militant suffragists. Meetings were violently interrupted and public and private buildings were burnt. The women who were sent to prison invented the ingenious device known as the hunger strike. They refused to take food while in prison. To feed a resisting person by force is a dangerous and a disgusting operation. The authorities were unwilling to let the women die; they were effectually defeated by the hunger-strike. But before the struggle had been fought to an issue the Great War broke out.

The Militant Suffragists then called a truce. They and almost all other women threw all their energies into the support of the national cause. The house-wives bore the hardships and privations of the home with little complaint. Millions of women worked in hospitals, in munition factories, in business, in schools, as cooks and clerks with the fighting forces, and in other government operations. By silent and almost

unanimous consent, in a new Reform Act (1918), which also made it easier for all adult males to obtain the vote, the suffrage was conceded to women. Only one difference was made, in fear that the women, who are greatly more numerous than the men, should swamp them at the poll. The vote was given only to those women who were over thirty. This mark of difference has not yet been removed. Two women have already been elected to Parliament.

It is impossible to deny that the principle that gives a vote to every man, with only casual exceptions, must give it also to every woman. Every woman is as much interested in the welfare of the people and the conduct of public affairs as every man. The weak point of democracy is that the majority of mankind are ignorant and inexperienced. That is true both of men and of women. The strong point of democracy is that the wise and the far-sighted have the chance, if they choose to take it, of persuading their less fortunate fellow-citizens. But as with the men, so it is with the women. The vote gives them the power to demand what they desire. If what they desire and demand is bad for them the consequences of their own folly will be borne by them. All the more need that all who are capable of learning should strive to obtain the wisdom that is necessary for the exercise of the vote, and the capacity that is necessary for the persuasion of others. There is only one way of acquiring wisdom, and that is by experience.

But personal experience must be narrow and limited. In history we have, if we can read it aright, the experience of all mankind. To read it aright we need not only to study it patiently and thoughtfully; we must approach it with honesty and sincerity to learn the true wisdom that it has to give. If we come to it with prejudice, with a desire to confirm our own ignorant conclusions, its wisdom will be hidden from us.

CHARTISM

This is a difficult story to tell—the story of the Political Revolution. I follow it through the century, and as each important topic comes up I carry it through to the end. After the first Reform Act, 1832, and the Municipal Reform Act, 1835, which have led me on to the last reform of Parliament, the movement for the People's Charter, as it was called, deserves some passing attention. The years 1830-40 were bad years; wages were low, employment was scarce, and although food was not dear, the low price of corn diminished employment in the country. The new Poor Law was hated. Men began to think that if the masses had the political power they could themselves secure the remedies for all their ills. The People's Charter was a document drawn up by philosophers; the multitude were encouraged to believe that it would give them what they needed. Its six points were: the vote for every adult man, secret voting by ballot, a new Parliament to be elected every year, no

property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of members, and equal electoral districts. Associations of "Chartists" were formed to press for these reforms. There were great meetings all over the country and riots in many places; the riots were put down by force; the National Convention which had been formed was dissolved; and the movement gradually died down. In 1848 (a year of revolution in many parts of Europe) a monster petition of millions for the Charter was presented to Parliament; and a mass procession to coerce Parliament was threatened, but collapsed in face of the military force held in readiness by the Duke of Wellington. Almost all the points, except annual Parliaments, have since been embodied in our law. But at the time when Chartism was preached, not only the political power, but also the weight of public opinion lay with the middle classes. They were not in favour of universal suffrage; they wanted cheaper corn. They formed, in 1838, the Anti-Corn Law League, under the leadership of Richard Cobden and John Bright. This movement had the power behind it which Chartism lacked.

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

There was a good deal to be said for the Corn Laws. Their principle was what we call "protection" for agriculture. The price of corn was to be maintained at a remunerative figure by taxes upon imported corn. Agriculture is the

most important of all our industries. The maintenance of a healthy and contented peasantry is one of the first aims of wise statesmanship. It is good that a country should be self-supporting, that it should produce enough food to feed its population. In time of trouble, as in the late War, it is a great danger that a nation should be dependent on foreign countries for the necessaries of life. The Germans with their submarines came near to starving our nation. Many great countries, France, for instance, and Germany, have thought it wise to protect agriculture by import duties on corn and other food-stuffs. Such duties raise the price of produce or prevent it from falling, and thus make it profitable to cultivate the land to the best advantage. On the other hand, Britain had set out on the irrevocable path of manufacture for the markets of the whole world. Already, when the attack on the Corn Laws began, nearly half our population were town dwellers. If our constantly growing population were to live, it could only live by selling its manufactures to the whole world. Already we were dependent upon foreigners for cotton, the raw material for our greatest industry after agriculture. The time would soon come when we should look to distant countries for wool, for timber, for iron ore, for other metals, and a thousand lesser things which are as necessary to our industry as food is for our life. Independence was impossible.

Moreover, our agricultural system was organ-

ised in three classes; landlords, tenant farmers, and agricultural labourers. The benefit of the Corn Laws came first to the tenant farmers in profits. Next to the landlords in improved rents by competition among farmers; and the ill-paid labourers could only benefit by greater security of employment. If the price of bread fell they might lose employment; if it rose or remained high, their wages would not go so far in the purchase of the necessaries of life. We had not and have not, as France has, a great class of small peasants owning the land which they cultivate. Therefore, by the Corn Laws, the food of the people was taxed for the benefit, as it seemed, of two limited classes. And this taxation fell, not only on the town dwellers but on the agricultural labourers.

But the landlords, supported by the tenant farmers, still held the preponderant power in politics. The Tories, for the most part, were backed by the land; the Whigs also, though to a less degree. However, a new interest, a new power, was steadily growing; that of the great manufacturers, for whom Cobden, of Manchester, and Bright, of Rochdale, were the spokesmen. The interest of these men was in cheap manufacture, with its resulting increase of foreign trade. Food was an element in the cost of manufacture; dear food meant higher wages, for the pay of the artisans, as of the agricultural labourers, was very low and hardly more than enough to maintain life. Thus, the battle of

the Corn Laws was a war of manufacturers against landlords, of the towns against the country.

In 1841 the Whigs, who had held power since the Reform Act of 1832, were turned out, and the Tories came in under Sir Robert Peel. Peel was himself by origin a manufacturer, but he had the confidence of the landlord class. He was a strong and an able man, respected and feared by his colleagues, and with unrivalled authority in Parliament. He was convinced of the advantages of freer trade, and reduced or removed the import duties on many articles, including that on wool, an important product of agriculture. But he stood firm on the Corn Laws, until, in 1845, the failure of the potato crops in Ireland was the beginning of a veritable famine in that country. Instead of suspending the duties on corn, which would have been sufficient for his immediate purpose of mitigating Irish distress, he appears to have been convinced by the famine that it was a dangerous policy to tax food. In 1846 he announced his plan for gradually reducing the taxes on corn, until in three years they would practically disappear. Though bitterly attacked by Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli supported by a large part of the Tory party, he passed his Act with the aid of the Whigs. But his late followers regarded him as a traitor, and succeeded in turning him out soon afterwards, and he never returned to power. He died in 1850 of a fall

from his horse, but this policy of free trade which he had adopted has never been reversed.

EFFECTS OF THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

Free trade in corn did not have the effect which was expected. It is possible, and indeed probable, that the price of bread corn in this country would have risen if the Corn Laws had been upheld. But their repeal did not ruin agriculture, and for thirty years after the repeal prices remained much as before, sometimes higher, sometimes lower, but never disastrously low. There was no great surplus of foreign corn for a considerable time, and when, with the opening up of the North American continent, imports began to increase, population was still growing rapidly; this absorbed any surplus and home agriculture continued to flourish.

But at length, with the great development of railways in new countries and of steam navigation to bring the food to our harbours, the original prophecies came true. In 1879 the tide plainly turned. That year was wet, and the harvest in England was ruined, but prices, instead of rising, fell. The supply of corn had caught up the demand. Thenceforward farmers and landlords fought a losing fight with the foreigner for about thirty years. Thousands of farmers were ruined; landlords were forced to sell their ancestral estates; land was laid down in grass which had previously been ploughed for corn. The agricultural population dwindled.

The worst times were about 1895, when wheat fell to its lowest price, about half the price it fetched in 1879. Since that year up to the War prices gradually improved, and a new tradition of farming taught men how to work under the new conditions. England is still well farmed on the whole, but much more for stock than for bread stuffs; and only a small fraction of our present population cultivates the land—the great majority of all our people live in the towns, and by far the greater part of our food and other agricultural produce comes from abroad.

EFFECT ON IRELAND

The repeal of the Corn Laws was intended to meet the needs of the Irish people. It was not necessary for the relief of the famine, and it did not relieve it. On the other hand, it injured Ireland more than any other part of the United Kingdom. Ireland had been a corn exporting country; it gradually ceased to export corn to England. The Irish peasant suffered. Except in the north Ireland had few industries; it had little iron and coal; the potato had proved untrustworthy as a staple food; and Irishmen trooped across the seas in myriads, until the population fell by nearly one half.

It would seem that every measure designed by British statesmen for the benefit of Ireland was doomed beforehand to failure

FREE TRADE

After Peel's death his tradition was carried on by a faithful band of able and convinced disciples of Free Trade, who worked with the Liberals or Whigs. This band of men were known as Peelites. William Gladstone, who began as a Conservative, was a disciple of Peel and became the greatest of all Liberal leaders. Gladstone took off almost all the import duties, all those at least which were protective. His principle was taxation for revenue only; in no case for protection. Since his day our import duties have been (until quite recent times) confined to wines, spirits, beer, tea, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and sugar. Most of these goods cannot be produced in the United Kingdom. Where goods such as spirits and beer can be produced at home, a duty is levied on the home manufacturer equivalent to the customs duty. Such a duty is called excise, and it prevents any proportion of the increased charge to the consumer from passing to the profit of the manufacturer. Tobacco might be grown in this kingdom, but its growth has been generally prohibited and always hindered by restrictions for the sake of revenue.

FAIR TRADE

Cobden and his followers had prophesied that the advantages of Free Trade would be so conclusively demonstrated by our experiment that the whole world would speedily follow our

example. Britain prospered under free trade, but the promised results did not follow. The chief countries of Europe continued to follow a policy of protection and even raised their customs duties. North America became protectionist; and the chief British Colonies, as they obtained self-government, set up protective duties for their own manufactures. In the early eighties of the last century one of those periodic depressions of trade set in that from time to time interrupt prosperity. Agriculture was suffering bitterly. A school of writers began to proclaim that one-sided free trade was not free trade at all. Our ports were open to the world, but all the chief countries taxed our goods on entry. Having removed almost all our duties, we had no advantages to offer in return for more favourable treaties with foreign governments. The arguments were sound, so far as they went, and protection under the name of fair trade obtained a renewed popularity. But Lord Salisbury, who was then the Conservative head of the Government, though by temperament and tradition favourable to the protection of agriculture, declared that protection for food-stuffs was impossible. It was no doubt impracticable to tax the food of the whole nation, however great the advantages of a prosperous agriculture. Moreover, besides food, the chief part of our imports were raw materials necessary for our industries, and a large part of the manufactured or half-manufactured goods which came in were imported only to be worked up in finished

fabrics. Fair trade never passed beyond the region of plausible argument.

TARIFF REFORM AND COLONIAL PREFERENCE

As good-will increased between Great Britain and her self-governing Dominions, Canada first, and afterwards others, voluntarily granted to British imports a substantial reduction in customs duties. Joseph Chamberlain, who will always be remembered as the most enlightened and sympathetic Minister who has ever ruled at the Colonial Office, thought it was the duty of Britain to do something in return. He left Mr. Balfour's Unionist Government, in 1903, in order that he might more freely attempt the conversion of the people to this new policy of preference to Colonial imports, which required a general duty on all or almost all our imports—Colonial products to come in free. His own influence and personality were unrivalled among the statesmen of his time. There was a strong feeling in some parts of the country against the practice known as "dumping." Foreign manufacturers, secure by protection of a good market for their products in their own country could, and often did, send their surplus over here to be disposed of at or below cost. German manufacturers, in particular, did this systematically and were encouraged by their Government in their action. A special instance was sugar made from beetroot in Germany, Austria, and Russia, on which a bounty was granted on export, to the advantage of the

British consumer but to the great loss of the sugar growers of the West Indies. Chamberlain could appeal to the warm feeling of Britons for their magnificent Dominions, and point to the more speedy development of their immense resources which would come by his policy. He could also appeal to the self-interest of British manufacturers working for the home market and of the workers whom they employed. All his eloquence and his great driving and organising force were employed for the few remaining years of his active life in the propagation of his policy.

But in 1906, at the age of seventy, he suffered a stroke and was never able to appear in public again. If any man, he might have succeeded in his aims. But he did not hesitate to admit that the benefits which he desired to concede to the Colonies could only be realised if food were among the commodities taxed. And it must always remain doubtful whether our people would have submitted to taxation of food-stuffs. After his collapse the life went out of the Tariff Reform movement and the policy of Free Trade was once more confirmed.

CONCLUSION

The Reform of Parliament was soon followed by reform of government in cities and towns, excepting London. The government of towns was entrusted to elective councils chosen by the ratepayers. By this means very great improvements in the management of towns became

possible. In the course of time self-government was extended to the counties and to London. The chief evidence of the shifting of power from the landlords to the industrial and commercial classes was the repeal of the Corn Laws, which was a victory of the town interest over the country interest. Britain then adopted a policy of Free Trade, which was extended to almost all imports. The principle of taxation for revenue only and not for protection was adopted, and although often attacked has never been reversed, though it was modified by the Safeguarding of Industries Act, passed in 1921.

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CHAPTER VI

THE RULE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

1846-1860

WITH the repeal of the Corn Laws the political supremacy of the landowners was brought to an end. The industrial and commercial classes of the country won their first great victory; from that time onwards their power has been predominant in the development of national policy. This political change was caused by change in the life of the people. During the past century the wealth derived from the possession and working of agricultural land has steadily decreased in proportion to the total wealth of the nation. Since 1880 agricultural depression and the burden of taxes payable on succession to property have driven many of the old families from their ancestral estates and completed the ruin of the power of land. It is true that the wealth derived from urban land and mines and quarries has grown with the growing riches of the people; but the owners of these forms of property cannot be regarded as a separate class; their interests are much the same as those of the capitalists. The owners of rural land still enjoy great local influence and prestige; country

estates are sought by the newly-enriched to enhance their own personal importance, and for the sports and agreeable occupations they afford ; but the days when the landed interest, divided into its two parties, swayed the policy of the country have long since passed away.

THE SPIRIT OF MIDDLE CLASS RULE

Peel had broken the Conservative party, and for twenty-eight years after his fall (1846-1874) the Tories never secured any lasting tenure of power. Many of the Liberal statesmen who held power during this period were men of noble birth, members of the old Whig families. I need only mention Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and afterwards Lord Hartington, who later succeeded to the Dukedom of Devonshire. But though the Whig Lords were welcome in the Cabinet, the spirit that ruled the Whig Government was the spirit of the middle classes, of the men and the descendants of the men who had created and were daily strengthening the commercial and industrial supremacy of Britain. At the back of all their minds was business, business as they understood it, the principles that had made business successful. That business had succeeded by liberty, by honesty, and by economy. Their ideals they carried into action according to their lights when charged with the government of the country. The qualities of the Middle Class at their best were embodied in William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898),

together with a fiery temperament, an untiring energy, and a natural mastery of men in the Council, in Parliament, and face to face with the masses of the people.

LIBERTY

Liberty is a word which may be used in many different senses and with many different shades of meaning. Other forms of liberty we had won under the Stewarts and their Hanoverian successors. But the liberty which Liberal statesmen under Victoria chiefly maintained was the liberty of men to pursue their own business with the least possible interference from Government. The following examples, chosen out of many, illustrate this bias in favour of liberty and against the interference of Government during the period of middle-class supremacy.

Free Trade is the liberty of foreign commerce ; its freedom from the restrictions of Customs duties. Free Trade was carried by Gladstone to the furthest point consistent with the maintenance of necessary revenue. Factory legislation was sorely needed to safeguard women and children, to prevent excessive hours of work, to maintain sanitary conditions in factories and workshops. But factory legislation was resisted, even by honest and humane men like John Bright, because it involved interference with freedom of contract between man and man. When it was argued that children could hardly be regarded as free to make a fair bargain or reject unfair terms,

protection was grudgingly extended to them; the weakness of women was accepted as an excuse for laws on their behalf; but it was left for Conservatives to pass the first strong and good code of Factory Law (1878). The right of workmen to combine in Trade Unions for the protection of their own interests was resisted, quite as much because it infringed the right of the master to deal with his own property and the liberty of the workman to work on his own terms, as from the desire to keep down wages. Not until 1869 were Trade Union funds protected by law against embezzlement. When Gladstone, in 1870, passed his great Education Bill, to provide schools all over the country, he did not make attendance at school compulsory. That was left for the Conservatives to enact in 1876. The philosophers of the time quoted with approval the saying of the French Minister Colbert: "Laissez faire, laissez passer," "let men pursue their own business without impediment." And therefore this policy is known as "Laissez faire," the policy of least possible interference with the business of every-day life.

Though the views of Victorian statesmen are out of fashion nowadays, there is much to be said against needless interference of Government. Government is the most difficult art in the world. For one man or for forty men to govern forty millions is the highest test of human wisdom, because each of the forty millions is a human

being with his own distinct character and separate needs, and the governors, however great and however good, are only human beings with limited strength and limited wisdom and limited time. The best laid plans of Government are often defeated by the complexity of human life. No act of Government is complete in itself; every act has a myriad consequences, many of which cannot be foreseen by the utmost exercise of forethought. Take the one instance of the abolition of the Corn Laws, which was intended to bring cheaper corn to England and to relieve the Irish famine. It did not for thirty years bring cheaper corn to England, it did not relieve the Irish famine, and it was one of the principal causes which reduced the growth of corn in Ireland and drove thousands of Irishmen to leave their homes and seek better fortune abroad. Government is not more easy but more difficult under democracy. It is comparatively easy for such an autocrat as was the German Kaiser to govern his people to their satisfaction, for they started by believing that he had the right to rule, they believed that it was right that they should obey, and the most part were not inclined to criticise the results. But in a democratic country every man is a critic of the Government, the Press is ready to bring any error to light, and every act may need to be defended in Parliament. Thus the governors have not only to attend to their business of governing, but to maintain themselves constantly

prepared to explain what they have done and to give good reasons for doing it.

The Victorian statesmen endeavoured to restrict the sphere of government. They could not make the business of government simple; they tried to keep it as simple as they might. Therein they were following the traditions of our people, whose institutions were framed since the seventeenth century to hold their government in check and to limit its power. Thus we invented and developed the party system. Now, whatever other merits or defects the party system may have, it makes it difficult for any government to do any new thing. If a government wants to pass a new law, it has an organised body of opponents, whose business it is to prevent if possible, and at any rate to hamper and delay, the execution of this new project. Again, the rules of Parliament were made to give full opportunities of debate and discussion. Parliament has only a limited amount of time, only a limited number of days in the year when it can sit. The freer its debates the less business it can get through. The Irish found this out about 1876, and in order to worry the Government into conceding their demands they made a fine art of delaying business in Parliament and obstructing necessary legislation. Since that time many new rules have been passed to make delays more difficult, but up to the time of the War the devices of opposition kept pace with the devices to defeat obstruction in Parliament. Thus our

constitution is framed to prevent the free exercise of power by Government; and since Governments cannot be very wise and may be tyrannous, that is in peace an intelligible policy.

LIBERTY IN TIME OF WAR

Then when the War came, and Government needed all the power of speedy decision that it could by any means obtain, the Defence of the Realm Act was speedily passed—D.O.R.A. it was called—which empowered the Government to issue, through the Privy Council, almost any Order carrying the force of law. And since the War, since the people desired or required that the Government should do on their behalf all kinds of things that Government had never done before, we find that the party system has been broken down for the time, the control of Parliament has been diminished, and the power of Ministers greatly increased. The new system corresponds to the new desires of the people, which, however, have of late been chastened by further experience.

The ideal of liberty, as maintained by Victorian statesmen, was abandoned for a time; it is again reviving; men are beginning to discover in many ways that Government cannot run their business so well as they run it for themselves. In our country, among our people, the difficulties of Government are even greater than elsewhere. For our habits are habits of independence, and our constitution was developed

to protect liberty and to make government interference difficult. If general control and interference be desired, the rulers must learn new and more effective methods of governing; and the people must learn to adapt themselves to the new control, to the new interference.

CONTRAST OF OLD AND NEW PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT

Consider some of the new problems of the last few years, which never needed the attention of Victorian statesmen. During the War our Government had to undertake tasks of management such as no British Government had ever conceived as possible. I do not speak of governing a Navy doubled or trebled, and an Army multiplied by ten or twenty; to assist us in such tasks there was some experience and tradition. I will choose three things out of many: first, the control of our vast merchant shipping, which had in freedom run the errands of the whole world, and had then to be concentrated on the needs of war and the supplies required, first for our own people, then for our Allies, and also for European neutrals, who could not be entirely neglected. Secondly, the control of food was undertaken in this country, where submarine attacks brought famine within sight, and every man, woman, and child, had to be put on rations of bread, fats, meat, sugar, and other necessaries. Thirdly, the settlement of wages fell upon Government. For when every man and woman

was working for the nation, the Government had to decide what payment should be made for almost all classes of labour. I do not say that these things were done very well, but the miracle was that they should be done at all. In the past they were done by every man minding his own business. During the war almost every man and almost every business had to take orders from Government.

The policy of Victorian statesmen was to leave all such matters to private enterprise and private bargaining, and take the chance of what might result. The change of policy is due to a change of feeling, which had clearly gone far before the War, but has been very greatly hastened by the War. It indicates the latest stage of our great political Revolution. In the days of Mr. Gladstone the Government did, on the whole, what the middle classes wanted. The middle classes wanted, on the whole, to let well alone. What they thought good we should think barely tolerable; but they were satisfied with themselves and the world in which they lived. Now the Government does what is desired by the multitude. It remains for us to prove what the multitude desires is not only good but practicable. There is no kind of work that Government has not recently been called upon to control. This is the greatest of all revolutions in the century since 1815. You cannot do better than think out the consequences, so far as you are able; and if you come to understand how enormous is

the task which Victorian statesmen avoided and Government has of late years accepted, you will see how great is the need of wisdom for you and every other citizen in order that this revolution may be for the better and not for the worse. For the welfare of the people is your welfare, and the welfare of the people is in your keeping, a trust for you and all your fellows.

HONESTY

The business of this country was built up by honesty; honesty narrowly conceived but steadfastly maintained. The punctual and punctilious discharge of obligations was the first duty of a business man. It has been and still is the pride of our race that an Englishman's word is his bond; the word of an Englishman in many a foreign country means a guarantee of good faith. In dealing with subtle orientals, and with barbarous races, straightforward truthfulness has proved more effective than the most cunning wiles. We carry the same habit into our manufacture; we pride ourselves on the excellence of our materials, the solidity of our handiwork, the durability of our goods. Cheapness, adaptability, taste, and artistic design, are less prized by us than plain, thorough, trustworthy construction. And with honesty of this kind goes caution. The man of business who is reckless in his enterprise may be unable to fulfil his promises. By the practice of this kind of honesty and the exercise of this form of caution our middle class

built up the reputation of our manufactures, the credit of our merchants, and the stability of our banking system, which before the War controlled the chief part of the international finance of the whole world. The great debt to individuals, which the Government had built up in the Napoleonic war, was accepted by those generations as a business engagement; the interest was regularly paid, and any surplus revenue that was collected in good times was used to pay off some part of what the nation owed. A new debt was incurred in 1854-6 for the Crimean War, but this hardly retarded the diminution of the whole until the Boer War in 1900-02 wiped out the savings of three generations. This scrupulous good faith had its business value. We could borrow cheaper and more easily than any country in the world; at one time we could borrow at less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and at the worst time in the Great War no one doubted that we could and should pay all that we owed; and we were able to lend great sums to our Allies.

Now this honesty, this scrupulous fidelity to obligations of creditor and debtor, with the caution which belonged to it, was a good thing. Let no man depreciate unduly the virtues of our ancestors. Victorian statesmen brought the honesty of middle-class business men into politics. In the eighteenth century members of Parliament sold and bought their votes. Ministers plundered the Treasury for the benefit of themselves and their friends. Edmund Burke (1729-1797), a

high-minded man, thought it no shame to hold a sinecure that brought him many thousands yearly. It is not surprising that under a system of rotten boroughs voters should sell their votes. But corruption at Parliamentary elections went on almost openly long after the first Reform Act. It was not crushed out until the middle classes came into power. They put the scrutiny of elections in the hands of the judges (1868). Previously it had been left to a party vote in the House of Commons. They passed corrupt practices Acts in 1854 and 1883, which eventually proved effective. The bribery and corruption of members of Parliament and of statesmen ceased under their rule. Places in the Civil Service ceased to be the perquisite of Ministers and the reward of their friends after Gladstone's Order in Council of 1870, which set up the system of competitive examination open to the public. Under the rule of the middle classes there were no scandals of Ministers growing rich at the public expense. England is justly proud of the purity of administration established in the nineteenth century. That purity was established while the middle classes held power.

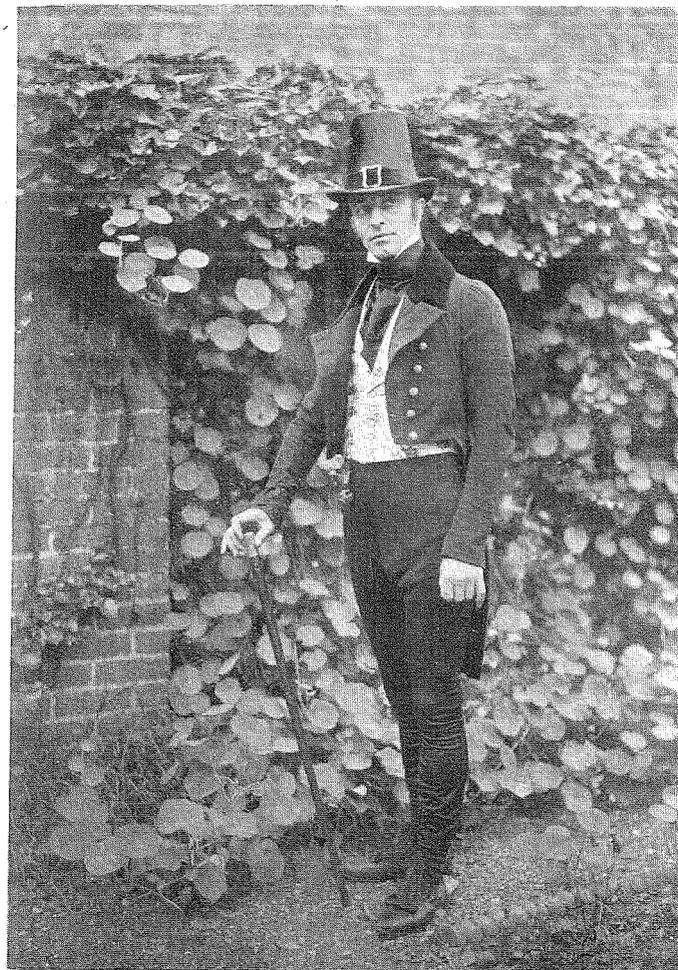
But Victorian honesty had narrow limits; its eyes were too much fixed on questions of money obligation. It was not that highest kind of honesty which insists on looking steadfastly at the facts of life and framing actions and opinions in accordance with the truth. In conduct respectability was the Victorian ideal.

The respectable man was he who paid his bills, attended Church or Chapel, and whose outward behaviour was proper and decent. In public affairs prosperity was judged by increasing wealth, by rising figures of imports and exports, by returns of taxes, including the taxes on drink. Vice, poverty, low wages, sweated industries, slums, unemployment, were hidden away and ignored; or if they forced attention they were attributed to the misconduct and improvidence of individuals, or in the last resort to the unalterable laws of demand and supply. Men were too easily satisfied, too ready to find lofty reasons for pursuing their own gain, too willing to believe in their own virtue. The arguments that were urged against Factory Laws, against Trade Unions, were, I believe, entirely sincere; but lies are lies even if they be sincerely believed. No man can be really honest who does not believe the truth. On the continent British hypocrisy was a byword; but I do not hold these men to have been hypocrites. They were unwilling to believe unpleasant truths.

ECONOMY

All the time that the Industrial Revolution was proceeding new capital was necessary for greater and greater undertakings. Take a typical case. A working man saved a little, and borrowed a little, and started a spinning shed. He paid his men, women, and children, as little as he could; he worked long hours and expected

all to do the same. He saved money and paid off his debt. He lived hard and simply and put almost all his profits into his business. The shed became a mill, a series of mills; the village became a town; he became very rich, but all the time he was in need of money; he never had enough for all the business that came to him. In such a life, thrift, industry, economy, were necessary to success; hardness, even meanness, contributed to it. The man who was easy-going and wasteful failed. Buy men and goods cheap, sell dear, and put the profits into your business—that was the rule of life for many thousands all over the country. The enormous wealth of this country in buildings, machinery, and material, was built up by close and harsh economy. The employers preached thrift to their working people, but first they practised it themselves. Every achievement of engineering or mechanism has to be paid for in advance of profit. Factories, warehouses, mines, railways, bridges, canals, steamships, iron ships, steel ships, docks and wharfs, needed construction and ever again reconstruction; cities, towns, villages, had to be built to accommodate the ever-growing population. Saving, hoarding, were demanded of the time. The petty savings of the millions were banked and lent to the great constructors. And economy worked in with honesty. The economy accumulated the wealth, by honest banking the wealth as it grew was made available for every need as it arose. Our wealth overflowed our shores;



About 1830.

we advanced it for constructive work in North America, in South America, in India, in Australia, and in New Zealand, and last of all in Africa. We lent our wealth to defaulting governments, we sank it in hapless enterprises, some of it was stolen, and some of it was wasted; but on the whole it grew and grew. We were more busy piling it up than considering how it could best be spent or distributed.

PUBLIC PARSIMONY

While all the world was asking for new capital for new ventures, and the builders of new wealth were the ruling class, economy was the maxim of public finance as well as of private. In accordance with the principle of liberty, government did as little as it could; it did nothing that could be left to private enterprise. In accordance with the principle of economy, public charges were ruthlessly kept down. It was the business of the Treasury to discourage new expenditure and to fix the lowest possible rate for all necessary work. Salaries and wages ran lower in the Post Office, in the Army, in the Navy, than in private employ of similar character. Low as the payments were for transport by post, the Government reckoned on a large annual profit from the Post Office. Thus, during the period—say 1850-1890—when Gladstone was the great power and the great model in public finance, the net revenue raised per head of the population fell by a noteworthy percentage, and

About 1850.



the expenditure was almost always less than the revenue, and often much less. Meanwhile, the responsibilities of the Empire all over the world were growing in far greater proportion than the population of these islands. Our world trade was increasing vastly; our shipping was more than doubled; our great colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, were rapidly gaining wealth and population; India was being developed by railways, machinery, and banking, and was sucking into her hoards silver from all the world. All these valuable possessions needed protection; none of these countries could defend itself from attack. Meanwhile, a new great military power, the German Empire, had arisen on the Continent. All the countries of Europe had entered upon the rivalry of armaments, which ended in the Great War of 1914. Russia was advancing in Central Asia; she was our enemy through the Crimean War, and through the part we took in limiting her gains in 1878, after her war with Turkey. Her ambitions reached out towards India, in spite of the mountains and the deserts. Meanwhile, our statesmen practised economy, even parsimony, in army and navy. It was a great gamble; the storm was long delayed, but at last it broke, in 1914.

REDUCTION OF TAXES

Gladstone, and other statesmen who followed his lead, used our growing wealth and stringent economy of expenditure to reduce taxation.

The income tax—a tax of so much in the pound on all incomes exceeding a certain annual sum—was imposed in 1799 to meet the expenses of the Great French War. In 1815 it stood at two shillings in the pound. In 1842 it was fixed at sevenpence in the pound; statesmen were contemplating its abolition when the Crimean War broke out. Properly adjusted, and rising as the income of the individual rises, it is in theory the fairest of all taxes, but it can be evaded by many, and it was hated for generations because it gives to the tax collector the power of enquiring into private incomes. Gladstone promised, at the General Election of 1874, to abolish it if he was returned to power; but the Conservatives came in and contented themselves with reducing it to twopence. In spite of wars and rumours of war it remained at or near sixpence up to 1890. Meanwhile, the great majority of the old taxes had been taken off. We relied on import duties on tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, tobacco, wines, and spirits, on excise duties on spirits and beer produced at home, and on stamps for legal documents. Any taxation means interference, not only with the private enjoyment of wealth but with the course of trade and the manner of the people's life. It was, therefore, quite in accordance with Victorian principles of liberty to keep taxation low and confine it to the smallest possible range of transactions. A "direct" tax is levied directly from the wealth of individuals, as by income tax

and duties on inheritance. "Indirect" taxes are levied on commodities, such as spirits, and are paid by the trader first and afterwards by the consumer in the price of the goods he buys. Direct taxes fall more on the rich than on the poor; indirect taxes fall on rich and poor alike, according to their consumption of taxable things, but on the whole the poor pay a larger proportion of the indirect than of the direct taxes. The Victorians favoured indirect taxation, because it was easy to collect and by habit came to pass unnoticed. We shall see, in a later chapter, a great change in the system of taxation which has taken place in the last thirty years. Until that change began, reduction of taxation was part of the scheme which fostered individual liberty and condemned all unnecessary interference of Government.

PEACE AND WAR

The motto of Gladstonian rule was Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform. We have seen how expenses were retrenched and taxation reduced. But if charges were to be kept down, and taxes remitted, peace must be maintained, and military and naval costs must be kept down. On the other hand, there is an old saying that he who desires peace must at all times keep himself in readiness for war. We demanded peace, but we did not make ready for war. Until 1914, we were so lucky as to avoid a war of life or death, but we did not escape from war. Lovers of

peace, lovers of economy, were firmly in power when the Crimean War broke out. The British Government did not desire that war; it drifted into it. From 1850 to 1914 the storm centre of Europe was in the Balkan Peninsula. The decay and misgovernment of the Ottoman power invited the aggression of covetous neighbours, who in turn were jealous and each suspicious of the other's designs. Religion had its share in provoking hostility and fomenting rivalry. The Turks are Mohammedans and regard their Christian subjects as infidel dogs, who may be useful by their wealth and industry and as taxpayers, but have no rights except such as may be allowed to them on sufferance. The Christian subjects of the Turks were chiefly members of the Greek Church; the Russian Tsar claimed to be head of the Greek Church, and as such aimed at extending his influence over the Greek Christians in European Turkey. The Holy Places—Jerusalem with the Sepulchre of our Lord, Bethlehem, and Nazareth—were under the rule of the Turkish Sultan; they were visited by pilgrims, chiefly Greek but also Catholic. The French were still proud to be reckoned the chief Catholic nation of Christendom, and aspired to protect the Catholics in Palestine and Syria and the Catholic pilgrims to Jerusalem. Thus the first quarrel arose between France and Russia over the question whether Catholics or Orthodox—that is, members of the Greek Church—should be the guardians of the Holy Places.

FRANCE AND RUSSIA

In 1852, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (son of Louis, the brother of the great Napoleon), who by intrigues had procured his election, in 1851, to be President of the French Republic, overthrew the constitution, and by a vote of the people was elected Emperor of France. He reached that dignity by skilfully reviving the memories of the glory and greatness of France under his uncle. He was pledged to follow the Napoleonic example, by restoring prosperity at home and winning renown abroad. The Tsar of Russia was Nicholas I, who was already embroiled with France by the dispute over the custody of the Holy Places. He resented the elevation of a Napoleon to the imperial throne, and affronted the Emperor's dignity by addressing him as Friend instead of as Brother. Nicholas thought the upstart would be weak, and seized the opportunity for pressing his claims to rights of protection over the Christians in Turkey. Napoleon saw his chance to show his mettle and prove to the Tsar that the French Empire was a power to be reckoned with. He could rely on some support from the other Powers of Europe, who were watchful to preserve the "balance of power" in Europe; that is, they were unwilling to suffer the excessive aggrandisement of any one of their number. But an agreement might have been reached had not Nicholas found a powerful enemy at Constantinople. The British Ambassador to

the Turkish Sultan was Stratford Canning, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Between him and Nicholas there was personal animosity; the English ambassador had unbounded influence with the Turks, and there can be little doubt that he encouraged them to reject the proposed settlement. Palmerston from the first had determined that Napoleon was worth backing; Napoleon played his cards well; France and England declined to press Turkey to give way. The Russian armies had occupied Moldavia and Wallachia, which we now call Roumania. The Sultan called upon the Tsar to withdraw his forces, and hostilities had actually begun in an irregular manner, when the Russians fell upon a Turkish squadron and destroyed it at Sinope in the Black Sea.

THE CRIMEAN WAR

The "massacre of Sinope," as it was called, aroused great indignation in Britain. The *Times* newspaper took up the cry of war. Palmerston was for war, though his colleagues were for peace. The stronger will, backed by public opinion, carried the day. Napoleon's scheme succeeded; and in 1854 France and England, in alliance with Turkey, declared war on Russia. The King of Sardinia, who was lord also of Savoy and Piedmont, joined the allies in the hope of earning powerful friends who might help him to extend his power in Italy. Thus a strange and incongruous alliance of Britons, Frenchmen, Northern Italians, and Turks, found themselves

banded together by the designs of a few, the weakness of others, and the passions of many, to maintain the mastery of Turks over Christians.

COURSE OF THE WAR

Neither party was well placed or well equipped to fight in the field selected. The Russian resources were great, but could not be fully utilised for lack of sufficient means of transport and supply. The Turks were on the spot, warlike and brave, but ill disciplined and ill found. The British and French fleets were masters of the Black Sea, but could not reach any vital centre of their enemy. The French army was good and well equipped, but far distant from its base. The English army was small, ill organised, and ill supplied with food, clothing, shelter, and above all with medical and sanitary provision. The dishonesty of contractors made conditions worse. But an effective blow could be directed against the Russian arsenal and port—Sevastopol in the Crimea—by the loss of which Russian power in the Black Sea would be destroyed. Accordingly, the allied armies moved from Varna, on the eastern coast of the Balkan Peninsula, to the Crimea, September, 1854.

All the operations of the allies in the Crimea were marred by ignorance, and lack of decision, of plan, and of promptitude. The first battle, that of the Alma, was a victory; but time was given to the Russians to close their port with sunken ships, and throw up earthworks to protect

the fort on the landward side. Thus the allies found themselves besieging a town, which they could not take by assault, in the presence of a superior force of Russians. The enemy attacked at Balaclava, where the charge of six hundred British cavalry won them eternal glory but achieved nothing. The enemy attacked at Inkerman, where they were defeated by the heroism of British soldiers fighting when and how they could. Then came the winter without forage, without transport, without shelter or warm clothing, with cholera and all the diseases that come from cold, wet, and want of sanitation. The war correspondents told the pitiful tale at home, and the Government of Lord Aberdeen, which had drifted into a war without plan or adequate organisation, was dismissed by public indignation.

But meantime the mistakes were remedied. Roads were made; supplies came out; transport was organised; above all, Florence Nightingale established on the Bosphorus hospitals and nursing service. At length, in September, 1855, the southern part of Sevastopol fell into the hands of the allies. The Russian fleet in the Black Sea had been destroyed; her stronghold was rendered useless. Austria, who had more reason to be jealous of Russian influence in the Balkan Peninsula than either England or France, threw in her weight on the side of the allies, and peace was made at Paris in 1856. The Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were declared independent—a buffer between Russia

and Turkey. Russia bound herself to maintain no war fleet in the Black Sea; and all the Powers concerned in the peace pledged themselves to maintain the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. Wallachia and Moldavia are now united in the Kingdom of Roumania. In 1870 the Russians repudiated their pledge to keep no vessels of war in the Black Sea; in 1878 Serbia and Bulgaria were freed from Turkey with the consent of Europe; and in 1920 the heirs of those allies who fought for Turkey in the Crimea framed a treaty to complete the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The Crimean War was a futile War, which exposed the weakness of Victorian statesmanship and the defects of our military system, but brought undying honour to the British soldier. The Russians were defeated because they could not stand the drain of men and munitions for the distant conflict. They are computed to have lost 500,000 men, chiefly by sickness and fatigue—only a small fraction of these in battle.

GROWTH OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

From 1815-1854 Great Britain had peace in Europe; not so in India. We went to India as traders; we required settlements for our safety; we fought for our self-defence; we entered into alliances with native potentates and assisted them in their quarrels with their neighbours; we fought with our rivals the French for our lives and for all we had acquired; under Clive

(1757-1760) we assumed the government of Bengal; under Hastings (1773-1785) we consolidated our power in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Thenceforward we were obliged to go forward or to go back. We went forward from our three centres, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. We were not unwilling to fight and not unwilling to reap the fruits of conquest; but our neighbours were not less willing to provoke us. Our great rivals were the warlike confederacy of the Mahrattas, east of Bombay. With them our conflict began in 1802 and ended in 1818, when the Mahratta princes surrendered territory, and agreed to hold what they retained under British suzerainty. In 1815 Ceylon was ceded by the Dutch and Mauritius by the French. Thus we held almost all the coast, and our possessions were linked up. But we still had not reached a defensible frontier; in the North-east we acquired Assam, with a foothold on the coast of Burma; but our more martial neighbours were in the North-west. Chief among these were the Afghans, who in the eighteenth century had held, not only Afghanistan but the Panjab, Sind at the mouth of Indus, and Kashmir. In 1838 the Sikh chieftain, Ranjit Singh, bore rule in the Panjab; a native Amir held an independent province in Sind; and the Russians were in touch with Persia and Afghanistan. In alliance with Ranjit Singh, we interfered in Afghanistan to set up our own nominee as ruler over the Afghan tribes. Our effort ended in disasters,

masked by futile victories among the mountains and passing occupation of the Afghan cities. As a consequence of these enterprises we quarrelled with the Amir of Sind, defeated him, and conquered his country (1843).

There remained the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh had died (1839) and his successors were not loth to provoke a struggle. In two wars (1845-9) the Sikhs were defeated and their country was finally annexed; their Afghan allies fled in confusion back to their hills. Thus the British frontier was carried to the great mountains; and our last rival in the peninsula was disarmed. For the first time since the time of the Great Moguls India was united under one paramount power.

In this brief survey I have only mentioned the most important stages of our conquering career. Our conquests were largely achieved by the aid of native troops, who, under British discipline and British leadership, often fought with success, at odds of ten to one, against enemies equipped with European arms and artillery. The cost of our wars was defrayed from the revenues of the countries under British rule, which, well administered, sufficed not only for war but to put down brigandage and murder, to construct canals, railways, telegraphs, and roads, and to keep the peace. But our annexations did not only result from war; under Lord William Bentinck (1833-5) the British Government claimed the right to take over any vassal state in which

the native line of rulers became extinct. This right was freely used by Lord Dalhousie (1847-56), who also annexed the important kingdom of Oudh on the ground of the misgovernment of its ruler.

This automatic growth of the British Empire in India is the more remarkable, when we remember that it took place under the rule of a company of traders (Vol. II, p. 212). In 1784 Pitt set up a Board of Control and a Governor-General, nominated by the Crown, under whom the government was carried on by the Company's servants; and the Company retained its trading privileges until 1833. The Company had white troops of its own, but the British army also furnished contingents, part of which was withdrawn for the Crimean War, in spite of Dalhousie's protest.

THE INDIAN MUTINY

Dalhousie was succeeded in 1856 by Lord Canning, who concluded negotiations with the ruler of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed, which very opportunely transformed him from a watchful enemy into a valuable friend. For in 1857 a storm, unforeseen by the wisest, broke upon the British in India. Our army in India consisted of more than 300,000 sepoy (native troops) to some 40,000 Europeans. A large proportion of the sepoy had been recruited in Oudh, where they had special privileges as servants of the Company, which they lost on annexation. The

annexation itself was regarded as an injustice by native opinion. The sepoys were aware of their own importance and dissatisfied with their rewards. For wars with Burma, China, and Persia, they had been taken across the sea, which was contrary to the laws of their caste; in 1856 Canning ordained that every sepoy should be bound on enlistment to serve beyond the seas if required. The new laws of the British Government put down religious customs, such as *sati*—the burning of the widow on the husband's funeral pyre—and forbade the exposure of unneeded children; they made high caste and low caste equal before the courts of justice, and admitted all children to their schools regardless of caste. Telegraphs, railways, and hospitals, were regarded by Indian opinion as unholy magic. Some secret and widespread conspiracy, which has never been revealed, made use of these grievances to stir up discontent; and when a new weapon—known as the Enfield rifle—was served out, which required the soldier to tear off the end of the cartridge with his teeth, the men were told that the cartridges were smeared with hog's lard, an abomination to the Musulman, and with the fat of oxen, a sacrilege to the Hindu. This was to the sepoy a final outrage, and set the mutiny in motion.

The officers of the Company were kindly and easy-going; many of them were old; but almost all were on good terms with their men and trusted them implicitly. Again and again, they

refused to listen to warnings. On a Sunday, May the 10th, 1857, the mutiny began at Mirat, north-east of Delhi. The mutineers marched to Delhi, were joined by the regiments there, and seized the city and the magazines. The movement spread; and far and wide white men and women were murdered, or forced to flee for their lives. An army of Europeans and Ghurkhas was brought up against Delhi, but for three months they could do no more than hold their own. John Nicholson brought reinforcements. At length, when the siege guns came in September, the city was assaulted, and after a week of fighting through the streets the city was captured. The puppet king, who represented the faded majesty of the Moguls, was taken prisoner; and the capital of the Mogul Empire returned to British rule. But Nicholson, dauntless, wise, and loved, had fallen on the first day of the assault.

Meanwhile at Cawnpore, south-east upon the Ganges, a small force of Europeans had maintained for nearly a month an unequal struggle against thousands in defence of 870 non-combatants. At last they surrendered, trusting to the word of the local leader, the Nana Sahib. But the survivors were attacked as they were preparing to depart, and all were murdered.

At Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, the residency, filled with women and children from the city and neighbourhood, held out a siege of ninety-seven days. Reinforcements came to the defenders under Havelock, but were not strong enough to

raise the siege, and when at length a stronger relieving column reached the city it could only rescue the besieged and retire. Havelock died just as the rescue was successfully completed.

But with the capture of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow the worst days were over. The Nana Sahib was driven from Cawnpore. Lucknow was taken in March, 1858. Slowly the resistance was beaten down. In April, 1859, Tantia Topi, one of the principal leaders of the rebellion, was captured; and about the same time the Nana Sahib fled, never to be heard of again.

In dealing with the rebels, severity was common, ferocity was not unknown. Acts of vengeance for the murder of women and children should not be condoned; neither should they be too harshly condemned. But when the rebellion was at length put down, a generous act of amnesty was proclaimed by the Governor-General, who now took over the Government of India as Viceroy for the Queen. The native rulers were secured in their rights and privileges. Respect was promised for the religious observances of the Indians, of whatever race and creed. The Government undertook the responsibility for decent government in vassal states, but refrained from needless interference. The object of the Government was declared to be the well being, prosperity, and contentment of the subject races. And this declaration was no empty form of words; it has been for sixty years, and still is, the governing principle of our

dealings with the peoples of India. That some 1,200 British rulers, supported by no more than 70,000 British troops, should hold a population of 250 millions is a strange thing; but that it should be done with justice, with honesty, and in quiet, is a just source of pride for the British people, which has found itself through its spirit of adventure entrusted with so great an obligation.

INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

Throughout the War of 1914 hostile influences—German and revolutionary—did their utmost to undermine the loyalty of our Indian fellow-citizens. The Indian Government had unforeseen tasks to meet, for which it was not adequately prepared. Like the British Government, it had thought more of economy than of readiness for war. Through lack of transport and of medical provision, the horrors of the Crimean War were repeated in the early months of the Mesopotamian Expedition. Disasters were sustained at Ctesiphon, in 1915, and in the attempt to relieve Kut, where a British force was obliged to surrender in 1916. There have been seasons of grave unrest in India. But on the whole the loyalty of the Indians and the system of British government have stood the unexampled stress. In almost all the British fields of war Indian troops have borne their full share of danger, hardship, and fatigue; they have rendered their lives for the security of the Empire by which they are ruled. The Indian

chiefs have given faithful support. And now, by a free act of the British nation, the people of India are to undertake a great share in making their own laws, in apportioning their own taxes, in the application of their own revenues, in administering their own justice, and in the direct government of India. British servants of the State will continue to aid them, to advise them, to guide them, to teach them, to warn them. But it cannot be doubted that, as years go by, they must become more and more responsible for their own fortunes. Most of you who read this book will see the issue of this great and trustful experiment. We have done great things in India; we have done great good according to our lights, we have also done evil; but if we can teach the people of India, with their ancient customs and prejudices, with their hostile religions and their divers races, with their history of turbulence and violence, to govern themselves in prudence and justice, this will be our greatest achievement.

CONCLUSION

The principle adopted by the Middle Classes, of whom Gladstone was the most distinguished representative, was freedom. That principle involved the abstention of Government from interference with anything that could be left alone without grave danger. Industry, commerce, banking, with all their rapid developments, was unmolested so far as possible. Taxation was reduced to the lowest possible figure, so as

to avoid unnecessary disturbance of the natural life of the average citizen. Restrictions on trade and industry were diminished or delayed so long as necessity permitted.

With these ends in view it was undesirable to take any share in action outside the country, unless such action was inevitable. Therefore, both the Army and the Navy were reduced below the margin of safety, and new European developments were allowed to proceed unquestioned until need or public opinion required action. Yet the leaders of middle class government were obliged to depart from their policy of peace and retrenchment by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. With these events the long peace, which followed the Napoleonic wars, came to an end.

The conquest of India proceeded up to 1854, rather by the negligence than by the policy of the Government of Britain. When the Indian Mutiny occurred it became necessary for the British Government to take over the government of India. Since that time India has been administered rather as a matter of duty than for purposes of profit, and now we have given a large share of self-government to the Indians. It remains to be seen how this experiment will work out.

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CHAPTER VII

RIVAL VIEWS OF IMPERIAL DUTY

1859-1885

THE Crimean War closed the long period of European peace which followed the Battle of Waterloo. The nervous ambition of Napoleon III gave the first impulse. But there were national aspirations for unity and liberty which could hardly be satisfied by peaceful means. The Italians were eager to be free from the rule of Austria, who held Lombardy and Venice, and controlled the policy of the Pope and the other petty princes among whom the peninsula was divided. Victor Emanuel, the King of Sardinia, counselled by Cavour, put himself at the head of the movement for Italian unity; he laid his plans in concert with Napoleon; and in 1859 the French and Sardinian armies drove the Austrians out of Lombardy. But the movement went faster and further than Napoleon desired; he made peace with Austria as soon as Lombardy had been conquered, and retired with his stipulated reward of Savoy, the hereditary domain of the King of Sardinia. Meanwhile, insurrection spread in central Italy, and in 1860 the great patriot and leader of volunteers, Giuseppe Garibaldi, put himself at the head of a rising in

Sicily, and thence returning to the peninsula overthrew the rule of the Bourbon King of Naples. Victor Emanuel marched into the revolted districts, and in 1861 was proclaimed King of Italy. But Napoleon, influenced no doubt by his wife, but also aware that France had always claimed to be the chief supporter of the Catholic Church, maintained the temporal power of the Pope in Rome, and garrisoned that historic capital against the forces of the new Italian kingdom. On the movement for Italian unity Great Britain looked with a friendly eye, and her Government was the first to recognise the new kingdom. The Italian people have always remembered with affection the sympathy of the British people and its statesmen.

GERMANY BEFORE BISMARCK

Italian unity, thus begun, was brought to completion by another and a greater movement, initiated by a statesman not less unscrupulous but more shrewd and forceful than Napoleon. Such unity as Germany had possessed in the Middle Ages had been shattered by the religious dissensions of the Reformation, and her prosperity had been destroyed by the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). At the end of that war the Dukes of Austria, who held in almost hereditary succession the title of Emperor, and with it a certain supremacy in all Germany, were greatly weakened; but, on the other hand, the Elector of Brandenburg had increased his possessions.

In 1701 he received the title of King of Prussia, and under Frederick the Great, 1740-1786, after long wars, successful and unsuccessful, the territory of Prussia was permanently increased at the expense of her rival Austria and of Poland, her unhappy neighbour. After his death Prussia benefited by the two further partitions of Poland, but in 1806 she fell before a greater military power, that of Napoleon. After this defeat, in secret and in spite of treaty, she reorganised and equipped her army, and took a noteworthy part in the campaigns of 1813-1814 and in the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The Congress of Vienna, which rearranged the map of Europe after Waterloo, left Prussia in possession of substantial but discontinuous territories on the Rhine, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula. She was thus the second power in Germany, Austria being richer and more powerful.

The Napoleonic conquests had destroyed for ever many of the lesser princedoms of Germany, had brought all the tribes of Germany into contact with each other, and had subjected many of them for a time to a common rule. The final expulsion of Napoleon from their territories had aroused a feeling of German patriotism, in accordance with which the Congress of Vienna established a German Confederacy, comprising Bohemia and the Austrian provinces, though not Hungary. But war weariness and the disruptive ideas of the French Revolution kept Germany weak and distracted for more than a generation.

During this period, however, one great step was taken towards German unity. A Customs Union of the German States was set up, known as the Zollverein. Hereby free trade within the Union on the one hand and a national system of duties on imports on the other were established. Then, in 1861, William I came to the Prussian throne, a king who was fit to be the instrument of a great minister, and in 1862 that great minister, Otto von Bismarck, won his master's confidence and imposed upon him a consistent policy for the union of Germany under Prussia.

THE CONQUESTS OF PRUSSIA UNDER BISMARCK

The first act of Bismarck was to override the Prussian Parliament, which opposed his plans for strengthening the Prussian army. He governed for four years (1862-66) by his master's authority, collecting the taxes which Parliament had refused to vote. His purpose from the first is clear; it was to drive Austria out of the German Confederacy and establish the supremacy of Prussia. To this end he used with unscrupulous skill the opportunities which chance offered. The succession to the duchies of Holstein and Slesvic, in the south of the Danish promontory of Jutland, was in dispute; they were in the possession of the King of Denmark. Pleading that the Danish King had violated the rights of these provinces, Bismarck induced Austria to join Prussia in occupying them. Denmark defended herself by arms, but was easily overpowered by her two

powerful adversaries. Great Britain was strongly in sympathy with Denmark, but did not raise a finger to protect her—an omission for which she paid dearly more than fifty years later. Bismarck then negotiated with Napoleon III, and secured his neutrality during the next move. He made an alliance with Italy, and promised her Venice as the price of her aid against Austria. He then picked a quarrel with Austria, induced her to make war, fell upon her and defeated her in a six weeks campaign (1866). Prussia meanwhile easily disposed of the German States, such as Hanover, Saxony, and Bavaria, which had espoused the Austrian cause.

As a result of this war the German Confederation was dissolved. Thus Austria was deprived of influence in Germany, but was not otherwise punished. Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfurt, were annexed to Prussia, and a new Confederation was established, including all the States of northern Germany. Italy obtained the city and territory of Venice, which Napoleon insisted should be handed over to him and then passed on to Italy as his gift. The Zollverein was strengthened, Austria being still excluded. The second item in Bismarck's programme had been completely carried out at little cost in men or money. In all this Great Britain remained a mere spectator; she demanded no voice in this great resettlement of Central Europe. Napoleon had been partly outwitted, partly baffled by speed and secrecy. When he pressed for what states-

men call compensation—additional territory in Belgium or upon the left bank of the Rhine—Bismarck ignored all previous hints and replied flatly—No!

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

In what follows there can be no doubt that Bismarck's plan was clear in his mind. He was determined to unite Germany under Prussia, and he was convinced that France, or at any rate Napoleon, would not acquiesce without action. It was his intention to prepare for war, and if necessary to bring it about. But Napoleon met him half way. The danger to France was indeed manifest. The strength and security of France for two hundred years had depended on the weakness and the divisions of Germany. Now there was a powerful Confederation headed by a greatly strengthened Prussia. Prussia was already in alliance with the South German States: before long they too might be expected to join the Confederation. It is not certain that Napoleon intended to strike first; it is certain that he approached both Austria and Italy with a view to an alliance, possibly offensive. But Austria was not ready for another war, and Italy was estranged by the determination of Napoleon to maintain the sovereignty of the Pope in Rome. In 1867, when Garibaldi with his volunteers marched on Rome, he was driven back by French troops hastily sent to save the capital. Thus France

was isolated; and Bismarck was determined to act while circumstances were favourable. His acts gave Rome to Italy without a struggle, in 1870.

An occasion presented itself in 1870. The throne of Spain was vacant, and was offered to a Prussian prince. Napoleon protested; the offer was refused. But, nervously anxious to gain credit from the incident, Napoleon asked for a pledge that the candidature should not be renewed. The King of Prussia at Ems refused any such promise, and Bismarck, by altering the words of an official telegram, caused the refusal to be published as if it had been a public affront. The national pride of France was aroused. Napoleon was carried into war by an angry people. All the world believed that France was the aggressor, until many years later Bismarck told how his plot was worked.

Napoleon was aged and racked by a painful illness. His government was weakened by corruption and favouritism. His generals were incompetent; his army was not, as he supposed, ready for war. After fierce fighting on the frontier, in which the Prussians with difficulty won the advantage they desired, the French army was split. Part, under Napoleon's own command, was surrounded and captured at Sedan on the fiftieth day after the declaration of war. Part, under Bazaine, retired into Metz, where it was besieged and eventually surrendered. Napoleon became a prisoner and was deposed. A republic

was proclaimed in France; heroic efforts were made; fresh armies were raised; but all was in vain. Paris was besieged and bombarded, and on March 1st, 1871, peace was agreed, involving the cession of Metz and part of Lorraine and of Alsace, except Belfort, and the payment of a war indemnity of two hundred million pounds sterling. The southern German states had joined with the northern in the war, and on the 18th of January, 1871, William I, king of Prussia, was crowned as German Emperor. He was lord of all the armed forces of united Germany; and the democratic Parliament which was set up for the German Empire proved to be a willing instrument of the Emperor and his Ministers.

In all this Great Britain took no part; except that she declared herself prepared to defend the neutrality of Belgium if violated by either party. She behaved as if she had no interest in all the great affairs that were then settled or in their consequences. If you ask me what she could have done, with advantage to herself and the world, I have only to inform you that in 1875, when Bismarck was on the point of making a second war on France, to render her for ever helpless, the British Government by a message arrested his design. There is always something that can effectively be done.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

All these events hang together with, if they do not arise from, the Crimean War. They are

therefore told consecutively. But meanwhile, in another hemisphere, events had occurred which did not call for British intervention but affected us profoundly. I have pointed out to you (p. 36) that the existence of slavery in some of the States of North America was in manifest contradiction to their principle of equal rights for all men. So long as slavery was confined to those States which had been slave States when the Union was formed, the situation had been tolerable. But those States, especially Virginia, had been leading States at the beginning, and had supplied the greater number of those statesmen who guided the United States through the first sixty or seventy years of their history. Later, industrial development took place in the northern States, by which their wealth and population was increased, while, perhaps because of slavery, perhaps for other reasons, the southern States remained stationary. Thus the relative importance of the northern States increased. In 1819 there were twenty-two States in the Union, eleven slave, eleven free. But later, and especially after 1848, when great areas were taken from Mexico after the war, new Territories were added in the south, where slave labour was most useful, and new States were also formed. The Southerners trooped into these States and Territories and took their slaves with them. Northerners also immigrated, and by this time the feeling of Northerners against slavery was hardening. Thus constant disputes were arising

as to whether slavery should exist in a Territory or in a new State when one was formed, and what authority was to decide whether it should or not. Many compromises were arranged, but all broke down; and at length the question came to a head at the Presidential Election of 1860. Abraham Lincoln, the successful candidate, was born in the backwoods, educated himself, succeeded in the profession of the law, and at length by his honesty, force of character, and good sense, became so prominent that he was chosen to be candidate for the Presidency and was elected by the votes of the north. He had conducted a political campaign in 1858, in which he announced the view that "this Government cannot continue half-slave and half-free; it will become all one thing or all the other." His belief, his desire, was that it should become all free. Therefore his election was the signal for the secession of the slave States; during the interval between his election and his assumption of office they organised a provisional congress, and a provisional government known as the Confederate States of America; and finally a permanent constitution under that name. Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4th, 1861; the Confederates committed their first act of war on April 12th, at Charleston; and Lincoln took up the challenge. He was not prepared to admit the right of any State to leave the Union. Thus the whole of the North was ranged against eleven seceding States; with a small

number of States wavering or split into factions for and against.

This was obviously not a dispute in which Great Britain was called upon to intervene. Yet public opinion was sharply divided; it was not to begin with a war about slavery, but a war about the right to secede, concerning which two views might be sincerely held. Gladstone in particular, whose connexions were with the South since he came of a cotton merchant's family, came near to espousing the cause of the Confederates, though he held office in the British Government. Moreover, our interests were greatly involved. The chief part of the population of Lancashire depended on the cotton trade and industry. Lincoln's government, which held the ships of war, proclaimed and enforced a blockade of the southern ports, allowing no cotton to come out except by eluding the blockading fleet. A very great population in England was thus reduced to the verge of starvation, and the whole nation suffered with them. Moreover, once or twice we came near to be embroiled. We found ourselves obliged to recognise the two parties in the Civil War as belligerents; this the Northerners (known as Federals) were inclined to regard as an unfriendly act, preferring to regard the Southerners or Confederates as mere rebels, and neglecting the fact that by the law of nations, unless a state of war was recognised, their blockade could not be maintained against neutrals. Then a

Federal ship sent a boarding party on to a British vessel and took off two Confederate envoys. We demanded their release, and owing to good feeling and good behaviour on both sides a breach was avoided. But the greatest trouble of all was when, by official neglect or delay, we allowed certain vessels, of which the *Alabama* is best known, to issue from our ports. These were subsequently armed by the Confederates as privateers, and preyed upon the Federal commerce. Much bad blood came from this, and eventually (in 1871) we consented to go to arbitration and paid £3,000,000 as damages.

Although the Federals numbered more than twice as many white citizens as the Confederates, owing to the skilful generalship of the Confederate leaders, especially of Robert E. Lee, their Commander-in-Chief, and the enormous extent of the territories involved, the war dragged on for four years, and did not end until the Confederate armies were worn to collapse and surrounded. All this time we were cut off from American cotton, and were obliged to keep our enormous industry alive as best we could, partly by the use of the inferior cotton from India. No example better illustrates the close interdependence of the entire world for necessaries of everyday life; the mills of Lancashire stopped or ran short time for want of American cotton, and in consequence the multitudes of India and China—indeed of almost the whole globe—had to wear old clothes because

the new were so scarce and dear. The war ended in 1865; slavery was abolished throughout the United States, the slaves were liberated, and the southern States were received back into the Union. In this great quarrel we had no right or desire to interfere; any fault that can be charged to our Government was a fault of negligence or hesitation; but the citizens of the United States still remembered their grievances of 1776 and 1812, and both Federals and Confederates in their anguish were prone to resent both what we did and what we left undone. A common language, common blood, common institutions and traditions, do not prevent misunderstandings; indeed, they rather make them more bitter. Both here and across the Atlantic historians have failed to set before their countrymen the whole truth, which alone can remove misapprehension—the British through a self-satisfied conviction of rectitude, the Americans through a sense of injured pride, which has led them to dwell upon their real or fancied wrongs. When we became comrades in the Great War of 1914, praiseworthy efforts were made to explain the history of the last hundred and fifty years more fairly; but much remains to be done before the indifference of the British can be overcome and the resentment and suspicion of the Americans can be appeased.

GLADSTONE

From the fall of Peel to 1880 the opposing tendencies of British politics were embodied in



(1)



(2)

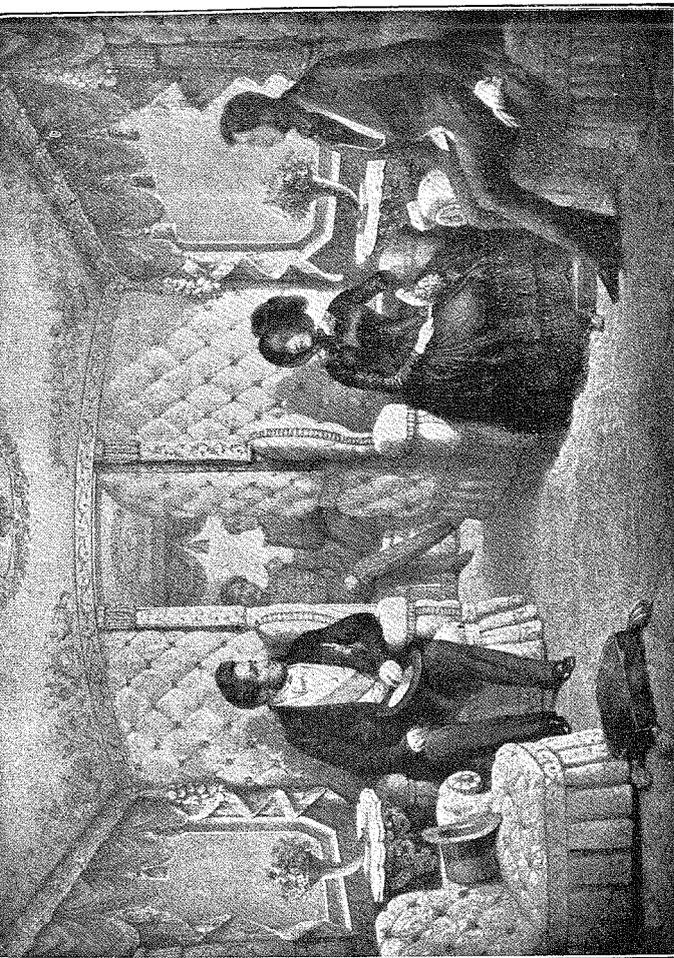


(3)



(4)

- (1) W. E. Gladstone.
 (2) Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.
 (3) Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French.
 (4) Otto von Bismarck.



Louis Philippe, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

two statesmen of outstanding gifts and personality—Gladstone and Disraeli. Gladstone did not become Prime Minister until 1868. Disraeli, though he was Prime Minister for a short time in that year, did not come into full power until 1874. And yet these two men, with their diverse ideals and characters, throughout this period (1846-1880) stand out before all others, not only by their personal force and talents but by the ideas for which they stood; and the duel between them then gave, and still gives, the interest of a play or a boxing match to the politics of their time. Gladstone embodied the ideas of the middle classes set forth in Chapter VI; he had all their self-satisfied conviction of rectitude, together with subtlety of mind for self-justification in awkward circumstances; his was the policy of peace that allowed Prussia to carry through her ambitious designs without impediment; nevertheless, he was a member of the Cabinet which drifted into the Crimean War, and he himself, through lack of forethought and of prompt action, blundered into war in South Africa and Egypt, and yet left the South African problem and the Egyptian problem to be solved by his successors; his was the policy of economy and retrenchment that kept Government weak and inactive and declined responsibility for the control of labour, of agriculture, of sanitation, of housing, until those questions became so grave as to threaten our national safety; he and his followers stood forth as reformers, but their reforms were reforms of

detail or changes in the constitution, which left the ends and purposes of government undetermined and gave neither light nor leading to the new forces which were set free. He was forceful, industrious, untiring, imperious, persuasive, but for all the energy he displayed, all the power he wielded, it is difficult, after examining his long and famous career, to discover any great thing which he did or any great thing which he desired to do. I am inclined to regard him as the instrument of a people which desired power for the nation and not for any class or classes, and was not for the time concerned with the ends for which that power should be used. By his gifts, by his policy, by his appeals to popular passion, he furthered the progress of democracy. But his most conspicuous acts were not those which he desired but those which were forced upon him by circumstances.

DISRAELI

Disraeli was a man of thought, of forethought, of reflexion, of constructive imagination. As a Jew, without wealth, without position, without connexions, he was an adventurous intruder, who fought his way by force of genius and consistency of purpose into the confidence of a proud, exclusive, unimaginative caste of nobles and country squires, who, faced with revolutions which they did not understand and therefore could not control, were jealous indeed to preserve their own ancestral power and influence, but

filled also with a passionate conviction that the old England which they knew and comprehended was too good to be broken. They were on the defensive for their own inherited rights, but they also believed that it was their duty to do their best for their country and the people entrusted to their charge. But the long struggle, in and out of Parliament, by which Disraeli won their faith and trust, exhausted his native force; he was seventy years of age when he attained supreme power, and too old to realise the dreams of his youth. The romantic imagination of his early life expressed itself in novels, in which he depicted the society of his time and its division into two peoples, the people of wealth, property, and culture, and the people of wage-earners in town and country, which had grown up uncared for and almost unknown, living upon the verge of destitution. He foresaw and almost predicted the class hostility that must grow up unless these two peoples came to know and understand each other. He saw, or thought he saw, how the best elements in the wealthy classes might, if they had the will and comprehension, direct and control the new movements which other Victorian statesmen thought were best left undirected. He believed in the people, he believed in its natural leaders; he did not believe in surrender and compromise; he did not believe in stubborn resistance to invincible changes; he believed in direction, in leadership, in a Government which should be loved and not hated. When he came

to power it was too late ; but with the remnants of his force he did what he could for sanitation and control of industry. Had he come to power twenty years earlier he might have succeeded, he might have failed ; but he would have tried to do what it was a matter of principle with the middle classes to leave undone. He might even have conciliated the Irish people, which he was better fitted to understand than any of his contemporaries.

During the six years (1874-1880) of his supreme power, he used with a wise economy his remaining strength to re-establish the rightful influence of Great Britain in the affairs of Europe and the world. He may be said to have discovered the British Empire, which the middle classes had carefully ignored with other troublesome responsibilities. He made known, what his ardent imagination could not fail to see, the enormous strength that Great Britain had in reserve through her world-wide possessions and self-governing dominions. He sent the Prince of Wales to India ; he made the Queen assume the title of Empress of India. These acts of policy may seem slight and unimportant ; but they proved a new spirit, a new comprehension ; and the minds of Britons all over the world were awakened to a new sense of brotherhood, to a new pride in our inheritance, and a new perception of its possibilities. Our Indian subjects were raised in their own esteem by recognition as fellow-citizens, and took pride in the new and

fitting dignity assumed by their distant ruler, successor of Shah Jehan, and Queen of all their Kings.

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

Disraeli's term of power was not to elapse before the need arose to decide whether further great changes were to take place in Europe, with or without the voice of Britain being heard. In 1875 an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, owing to the exactions of the Turkish tax collectors. It spread to Bosnia, and in 1876 Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey on behalf of those provinces, whose race and language were their own. A further rebellion took place in Bulgaria, which was stamped out by the Turks with indiscriminate massacres of the inhabitants of the insurgent districts. Gladstone declaimed against the "Bulgarian atrocities"; Russia intervened to prevent the conquest of the Serbian rebels ; a European conference was summoned, which recommended self-government for Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, under Turkish governors. The Turks rejected these proposals, and Russia had an excellent excuse for intervention on behalf of the Christian subjects of Turkey. She made an agreement (1877) for the passage of her troops through Roumania, who shortly afterwards declared war in alliance with Russia. The allies were at first successful, but were afterwards held up for six months at Plevna by the determined

resistance of a Turkish force under Osman Pasha. After the fall of Plevna Turkish resistance collapsed; and it appeared likely that the Russian forces would proceed to the occupation of Constantinople.

Constantinople is the most important naval position in Europe; the Straits of Gibraltar and the Sound probably come next. The Dardanelles, as was proved in 1915, can easily be rendered impregnable to naval attack, and their capture by land forces is an operation of great military difficulty. Thus the owners of Constantinople not only can prevent all access to the Black Sea, but have a secure base for naval action in the eastern Mediterranean. The opening of the Suez Canal, in 1869, greatly increased the importance of this position, and Europe has tolerated its possession by the Turks during the last hundred years only because they were not thought likely to establish any formidable naval power. If Russia occupied the city and straits, it might prove impossible to dislodge her, and the direct route to India by the Suez Canal would be threatened. Disraeli, since 1876 Earl of Beaconsfield, took the risk of war as soon as this danger appeared; he sent the fleet to Besika Bay and into the Sea of Marmora, and prepared to land troops on Gallipoli. It was a great bluff, for Great Britain was not ready for a great war, but he knew that Russia was exhausted and he relied on the jealousy of Austria. This action may or may not have prevented the

occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. At any rate, they stopped short and agreed with the Turks as to terms of peace by a treaty made at San Stefano. This treaty would have made Russia mistress of the Balkan Peninsula, through the self-governing Balkan states that were to be established. This aroused Austria, who had always looked forward to the extension of her power over the westward portion of the peninsula. However, by the pressure of Great Britain and other Powers, the Russians agreed to discuss the terms of settlement at a European Congress, which was held at Berlin in June, 1878. Great Britain was represented by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, and the skill and firmness of the aged statesman led to an agreement on the terms which he desired.

The exact terms of the settlement are not of importance; they were not durable nor perhaps expected to be; seven years later they were modified, with the consent of Great Britain, so as to conform more nearly to the Treaty of San Stefano. The Balkan States have never, since 1878, ceased to be a danger spot for Europe. The occupation of Herzegovina and Bosnia by Austria, which was arranged at Berlin, led indirectly to the War of 1914. No means have ever been devised to force the Turks to govern Christians better; Armenian massacres, far worse than any Bulgarian atrocities, have occurred from time to time, and Europe has appeared powerless. The jealousies of Austria

and Russia have fostered disquiet and hostility in the Balkan States; and the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were the direct forerunners of the greater War of 1914. But this is only to say that no statesman can make a plan which will work after he is gone; constant vigilance and continued action is needed to deal with events as they arise. At this great emergency of 1878 Beaconsfield did what seemed to be necessary, and carried out his will without war. No statesman has ever dealt with Balkan troubles more effectually; British interests have never been more skilfully defended. In the height of the crisis Indian troops were summoned to reinforce the garrison of Malta; they were but seven thousand, but they showed to the world a sample of the reserve resources of the British Empire.

AFGHAN WAR

Beaconsfield had earned the hostility of Russia, as he was no doubt aware, and it was quickly felt. The Afghan War of 1878 was directly due to the interference of Russia in Afghan intrigues, but, troublesome as it was, it led to the firm establishment of Abdul Rahman on the throne of Afghanistan, who proved a steady and faithful friend of Britain; the frontiers dividing Afghanistan from Russian territory were fixed by agreement, and the collision of Russian troops with Afghans at Penjdeh, in 1885, was not allowed to lead to any serious result. The hostility of Russia and Great Britain was more talked of

than effective; its action was transferred to the Far East, where it led to the defensive alliance between Japan and Great Britain in 1902. When, in 1904, war broke out between Japan and Russia, that alliance prevented the intervention of any other European Power; and after that war was over the growing sympathy between France and Great Britain eventually led to a friendly understanding between Britain and Russia, the ally of France.

GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY

Had Beaconsfield dissolved Parliament in 1878 he might have returned triumphantly to power; but the disasters of 1879, in Afghanistan and in the war with the Zulus (p. 202), had diminished his popularity. At the election of 1880 Gladstone's astonishing vigour and fiery eloquence swept the Tories from power. Beaconsfield retired and died in 1881. Gladstone had resigned the leadership of his party, but, although he was seventy years of age, no other man could aspire to lead the Liberal Party, and, with real or feigned reluctance, he entered on his second term of rule.

FIRST BOER WAR

Circumstances made it difficult for him to live up to his principles—in South Africa, in Egypt, and above all in Ireland. South Africa was first colonised by the Dutch, with an infusion of French Huguenot refugees. Their colony of the

Cape of Good Hope came under British rule in 1815. The Dutch colonists, stubborn, ignorant, and fanatical, did not accept British policy for the protection of the natives, or the other restrictions of our rule, and after 1836 many of them migrated beyond the boundaries of the Cape Colony, and eventually established the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State, where they governed themselves as seemed good in their own eyes. About 1877 the Boers, as they are called—the name means peasants or farmers—of the Transvaal were in great difficulties; their government was bankrupt and they were threatened by the powerful military confederation of the Zulu tribes. The British Government, mistaking the need of the Boers for their desire, annexed the Transvaal Republic, and two years later were themselves compelled to take action against the Zulus, who, after they had annihilated a British force at Isandhlwana, were crushed at Ulundi. The Boers, thus liberated from their pressing danger and relying on the sympathy of their kinsmen in the Cape Colony, revolted against British rule in 1880, and destroyed 600 men under Sir George Colley at Majuba Hill in 1881. Gladstone's Government declined to press the quarrel to a decision, and restored independence to the Transvaal, reserving only control of the foreign relations of the Republic. This conclusion may have been just; it certainly was generous; but it led to disastrous results.

The Boers of the Transvaal were not destined

to retain their patriarchal seclusion, with their flocks and their herds and their Kaffir servants—almost slaves. In 1886 gold was discovered in their country on the Witwatersrand; a great incursion of British and other foreigners took place, who in a few years outnumbered the original population. This was not an industry that could be carried out by adventurers digging and washing gravel; it required organisation, capital, power, and machinery, on a large scale. The immigrants were tolerated and protected, but they were not admitted to any share in the government of the country. Hostility thus increased between the primitive Boers and the enterprising British. In Cape Colony a movement for self-government began in 1882, by the formation of the Afrikander Bond or League of South African Citizens. The objects of this league were inconsistent with the aims of the enterprising immigrants, who desired the expansion of British rule and fresh fields for the pursuit of wealth and for colonisation. At the head of this forward party was Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman who had made a great fortune in the diamond fields of Kimberley. In 1889 he founded the British South Africa Company, to exploit rights acquired by treaty from Lobengula, King of the Matabele. In 1893 war broke out with the Matabele, which was carried to a successful issue by the British settlers, and Matabeleland came under the rule of Rhodes' Company. Up to this time, by his consummate

dexterity, Rhodes had kept on good terms with the Afrikander Bond and was Prime Minister of Cape Colony by their support. But Rhodes was, or his lieutenants were, in a hurry to overthrow Boer domination in the Transvaal, and at the end of 1895 a raid started from the territory of the Company to invade the Transvaal. The raid failed ignominiously; Rhodes' influence with the Afrikanders was destroyed; and a race war of British and Dutch for supremacy in South Africa became inevitable.

SECOND BOER WAR

The outbreak was delayed until 1899, when the British Government, represented by Lord Milner as Governor of the Cape Colony, took up the claims to political rights of British settlers in the Transvaal. Paul Kruger, the President of the Republic, felt that the time was come to fight, since he did not intend to yield. He addressed an ultimatum to the British which they could not accept, and war began. No doubt he placed too much reliance on the Cape Dutch, who, although sympathetic, gave him little active help. The Orange Free State, on the other hand, threw in its lot with his. No doubt he hoped for help from Europe, encouraged by a telegram from the German Kaiser after the raid of 1895, but British sea power shut out interference. Europe was generally hostile to our cause and our action, but the British self-governing colonies supported us with their men

and by their confidence that we were in the right. Neither British nor Boers foresaw the duration or the burdens of the conflict.

The war began, as our wars have so often begun, with defeats. No one, who was then of age to know the significance of things, can forget that gloomy week of December, 1899, when the three defeats of Magersfontein, Stormberg, and Colenso, were announced. But efforts were made proportionate to the danger. Roberts and Kitchener were sent out; the sieges of Kimberley and Ladysmith were raised, Pretoria was occupied, and the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were annexed (1900). However, a long row still remained to be hoed; the Boer forces broke up into mobile units, which slipped away when pressed but seized every chance to inflict a sudden blow. We found it difficult to deal with their method of fighting or to emulate their speed of movement, aided by their knowledge of the country. But area after area was gradually cleared and occupied with blockhouses and barbed wire fences; until at last, in May, 1902, the Boer leaders accepted defeat and surrendered their independence.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

After victory we could afford to be generous and trustful, and in 1906-7 self-government was given to the Transvaal and the Orange State. By good-will and mutual respect on both sides friendly relations were established, and in 1909

the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange State, were united by common consent under one Constitution as a great self-governing Dominion, forming part of the British Empire. In 1914 a few of our irreconcilable enemies seized the chance to raise rebellion, but the vast majority stood by us, and conquered for themselves German South-west Africa, and for the Empire German East Africa. The hostility of Dutch and British has not quite died down; but it seems to be confined to a minority. The conflict may have been inevitable; British rule gives freedom to development, to commercial and industrial enterprise; it aspires to give protection to the native tribes against unprovoked aggression; the Boers detested change and what we sometimes call progress, and desired a free hand with the natives, whose rights they did not acknowledge. But lack of policy and timely wisdom cost us and our opponents many thousands of good lives, and more treasure than the mines of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand are worth or will ever produce.

EGYPT

It was contrary to Gladstone's principles to fight the Boers; to set them free was consistent with his views. Disraeli might have conquered Egypt as a matter of policy; Gladstone drifted into it; having conquered it, he deluded himself and others with hopes that he would soon shake off this inconvenient obligation, and therefore he

left his work half done. Egyptian civilisation is perhaps the oldest in the world; Egyptian wealth has been coveted by many conquerors. Egypt was conquered by the Persians, by the Greeks, by the Romans, by the Arabs, and last of all, before ourselves, by the Turks. Early in the nineteenth century, when the Turkish power was falling to pieces, Mehemet Ali established an unauthorised supremacy in Egypt, and massacred the Mamelukes, whose military rule had preceded and succeeded the incursion of Napoleon. Mehemet and his successors ruled the country as Khedives—that is, Princes—under the Sultan, to whom they gave bribes and tribute, but were practically independent. This family of Khedives developed the resources of Egypt by the help of French and other European engineers and administrators. The greatest of their works was the building of the Suez Canal, opened in 1869. The last who ruled without foreign control was Ismail (1863-79), who, finding it easy to borrow money in Europe to pay for his extravagant pleasures and display, mortgaged his country to foreign financiers. To save Egypt and the foreign bond-holders from ruin, France and England stepped in. Ismail was deposed, and Tewfik, his son, reigned in his stead under the Dual Control of France and England. But the rule of foreigners was distasteful; and in 1882, Arabi, the War Minister, raised rebellion. British interests in Egypt, and especially in the Suez Canal, were too great to be sacrificed.

While the Powers were debating, a British fleet bombarded Arabi's forts at Alexandria, and landed marines to prevent a massacre of Europeans. France was invited to assist in restoring order but declined; and a British force, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, invaded the country and destroyed the rebel army at Tel El Kebir.

Then resulted a curious situation. Tewfik, the Khedive, was restored to nominal power, but carried out the orders of the British Agent, who was supported by a small British army, paid for by Egypt. An Egyptian army was raised and trained under a British Commander-in-Chief. But there was not only Egypt proper to be considered; there was also the Sudan to be administered, which had been conquered by Mehemet Ali, who founded Khartoum and established his power as far as Kordofan. Egypt's prosperity, even her existence, depends upon the Nile; the Sudan controls the upper waters of the Nile, and is therefore necessary to the safety of Egypt. In this southern province a Mohammedan prophet, known as the Mahdi, raised a rebellion and proclaimed his mission to conquer Egypt (1881). In 1883 an Egyptian force under Hicks was sent to subdue him, but perished miserably. The British Government declined, and would gladly have avoided, any responsibility for the Sudan, but there were Egyptian garrisons in the country whose lives were in danger. In 1884 a force under Valentine Baker, marching



Gentlemen in full fig, about 1860.



IN THE SIXTIES



IN THE SEVENTIES



IN THE EIGHTIES



IN THE NINETIES

Feminine dress and amusements in four decades
of the nineteenth century.

from Suakim to relieve the garrison of Tohar, was cut to pieces. British troops were sent, who avenged this defeat, but were not allowed to proceed far from their base. All that was done in the Sudan was done unwillingly, and therefore badly and too late.

The British Government had decided to abandon the Sudan, and desired to evacuate the garrisons. Charles Gordon had been Governor of the Sudan from 1874-9 for Ismail, and now accepted the mission to go to the Sudan to collect and to withdraw the troops. When he reached this province, he either misunderstood his instructions, which were indeed obscure and even contradictory, or elected not to obey them. While he was arguing with his superiors the insurrection overwhelmed Berber, and Khartoum was thus cut off from Egypt. It was now impossible to evacuate the garrisons, and a relief expedition was necessary unless Gordon was to be left to his fate. Months were wasted before the expedition was authorised, and when at length it struggled up the Nile, its forerunners found that two days before they reached the neighbourhood of Khartoum the forces of the Mahdi had entered the city and Gordon had been slain.

For many years the Sudan was left to the tender mercies of the Mahdi's successors and their fanatical dervishes. Meanwhile, Egypt was slowly restored to prosperity by honest, patient, and firm government. The intention to leave it

was from time to time announced but never fulfilled. The burdens of the peasants were greatly reduced; yet the revenue increased and debt was paid off. Peace and security improved cultivation. At length, in 1896, the decision was taken to reconquer the Sudan. The task was carried out by Kitchener, commander-in-chief to the Khedive, with British and Egyptian troops. Careful preparations and the construction of railways were required for every step. The advance was first made to Dongola, 1896. In 1898 a strong force of Dervishes was defeated on the Atbara river, and later in the same year a great battle was fought at Omdurman, when the Dervishes were completely crushed and Khartoum was occupied. Meanwhile, a French force under Colonel Marchand, starting from Senegal, had reached Fashoda, on the Nile, 300 miles to the south of Khartoum. There was some danger of a conflict between the British and the French, but everything was satisfactorily arranged, largely because of the firmness and tact displayed by Kitchener.

During the time of British occupation Egypt and the Sudan have been greatly developed. The barrage on the Nile below Cairo was strengthened and perfected for irrigation, and another at Assuan was built, which has immensely increased the area fertilised by the annual floods. The channel of the White Nile has been cleared for navigation. If prosperity and order are the main ends of government, the British rule in Egypt has been

a noteworthy success. During the Great War Egypt was the base, the resting place, the training ground, of countless troops, and thence our forces at length advanced to the conquest of Syria and Palestine. The country benefited greatly by the high prices obtained for its produce, and was entirely free from the ravages of war. Yet at no time has there been greater unrest and discontent. And now, in pursuance of our general policy to entrust our dependencies with responsibility for their own government, we have given to the Egyptians the control of their affairs, reserving to ourselves only such military and political control as is necessary to safeguard the Suez Canal. Thus, after nearly forty years, our many promises of evacuation seem likely to be fulfilled.

CONCLUSION

The Crimean War broke the long period of European peace. In the succeeding fifteen years Italy won her freedom and established a national kingdom. Austria was defeated, and Germany was united as an Empire. France was crushed and humiliated. In all these events British statesmen preserved a disinterested neutrality. But the advent of Disraeli to power, in 1874, changed the direction of our national thoughts and ambitions, and the settlement of the Russo-Turkish War, in 1878, was not regarded as a matter in which we had no concern. Disraeli revealed the latent resources of the

control the forces that are constantly deflecting the statesman from the path of rectitude. Thus, among the statesmen who stand forth in history, we can find but few who deserve to be called good.

Honesty, good faith, steadfastness, courage, are the great principles of statesmanship which are valid at all times and in all places. But every statesman adopts for his personal guidance certain rules of conduct to which others may attach less importance, and which may not be right and wise in all circumstances. Among the principles held by Gladstone were belief in the sanctity of free contract between man and man, belief in the justice and validity of the ordinary law and the constitution of these kingdoms, and a high reverence for the Church of England. In the troubles with Ireland, which were the most serious that he had to face, he was obliged to abandon or modify all these principles. To understand how he was forced from his convictions we must look back upon the history of Ireland.

IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The earlier history of Ireland is briefly but sufficiently sketched in Volume II, pp 145-150. By the end of the seventeenth century the conquest of Ireland was complete. The clans, in which the Irish, like the Scotch, were originally grouped and governed, had been completely broken up; the native chiefs had lost their

authority; three quarters of all the land of Ireland had been taken from its owners and occupiers and given to English and Scotch landlords and settlers. The new colonists were Protestants, and they were introduced into that country to hold and control it in the interests of England. There was an Irish Parliament, in which Protestants alone were represented; but this Parliament was subordinate to the Parliament of Britain, which could and did make laws binding upon Ireland, as for instance when they forbade the export of wool and woollen goods from Ireland, except to England, and placed prohibitive duties upon them when exported to England. There was an Irish Church, which took the Irish tithe, but it was a Protestant Church, and the native Irish, including those of the old families which had retained their lands, were Catholic, and continued to be Catholic in spite of laws which excluded Catholics from every office and profession, and placed even their possessions at the mercy of informers. The best of the Irish gentry went abroad and took service under foreign kings.

The land acquired by the settlers was given to the grazing of cattle and of sheep; and only the bogs and moorlands were left to the Irish cotters, where they raised scanty crops of potatoes or oats. But the Protestant colonists themselves soon came to resent the interference of the British Parliament, which neglected Ireland, except when British interests were concerned,

and in 1777 rejected a bill to give Ireland greater liberty to trade abroad.

GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT.

In 1778 France, in alliance with the revolted American colonies, made war on Britain. Ireland was at the mercy of invasion, and seized the excuse to raise bodies of Volunteers. Catholics were not allowed by law to bear arms, so the Volunteers were all Protestants, but they were Irishmen and resented the restrictions on Irish trade imposed by Britain. The Irish Parliament passed an address in favour of freedom to export Irish manufactures, and, recognising that it was impossible to coerce the Irish people now in arms, the British Parliament passed laws giving to Ireland freedom of export and a share in colonial trade on equal terms. But Ireland was not content. In her name Henry Grattan demanded legislative independence, which was granted in the fullest form by the British Parliament in 1782, and for sixteen years Ireland enjoyed Home Rule. But the British Government could still control the Irish Parliament by corruption, and the Reform of Parliament, which was demanded by the patriots and the Volunteers, was rejected by an Irish Parliament of nominees, pensioners, and placemen. Pitt offered to Ireland a commercial treaty, which was unwisely rejected, but laws were passed encouraging agriculture in Ireland, and thus Ireland was enabled to profit by the demand of England for food-stuffs,

which increased as her population and her manufactures increased, and when other foreign supplies were cut off by the French wars of 1793-1815. In two generations Ireland was transformed from a grazing country, which imported corn, to a land where great quantities of corn were grown for export. The years from 1784, when the Irish Corn Laws were passed, until 1846, when the British Corn Laws were repealed, were the most prosperous that Ireland had known. Since 1846 the land of Ireland has gradually come again to be used more and more for grazing and less and less for corn.

THE UNION OF IRELAND TO GREAT BRITAIN

Grattan's Parliament, as it is called after its most brilliant member, was weak and irresolute, not so much because it was Protestant as because it could be swayed through its pensioners and placemen. In 1791 a movement began outside of Parliament, initiated by Wolfe Tone, a Protestant lawyer, for the reform of Parliament and the grant of all political rights to Catholics. A Society of United Irishmen was formed to further these ends. The movement was part of the great democratic wave which produced the American Revolution and the French Revolution (Chapters II and III above), but it was also inspired by hatred of England, the ruthless conqueror, whose power maintained Protestant rule in Ireland. Grattan was a Conservative and feared democracy, but the movement passed beyond his control.

Pitt was favourable to the Catholics, and allowed Acts to pass, in 1792 and 1793, which swept away almost all the cruel laws which forbade Catholics to own land, to exercise professions or act as magistrates, and to educate their children as they pleased. Catholics received the right to vote for Members of Parliament, but were not permitted to sit in Parliament. These concessions might have brought peace and content but for the French war. The United Irishmen thought that a French invasion might lead to the independence of Ireland, and some, at any rate, plotted with the enemy. The Catholics desired admission to Parliament; Pitt was inclined to grant this; but George III declared his unalterable determination to forbid it. Disorder spread in Ireland; repression led to insurrection; and at length, in 1798, an armed but futile rebellion broke out. It was easily and severely suppressed, but the danger was proved by two French invasions which followed close upon its suppression. For greater safety it was decided to unite the Government and Parliament of Ireland with those of England. The Union was carried through, in 1800, by the means of government then usual in Ireland, that is to say, by corruption. It was agreed that Ireland should pay two-seventeenths towards Imperial expenditure. The proportion at that time was probably generous, but the calculation was at all times difficult, and in 1815 the arrangement was abandoned, and thenceforward the revenue of both countries was

raised by similar taxes and paid into one Exchequer. After 1846, as Ireland declined in wealth and population, the taxes which were fair for England and Scotland were probably heavier, as a rule, than Ireland could be justly expected to pay.

In 1707 Scotland was united to England. In 1715 and 1745 there were risings in Scotland on behalf of the exiled Stewarts, and the King's Government in Scotland was not always merciful. The Scotch have a strong national feeling; they are proud and quarrelsome and are not inclined to submit to oppression. Yet it must be admitted that the Union with Scotland has been a success, and Scotland has been content and prosperous under the rule which suits England. The Union with Ireland, on the other hand, has always been a failure. Even when Ireland was more prosperous, and Catholics had been admitted to Parliament (1829-1846), O'Connell and his movement for Repeal of the Union united the great mass of Irishmen. Since that time all measures, however wise and generous, designed to remove Irish grievances and conciliate Irish affection, have failed. To-day (1922), when all that Ireland seems to us to need is hers if she will or can accept it, there is an irreconcilable minority prepared to proceed to all extremes. The following seem to be the reasons for the failure of the Irish Union.

Irish memories are long. Ireland was imperfectly conquered until the seventeenth century.

Then she was harshly subdued, and despoiled of her lands. She was Catholic by temperament and by aversion from England and from the faith that England had adopted. She was put for a hundred and fifty years under the rule of Protestants, for the most part aliens who had entered on the confiscated lands, and religious hatred on both sides was added to the resentment of the conquered and despoiled towards the conquerors and despoilers. For about a hundred years (say 1690-1782) the laws made on her behalf, by England were framed, not for the benefit of Ireland but of England. During the last hundred and fifty years, and specially during the last fifty years, we have endeavoured to legislate for the benefit of Ireland; but none of our gifts, and some have been very great, have won for us any gratitude. They may understand us; they are a clever people and perhaps they do, but hatred and resentment prevent sympathy; we do not, it would seem that we cannot, understand them, and that perhaps is the principal cause of our failure. Of all the tasks that fate has imposed upon us, the task of dealing with Ireland, either by kindness or by force, is that in which we have most pitifully failed.

IRELAND FROM O'CONNELL TO GLADSTONE

The repeal of the Corn Laws, in 1846, completed the disaster of the famine of 1845-7. The failure of the potato crops starved the people; the loss

of preference for Irish corn in British markets completed their ruin. Emigration was their only hope. In 1846 the population of Ireland was about 8,300,000. In 1851 it had fallen to 6,552,000, in 1861 to 5,798,000, and in 1911, in spite of generous legislation, it was only 4,390,000. A very large proportion of the emigrants went to the United States, where many of them prospered greatly, and almost all preserved the traditional hatred of England, to whom they attributed their exile in addition to the other wrongs of their nation. Desire to propitiate the Irish voters has often made American policy towards England unfriendly, when it might have been indifferent or even friendly.

During this dismal period there was frequent disorder, coercive measures were needed from time to time, and in 1865 a movement was started in America to win by force the independence of Ireland. The secret Society of Fenians was formed, taking the name by which the native population was known in ancient history. In 1866 the danger appeared so great that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in Ireland, and the Government were thus enabled to imprison without trial those whom they suspected of crime or sedition. Fenians, in 1866, invaded Canada from the United States; in 1867 there was a Fenian rising at Chester, and in the rescue of Fenian prisoners at Manchester a police officer was killed. A little later a prison was blown up at Clerkenwell to aid the escape of Fenians

confined therein. Gladstone was in opposition at the time; he moved, as a remedy for Irish discontent, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and carried his resolution in the House of Commons.

GLADSTONE AND IRISH PROBLEMS

In 1868 Gladstone became Prime Minister, with the mission, as he said, to pacify Ireland. The whole of his career as head of the Government was largely occupied with this endeavour, but he did not succeed, and no one can be sure that he would have succeeded even if he had been allowed to carry through his policy. The Irish Church was a branch of the English Protestant Church; it was governed by the same beliefs and traditions; it drew the tithes of Ireland and held the lands of the Irish Church; it held the original parishes and the original Cathedrals, although not more than twelve per cent. of the whole population were Anglicans. Neither the Roman Catholics of the three southern provinces nor the Presbyterians of Ulster had any share in the primitive endowments of the ancient Church of Ireland, or any countenance from the State. This was indeed a grievance, and Gladstone determined to abolish it, but he could not restore to the Irish Catholics the endowments which they regarded as their right. He made the landlords buy out the tithe; he took over the lands of the Church for the State; he gave compensation to the

existing bishops and clergy; what was left of the property of the Church he assigned to undefined purposes of charity and public relief, but not to religion. He destroyed a wrong, but he did not restore a right. And therefore this great measure, which must have been deeply repugnant to him as a loyal Churchman, failed to touch Irish feeling. Ireland was not pacified.

IRISH LAND

Gladstone was dimly aware that Irish peasants, whose forefathers had owned the land which their posterity cultivated on sufferance, were not happily placed. They could at any time be dismissed from their farms. Whereas in England the landlord provided for his tenants the house and farm buildings, supplied gates and fences, and often assisted the tenants to drain the land and carry out other improvements, the Irish tenant had to do all these things for himself, and if he improved the land the rent might be, and often was, raised on his improvements. Moreover, in England there are many industries; no one is forced to be a farmer or starve; in most parts of Ireland there were few industries but that of farming; the tenant who lost his farm was in peril of complete destitution. Many of the Irish landlords had their homes in England; they did not know their tenants nor spend their income in the neighbourhood; the farmer was left to agents and rent collectors. Many of the Irish landlords in the bad times had

sold their lands, which had been bought by speculators, who, without scruple, used all their legal powers to increase their income. It was long before Gladstone fully understood the magnitude of this problem, but before he had done with it he was obliged to abandon his principle of freedom of contract.

He made a beginning in 1870, when he forced the landlord who evicted a tenant, otherwise than for failure to pay his rent, to compensate him for the improvements he had made. Eleven years later (1881), since things had grown worse instead of better, after trying another partial remedy which the Lords defeated, he was forced to grant what the Irish tenants had been asking for thirty years—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale, the “three F’s.” The tenant was to have the right to apply to a Land Court to fix a fair rent for his land. He could not be removed from his holding, save for failure to pay his rent—that is fixity of tenure. Moreover, if he left his farm he could sell his right of tenancy for such money as it might fetch—that is the meaning of free sale. So far was Gladstone driven from the principle of free contract. And yet Ireland was not pacified.

The best solution lay in another direction—by making the tenant the owner of his land. John Bright urged that measure in 1870, and certain timid action was taken afterwards from time to time on these lines. But in 1903 George Wyndham persuaded Parliament to advance

money, year by year, up to a hundred million pounds, so that tenants could buy their land by agreement with their landlords, borrowing the money from the State and repaying it with interest over a long term of years. Landlords were glad to sell, since they had had so much trouble; and thus, before the War, a very large proportion of Irish tenants were buying up the land they held, and yet paying annually a less sum than they had previously paid in rent. Nevertheless, in spite of prosperity, in spite of great profits made during the War, the Irish were not, and are not, pacified.

HOME RULE AND PARNELL

In the course of his struggles with the Irish question, Gladstone came to think that the true remedy for Irish discontent was to grant to the Irish the management of their own affairs. Repeal, O’Connell called it; Home Rule was the newer term, adopted in 1870 by the Irish party under the leadership of Isaac Butt. For some years Butt proposed an annual resolution for Home Rule in the House of Commons, but he was not vigorous enough to make much impression, and about 1877 one of his followers Charles Stewart Parnell, broke loose from his control, and with one or two associates proceeded to make the business of Parliament impossible by persistent discussion and every kind of obstruction. Parnell was a landlord and

a Protestant, a fanatical Irishman, and, although ignorant of Irish history, consumed with a bitter hatred of England, which came to him, at least in part, from his Irish-American mother. He soon dominated all his Irish colleagues and became the recognised leader of the Irish Home Rule party. He entered into alliance with the American Fenian Society, known as the Clan-na-Gael, although he carefully avoided any direct knowledge of, or any share in, their criminal acts. In 1879 a bad harvest created great discontent in Ireland, and the Irish Land League was formed to protect the interests of the Irish tenant farmers. Parnell mistrusted the Land League, but used it for his purposes. It gave him power over the whole farming class, which he could not otherwise have gained. It was he who suggested to them the device of excluding from all intercourse, whether of business or private life, those who offended against the unwritten law of the Land League, either by evicting tenants or by taking the land of those evicted, or by any other action. This was first tried on a Captain Boycott and is still known as "Boycotting." In all his policy Parnell showed a singular skill in using every group of men who could serve his purpose, going with them just so far as he thought fit, but no further. He was aloof, cold, implacable, and governed his followers by force of his ruthless personality. He was not a good speaker, but often more stirring than the greatest orator, by his direct and practical

words and the icy passion with which he drove them home.

Gladstone's Land Act of 1881 was coupled with two Crimes Acts, giving Government exceptional power to deal with violence and disorder. Parnell and his followers fought the Crimes Acts till they were ejected from the House. They regarded the Land Act with distrust, and Gladstone suspected them of plotting to frustrate it. Eventually Parnell and some of his colleagues were put in prison, but crime increased while they were shut up. By an informal agreement Parnell engaged to aid in pacifying the country, on condition that measures were taken to relieve tenants from the burden of arrears of rent. This was known as the Kilmainham treaty, because it was arranged in Kilmainham gaol. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, resigned, and Lord Frederick Cavendish was charged with the new policy of conciliation. On his arrival in Dublin, May 6th, 1882, he and the Under-Secretary were murdered in the Phoenix Park. This was a great shock to Parnell, whose ruthlessness did not extend to murder. The Land Act was put into operation, and gave satisfaction; the arrears were dealt with; crime was put down; and up to 1885 conditions in Ireland gradually improved. When Gladstone resigned (1885) and Lord Salisbury came into power, the new Lord Lieutenant, Lord Carnarvon, favoured some form of Home Rule, and led Parnell to hope that the

Conservatives might grant it. In the General Election of 1885 the Irish vote in Great Britain was cast on the Conservative side.

THE HOME RULE BILL

When Gladstone returned to power, in 1886, he had no majority without the Irish Parnellites, who numbered eighty-six. He announced his intention of bringing in a Bill for Irish Home Rule and a Bill for the purchase of Irish Land. But he reckoned without his own followers. Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Hartington, and others, refused to support him, and the Home Rule Bill was defeated on the second reading. This broke up the Liberal Party for twenty years. The dissentient Liberals took the name of Liberal Unionists, and for twenty years worked with the Conservatives, and their influence with the country was such as to win for the Unionist allies victory in the fresh Election of 1886. Gladstone, with the Irish, won a small majority in 1892, and passed a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, but the House of Lords rejected it and Great Britain acquiesced; as far as we can tell, with relief and approval, for in 1895 the Unionists came into power again, and remained in power till 1906, when the Liberal party was returned by an enormous majority. But even then they did not venture to bring forward a Home Rule Bill, and it was not until 1914 that an Act for Irish Home Rule was put on the Statute Book. When war

broke out Home Rule was postponed by consent; the experiment was thought too risky, since Ireland, if unfriendly, could have been used by the Germans to our great danger and detriment.

RESULTS OF THE HOME RULE CONTROVERSY

The main result of the Home Rule controversy was to break up the Liberal party. Another consequence was a great increase in the prestige and self-confidence of the House of Lords. They felt, and probably with truth, that in 1893 they had more truly interpreted the feeling of the British people than the House of Commons. This ultimately led to their discomfiture, as we shall see.

FATE OF PARNELL

The policy of the Conservative party, in 1886, as announced by Lord Salisbury, was resolute government for Ireland. Under Mr. Balfour, as Chief Secretary, crime and disorder were firmly suppressed, and severity was accompanied by wise measures of relief. More money was supplied for the purchase of land by the tenants, additional lands were purchased and allotted to the tenants of overcrowded districts, and light railways were constructed to give means of transport of farm produce from remote areas. But the political situation was saved, from the English point of view, by the fall of Parnell, the most resolute and capable leader that the Irish have ever found. About 1888 a vigorous attempt

was made by the *Times* newspaper to ruin Parnell by systematic and detailed accusations of connivance at crime. These charges became so grave that it was thought necessary to hold a judicial enquiry, which was continued for more than a year, and found, in fact, rather against than for Parnell. But Parnell himself gained public sympathy when it was shown that the worst of all the charges—that of approval of the Phoenix Park murders—was based on a forged letter. The forger confessed his crime and committed suicide; and Parnell came off with flying colours. But no sooner had he escaped this ordeal than he was summoned to the Divorce Court, and a charge of adultery was proved against him.

Gladstone, yielding to the feeling of a large part of his followers, declared that he could not act with the Irish Party if Parnell continued to be leader. After a stern and unflinching contest, Parnell was deserted by the chief part of his colleagues. He retained the love and obedience of a great section of the Irish people; but the Irish party in Parliament was broken up into Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, and after a feverish struggle to recover his ascendancy he died in 1891, broken down by fatigue and despair.

KILLING HOME RULE BY KINDNESS

When peace and order had been restored, the Conservatives proceeded, with more and more

satisfaction, on the conciliatory policy of Arthur Balfour. The Unionists had hopes of "killing Home Rule by kindness," and this policy reached its consummation in the Land Purchase Act of George Wyndham (1903, p. 224 above). But when George Wyndham began to dally with some form of Home Rule, which he called Devolution, it was seen that the old passions were still ready to burst into flame, and he was driven from power.

DIFFICULTIES OF HOME RULE

Home Rule was indeed very difficult. If an Irish Parliament were established, were Irishmen still to sit in the Imperial Parliament? If they did, then they would have a voice in settling British affairs, while we had no power to interfere with theirs. If they did not, they were cut off from all share in the common policy of the nation as regards foreign affairs, trade policy, and even peace and war. The one plan was suggested in 1882, the other in 1893, and both were attacked until each in turn appeared indefensible. Were the Irish to control their own Customs and Excise? If they did, they might not only escape the burdens which Britons have to bear, but they might put on protective duties to exclude British trade. If we retained control of Customs and Excise, how were we to back up our tax collectors, who never are popular anywhere, and would be trebly unpopular as British agents in Ireland, unless we could be sure of the support

of magistrates, police, and judges, and ultimately of the Irish Parliament? Without the same support, how could we secure that in peace our Army and Navy should have due facilities and honour in Ireland, and that in war our enemies might not receive comfort and aid, secret or open? The Home Rulers were not content with a part of Ireland; they desired the whole and declined to divide the nation. But Belfast and the four surrounding counties—the richest, the most populous, and the most industrious part of Ireland, are determined to maintain independence of the Catholic majority, even to the point of civil war. English people have no notion of the religious animosity of Irish Presbyterians towards Catholics, but the feeling is not wholly religious. The Protestants of Ireland have been for centuries in a position of ascendancy; the Protestants of Ulster fear the reprisals of the Catholic majority. And yet all difficulties might have been surmounted, all risks might be hopefully taken, if we could believe that by any course of action whatever we may secure the affection and trust of the Irish people. Thus our crimes and our errors of the past come home to us, and all that we have done, and may do, to convince the Irish of our goodwill seems to be of no avail. We are like the man in the proverb, who holds a wolf by his ears; he can neither retain his hold for ever, nor can he safely release it. We have now tried the experiment of releasing the wolf; the result remains to be seen.

SINN FEIN

In the last years before the War a movement arose in Ireland that was called Sinn Fein, which means "We ourselves." It is difficult to say anything definite about it, except that it began in a desire for the fullest recognition and expression of independent Irish nationality, and culminated in the demand for an Irish Republic and complete separation. It was at first led by high-minded patriots; it was no doubt contaminated by ruffians and the gloomy apostles of hate. The War gave its worst elements their opportunities; hence the abortive rising in Dublin (Easter, 1916), and the campaign of assassination in 1920-2, which differs only from the Fenian campaign in that it seems to be purely political in its aims and not to be prompted by the discontent of a poor and oppressed peasantry. It received no doubt an impulse from the expressed intention to enforce conscription in Ireland, which should either have been carried out or never announced. But we know very little about the inwardness of Sinn Fein, partly because the facts are not published, partly because it works in secret and keeps its own counsel. We end this section of the Irish story as we have ended others. Ireland is not, and has never been, pacified. Who can tell whether it might have been pacified if Home Rule had been granted in 1882, or in 1893, or in 1914? While I write Ulster has accepted a liberal

measure of Home Rule, and Southern Ireland has been granted self-government on terms similar to those of Canada and Australia; it remains to be seen whether the majority, who desire peace and order, will be able to control the violent and irreconcilable minority.

HOME RULE AND PARTY

The controversy about Home Rule brought the Tories into power in 1886; it kept them in power until 1906, except for the three years 1892-1895, during which the Liberals were in office with a majority of not more than forty, dependent upon Irish support. After fusion with the Liberal Unionists, in 1895, the Tories took the name of Unionists, because their main principle of policy was the maintenance of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Their Conservative principles were mitigated by the influence of vigorous Liberal allies, of whom Joseph Chamberlain was the chief. They introduced and carried considerable measures of reform. Education in elementary schools was made free in 1891, and in 1902 a great Act was passed by Mr. Arthur Balfour, bringing all the elementary schools of England and Wales under the elected Councils of counties and cities, and giving those Councils power and resources to establish higher schools and to assist Universities. Similar, but not identical measures, were put in force for Scotland, and authorities were set up for Irish education. Technical education was also developed. Local

self-government was introduced into Ireland in 1898. By Acts of 1897 and 1900, employers were made liable for compensation to workmen who suffered injury in the course of their employment; an attempt was made to deal with disputes concerning wages by the Conciliation Act of 1903, and another Act of the same year aimed at the improvement of housing. In social policy the Unionist party was cautious, but neither negligent nor indifferent; and, since a great majority in the House of Lords belonged to that party, the measures of the Unionist Government were, as a rule, favourably received in that House.

IMPERIAL POLICY

But, in accordance with the tradition established by Disraeli, the leading purpose of the Unionist party was to maintain the power and dignity of the nation throughout the world, and to develop the resources of our great Empire. This policy was carried out by skilful handling of the European Powers, and by encouraging the friendly independence of our self-governing Dominions. From the time that Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister (1886), until his retirement in 1902, foreign policy was his main business. During this time Europe was gradually separating itself into two great camps. On the one hand, the Triple Alliance of Austria, Germany, and Italy, was gradually consolidated (1887 onwards). This alliance, so far as Germany

was concerned, was intended to keep both France and Russia in check; so far as Austria was concerned, it was chiefly directed against Russia, Austria's rival for influence in the Balkan Peninsula. Italy was induced to join chiefly by commercial jealousy of France; the alliance served also to protect Italy against the hostility of Austria. Thus France and Russia drifted together (1889 onwards). It was Lord Salisbury's policy to keep free from any binding engagement with either of the two groups, to remain on good terms with both groups, so far as possible, and to maintain the rights and claims of Britain against all encroachment. During the Liberal administration of 1892-5 Lord Rosebery, as Foreign Minister, afterwards as Premier, followed the lines adopted by Lord Salisbury.

AFRICA

The jealousy of France was provoked by the British dominion in Egypt, which, in 1898, was consolidated by the conquest of the Soudan. But although minor quarrels frequently arose between France and Britain, culminating in the Marchand Expedition (p. 210), and ill-feeling was almost continuous between the two countries, every danger of a serious breach was successfully avoided. The French occupation of Tunisia, in 1881, was regarded by Britain with a favourable eye. The French possessions in Indo-China were increased, in 1885, by the annexation of Tonkin and Assam. But in 1893 the subjugation

of Siam by France was threatened, which would have given us a powerful, and at that time an unfriendly, neighbour to Upper Burma, which we had annexed in 1886. This question was amicably settled in 1896, and the independence of Siam was secured. But the lust of European Powers for foreign possessions was chiefly excited by the vast undeveloped territories of Africa. Bismarck was opposed to colonial enterprise, but the ambition of his people was too strong for him, and about 1885 friction arose through German annexation of African lands in which Britain had or claimed an interest. Lord Salisbury took this matter firmly but peaceably in hand, and by agreements between the Powers almost the whole of Africa was portioned out (1885-91). The Germans acquired important territories in East Africa, South-west Africa, the Cameroons, and Togoland. The French obtained, besides Madagascar, almost the whole of North-west Africa, excepting Morocco and the German and British possessions on the Gulf of Guinea. The British secured the rich and populous country on the lower Niger, the whole territory from Mombasa to the mouth of the Nile, the island of Zanzibar, and a block of land from the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika to the northern frontier of the Transvaal Republic. Heligoland, an island off the German coast, was given to buy off German claims to Zanzibar. Morocco came under French protectorate in 1911, and Tripoli was conquered by

Italy from Turkey in 1911-12. Thus Abyssinia alone retained independence in Africa, after Italian ambitions in this direction had been thwarted by disastrous failure in 1896. The latest acquisitions of France and Italy, which left Germany more than ever dissatisfied with her share of the plunder, were not the least of the causes which led to the Great War of 1914. Lord Salisbury had successfully played off Germany against France, and France against Germany. After 1904 British policy showed a decisive preference for France.

THE MONARCHY

It was the Conservative tradition to maintain and use the magic and majesty of royalty and the affection of the people towards their Sovereign. The Unionists followed the same tradition. After the death of the Prince Consort, in 1861, Queen Victoria lived in retirement for many years. Disraeli first drew her from her widowed seclusion to open Parliament. In 1887 the Queen's Jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary of her accession, offered an unique opportunity. It was made an Imperial festival; envoys attended from every part of the Empire; and the Queen first realised the devotion and worship of her free subjects from every clime. The occasion was also used for a conference of the self-governing nations who shared the great inheritance of the British race. Before Disraeli, statesmen often spoke as if the self-governing

colonies on reaching maturity would claim and receive their independence. He first brought the British nation to feel a proud satisfaction in power worthily upheld and exercised. With Chamberlain as Colonial Minister, the commercial and industrial benefits of our vast possessions were more emphasised. He regarded the Empire as a great estate, which could be developed for the well being of every part. He encouraged the great dominions to regard themselves as partners in a glorious and a profitable enterprise. A great ideal, a bond of kinship, are not impaired, they are strengthened, by common interests. The Queen's Diamond Jubilee of 1897 was even more splendid and varied as a pageant than that of 1887. The silks and jewels of the Indian princes, the dusky soldiers of Hindustan, the coal-black troops of Africa, not only displayed the splendour of power, but were a symbol and guarantee of wealth and prosperity. All centred about the throne, and in our aged Queen the people saw embodied its own majesty and greatness. In the Boer War of 1899-1902 the free Dominions willingly adopted the British cause.

THE FRENCH ENTENTE

In the early years of the twentieth century, the aggressive rivalry of Germany for commercial supremacy, sea power, and world power, became unmistakable. Lord Salisbury retired in 1902 and died in 1903; but the change of circumstances

rather than the change of persons dictated an altered policy. It was not possible any longer to be friendly both with Germany and with France, nor was it possible for Great Britain to stand alone. German ambition in the Far East had become apparent in 1895, after the war between China and Japan, when she persuaded France and Russia to join her in depriving Japan of the spoils of victory. In 1897 Germany demanded Kiaochow on lease from China, and Russia Port Arthur. China was forced to concede both demands, and Britain took Wei-Hai-Wei as a naval post in Chinese waters (1898). In 1899 a movement hostile to foreigners arose in China, known as the Boxer rebellion. An expedition to Peking became necessary in 1900, to rescue the Legations in that city from the insurgents. All the chief Powers took part in it, but the German Emperor assumed the right to name the Commander-in-Chief.

The independence of China was threatened; British interest in trade with China was of high importance; to prevent hostile interference in that region, Great Britain in 1902 made a defensive alliance with Japan. The two Powers together were easily predominant in Far Eastern waters, but safeguards were also needed in Europe. The French had relied on the Russian alliance, but in 1904-5 Russia engaged in an unsuccessful war with Japan. British statesmen seized the opportunity to settle their many differences with France, and established stable

friendship between the two countries. In this they succeeded, mainly perhaps through the personal charm of King Edward VII, whose tact and dignity and genuine sympathy with the French character won the heart of the French nation. Thus the paltry bickerings, which had lasted for five and twenty years, were brought to an end, and for ten years a cordial understanding, the *Entente*, was maintained between the two countries. The friendship with France led to friendship with Russia, the ally of France, and the old hostilities, dating from the Crimea and kept alive by mutual rivalry in Asia, were laid aside. In all the troubles about Morocco, which came very near to war in 1911, England stood firm by France. In the wars of the Balkan States (1912-13), first with Turkey, afterwards with each other, the influence of France and Britain was used to prevent any extension of the conflict. But the explosion was only delayed. The world conflict, for which no Power except Germany was fully prepared, broke out in 1914; the occasion arose or was found in the Balkans; and the new friendship between two old enemies was welded as by fire in face of the greatest danger that Britain or France had ever encountered in their long history.

THE NAVY

Even Gladstone, whose policy was peace and economy, was forced into war in Egypt and in South Africa. In 1885 he came near to war

with Russia over a quarrel of the Russians with the Afghans. The Conservative and Unionist policy of expansion and development for the Empire provoked jealousy and multiplied occasions of conflict, and therefore required an increase in our armed forces. British trade, the safety of British possessions, even the security of Britain from invasion, depended on maritime supremacy. The people understood their need and willingly made the necessary sacrifices. In 1889 the policy was laid down that British sea power should be equivalent to that of any two other States, and this standard was maintained for many years, both by Liberals and by Unionists. The understanding with France, in 1904, relieved us from danger in the Mediterranean, which is the main road to Egypt, India, Australia, and all our possessions in the Far East. Italy, the only other considerable naval Power in the Mediterranean, was friendly to us. For the Far East itself our alliance with Japan was a safeguard. But the manifest and increasing rivalry of Germany became about 1909 a serious menace. Futile attempts were made to induce Germany to relax her efforts; eventually our standard of shipbuilding was fixed with reference to that of Germany, and maintained at a proportion which, in the event, proved adequate. The launching of the *Dreadnought*, in 1906, delayed German schemes; for her armour, her speed, the weight and range of her guns, rendered smaller battleships almost

useless. The Germans had to build to this standard, and to take the new giant vessels the Kiel Canal had to be enlarged from end to end. But rivalry soon began anew, and up to 1914 the race of naval armaments was a race between Britain and Germany, in which Britain, with difficulty and at great cost, maintained her adequate preponderance. The main force of the British Navy, instead of ranging the world, was forced to concentrate on the North Sea. In the Great War the use of submarines, of air-craft, and of mines, introduced factors into the problem for which sufficient allowance had not been made. The British Navy was able to hold the German fleet, which only risked one general engagement, that of Jutland (1916). But it was not able to prevent hasty raids upon our coasts, or to protect our mercantile marine against submarines; still less was it able to destroy the German navy. If the Germans had known how short we were of high explosives in the early part of the war they might perhaps have inflicted upon us a great disaster.

THE ARMY

The British army, up to 1914, was quite inadequate for our safety. But our difficulties were grave. The first duty of an army in normal times was to garrison our possessions, especially India, where 70,000 British troops were required. For this purpose voluntary recruits, serving for long periods of time, were needed, and, although

both men and officers were poorly paid, the expense of transport and maintenance was very great. Other countries obtained far greater armies for a similar cost, by forcing a large proportion of their young men to serve in the army for two or three years, and then passing them into the reserve, which met for training at fixed intervals, and was called up in time of war. This system is commonly known as conscription. But such an army is not suitable for garrison duty in far countries. Had we provided for all our possible, even for all our probable needs, we should have needed two armies, one for garrison service and little wars, the other for a great war. The expense of two such armies seemed intolerable, though it might have saved us from the great war, which at last we had to face. Moreover, it is clear enough that the British people were and still are unwilling to endure the burden of conscription; during the Great War they recognised its necessity; but now that the immediate danger is over their aversion from compulsory service is no less than in the past. In this country more than in any other the people knows its own mind; it may be persuaded but it cannot be coerced; it must bear and will bear the consequences of its own acts and omissions.

ARMY REFORMS

Nevertheless, between 1870 and 1914 great improvements were made in the organisation of the army. Up to 1870 officers relinquishing

their commissions received payment from those who benefited by the consequent promotion. This system gave an advantage to the rich and hampered merit. Cardwell, backed by Gladstone abolished in 1870 this system of promotion by purchase. He also reorganised the infantry, allotting the old regiments, previously known by numbers, to the various districts of the United Kingdom. Each regiment was normally divided into two battalions. One battalion was kept at home for training and recruitment; the other went abroad, and its numbers were kept up by drafts from the home battalion, until the turn came for the home battalion to go abroad. The men served six years with the colours and six in the reserve. There were also militia battalions, which received training for a short period every year, and acted as an additional reserve for home defence, though in an emergency, such as the Boer War, they were found ready to volunteer for foreign service. There was also a considerable body of Volunteers who received some training, though they were not provided with the necessary equipment of guns and transport.

In the army thus constituted a new spirit of efficiency was soon evident. Many of the new officers were zealous in their work; Lord Wolseley and Lord Roberts, and afterwards Lord Kitchener, were the finest products of this new school. Wolseley's campaign in Egypt (1882), and Kitchener's in the Soudan (1896-8), were

admirable examples of military skill. Roberts' campaign in Afghanistan (1881) showed high courage and mastery of the art of War. In the Boer War the army proved slow to adapt itself to the methods of a mobile and resourceful enemy, but we learnt by our mistakes, and perseverance at length wore down the foe.

The attempts of the Unionists to reform the army after the Boer War were not successful, but in 1906 Lord Haldane became War Minister, and, working with the scanty resources allowed by public opinion and the feeling of the Liberal Party, he did much to prepare our little force for the great ordeal of 1914. He set up (1906) a General Staff, a body of skilled and able soldiers, constantly engaged in the improvement of training, preparation, and equipment, in studying the needs of the future, and the manner in which they could best be met when they arose. He reformed the Militia, and established it as a Special Reserve for the regular army. He reorganised the Volunteers, intending part of the new Territorial force for home defence, part as a Training Corps for Officers, to be used when the time came to expand the standing army. Many of the Territorial battalions went abroad soon after the outbreak of war, and not less than twenty thousand officers were supplied by the Training Corps. Above all, he organised and equipped an Expeditionary Force of 120,000 men of all arms, which was ready when the hour struck to go abroad at a few days notice. This

splendid force, with the chief part of our trained officers, was sacrificed, but it helped to win the battle of the Marne and save the Channel ports, and thus we had time to muster and train our men and organise the resources of the Empire. The conduct of the War was also greatly facilitated by the plans drawn up by the Council of Imperial Defence, organised by Mr. Balfour in 1902-4.

RESULTS OF UNIONIST RULE

The rule of the Unionist party lasted with only one break for nearly twenty years. Its lease of power was extended by the General Election of 1900, which was contested on the issue of a fight to a finish with the Boer Republics of South Africa. The Unionists came to power in 1886, at a time of great commercial depression, but this soon passed away, and throughout the period material prosperity continually increased. Agriculture alone was steadily decaying, because of the growing abundance of food imports from the new lands beyond the oceans, where land was cheap and fertile. Prices reached their lowest point about 1895; after that time a slight improvement began. But men left the country for the towns; land was laid down for pasture or went out of cultivation; agricultural wages were miserably low; and the nation became more and more dependent for its food on imports from abroad. Enterprise was checked, and Great Britain, which

had been the best cultivated land of the world, fell behind Belgium, Denmark, Holland, and Germany. Ireland shared in the depression, and her population continued to decrease, though the Land Purchase schemes brought great advantages to the Irish peasants. The supremacy of the land-owning class, which had been overthrown by the growth of manufacture, was finally destroyed by the fall in rents, and the taxes on succession, imposed by Sir William Harcourt in 1894, were a heavy burden on the impoverished country gentlemen. But owners of mines and of town property flourished greatly.

It was Unionist rule, determined to prevent the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom. It was Imperialist rule, not harshly ruling conquered peoples, but sympathetic with the free nations that were growing up in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; zealous for the well being of India, fighting famine, disease, and poverty; careful to do justice to the black men, the brown men, and the yellow men, who were under our government. It was eager to increase the wealth of the world, and to develop the resources of all the territories committed to its rule. But above all, it was a Conservative Government, anxious to preserve and maintain the old methods of life and conduct, and, in spite of its Liberal allies, slow moving and not desirous of change. The people seemed to share its spirit; the nation was prosperous and therefore contented; the standard of living was

rising in all but the agricultural classes; men seemed content with the liberties they enjoyed, and were willing that Government should let them alone. And yet no doubt new ideas were working in men's minds; new reasons for dissatisfaction were being found; and when the new movement made itself felt, it was all the more vigorous because it had been long delayed.

TARIFF REFORM

In 1903 the Unionist party began to break up. Joseph Chamberlain left the Government that he might be free to preach his new doctrine of Tariff Reform. The Dominions protected their own industries by duties on imported manufactures. They favoured the products of Great Britain by a reduced tax. Chamberlain conceived the idea of a Customs Union for the whole Empire. But if all the citizens of the British Empire were to receive benefit by exemption from a proportion of duty in all British possessions, then Great Britain must put a tax upon her imports and abandon her policy of Free Trade. To tax manufactured goods would benefit British industry at the expense of Germany, France, and the United States, but it would not benefit the colonies, who had few manufactures to export. Raw material for industry could not be taxed. To benefit the Empire food-stuffs coming from outside the Empire must be taxed. Mr. Chamberlain was prepared to do this, and a large part of the

Unionist Party followed his lead. Protection against cheap imports is always popular with a large class, and British agriculture would benefit by food taxes. If anyone could have persuaded Great Britain to adopt this policy Chamberlain could have done it. But his health broke down in 1906, just after he had reached his seventieth birthday, and his successors never had the chance to fight out the issue.

Meanwhile, the rank and file of the Unionists were divided and uncertain. Balfour kept the party together by skill and finesse for two and a half years, but at length he was obliged to dissolve Parliament at the end of 1905. The Unionists had overstayed their welcome, they were unpopular for many reasons, and above all for their uncertain financial policy. After the General Election of 1906 the Unionist members only numbered 157, their opponents—Liberals, Irish Nationalists, and Labour—513. This Election is memorable for the fall of the Unionists and as the beginning of a new era, but also for the first formation of a compact Labour Party, numbering twenty-nine members, elected to further the interests and represent the opinions of men who work with their hands.

CONCLUSION

The main domestic problems of 1880-1906 were concerned with Ireland. The movement for Irish Home Rule gained strength from agricultural distress and the unfair terms on

which Irish peasants held their land. Gladstone endeavoured to pacify Ireland by removing the grievances connected with Irish land, but failing in this he adopted Home Rule, either from conviction or from motives of policy. By this decision he shattered the Liberal party and England sided with his opponents. Thus the Unionists had a long tenure of power. Their chief interest was in the development and consolidation of the British Empire, and in fostering cordial cooperation with the self-governing Dominions. Their active policy abroad required a strong navy, which they provided; in truth, it also required a great army, which demanded greater sacrifices than statesmen or people saw the necessity to make. The Boer War was a warning, but not a sufficient warning, and such improvements as were made in our army before 1914 were left to Liberal statesmen. The movement for Tariff Reform was an outcome of the Imperial policy of Unionist statesmen, but it divided the Unionist party and was one of the causes of their downfall in 1906.

FOR REFERENCE

- R. B. O'Brien. "Life of Charles Stewart Parnell."
Lady Gwendolen Cecil. "The Marquess of Salisbury."

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

1906-1914

THE Parliament that assembled in 1906 did not for some time know its own mind or perceive its own mission. The completeness of the Liberal victory was in itself a source of weakness. Not only did the Liberals outnumber the Unionists by nearly three to one, but they had a majority of about 160 over Unionists, Irish Nationalists, and Labour, taken together. These three parties constituted what is called the Opposition, but, though each party might, on one ground or another, criticise and condemn the policy of a Liberal Government, it was not possible that the three should act in unison. It has been pointed out above (p. 95) that a strong Opposition stimulates and consolidates the dominant party and conduces to the maintenance of its discipline. This great Liberal majority received no such stimulus from its opponents; it was not braced by any effective challenge. It was a heterogeneous crowd. Most of its members had no experience of Parliament; many had contested seats, without expectation of success, for the joy of the fray and to strengthen the Liberal attack;

they were surprised and some were even dismayed to find themselves elected.

There were great divisions of opinion in the party. A strong section of Liberal Imperialists desired a vigorous foreign and colonial policy, and acknowledged the necessity of a powerful navy and even the need for a stronger army. On the other hand, there were many Liberals who believed that persuasion, and conciliation, and friendly behaviour, would keep the Empire from all risks of war. They hated the thought of war, and did not believe the wise maxim that he who would have peace must be armed to repel attack. The Liberal party seemed pledged, by their past history, to give Home Rule to Ireland, but there was a strong section who thought it inexpedient at the moment. Liberalism had always been associated with Nonconformity; thus it came about that nearly two hundred of the Liberal members were Nonconformists; many, if not all of them, were hostile to the Established Church, and especially to the control exercised by the Church over a large proportion of the English schools. But this hostility was an accident, not an essential of Liberalism. Moreover although only twenty-nine members had been elected under the auspices of the Labour party, the majority of Liberals had felt in their constituencies the power of organised labour. Many of them were sympathetic with the new aspirations of manual workers; not a few of them were afraid of this strange new force; and all of them

were aware that the chief part of their constituents were men who earned their bread by the use of their hands. The multitude had the votes; they wanted something; and this middle class assembly strove rather clumsily to find something that would do.

The first Prime Minister was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, an amiable and witty old gentleman, who endeavoured to lead his party by tact rather than to impose on them a policy of his own choosing. The leader of the Opposition was Mr. Arthur Balfour, who had been a by-word on Liberal platforms for his ineffective conduct of an unsound policy. He had difficulty with his own followers, who were not all equally enthusiastic for Tariff Reform, while all were more or less conscious that food taxes could not be popular with the electorate. He was personally unknown to the majority of the House, who had been taught to despise him, but in a short time, by the charm of his individuality and his skill in debate, he won the respect of his opponents and gained ascendancy in the Commons which was out of all proportion to the strength of his following. In 1908 Campbell-Bannerman was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. Herbert Henry Asquith, a man of great intellectual gifts, a master of terse and lucid statement, a skilful leader, and an adroit tactician. In this Parliament, which was dissolved in 1909, two other great personages came to the front. The first was Mr. David Lloyd George, a born

orator and a dominant personality, in whom the social aspirations of the masses found their most effective exponent; susceptible in an uncommon degree to the moods and feelings of all with whom he comes into contact, he has a magical gift of persuasion, and in the fateful and shifting circumstances of his political career he has passed through as many phases as the British people, reflecting not only its settled purposes, but also some of its inconsistent impulses.

The second was Mr. Winston Churchill, a vigorous and ambitious young man, who left the Conservative party before the election and took office in the Liberal Government. His courage and force of will, his fertility of resource and eager initiative, his zeal for work, and his power of comprehensive and persuasive exposition, brought him rapidly to the front rank of Parliamentary and political figures. As these two leaders gathered strength and confidence, the scope of Liberal policy was defined and extended. The future was with them; the past was with the Asquiths and the Campbell-Bannermans.

LIBERALISM AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The central idea of Liberalism is the improvement of the existing order of the State. Its aspiration has been freedom of thought and the abolition of unnecessary restrictions in ordinary life. Its historical work has been to break down the old aristocracy of the landed classes, to win the great battle of Free Trade on behalf of the

industrial centres as against the rural districts, and to establish by progressive reform a democratic system of government in these islands. One barrier against democracy was left, one stronghold of Conservatism remained, and that was the House of Lords. In 1893 the House of Lords had rejected the second Home Rule Bill, with the acquiescence, perhaps with the approval, of Great Britain. Their victory in that great struggle had given courage to the Peers. During the years 1895 to 1905, Unionist Governments had shown some activity in reform, but the Upper House trusted the Conservative leaders and accepted the measures which they carried through the House of Commons. The Liberals when in power could reckon on no such forbearance; indeed, they could expect the prejudiced hostility of party feeling. The House of Lords was in its essence Conservative. The Liberals when in office made many peers—perhaps more than their adversaries; but a large proportion of the peers thus created became conservative, if not in the first generation at any rate in the second. It is natural that men of secure wealth and dignity should view with distrust changes in the order on which their wealth and dignity depends. Therefore, this great and heterogeneous majority of Liberals had one main object in which they could all unite, and that was the subordination of the House of Lords to the House of Commons. In that endeavour they could rely on the support of the Irish Nationalists, for the sake of Home

Rule, and of the Labour party, that the path might be cleared for legislation desired by the multitude. Many lesser issues were debated and decided in the Parliaments which sat from 1906 to 1914, but the greatest of all was, from first to last, the fight between the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

This issue was decided in Parliament, and it was decided by the surrender of the Peers. But both Houses were the instruments of the people's will, and the Lords surrendered, not to their immediate adversaries but to the clear expression of the national decision. Since the First Reform Bill, two great new forces had grown up in the national life, which acted during these stirring years as never before in moulding and expressing the popular mind. The first was the Press, the second was organised Labour.

THE PRESS AND DEMOCRACY

The power of the Press is the power of the printed word. Man is an impressionable being, and, taken in the mass, he is apt to believe what he is told many times with confidence and authority. The spoken word is or may be in itself more compelling than print, but no man can speak to more than about twenty thousand people at a time; moreover, the speaker can only address those who are able and willing to come and hear him. The printed word can reach millions; it can be repeated day after day, week after week, year after year. Most of the truths,

and almost all of the falsehoods, which we believe, we accept because we have heard or read them over and over again. Thus the invention of the printing press, some four hundred and fifty years ago, has done more to change the mental outfit of mankind than any invention since that of writing, and it has operated far more rapidly than writing. Cheap and abundant printing is necessary for effective democracy on a large scale; for by no other means can the millions learn what is going on, by no other means can they form or express any general desire or exert any influence over their rulers.

The influence of the Press was exerted, in the early centuries after its invention, by books and treatises. Such works as Machiavelli's *Prince*, Calvin's *Scheme of the Christian Religion*, the Authorised Version of the *Bible* in English, Newton's *Principles*, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Bentham's *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, and Darwin's *Origin of Species*, have wrought for good or ill enormous changes in the life and thought of humanity. Pamphlets had a prodigious effect in the Reformation, in the French Wars of Religion and in the Fronde, in the English Civil Wars, and well on into the nineteenth century. But books, or even pamphlets, can only reach a small reading public; beyond this their influence can only spread from man to man by word of mouth. So long as a small class was preponderant in politics, quarterly, monthly, and weekly journals, also had considerable weight.

But after compulsory education came into force (1876) the daily Press began to come into its kingdom. Invention came to its aid. New materials and methods of manufacture were introduced for paper, which became cheaper and more cheap; type was set up by machinery instead of by hand; machines threw off entire numbers in hundreds of thousands folded and ready for sale. Photographic blocks provided abundant illustrations in the cheapest journals. To-day there can be few men, women, or children, in the whole of the British Isles, in the most important parts of the Continent of Europe, and throughout North America, who do not sometimes read a paper, and many read two or three every day. The vast majority of us get nine-tenths of our information, a large proportion of our ideas and interests, and a greater or smaller proportion of our beliefs, from the daily Press. There are papers for every class of thought, and for almost every business or occupation; for commerce, industry, engineering, sport, drama, dancing, music, science, art, law, and religion. The development of the Press and of the reading habit brought public affairs home to the masses; and the statesman who expounded and defended his policy in Parliament or on a platform was aware that hundreds of thousands might be reading his words on the following morning.

The rulers of Britain, as of the other countries of Europe, were aware, from the time when

printing was invented, that a rival power was threatening their domination. They feared it, they were jealous of it. They endeavoured to exclude obnoxious literature by requiring a license to print and publish. They made laws to punish seditious and heretical works. During and after the Napoleonic wars, newspapers and pamphlets were heavily taxed in this country. Taxes were levied on paper, and not abolished in Great Britain until 1861. But since 1815 there has been a steady movement towards the freedom of the Press, and, except in time of war, the Press has for many decades enjoyed in this country all reasonable liberty. It may be said that the spread of Liberal opinion in this country freed our Press.

RESULTS OF A FREE PRESS

That liberty has been on the whole beneficial. In a sense the Press makes public opinion. It selects the information provided; it suggests action, it criticises action, it praises or more frequently condemns, it may seem now and again to make or mar a statesman or even a party; and all this is at the discretion of the several owners or directors of the various newspapers. But in a very real sense it also expresses public opinion. The opinions of the newspaper man are not very different from those of the ordinary man in the street. Every important section of public opinion has its own organ. There are Conservative organs, Liberal

organs, Socialist organs, and even revolutionary organs which are tolerated until they appear to endanger the public safety. These all contribute to the formation of public opinion, mainly by persuasion and suggestion; the influence of each is according to the number of those who choose to read it. The success of every paper depends upon the advertisements it attracts; and the value of advertisements corresponds roughly to the number of the copies sold. Therefore, the most successful vendor of news will be he who, understanding the public best, gives it what it wants.

In the conflict of capital and labour, which has become more and more embittered during the twentieth century, it might be expected that the Press would be ranged on the side of capitalism. Great newspapers are owned by capitalists and conducted in accordance with the will of their capitalist owners. The enemies of capital talk of the malign influence of a capitalist press. But I do not believe that this accusation can be maintained. The great mass of people, though not ranged in the militant forces of Labour, are sympathetic to its aspirations, and the attitude of the Press has on the whole corresponded. I believe that every country has the newspapers that it deserves, and in a sense the newspapers that it desires. It is the business of the newspaper director to interpret and express the mind of the people, and the defects which are evident in all newspapers of whatever stamp are the

defects of the multitude, or the defects of that section to which each appeals.

I know something of the Press of four countries besides Britain, and I think that in comparison with them our country has no need to be ashamed of its own. Some of us may well deplore the space generously allotted to the accounts of scandalous trials; others (though not I) may regret the prominence of sport in the daily columns; every one of us, according to his taste, will find grave or venial faults in the journals which nevertheless he reads. But if the journals of our country are ignorant and hasty, so are we; if they are intemperate and unjust in condemnation, so are we; if they are frivolous and changeable, so also are we; and until we become a better and a wiser people we cannot expect a better or a wiser Press. However that may be, there can be no doubt of the profound and subtle force exercised, especially in this country, by the public Press; the new democracy is its product; and the fate of the House of Lords is a landmark in the advance of democracy. When every one is worth persuading, when every one has a share in forming public opinion, hereditary power could not be for ever maintained.

THE RISE OF THE TRADE UNIONS

Trade Unionism is the product of the industrial revolution. The invention of new machinery, its application to a myriad purposes theretofore unconceived, and the use of coal for power and

for working iron, led to the creation of great centres of population and industry, where thousands of men and women and children worked under new conditions without the protection of ancient custom and accepted tradition. Wealth increased rapidly, and the struggle for wealth and life became more fierce. Every new industry destroyed a number of small industries. Thus men lost their primitive means of livelihood, and sought for new employment wherever employment could be found. The position of employers was insecure; rivalry was intense and extended over the habitable globe; times of feverish prosperity were speedily succeeded by years of depression and falling prices, when the products of manufacture were in small demand and could only be sold at a loss. Even in good times wages were kept low, for hands were abundant. In bad times workers were turned off, and for those who were retained the low wages were still further reduced. There has perhaps been no time in history when the struggle for life was more pitiless than in the thirty years which immediately succeeded the Napoleonic wars.

THE DIVISION OF WEALTH BY BARGAINING

It is often said that the interests of employers and employed are identical; it is often said that the interests of employers and employed are of necessity antagonistic, and that a perpetual class war is the inevitable result. Both these state-

ments are untrue; both together may make up the truth. Active industry and good trade increase the profits of the employers; they also tend to increase the wages of the employed and to diminish the numbers of the unemployed. Abundant and cheap production is beneficial to the employed, who gain by the cheapness of anything and everything they buy. Employers get better results if the employed are well fed, well clothed, well housed, well educated, and contented. Employers and employed are partners in a vast and complicated business of making, buying, and selling. Both obtain thereby some benefit, less or more. But there is no deed of partnership, and the total product of all employers and all employed working together is divided between capital and labour by the higgling of the market. The welfare of the working classes is determined in part by the general success of industry and trade, but in part also by a myriad transactions, every one of which is a bargain. Every bargain must be in some sort advantageous to both parties. But in every bargain there is a margin of advantage which may be divided between the two parties in various proportions. In every bargain, the stronger, the richer, the better informed, of the two parties, will get the better of the deal.

When life has gone on for a long time on settled lines without great change, a large proportion of these daily bargains do not need to be fought out; they are settled by custom, by habit,

by use and wont. But throughout the nineteenth century, and especially in its earlier half, all business and all industry were rapidly changing. The old customs, the old traditional terms of service, did not fit the new conditions of life and work. Those desiring work could not stand out for good terms; they were entering on new occupations in new places; they had no customary rights or expectations: almost every one of them was uncertain of his future; every engagement to work was a new and precarious bargain. The employers were new men; they had no traditional sense of duty to those whom they employed; they themselves were waging at home and abroad a constant fight with ruthless rivals, in which the loser went to the wall. But the employer was the stronger party in the bargain, and the pressure to which he himself was subjected was transmitted through him to his weaker partners. Thus, in the countless daily bargains for wages, the wage earner came off second best; employment was precarious, and wages in general were insufficient to procure a decent and healthy livelihood. Men worked, women worked, little children worked; they worked long hours in dismal and unhealthy factories, and starvation was never very far away.

COMBINATION

The workers were weak to the point of helplessness. But when the weak combine their strength is multiplied. All governments, except

the most free, have made laws against unlicensed combinations. They feared that combination would result in conspiracy against authority. Combinations of workmen to obtain better wages were regarded by the law of this country as combinations in restraint of trade, and therefore punishable by fine or imprisonment. Any worker who broke his contract to serve a master committed an offence, and was liable to legal penalties.

EARLY HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONS

Nevertheless, as the industrial revolution went on, men ventured to break these laws, and formed in various industries societies or Unions for combined resistance to reduction of wages, or combined demands for better pay. These first Unions were illegal; they were therefore secret; but when the time came for action secrecy could not be maintained. Their weapon was the strike; that is, all hands off work in a factory or a mine or an entire industry. The law endeavoured to suppress such combined action by punishment of individuals, but it was powerless to prevent it. However, a strike requires for success favourable conditions; it requires prosperity in the industry, cohesion and determination in the strikers, and resources to maintain the workers during the stoppage of work. These conditions were generally absent, and although the fear of strikes may have produced some improvement, actual strikes almost

always failed in the early history of the Trade Union movement.

REFORM OF LAWS AGAINST COMBINATION

In the years following the fall of Napoleon, the rulers were frightened. The country was poor, business was dislocated, as it is to-day, the workers were desperate, and the rulers feared revolution. Fear is cruel, and harsh measures were adopted. But this severity seems to have led to a revulsion of public feeling. The first change in favour of the workers came as the voluntary act of the unreformed Parliament. In 1824 the laws against Trade Combinations were repealed, and Trade Societies ceased to be illegal. In the following year a new Combination Law was enacted, but associations for regulating wages and hours of labour were made lawful. Thus the workers obtained by law the right to join in Unions for the purpose of bargaining with their employers, not severally, but as a body. This enactment was immediately followed by a great Trade Union movement throughout the country, but the Unions thus formed had no lasting strength, and a few years of bad trade saw most of them melt away.

PROGRESS AND POLICY OF TRADE UNIONS

But a long period of slower and more lasting construction followed. Great difficulties were encountered; great sacrifices were required. A man who joins a Trade Union must surrender a

great part of his independence, of his liberty. He can no longer work how he pleases, when he pleases, nor on such terms as may best suit his own personal advantage. He must obey the rules made by his Union, and the directions of his Committee. Many independent spirits were not willing to subordinate their own freedom to the common purpose. Many lacked faith and determination, and after joining a Union let their subscriptions drop and took no further interest in its concerns. Until the corporate spirit had overborne the recalcitrant and forced the indifferent into line, means of coercion—not always scrupulous—were employed by the impassioned leaders. Men who transgressed against the Union found their tools removed or their machines put out of gear. Violence and even murder were not unknown, as in Sheffield during the sixties, when Broadhead instigated crime. Charles Reade's novel, *Put yourself in his Place*, gives much accurate detail of such proceedings.

The strike, when employed, was a terrible and dangerous weapon. The means of livelihood of a factory, of a whole industry, might be lost for many weeks or even months. A factory might in consequence be closed for ever, a whole industry impoverished for years. But the Unions grew and multiplied; they combined and they federated; they became a great power in the land; and it cannot be doubted that by their persistent and skilful bargaining—backed by the fear of strikes—they did much to obtain for the

working classes as a whole a larger share of that advantage which in any bargain can be divided in various proportions between the two parties.

They did not confine themselves only to questions of wages. They took advantage of factory legislation, and supported the Factory Inspectors in requiring gradual improvement of factories and workshops, and backed up the Inspectors of Mines in measures of protection against gas explosions and other accidents. They used their influence in favour of legislation for the protection of women and children, and by their action they eventually secured a shorter working day for men. From the seventies onward many of the safeguards demanded by them were secured by a series of Acts of Parliament. Truck Acts prevented masters from paying wages in kind, or compelling the workers to make their purchases from stores owned by the employer. By the Masters and Servants Act, of 1867, and the Employers and Workmen Act, of 1875, a breach of contract of service ceased to be a criminal act, and "peaceful picketing" in a trade dispute became permissible. In 1875 another Act defined and strictly limited the meaning of the word "conspiracy" in trade matters. By the legal doctrine of "common employment" masters were not liable for payment of compensation for injuries suffered by any worker through the negligence of a fellow-workman. The Trade Unions fought for the repeal of this law, which was modified in 1880,

and at length, in 1896, employers were bound to pay compensation for all accidents occurring to their employees in the course of their employment. Such legislation began with the humane desire of the rulers to improve the conditions of industry; in its later stages like motives were not absent, but the driving force came from Trade Union influence. There were, however, setbacks; in 1867 the Courts decided that Trade Unions could not sue their officers or prosecute them for wrongfully appropriating the Union funds; and this disability was not removed by law until 1871.

In order to make the Unions attractive, most of the Unions provided, out of their subscriptions, pay for their members during sickness and unemployment and in old age, and a sum at death for funeral expenses. The fear of unemployment dominates a great part of Trade Union policy. Many of the skilled Unions succeeded in imposing on their employers the limitation of apprentices, so as to prevent a superfluity of trained workers in each industry so protected. One or two by that means have obtained a monopoly of a simple trade which can be learnt in a short time. Some Unions have set themselves against piece-work. In some industries there are good reasons against piece-work; it may impose an excessive strain on the worker and encourage a low standard of accuracy. It is also disliked because it leads to unequal payment as between worker and worker, and because it is thought to reduce the total

number of workers required by the industry in which it is adopted. But least wise of all expedients for reducing unemployment is the device of "ca' canny," which means "go slow." This order is sometimes issued, or this practice grows up, where men are discontented and wish to injure their employer. But such a policy is also prompted by the fallacious belief that there is a fixed amount of work to be done in any industry, and the more hands it takes to carry out that work the more men will be employed. In to-day's paper I read, as I have often read before, that the custom of the bricklaying industry forbids a man to lay more than four hundred bricks a day, whereas a competent man on straightforward work can lay a thousand. If anything of the sort be true the fallacy is evident. There is no limit to the building work required at this time if prices permitted. But building is now unwillingly undertaken because of the excessive cost, and even a builder's man wants a cheap house. The inference is clear—namely, that such a practice defeats its own purpose. However, the Trade Union movement grew up to defend industrial workers against bad conditions of life. In so far as its policy has been wise, it has done good and will do good. In so far as its policy has been misdirected, the workers have lost and will lose. Few would now deny the right of the workers to defend themselves. In the past the aristocracy, who should have furnished wisdom and guidance,

despised industry and left it to inferior beings. The middle classes said: Let business alone, it knows its own business. The evils resulting from this neglect brought their own remedy, which in its turn undermined the power both of the aristocracy and of the middle classes.

THE RECOGNITION OF TRADE UNIONS

The first difficulty of the early Unions was to persuade the employers to negotiate with them at all. When this difficulty had been got over, many disputes were settled by bargaining between employers and employed, which could not otherwise have been concluded without the devastating expedient of a strike. In such negotiations the leaders of the men gained valuable knowledge of the details of their own industry. But as local and sectional Unions became federated on a national basis, a new difficulty arose. The employers had learned that it was prudent to negotiate with their own men; they were not yet willing to meet the Union officials who represented the men of all the firms making up the entire industry. This question of the recognition of Unions led to many strikes. Thus the railway strike of 1911 resulted from the unwillingness of individual Railway Companies to bargain with the two or three great national Unions in which the railwaymen were federated. To confront the solid organisation of their workers, the employers in the great industries, such as the cotton trade and the engineering trade, formed

Associations for common action; and the conditions of employment in whole industries were settled by collective bargains, which came up for modification from time to time. When peace could not be reached by agreement, the questions at issue were sometimes referred to an arbitrator.

ARBITRATION

But arbitration can never be completely satisfactory to both parties; often it is unsatisfactory to both. The arbitrator, if not himself concerned in the industry, can never know its conditions so well as those engaged in it. When an award has been made, there is no very practicable method of enforcing it on either side. Moreover, there are no agreed principles by which the due remuneration of labour can be fixed. Everyone will agree that a fair day's wage should be paid for a fair day's work, but the whole question is—in every case and in every block of cases—what is fair pay and what is a fair day's work? And if we boldly cut the knot and say, "wages ought to be better, hours ought to be shorter," the question then arises: Can the industry afford better wages for shorter hours? If there is foreign competition in the industry, wages in this country can only be higher than they are in foreign countries in so far as we possess greater skill, better machinery, and other advantages, natural or acquired. In an industry where there can be little or no foreign competition, as in the building trade, if the cost of building be fixed

too high, building will slow down; builders and builders' men alike will suffer, and the public will go short of necessary houses, factories, and workshops. In every one of these industrial bargains there is a third party in the background, whose interests are also at stake, and that is the people which has need of the things that masters and men cooperate to produce. If coal be dear in this country, through wages that are too high and hours that are too short, or for any other reason, not only will thousands of homes lack fuel for warmth and cooking, but every industry will be handicapped by the cost of coal for working iron, for power in steam and electricity. No better way of fixing wages and hours to the advantage of masters and men and the public has yet been devised than free combination and free bargaining between men who know all that is to be known, from one point of view or the other, about the conditions of the several trades and industries. Where Government steps in to influence the conditions of the bargain, success becomes not more likely but less likely.

REVOLUTIONARY SCHEMES

There is no doubt that during the past fifty years, while Trade Unions have been growing in efficiency and power, the conditions of labour in this country have greatly improved. I hold it to be certain that these improvements are mainly due to the work of the Unions. But I hold it also to be certain that these improvements could

not have taken place—with or without Unions—had not industry and trade during the same period continuously advanced in productiveness, profit, and security. The prosperity of Europe has been shattered by the War; the fortunes of the whole world have suffered accordingly, for the whole world is one great concern for production and trade. Should that prosperity not return within a short space, the conditions of labour in this country must change for the worse, and no Unions, no government, can prevent a decline. The leading spirits of the Trade Union movement were enthusiasts in their work; they believed they had done much, and they believed they could do more, by Trade Union methods. But the great and growing prosperity of the country as a whole seemed to justify a claim for more rapid improvement of working-class conditions. Many of these leaders dwelt on schemes to remodel the whole national fabric and rebuild it to their heart's desire. They wisely went on with their work, but meanwhile, in Trade Union Congresses they passed resolutions to the effect that all the land, all the factories, workshops, warehouses, shops and mines, all banks and other financial institutions, all railways, steamships, docks, and other means of transport, should become the property of the State, and be managed by the State for the benefit of the workers. And no doubt there are many ardent spirits who would risk all if they saw any chance of carrying out such a programme, by violence

if necessary. Some imagine a democratic government taking possession of all business concerns of every description and administering them for the benefit of the workers (State Socialism). Some imagine the workers in every trade, and in every section of each trade, carrying on the operations of that trade for their own benefit (Syndicalism or Guild Socialism). In either case the object is to take the revenues of property from the wealthy and distribute them among the less wealthy. Clearly the poor would benefit if the revenues to be divided remained the same or were not greatly diminished. But that is a big "if"!

SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

The attitude of mind, the set of beliefs, that favour these and similar schemes, are commonly called Socialism. In their extremest form they are called Communism, which denies all right to private ownership. A milder form is the professed creed of Trade Union Congresses, which demands that all the means of production should become national property. We have recently witnessed a serious attempt to nationalise the coal mines, and a less serious demand that the railways should be owned and managed by the State. The object of all these reformers is to destroy the system by which the world is run at present, and set up—either piece-meal or at one blow—some other system in its place. The present system they call Capitalism; and no man

can begin to understand modern problems and modern conflicts unless he has formed some idea of the capitalistic system and the manner in which it arose. The following observations may serve as an introduction to the subject.

WEALTH AND CAPITAL

All those useful things which human beings desire and are capable of possessing as their own property are called wealth. That part of wealth which is not devoted to the immediate use of its possessor, but reserved or employed for the production or acquisition of more wealth, is called capital.

Thus, capital involves three other ideas; wealth, property, and industry. The cave-man, living in isolation with his wife and family, had for his wealth his food, his utensils, and his clothing. They were his property; he would not yield them to another without a fight. They were the product of his industry, the work of his hands, or booty of the chase. To-day, when we live no longer in isolation, but linked in mutual dependence by law and custom and common needs and purposes, not only with our neighbours and our fellow-citizens, but with all the world, each of these ideas has been infinitely elaborated to correspond with the complexity of our modern life.

To get some notion of the multiplicity and variety of modern wealth, walk through the corridors of any great departmental store, travel

over the land and note the crops, the live-stock, the vehicles, the dwellings, and the public buildings, visit the workshops of a great manufacturing centre, where a thousand furnaces roar and ten thousand engines throb, linger by the docks and see the products of all lands and all nations unloaded upon our quays, and you may faintly conceive how far the descendants of the cave-men have elaborated their needs and desires. All this wealth is produced, transported, and distributed, not by deliberate plan but by the trained and semi-automatic cooperation of a thousand millions, working by methods which they imperfectly understand to ends which they cannot see. The common motive of each is his own individual advantage, great or small; the result is that we all are fed and clothed and housed and otherwise equipped according to our circumstances. Who is so bold as to say that by whatever effort of his conscious mind he could direct these millions for a single hour without disaster?

TRADE, MONEY, AND CREDIT

The increase of wealth began when men learnt to barter their own superfluous goods for the superfluity of others. When coined money was invented exchange became more easy; trade grew and prospered, and every man within its circuit worked to more advantage. When banking was introduced, promises to pay came to have value little inferior to that of coined money.

Credit did the work of currency, and trade was made yet more easy. Like all other devices for increasing the efficiency of human effort, banking and kindred operations of finance were immensely developed in the nineteenth century. To-day, all these vast operations of trade and of the industry which lies behind it depend upon credit; that is, upon the belief entertained by many thousands of men that other thousands will be able and willing to carry out their promises to pay at the time appointed for each payment. Any great collapse of credit in any centre, arising from misfortune, disorder, or imprudence, is felt in every civilised country; universal trade and industry are thereby retarded and impeded. Hundreds of thousands are out of work to-day in Britain because credit has been destroyed in Russia by revolution, and impaired throughout the world by war and misgovernment.

To destroy capitalism is to destroy credit—to destroy the faith which all men hold that mutual cooperation will proceed as heretofore; this faith is the mainspring of all those efforts by which we are kept alive; what other faith can be suddenly created to do its work?

PRIVATE PROPERTY

The cave-man had his own individual property, which he defended with his own strong arm. As men through countless ages painfully learnt to work together for mutual benefit, with the first beginnings of orderly government laws were

made to protect private property. Death—in England at least—was the penalty for theft before it became the penalty for murder. In modern days property and the law of property in land and goods has been infinitely elaborated. To-day a man's property may indeed consist in tangible wealth—houses, lands, ships, mines, and stocks of saleable goods; but it may also—wholly or partly—consist in bank balances, shares in companies, bills of exchange, government bonds, and any of the myriad forms of rights and claims to capital and revenue which can be enforced by law. With the industrial revolution the importance and magnitude of capital was vastly increased. It was consolidated in huge aggregates which with time became greater and more great. The value of a system of railways, of a steamship company, of a block of ironworks or textile factories, of a group of banks, may be measured in many millions of pounds. There are a few great fortunes; one man's wealth may total a hundred millions, with managing control of many other millions; and also, by the company system, any man who has saved a few pounds can become a small capitalist. There are hundreds of thousands of small capitalists. But speaking generally, the ownership of capital, great or small, gives proportionate control over the labour of others; the man who has little or none can only rely on the wages, fees, or salary, which his labour or services are worth. This is the aspect of the capitalist system which in some minds

inspires generous indignation, in others envy and hatred. The system is too big to be humane or gentle or even approximately just; but it does its work; it maintains eight men in this country where two hundred years ago but one could live; without this or some equivalent system seven out of eight among us would slowly expire in indescribable misery by hunger and disease.

PUBLIC PROPERTY

The essence of capitalism is that capital should be mainly owned by individuals, either severally or grouped in companies. But in any civilised community capital may be and is owned by the State. Thus, in Britain the State owns houses, lands, dockyards, arsenals, and that great distributing agency called the Post Office, which employs about 200,000 persons. The municipal authorities also own and operate tramways, electric lighting systems, gasworks, and other forms of capital. There is nothing in the nature of things to prevent the State, or associations working under the State, from owning all the productive capital in the country and all the land. The question is whether private ownership is better for the people as a whole or State ownership. There has been a good deal of illuminating experience bearing on this question during the last eight years, and every man is now in a better position to form a judgement than he could be in the past. But if we agreed that some form of State ownership was best in the

abstract, we should still need to reflect whether the change could be made either suddenly or slowly without disastrous results. The experience of Russia is not conclusive, but it is alarming; and it corresponds very closely with a forecast which I published ten years ago. Our very existence is at stake on the practical answer to these questions; and every citizen, either by his action or by his apathy, must contribute to the conclusion.

INDUSTRY

Capital is created by industry, and if not maintained and renewed and restored by industry it would decay and ultimately disappear; as the railways and factories have decayed in Russia. The revenue of capital depends on the cooperation of human labour; the productivity of labour in modern conditions depends on its association with adequate and suitable capital. Modern industry is as complicated as all other modern interactions of man. Goods do not only need to be made by human labour; they need to be transported to the myriad places where they are needed and in the requisite proportions; they need to be marketed and sold and again transported to the consumers. To control all these operations, to direct them and improve them, an army of merchants, bankers, managers, inventors, organisers, lawyers, salesmen, accountants, clerks, are required; these are as necessary for our daily sustenance as the multitude of those

who supply the labour of their hands for production or transport. The greater the effective industry of each worker in his degree, the greater the effective industry of the whole cooperating mass, the better will be the conditions of the universal life; whether we consider these islands by themselves, or the whole block of cooperating nations. And the effectiveness of each worker depends, not only on his own skill and goodwill, but also on the mechanism by which he is assisted, and the wisdom by which his operations are guided.

THE MOTIVE POWER OF SOCIETY

Now I think you will agree, after considering your own nature and the nature of your friends and acquaintances, that the great majority of men will not work their best, or even work at all, without some strong personal motive or external compulsion. The strongest personal motive is the need for a livelihood and the desire for a better livelihood; the most powerful compulsion is the need of pence. This motive arises from the institution of private property, which in this age has led to the system which we call capitalism. In so far as capitalism has produced good results, it is because this motive makes for efficiency; in so far as it produces bad results, it is because of the imperfections of human institutions and human nature. We believe that human institutions can be improved; we believe that the nature of man as a cooperative animal has been

and can be improved. But I fancy that the experience of the last seven years has convinced many, who once believed in State ownership, that, however imperfect the rule of capitalism may be, the rule of Government in trade, industry, commerce, and finance, is likely to be worse. This capitalist system was not made; it grew; it could be unmade, but it could not be rebuilt according to plan. No man can know more than his own little piece of the puzzle; and those who have the greatest power cannot follow the consequences of their actions beyond the narrow limit of their own knowledge. The wisest and most studious of philosophers can but vaguely perceive the forces and principles which keep the machine going and impede or facilitate its smooth working. If I have been able to make you begin to see how great and complex the machine is, and how its efficient operation depends on every man doing his best at his own job, I shall have achieved all that I hoped to accomplish.

To sum up: as I have said above, there is a constant conflict between Capital and Labour, that is, between the owners of capital and those who depend for their livelihood on the labour of their bodies. Each party desires to have a larger share of the joint product of Capital and Labour. But there is also an incessant, automatic, and necessary cooperation between the two which creates a common interest. It is to the benefit of both parties that the joint product

should be as great and as well-proportioned as possible. The Trade Union movement of the nineteenth century made the conflict more prominent, the cooperation less cordial, and this antagonism of class to class explains a great part of the course of events in the Parliaments of 1906-1914, to which we will now return.

THE PARLIAMENTS OF 1906-1914

Looking back on the Parliaments of 1906-1914, we seem able now to distinguish three main lines of action, distinct in spirit and motive, but acting and reacting each upon the other. There is the consummation of historic Liberal policy, leading up to the defeat of the House of Lords and the passing of Home Rule for Ireland. There is a series of measures designed for the benefit of the working classes at the cost of the more wealthy. There is also the steady though inadequate preparation for a European conflict, which was dimly foreseen though consistently disavowed by the leaders of the party in power. To pursue these three lines separately would lead to needless repetition. I will endeavour, following the order of time, to indicate the main sequence of events in the period and show what I conceive to be the spirit and bearings of each.

MEASURES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WORKERS

Things moved slowly at first; as time went on they gathered momentum and speed. It is

significant that the first notable Act was an Act in favour of Trade Unions. By a decision of the judges, in 1901, in connexion with a strike on the Taff Vale railway, it was laid down that a Trade Union was responsible for wrongful acts occasioned by its officials and could be made to pay damages. By the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, it was enacted that no Trade Union could be sued for damages on account of any wrongful act committed by or on behalf of the Union. Thus the unreasonable restrictions imposed on Trade Unions in their early history led by reaction to the grant of an excessive privilege. In 1907 Local Authorities were allowed to provide meals at the cost of the ratepayers to indigent children attending school. In 1908 money was voted for the payment of Old Age Pensions to persons who had reached the age of seventy and were not possessed of income exceeding a small amount. In the same year the working day for miners was fixed by law at eight hours. In 1909 Trade Boards were set up to fix a minimum wage in some of the worst-paid industries. The institution of Labour Exchanges in the same year was devised in order to bring those seeking employment more readily into touch with those who had employment to offer; and the principle of insurance against unemployment in certain industries by contributions from workers and employers was at the same time adopted. The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 was framed for the improvement of

conditions of life in towns; and under the Development Act of 1909 public funds were provided for the utilisation of national resources, such as waste lands, which private enterprise was unlikely to bring into use.

FINANCE BILL OF 1909

All these measures were intended directly or indirectly to improve the condition of the workers, at the cost either of their employers or of the taxpayer. They were designed to make the terms of the bargain between Capital and Labour more favourable to Labour. But, in 1909, the naval activity of Germany aroused national alarm, and great new sums were voted for the British navy. The cost of all these schemes necessitated new taxation, and led up to the Budget of Mr. Lloyd George, in 1909, which was planned to raise very great sums by additional income tax, by super-tax on incomes above £5,000 a year, by enhanced charges for public house licenses, and by heavier duties on succession to property, which rose by increasing percentages according to the amount of the property bequeathed. In the result, the proportion borne by the rich of the total expenditure of the nation was to be greatly increased. The Budget provided funds for the benefit of the working classes; it provided funds for national defence; it also served the third purpose of bringing the conflict with the House of Lords to a crisis.

LAND TAXATION AND THE LORDS

By unwelcome legislation Government had deliberately provoked the Lords to "fill up the cup" of Liberal indignation, and the Lords had not been loth to accept the challenge. They had thrown out several Bills presented by the Commons, and had frustrated the desire of the Liberals to bring the schools controlled by the Church of England under stricter popular rule. The Budget of 1909 directly attacked the Lords, not only as rich men but as landowners. The possession of land frequently gives great unearned profits to the men whose estates are required for the development of industry or the extension of building. Philosophers had often urged that this "unearned increment," as they called it, should go, not to the private owner but to the public. Mr. Lloyd George became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908, and by his Budget of 1909 he endeavoured to carry this idea into effect. An elaborate system of universal valuation was established to give base lines from which future increases of values should be calculated, with a view to taxation. It may be here mentioned that when the scheme was put into force practical difficulties made it much less profitable than had been hoped, and it was abandoned two or three years ago.

ACTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

It was appropriate that the Liberals should complete their historic programme, which began

and long continued as a fight between the middle classes and the landed aristocracy, by an attack on the Peers as landowners. The value of agricultural land had indeed fallen heavily since 1879, but those landowners whose property was used for dwellings and industries and mines had profited greatly by the increase of population and the development of enterprise. The projected taxes on land values were especially resented by the Peers, and those newspapers and politicians who hoped to overthrow the Liberal Government encouraged the Lords to resistance. It was an admitted principle of the British constitution that the House of Lords could not amend or alter the provision made by the Commons for the revenue of the country, or the taxes by which money was to be raised; but a Finance Act was needed to give the force of law to the new organisation required; such a Finance Act could not be passed without the consent of the Lords, and they were urged by the hot-heads to reject it. After the Finance Bill had been fought through the Commons, detail by detail, it was thrown out by the Lords towards the end of 1909. The Government advised the King to dissolve Parliament, and the parties came to grips in the General Election of January, 1910.

THE ELECTION OF 1910

The electoral campaign was fought with great spirit. Tariff Reform was pressed as a rival expedient for raising the money required, and for

providing at the same time more abundant and better employment for the workers. The conservative part of the British nation (which is always considerable) viewed with suspicion all those schemes for benefiting the poor at the expense of the rich, and detested the army of civil servants needed to carry them into effect. They resented the attack on the House of Lords, regarding it as the last safeguard against revolutionary reform. They saw Home Rule for Ireland looming up in the background. But the Lords had accepted battle in a weak position; it was easy to say that they had violated the spirit of the Constitution in order to protect their own private interests. Thus, although the Conservatives won many seats, they did not win enough for their purpose; they came back only 272 against 274 Liberals, 41 Labour, and 82 Irish Nationalists.

THE PARLIAMENT BILL

The Lords had been beaten; they could no longer resist the Finance Bill which embodied the provisions necessary for Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, and it became law. But another battle had yet to be fought. Liberals, Labour and Nationalists were all alike determined, though not for identical reasons, to subordinate the Lords to the Commons. A Bill was introduced and passed through the Commons depriving the Peers of all right to interfere with any Finance Bill, and declaring that any Bill which passed the House of Commons in three successive

Sessions, spread over at least two years, should become law, although rejected by the Upper House. This was in the circumstances a very moderate measure, and still maintains an important safeguard against hasty legislation. The Lords, however, naturally rejected it, and the Liberal Government once more appealed to the country. The results in the Election of December, 1910, were much the same as those in that of January, 1910. When the Commons reassembled the Parliament Bill was once again passed, and the same hot-heads once again invited the Lords to throw it out. But the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, announced that he had informed the King that if the Parliament Bill were again rejected he would advise the creation of a sufficient number of Peers to secure its passage. King George, who had succeeded to the throne in May, 1910, intimated that He would consider it His duty to follow the advice offered by His responsible Ministers. On this announcement the party of surrender prevailed, and the Parliament Bill was passed by the House of Lords by a majority of 131-114, and became law (1911). The reform or reconstitution of the House of Lords was promised by the preamble of the Act, but no Government has yet undertaken this difficult and dangerous task.

PARLIAMENT, 1911-1914

The Parliament Act laid down that the House of Commons should be dissolved at intervals of

not more than five years, instead of seven years, as prescribed by the Septennial Act of 1716. The Parliament in which this Act was passed nevertheless sat for nearly eight years, owing to the Great War. In its first year was passed the National Health Insurance Act, by which all persons in employment at wages less than a certain sum per week were obliged to be insured against sickness and permanent disability, the contributions being paid, in part by the employer, in part by the insured person, and in part by the State. These contributions, besides sick pay and disability allowance, gave a right to some free medical attendance and treatment. For the administration of these benefits the old voluntary Friendly Societies were utilised, and Trade Unions were allowed the status of Friendly Societies for the same purpose. In the same year the House of Commons voted that every member should receive a salary of £400 a year. This measure was needed if Labour was to retain its representation in Parliament, because the Law Courts had decided, in 1909, that Trade Unions could not lawfully devote any part of their funds to the payment of Members of Parliament. But it was also a further step in the establishment of democratic government; and incidentally, it increased the authority of the Government which may be in power at any moment. For the defeat of a Government is usually followed by a General Election; and at all times there must be in Parliament a considerable proportion of members to

whom the Parliamentary stipend is a means of livelihood which they are unwilling to risk. In the same Session an Act was passed regulating and restricting the hours to be worked by assistants in retail shops.

WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT

But the main business of this Parliament—before the War—was the passing of two measures, hitherto blocked by the opposition of the Peers, which was known to be resolute but now could be overborne. The lesser of these was the disestablishment of that part of the English Church which was domiciled in Wales. This was in part a concession to Welsh national feeling, in part to the Nonconformist section of the Welsh people, who probably were a majority of the whole, and certainly were a majority of those who took an active interest in such questions. The revenues of the Church of England in Wales were not very considerable, and under the disestablishing Act the most part of them were left in the possession of those individuals and ecclesiastical bodies which had hitherto enjoyed them. But a part was taken away, and devoted to education and other purposes of social improvement. Seeing that the antagonists of the English Church in Wales had the upper hand, the compromise adopted may be regarded as moderate. But on both sides it was mainly a question of principle and sentiment; and the Bill

only became law in 1914, when it had three times passed the Commons.

THE HOME RULE ACT

Soon after the accession of George V, a conference was held with a view to settling the Home Rule problem by consent of all parties. But the conference failed, and the Liberal purpose could only be achieved by legislation. The Bill that was first passed in 1912, and in spite of the House of Lords became law in 1914, gave a limited self-government to Ireland as a whole, with a House of Commons, and a Senate or Upper House to be chosen by proportional representation. Proportional representation is a device advocated, and in some countries adopted, to secure the representation of minorities. At present Great Britain is divided—for the most part—into constituencies, each returning one member. Thus in any constituency fifty-one per cent. of those who vote can return the Member, and the remainder of the electorate go unrepresented. In practice this has worked out so as to give the victorious party a majority much greater than its numerical superiority would warrant. This has convenience for Parliamentary Government, since small majorities render authority precarious. Under Proportional Representation constituencies would be marked out, each to return three or more members. Each voter might have any number of votes, provided it were less than the total of members

returnable from his constituency. But the simplest plan is the single transferable vote. Imagine a constituency of 1,000 voters returning ten members and twenty candidates nominated. Each voter marks the list of candidates on his voting paper with numbers, 1, 2, 3, etc., according to his order of preference. Any candidate who stood first on 101 lists would be secure of election. If a candidate received say 500 first votes, only 101 of these would be credited to him, and on the other lists second, third, or fourth votes would come into play according to circumstances. Thus, if the constituency contained 500 Liberals, 300 Conservatives, 200 Labour, it might be expected that about 5 Liberal, 3 Conservative, and 2 Labour members would be elected. And so on throughout the country. In Ireland, where there is a great majority of Nationalists, but a considerable minority of Unionists and Protestants, mainly concentrated in the north but also scattered all over the country, such a plan was well calculated to secure adequate representation of the minority. It has other advantages for the choice of an Upper House. In large constituencies local favour would count for less, and men of reputation and position might expect to receive more support.

Under this Act the Irish representative assemblies were to have full control of their local affairs and revenue. Some matters of Imperial concern—such as Army, Navy, Foreign Affairs, Post Office, and Customs—were reserved to the

Imperial Government and the Imperial Parliament, and the semi-military Royal Irish Constabulary was reserved to the Imperial authority for a term of years. In years past it is probable that Ireland had contributed more than its share to Imperial revenues, but more recently (since the passing of Old Age Pension Acts and the like) Irish Government had been costing more than the revenue collected in Ireland would cover. Therefore, it was arranged that Great Britain should contribute to Irish revenue the sum of about two million pounds a year. But, although this Act satisfied the Nationalists at the time and was entered in the Imperial Statute Book, it never came into force. The War was one reason; the vehement opposition of north-eastern Ulster was another.

ULSTER PREPARES TO FIGHT

The stubborn and stalwart Protestants of north-eastern Ulster—in whose hands lay a great part of the wealth and nearly all the mechanical industries of Ireland—were determined not to come under the rule of a hostile and Catholic majority. At the beginning of 1914, when the third and last passing of the Home Rule Bill was near at hand, the Protestants of Belfast and the surrounding country began to organise and drill. Civil war was in sight, and for fear of precipitating a conflict the Government allowed the movement to gather head until it became serious and formidable. Arms were

imported—it would seem with the sinister connivance of Germany. There was always a large British garrison in Ireland, chiefly centred on the military camp of the Curragh. Ambiguous orders were issued to the troops, many of whose principal officers were Irishmen and Protestants. Some of them let it be known that they would sooner resign their commissions than coerce the men of Ulster by military force. Discussion took place; assurances were given to Sir John French, the Commander-in-Chief, and the officers of the Irish garrison; but it appears that Sir John Seeley, the Minister for War, had exceeded his instructions, and in a fog of uncertainty and indecision Sir John French and Sir John Seeley gave in their resignations, which were accepted. The Government intended, after passing the Home Rule Act, to satisfy North-east Ulster by an amending Act. But while civil war seemed imminent, and while it was still uncertain whether and how it could be averted, on August 4th War broke out with Germany; and, to the intense disappointment of the Germans, Irishmen and Britons decided to postpone their strife, and the Home Rule Act was suspended until the end of the War, which few then believed to be distant. The Home Rule Amendment Bill was also put aside.

LABOUR TROUBLES

The last years of external peace were not years of domestic quiet. The Acts passed to satisfy the workers did not achieve their pur-

pose; strikes were frequent and of unprecedented magnitude. In 1911 the railwaymen struck, demanding that their general Unions should be recognised by the Board of Directors as bodies qualified to negotiate. This strike coincided with a serious alarm of war arising out of the Morocco question. Dissatisfied with the predominance which France was establishing in Morocco, the German Emperor sent a warship—the *Panther*—to Agadir, on the west coast of Morocco, to vindicate by a show of force certain claims of German subjects. The determination to support France which Great Britain displayed cooled his ardour, and peace was maintained. But in the crisis of national danger the railwaymen did not press their claims to the uttermost, and a compromise was quickly reached. In the same year successful strikes were carried out by the seamen, the dockers, and the carters. In 1912 the coal miners struck for a minimum wage. The hewers of coal are generally paid by the weight of coal hewn out, but it may happen that a man working at a bad place or under unfavourable conditions may, through no fault of his own, earn less than the average wage. It was demanded that in such circumstances a minimum wage should be paid for each day's work. After more than six weeks cessation of work the miners won, after the intervention of Government, and the minimum wage in each district was fixed by arbitration. Such a strike is disastrous for the country at large. It affects

at once all workers in iron and steel; next, it affects the railways, and finally, every industry in the country is impeded and harassed. In the same year the Liverpool dock labourers struck against a scheme intended for their benefit. Dock labour is what is called casual labour; men are engaged for the job, and paid by the job; the job before the war was commonly reckoned at four hours; thus employment is uncertain and intermittent; when times are good most of those who wait for work at the docks may be busy; in bad times thousands have little or nothing to do. It was desired to secure regular wages for a limited number of men, and to reduce the casual element to the lowest possible proportion. But the dockers would not have it; and the scheme failed.

In 1913 the municipal workers of Leeds struck, and for some weeks the city was left without scavengers and dustmen, to the danger of public health. However, the citizens organised themselves and did the necessary work and the strike was defeated, but much bitterness resulted. In 1914 there was a great strike in the building trade against the employment of men who did not belong to any of the Unions in the trade. Those who pay contributions to a Union consider that they are making sacrifices, not only for themselves but for the benefit of their fellows, and they do not think it fair that those who do not contribute or take part in common action should share the benefit. Therefore, wherever

the Union is strong enough, all are forced by one means or another to join up.

These are only a few of the most important disputes of the years before the War. There were many others, too numerous to be mentioned here. Taken all together, they show the magnitude and solidity of these combinations of entire trades, many of them combinations of unskilled workers. They show also that Government measures to improve the condition of the workers had not satisfied them, that what is called labour unrest was increasing, and they reveal the forces that were working towards industrial strife.

CONCLUSION

The one dominating movement of the Parliaments of 1906-1914 was the struggle for supremacy between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, which ended in the defeat of the Lords. This marked another stage in the progress of democracy, which had been rendered possible, and perhaps necessary, by the development of a free Press. The growth of capital and the growth of population occasioned by the Industrial Revolution had swept away all traditional relations between employers and employed, and to protect their interests the labouring classes had organised themselves in Unions, at first transitory, later consolidated in great federations. In order to influence the action of Government and the course of legislation, organised labour had procured the election of representatives in

Parliament, and in every constituency its power was more or less felt. Thus the Parliaments of this period give many examples of measures intended for the relief of the workers, and the increased taxation needed for these purposes and for national defence was thrown in greatly increased proportions on the wealthier classes. But this policy had not satisfied organised labour, and the period ends with three years of strikes on a great scale.

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CHAPTER X

THE GREAT WAR
1914-18

THIS nation of ours has always been upon its trial. The people of England had hardly achieved national unity when it passed under the scathing inroads of Danish and Norse invaders, twice repeated and twice prolonged throughout a generation. Twice it came under foreign rule. Slowly and painfully it struggled from the gloomy ignorance and superstition of the Dark Ages to the twilight splendour of Plantagenet days, and so on to the full sunrise of the Elizabethan era. It made for itself a language, a literature, a system of law, and a constitution. It reformed its own religion, retaining its faith and its Bible together with liberty of individual belief. When the discoveries of Columbus and Magellan threw the whole world open to enterprise and commerce, the citizens of England, trained in freedom and self-government, were not the first, but the most active and persevering in the pursuit of the new prizes offered. At first they leaned upon their rulers, as ignorant men must do, but the great kings that fortune gave them were able to work with rather than in

opposition to their people. The English nation passed through the customary interludes of civil strife, but in rebellion and sedition it showed a moderate spirit, and at each stage of progress the number of experienced, responsible, and prudent citizens became greater. Thus, at the end of the eighteenth century the people were governed by a large class of nobility and gentry—men after the Englishman's heart—solid, sensible, determined, courageous, at need capable of unsparing self-sacrifice, ever willing to take risks in a cause that they approved.

Throughout all these trials the whole people of England worked as a team of comrades. Kings led, churchmen, nobles, gentlemen, sea captains, merchants, led, but the success of their leadership depended on the cordial and confident cooperation of the rank and file. The people of England has at all times been, it must always be, the builder of its own fortunes. But with the steady advance of democracy in the nineteenth century the people comes upon its trial in a novel way. Democracy did not begin with the Reform Act of 1832; that Act only registered the results of a movement which had begun at least as early as the days of Chatham. Throughout the century—partly by the extension of the franchise, but still more by the spread of education, by the development of the popular Press, by Trade Union activities, and by local interest in municipal affairs—that part of the people which is critical of national policy, conscious of national purpose,

and therefore able to influence the conduct of national affairs, has steadily increased. To-day no man or woman can avoid a share in determining the fortunes of us all, either by action or acquiescence. The responsibility of statesmen and politicians, of ministers and Parliament, is less; the responsibility of the citizen is greater. Therefore, in all the trials of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, progressively and generation by generation, the people as a whole has been more and more severely tested; the test is more severe to-day than yesterday, and will be yet more severe to-morrow. For the test comes in peace as in war, in prosperity not less than in adversity.

TRIALS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The last act for which the ruling classes had sole responsibility was the successful conclusion of the wars against Napoleon. In that great ordeal the rank and file cooperated nobly, but their share was obedience, loyalty, courage, and endurance; the decision was not theirs, though it was in accordance with their spirit. On the other hand, the industrial revolution was carried through to the point which it has now reached with little aid or guidance from the ruling classes. A free people carried out a complete change of its whole life, without plan or ultimate purpose, by the half-conscious cooperation of millions, amid grime and sickness and privation, with toil and thought and anxiety, in constant strife, sus-



German war medal. Sinking of the *Lusitania*.



German war medal. Zeppelins over London.

picion, and jealousy, and yet on the whole with steadily growing well-being, comfort, enlightenment, and security. We cannot wholly admire the result—what human work is wholly admirable?—but the wonder is that the work, being so great, should be as good as it is. From that trial the people has so far successfully emerged.

In the Crimean War, and in the suppression of the Indian mutiny, the people had more share than in the Napoleonic wars; in the Boer War its spontaneous cooperation is evident, and the last and greatest war of history was carried to a successful issue by the almost universal effort and sacrifice of a free people, in spite of inadequate preparation and training. It was the spirit of a people, conscious of freedom and of freedom's worth, that gave liberty to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and last of all to the conquered States of South Africa. All the great tests of the last hundred and fifty years have fallen more and more upon the people as a whole, and less and less upon any rulers, classes, or individuals. The errors and failures are errors of detail; the great successes are plain to view, and should give us reason to hope and spirit to resolve that in all the great tests of the future we shall not be found worse than our fathers.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

The fundamental causes of the Great War were those of all other wars—jealousy, greed,

arrogance, suspicion, fear, and the more generous urge of national pride. From the oldest days of humanity, if a tribe or a people prospered its numbers increased; more territory was needed to support its population, and that territory could only be obtained by fighting with its neighbours. Thus war is deeply ingrained in human nature; it is almost an instinct; but it is an instinct which can be tamed. It has been tamed in some measure. The great countries of the modern world are normally areas of internal peace, and as between nations we have no longer continuous warfare but only occasional wars. Under our modern industrial system the acquisition of territory is not a driving need. There seems to be almost no limit to the population which a given area can maintain. But there are still objects which may tempt the cupidity of a growing nation; coal, iron, petroleum, gold, diamonds, and the products of other climates—silk, cotton, spices, rubber, and the vegetable oils of tropical lands. All these things may be bought, but it is often more profitable and always more gratifying to vanity if the means of their production be owned. Thus the Germans had reason to desire the coal and iron of France, the coal of Poland, and the minerals of Russia; there can be no doubt that they envied us our colonial possessions. The actual and potential wealth of the British Empire was enormous, and it seemed to be inadequately defended.

Again, a powerful impulse drives any con-

tinental nation to seek free access to the sea. Even Bohemia at one time stretched out her hands to the Adriatic. Access to the sea is, of course, useful for commerce, but the impulse seems to be almost instinctive. Thus Russia looked towards the Balkan Peninsula, and above all towards Constantinople. Austria was not content with Pola, Trieste, and Fiume; she looked also towards Salonica.

So much for greed; jealousy and suspicion are seldom absent when nations are in close contact and rivalry. But the jealousy of Austria and Russia in the Balkan Peninsula had been chronic and often acute for at least a hundred years. Austria had taken a part in thwarting Russia at the time of the Crimean war and again at the Peace of Berlin, in 1878. There was also jealousy between Italy and Austria with regard to the Italian speaking possessions of Austria to the north-east of the Italian peninsula, and with regard to the Adriatic and its eastern shores. France was for ever in fear of Germany; moreover, her pride had been wounded by the disastrous war of 1871, and she remembered with undying regret the enforced cession of Alsace and Lorraine. And I do not think it is sufficiently recognised that Germany had reason to fear Russia, whose policy was no less unscrupulous than her own, and that Germany was therefore anxious to strike before Russia had developed her railway approaches towards the eastern frontier of Germany.

THE RISE OF GERMANY

Germany was a great country in the Middle Ages—imperfectly united, but populous, wealthy, and skilled in the arts of peace and war. In the sixteenth century she was torn asunder by religious strife, and in the seventeenth century she was devastated by the Thirty Years War. Out of the ashes Prussia arose, and built her power upon her military system. She increased her scanty and scattered possessions at the expense of the German bishoprics, of Austria, and of the Poles. Napoleon struck her down, but her military spirit revived, and she had no trifling share in Napoleon's fall. At the Congress of Vienna, 1815, her territories were rearranged, but she gained on balance. The united Germany which resulted from the wars of 1863-1871 was the work of Prussia and came under her domination. (See also Ch. VII, pp. 181-8.) Even the southern States of Germany, to which the harsh, precise, and authoritative methods of Prussia were at first distasteful, gradually came under the sway of her military spirit.

The success of war as a short cut for the satisfaction of national ambitions seemed to have been proved by the events of 1866-71. The virtues of an authoritative government, based on military power, were manifested in the steady growth of German prosperity from 1871-1914. The Germans were industrious, frugal, and submissive to authority; the powers of steam,

electricity, chemistry, and invention, had been fully developed and were at their service; abstract science had long been valued in Germany, and it was now turned to practical use; the Government encouraged industry and commerce by subsidies, honours, and all the influence of their agents abroad. In manufacture, in agriculture, in trade, in shipping, in engineering, in banking, the developments were rapid and enormous. German commercial, financial, and directive enterprise was active in Russia, in the Balkan States, in Italy, in Scandinavia, and in South America; even in Great Britain it was widely spread. The population of Germany increased rapidly; and conditions were so good at home that emigration almost ceased. It seems that if the Germans had kept the peace for ten years more they would have secured commercial and financial domination over a great part of Europe and of South America by continuing in the way they had begun.

WHAT LED GERMANY TO MAKE WAR?

That the impulse to war in 1914 came from Germany I at least have no doubt. The German people had for years been educated in the belief that they were subjected to a hostile encirclement by Great Britain, France, and Russia. German pride was wounded, in 1911, when the ill-considered attempt of the German Emperor to thwart British and French agreements in

Morocco broke down ignominiously. In 1913 the German Government, for no apparent reason, borrowed fifty millions to improve the equipment of their armed forces, and increased the normal peace strength of their army. The growth in the size of battleships had necessitated the enlargement of the Kiel Canal, which was completed in that same year. The events of July, 1914, complete the chain of proof (see below). That there were secret influences at work I do not doubt. Probably they will never be completely revealed. But historical study leads me to believe that if secret influences are important their nature can be discovered by their effects. Now, I take it as proved that the royal power in Prussia, and therefore the imperial power in Germany, depended upon the military caste, and that, if that caste had made up their mind to fight, the Kaiser could not long withstand them. I think the evidence goes to show that the Kaiser was at first unwilling, but afterwards was carried along, while the Crown Prince tried to win popularity by displaying his sympathy with the military caste. As for the mass of the people in Germany, which never counted for much, apart from their aristocratic leaders, they had been thoroughly educated in the faith of "Germany on top," and of war as the means of national advancement. The commercial magnates and the professors were largely imbued with the same ideas, and those who were not went in fear of public opinion and imperial disfavour. Thus,

the real problem is to discover the motives of the big soldiers who controlled the military caste.

THE AIMS OF THE MILITARY CASTE

It is practically certain that the soldiers expected a short war and an easy victory. They had good reason for such expectations, which were very nearly realised. The German Army was ready and exceedingly efficient. The French Army, though admirable in spirit, courage, and mind, was not so well equipped nor so speedily mobilised. The Germans reckoned that, by a speedy passage through Belgium, they would surprise the French only half-prepared on an unfortified frontier. The Russians were to be slow and could be dealt with after the French had been crushed. The British were not to join at all, or if they joined, to join too late. All this was very plausible, and very nearly right. But for the cumulative effect of a number of greater and smaller errors of calculation, it would have been right enough, and world supremacy would have been won. But there are always risks in war, and the risks in this case were so great that I do not believe they would have been taken but for the personal motives of the caste.

A military caste that does not fight once in a lifetime loses status and self-confidence. Only a handful of the men who fought in 1914 can have fought in 1871. The officers who had

never fought wanted to fight before they died or retired. The generals who thought they knew the game wanted to play it. But I believe the most convincing motive of all was that amazing progress of German commerce, industry, and finance, which if continued unbroken for ten years more might have rendered the War unnecessary—that is to say, might have robbed the soldiers of their chance. The war was fought, I believe, to preserve the supremacy of the military caste. There may have been also a political motive arising from the growth of the social-democratic party. Advisers of the Hohenzollern may have feared that the control of the democratic Parliament of United Germany (the Reichstag) might pass out of their hands. They may have feared the demand for reform in the very undemocratic Prussian Parliament, and wished to give renewed strength to the military foundation on which the Prussian monarchy rested. Some have even suggested that the financial basis of German industry and commerce had become so insecure, that war was waged for fear of a financial catastrophe. I do not believe that German finance was so bad as that, nor do I believe, if it had been so, that the soldiers would have understood it or paid attention to it. I believe they decided to fight in order that their predominance as the aristocratic and military caste in Prussia and Germany might not be impaired but enhanced.

MOVEMENTS IN THE BALKANS

To trace the origins of the War one might go back to 1871 and 1878. One must go back to 1908, when Austria annexed the Balkan provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been entrusted to her custody by Europe in 1878. After the annexation she was only preserved from Russian attack by German threats. But the jealousy of Russia was not appeased, and Serbian fear and hostility were aroused by the subjugation of neighbours of like race and language with themselves. The war of Italy against Turkey, in 1911, for the possession of Tripoli, set all the Balkan peoples scheming to profit by the embarrassments of Turkey, for many centuries their oppressor and still the ruler of many Serbians, Bulgarians, and Greeks. In 1912 a secret league of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece was formed. To this league Russia was privy, and she was adopted as patron and arbitrator—hardly without her consent. France became aware of this, and, although she could not prevent the Balkan League from making war on Turkey, with the aid of England she succeeded for the time in preventing an universal conflict. This she was able to do, partly because the Central Powers expected the victory of Turkey, and probably also because they were not fully prepared for war. But the Balkan allies were rapidly and completely victorious. However,

in the distribution of territory which followed on victory, Bulgaria was not satisfied, and—probably at the instigation of Austria—she attacked Serbia. Roumania, instead of playing the game of the Central Powers, took sides against Bulgaria. Bulgaria was occupied and compelled to accept the humiliating peace of Bukarest (1913), and even Turkey benefited by the restoration of Adrianople and other territory previously ceded to Bulgaria. Thus jealousy and hatred resumed their customary sway among the Balkan peoples, and Austria for more than a year was seeking an excuse to chastise Serbia, if not to annex her State. Germany seized the chance to establish her influence even more firmly at Constantinople.

THE MURDERS AT SERAJEVO

The occasion sought by Austria came when the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Throne of Austria-Hungary, visited Serajevo, capital of Bosnia, and was there murdered with his wife on June 28th, 1914. That was a mysterious crime, and we may never know why it was committed, or permitted. But Austria at once asserted that it had been planned in Belgrade, and proclaimed that Serbia was responsible and must be punished. There is little doubt that on July 5th all the necessary steps were taken at Potsdam to prepare for the war which would almost inevitably follow if Austria attacked Serbia. The Kaiser then went off in

his yacht to "establish an alibi." Nothing overt was done until July 23rd, when an ultimatum was presented to Serbia, making demands upon her that, in the words of Lord Grey, no nation could accept and retain her independence. The day and even the hour of presenting this ultimatum appear to have been chosen so that the French President should have left the Russian Emperor, whom he was visiting, and be detained upon the seas until the twenty-four hours delay accorded to Serbia had elapsed. Nevertheless, Great Britain and Russia persuaded the Serbian Government to accept the ultimatum, with only two reservations which it was desired to refer to the Hague Tribunal. This answer was taken as a refusal, and the Austrian Ambassador at once left Belgrade. On July 28th Austria invaded Serbia.

THE DECLARATION OF WAR

Great Britain did her uttermost, with the cordial support of France, to avert war. She appealed to Germany that she should join with France, Italy, and Britain, in a conference to settle the issue between Austria and Serbia, and that between Austria and Russia which had now arisen. But Germany turned a deaf ear, and when Russia mobilised her armies, first against Austria and then, as the attitude of Germany became clear, against Germany also, Germany issued, on August 1st, an ultimatum to Russia demanding complete demobilisation within

twelve hours. On the same day she declared war. On August 3rd, she also declared war on France, having previously crossed the French frontier. The French, on their part, to avoid any accidental collision had withdrawn all their troops several miles from the frontier.

THE ATTITUDE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Throughout the hurried days—July 23rd to August 3rd—the attitude of Britain had been admirable. She had moved heaven and earth to secure peace, without disloyalty to her friends, France and Russia. But one thing she had not been able to do, and that might possibly have prevented the War. She did not and could not declare that in case of war she would be on the side of France. An Emperor may perhaps—a British Prime Minister cannot—commit himself to war without making sure that he has his people behind him. The Germans gave the provocation which clinched the slow-forming resolution of the British people.

On August 2nd Germany delivered an ultimatum to Belgium, demanding passage for German troops for the invasion of France. The Belgians nobly refused, and appealed to Britain. On August 3rd Sir Edward Grey (Lord Grey of Falloden) set forth the situation to the House of Commons. He may have doubted before he met the House what might be its feeling; before he had spoken many words it was evident that Parliament was almost unanimous in the resolve

to resist so great a wrong, at whatever cost. The Irish nationalists spoke boldly and generously in that sense. The feeling of the British people was clear beyond question. Accordingly, an ultimatum was addressed to Germany that Belgian territory should be left inviolate, according to the treaty of 1839, to which Prussia was a party. When the ultimatum was disregarded, Great Britain declared war at 11 p.m. on August 4th.

I remember well the supreme anxiety of those seven days—July 28th to August 3rd—when war was practically certain, and it seemed possible that our country might stand aside. I was convinced that the honour and safety of our country were at stake. Our honour was at stake, because a great wrong was intended, not only against Belgium but against France, who had given no provocation. Our safety was at stake because, France once crushed, it was only a matter of time before we also should be attacked. But a great people is slow to move, and sometimes slow to understand. The plot had been pushed forward so quickly, that the rights and the wrongs and the interests involved might easily be obscure to many. The violation of Belgium made the dangers far more great, but that also might not be comprehended. But the wrong done to Belgium was clear beyond the hazard of a doubt. Our generous people was moved by the manifest crime as it might not have been moved by a sense of danger or by

more uncertain questions of right. Its sense of honour and justice saved it from disaster.

FIRST WEEKS OF THE WAR

The resistance of Belgium, and especially of Liège, delayed the advance of the German armies by many precious days. The French mobilisation was less rapid than that of the Germans, which had been expedited by every secret means since July 5th. The French also had to shift their armies, since, in spite of many certain proofs which indicated that Germany had long been preparing to throw her forces into Belgium, the French were not ready to defend their north-eastern frontier, still less to meet the invaders between Antwerp and Namur, which would have been best. The British Expeditionary force—at first four, afterwards six, divisions of infantry, a division of cavalry, and the necessary complement of auxiliary troops, organised as two army corps—was rapidly despatched and safely put across the sea. They came into action on the 23rd August, at Mons, on the left of the French armies, which had not yet found their fighting form and were disorganised by the fall of Namur, which occurred on that same day. The British fought until night-fall against greatly superior forces and artillery, and their splendid discipline, with rapid and accurate rifle fire, did great damage to the enemy. But the French were in retreat on their right, and their left flank was threatened. The next day they had to retire. On the 26th

they fought a heavy rearguard action at Le Cateau, and were able on the following day to continue their retreat towards the Oise. This splendid army of long-service men had suffered terrible losses, but both infantry and cavalry had done wonderful things and carried through a masterly retreat, in which Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien earned special distinction. And they were ready when the time came to go into action again. Their retreat at length came to an end behind the Grand Morin.

THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

Meanwhile, the French front, which had run N.N.W. from the point where the Swiss frontier meets the French to Namur, had been bent back north of Verdun till it lay in a sagging line directed nearly east and west to a point slightly north of Paris. The German advance had continued, wheeling ever to the left, until the possibility presented itself of breaking through the Allied line east of Paris. Von Kluck, who commanded the most westerly of the German armies, in performing his share in this manœuvre, exposed his right flank to the British on the Grand Morin, and to a newly organised French army under Maunoury between Oise and Marne. On the 5th of September, Joffre, the French Commander-in-Chief, determined to strike. The German right, attacked on flank and front, was forced to retire, exposing their comrades in the centre, who in their turn were heavily smitten by

Foch. The battle ended on the 12th, when the German right had been driven back beyond Compiègne, and the French line from Verdun had been fixed so as to conform, holding from west to east the forest of St. Gobain, the Chemin des Dames, the line of the Suippe, the southern part of the Argonne, and soon to the angle of Verdun, which fortress the Germans were unable to approach within striking distance.

THE RACE FOR THE COAST

The combats on the Aisne (September 13th-25th), and other encounters to the east and south-east, did not succeed in modifying the line from Noyon to the Swiss frontier. Meanwhile a race began, the French extending their line northwards towards Albert, the Germans conforming to their movements and each endeavouring to outflank the other. In these circumstances the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir John French, made the sensible proposal that his army should take up its position on the French extreme left, nearer to his bases of supply in Boulogne and on the neighbouring coast. The British were, therefore, removed from the Aisne, and came into action again in October with headquarters at St. Omer. Belgians and French completed the line to Nieuport, thus covering the important harbours of Boulogne and Calais. Meanwhile, the Germans had occupied Antwerp on October 10th. The chief part of the Belgian army had escaped to the coast, but a part of the British force, hastily col-

lected and despatched to aid in the defence of Antwerp, was driven across the Dutch frontier and interned in Holland. Throughout October and November, from Arras northwards ding-dong fighting continued, the Germans endeavouring to advance, the French, the British, and the Belgians, striving to drive them back.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF YPRES

The heroic efforts of the French, which stemmed the German advance between Arras and La Bassée, should never be forgotten. But further north the brunt of the attack fell upon the British, at Ypres, which lasted from about the 30th of November to the 17th of December. By a miracle of courage and devotion our exhausted and shattered men held their own, with French aid, against immensely superior forces and even against the assaults of the famous Prussian Guard. Their losses were such as few armies have ever been able to endure without breaking. And thus, before the close of 1914, a stable line of defence was established from the Swiss frontier to the coast of Belgium, which was never seriously broken by either side until 1918.

TRENCH WARFARE

Thenceforward the war in France and Belgium was fought under conditions of almost unimaginable hardship. Much of the line ran through sodden clay, where it was impossible to keep water from the trenches. Rest could only be

obtained in chambers dug deep beneath the ground. With progress of time the continuous bombardment became more and more severe, as all forms of artillery were multiplied and new engines were invented for the discharge of explosive missiles and bombs loaded with deadly gas. Snipers lurked in hiding places cunningly concealed to punish any incautious movement. Periodic raids were carried out on either side to keep the enemy occupied and secure prisoners and information. New disorders were caused by the deadly conditions—trench feet, trench fever, and trench nephritis. Little joy of battle intervened to relieve the monotony of ceaseless danger, cold, and wet. Few of the men were inured to hardship and exposure; the most part came from city life, a life of umbrellas and overcoats, soft beds and well-warmed houses. That our men endured it may give us wondering pride, but our enemies and our allies endured it also.

THE RUSH TO ARMS

The first part of the war was fought on our side by volunteers. The earlier reinforcements and drafts came from the regular Army, from the special reserve and territorials partly trained before the war, and from the Indian army, whose courage and devotion were beyond question, but their physique was ill-suited to a winter in Flanders. But behind them came a flood of voluntary recruits. In Lord Kitchener the British people had a War Minister whom they

trusted and revered. His great frame and impassive countenance gave the impression of strength and solidity. Every one knew him and his great deeds. He called for men and they came in their myriads. Nothing was ready for them. But the men were patient, and with time arms, clothing, equipment, housing, and training were found for them. Men flocked from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and all the lands beyond the seas. Many of these men were unaccustomed to discipline, and intolerant of the ways of an army. But they were willing to school their proud spirit, and no troops have more glorious records than those of the free Dominions. The Germans relied on disaffection in our fellow-subjects abroad; they were disappointed. In India such treason as they were able to incite was easily subdued. A little rebellion in South Africa was quelled by our old and respected enemy, General Botha. The South Africans found work in their own country; first the conquest of German South-west Africa, and afterwards of German East Africa, which was not completed until the end of 1916.

CONSCRIPTION

For a long time as many volunteers came forward as could be trained and equipped. The numbers thus raised can be reckoned in millions. The British people dislikes compulsion and values its liberty; but as time went on it was seen to be unfair that the willing horse should

do all the work; moreover, where there were just reasons or necessity for exemption, it was felt that those reasons and that necessity should be examined and approved by some impartial authority. At the end of 1915 Lord Derby undertook to enrol as many as possible of those who had not enlisted, on condition that tribunals should determine who should be called to fight. This plan sufficed for the time, but in 1916 a general system of conscription was adopted and accepted by the British people. A similar scheme was later adopted by Canada and New Zealand, but rejected by Australia, who preferred to rely solely on volunteers. The individual citizens of Australia did all, and more than all, that could be expected of them. No considerable section of the whole British people failed to rise to the greatness of the national need and impulse. As time went on, and especially in 1918, older men were taken; men were drawn from occupations necessary for the war and for the maintenance of the nation's daily life, from the land, from munition factories, and every branch of industry and commerce. Millions of women took their place in offices, on the land, at the machines, on the railways and other transport work, and for clerking, cooking, and supply behind the fighting lines.

EDUCATION JUDGED BY THE WAR

British education, both that of our Public Schools and that of our elementary schools, has often been and is still decried. But the best

education is that which forms the best character. Judged by this test, our education of each and every class need fear no hostile comment. Our officers were serious, steadfast, and brave; they learnt their business quickly and showed the highest qualities of leadership. Our rank and file were cheerful, humorous, patient, and enduring of every risk and hardship. Without the instruction given by the public elementary schools our volunteers could not have been so speedily fashioned into soldiers and into armies, and no fault can be found with the character trained by those schools. Even our scientific knowledge, which had often been condemned as insufficient, proved equal to all the new and colossal demands of the world war. The British men of science proved as inventive and resourceful as those of any other nation. From University and workshop to village school our system was tried and found good, not only in knowledge but in loyalty and public spirit.

MUNITIONS

The need for munitions of war of every kind was greater than the most extravagant imagination could have foreseen. It is probable that the relaxation of German effort about December, 1914, was partly due to the exhaustion of stores which could not be at once replaced. Shells, guns, transport, aeroplanes, and materials of every kind were used up far more quickly than they could be restored. In Great Britain

especially, practically no plant existed for the manufacture of high explosive. Not until the very end of 1914 were means taken to supply this deficiency. The resources of Great Britain for the manufacture of all kinds of engines and machines were very great, and they were without great difficulty adapted to the manufacture of guns, rifles, shells, cartridges, aeroplane engines, and the like. But the manufacture of trinitrotoluene, the standard high explosive, could not be carried out on a great scale without long preparation; and in May, 1915, the British Press became aware that high explosive shells were not available in sufficient quantities. The consequent agitation led to the fall of the Liberal Cabinet, which had undertaken the War, and the formation of a Coalition Cabinet, in which not only Liberals and Conservatives but also the Labour Party were represented. A Ministry of Munitions was established, with enormous powers and unlimited credit, which at once set to work with great vigour. The Trade Unions were persuaded to forgo their customary rights, and unskilled men and women were freely employed in industries whence they were excluded during peace. All regulations as to hours were ignored. Long before the War was over practically all the resources of the nation were mobilised for war, and every kind of munition was produced in prodigious quantity. Unfortunately, economy was not closely studied, and the cost imposed on the nation was excessive. No satisfactory prin-

ciple was agreed as to wages, and, while the nation was paying very high wages to certain classes of workers, it still had the mortification of hearing of strikes among munition workers and of threatened strikes.

FINANCE

At the outbreak of war very skilful expedients were adopted to avoid any general weakness of credit. The Banks were closed for several days, in order that time might be given for measures of precaution. Paper currency was issued in place of gold, and debtors were allowed time to meet any claims that might fall due. The issues of loans by the Government were well taken up, though as the War went on the rate of interest mounted higher and higher. The result of the creation of all these new credits was to make every one feel rich, and rates of wages were not closely scrutinised. It was not sufficiently realised that all these expenditures would sooner or later have to be met, and indeed, after the War, at least two years elapsed before it was fully understood that so great a war must impoverish the nation for many years to come, and that lavish finance would make the burden even more hard to bear. But both in this country and abroad the power of national credit in an emergency proved far greater than well informed persons would have believed possible without the proof of experience. Great Britain never lacked funds to meet her own needs, however

exaggerated by waste, and she was also able to make great advances to her Allies, though on the other hand, as the war proceeded, Britain herself had to guarantee the loans of her Allies from the United States up to great amounts. Many classes of workers received unheard of wages; those who supplied their needs and luxuries did great business. All those who had opportunities of traffic which they knew how to use became rich. The nation was scattering the wealth which it had amassed during three generations. Many became wealthy who had been poor, and wealth did not always pass into worthy hands. It will take many years to adjust a sane and wholesome distribution of the national income. Our Government is not framed for the autocratic control necessary in war; it is framed for liberty and influenced by public feeling; the people knew that it must give, and give freely; it could not be expected to know without experience the difference between real and apparent wealth.

THE WAR IN THE EAST

Russia entered the field earlier than was expected. Her invasion of East Prussia began at once, and by the 21st of August the German troops were driven into Königsberg. This diversion no doubt reduced German pressure on the Allies in France and Belgium. But to retrieve the situation in East Prussia, the Germans found an old and retired General who had made a thorough study of the difficult country. His

name was Hindenburg. Mustering such forces as he could raise, he cut off an entire Russian army, drove it into the marshes, surrounded and destroyed it before the month was out. This victory is known as the Victory of Tannenberg. Hindenburg became a popular hero and was made Commander-in-Chief of the German forces in the East. The Russians had to evacuate East Prussia. Meanwhile, the Austrians had invaded Poland, advancing towards Lublin. But the Russian armies retired before them on that side, and further south attacked Galicia, the Austrian share of the old dismembered Poland. They rapidly advanced, threatening Cracow, and through Cracow Silesia, that great manufacturing province on which Prussian supplies in large measure depended. Those were the days when men talked of the Russian steam roller, and looked for the triumphant progress of Russia to Berlin. But victory was still far off, and was to come, not through Russia, but by the stubborn effort of France and England in their own defence. Hindenburg countered by an attack on Warsaw, which he almost reached, but he was driven back. In Galicia the tide of battle rolled to and fro during the last months of 1914, but the end of the year saw the Russian cavalry almost in sight of Cracow. In Serbia the Austrians had no better success. Their first invasion was repelled; a second invasion advanced far into the country, but in December they suffered disastrous defeat, and once more were driven to their own frontiers.

The Austrian armies lacked resolute and skilful guidance, and as the war went on they came to perform more and more under German control.

THE BALKAN STATES

In 1908 the old Sultan, Abdul Hamid, was dethroned by a revolution, which professed to be democratic and was organised by a "Committee of Union and Progress." The government of the country fell into the hands of unscrupulous adventurers, who found a profitable friend in Germany. In 1913 three of these adventurers, Enver, Talaat, and Djemal, came to supreme power by assassination. The railway to Bagdad was built with German capital, and came under German control. Germany looked forward to the exploitation of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia by means of her Turkish friends, and to the extension of German power and enterprise throughout the Middle East. It was natural for Turkey to take sides against Russia, but, most likely for reasons of policy, the decision was delayed; and Turkey did not join the Central Powers until October, 1914. Communications between the Western Allies and south Russia were thus cut off. Bulgaria, under her crafty King, Ferdinand, waited on the course of events, but the Allies could not offer her the spoils of Serbia, which she desired, and when the German forces under Mackensen were at length, in October, 1915, ready for the final and crushing onslaught upon Serbia, Bulgaria

joined in the attack, having received the promise of Macedonia and Epirus. At the outbreak of the war the ruler of Greece under King Constantine was Venizelos, a democratic Cretan and a friend of the Allies. But Constantine, through his wife, the sister of Kaiser Wilhelm, was under German influence, and when Serbia called for aid against Bulgaria, under the treaty with Greece, he dismissed Venizelos and refused all assistance. To prevent the complete domination of Germany in the Balkan Peninsula the Allies occupied Salonica, which they retained until the end of the War. Constantine was afraid to provoke an open conflict with the Allies, but they were eventually obliged to expel him from Athens, though since the War he has been allowed to return.

THE RUSSIAN DEFEAT

In the early months of 1915 the Russians continued their advance towards Silesia, and also endeavoured to break into Hungary through the passes of the Carpathians. The Grand Duke Nicholas was a competent and loyal Commander-in-Chief, and under him were several brilliant generals. But the Russian armies were ill supplied with arms and ammunition, and they were never able to push their successes home. When in April, 1915, the Germans under Mackensen launched an attack in full strength on the Russian front in Galicia, the Russians were forced slowly and sullenly to abandon all their

conquests. A German attack on Poland followed in July, pressing the Polish salient from north and south. On August 5th, 1915, Warsaw was occupied, and the Russian armies were forced far back. They were not destroyed, and they were able, towards the end of the year, to inflict severe checks upon the invaders. But thenceforward, until 1917, though the Russians from time to time advanced and throughout gave occupation to a great mass of German, Austrian, and Turkish troops, the victory in the East was and remained with the Germans. And when Roumania, in 1916, entered the war on the side of the Allies, Russia was unable to offer any substantial aid. After initial successes the Roumanians were driven back, until only a small fraction of their kingdom was left in the occupation of the Roumanian army and government.

THE EXPEDITION TO THE DARDANELLES

The adhesion of Turkey to the Central Powers closed the approaches to Russian ports on the Black Sea. Whether to support further Russian advances against Austria, or Hungary, or Germany, or to assist Russia against the German attack then in preparation, it was important that the Russian ports should be open for munitions from abroad, and the West was also in need of Russian corn. The Allies were masters of the Mediterranean, and a maritime expedition against Constantinople seemed hopeful, and if successful would be of high importance. But the attack on

the Dardanelles, which began in February, 1915, was marred in execution through divided counsels. The British military authorities declared that they could spare no troops. Venizelos promised two Greek divisions; Constantine vetoed this proposal. So it came about that a purely maritime attack was first undertaken, which was foredoomed to failure, and the Turks were thus fully warned. Later, troops were found, but when, on April 25th, the British and French force of 120,000 men effected their landing on the Gallipoli peninsula, all preparations had been made for defence. The landing was well planned and heroically executed, but no progress could be made. The sanitary precautions against the dangers of soil and climate and water were inadequate. When reinforcements arrived, in July, 1915, a fresh landing was made in Suvla Bay, but success here was no better than before. Finally, in December, 1915, we counted ourselves lucky to withdraw without disaster the remnants of one of the finest armies which Britain has ever sent out, with its 29th Division of Regulars, and the two Divisions supplied by Australia and New Zealand.

THE WESTERN FRONT, 1915-1917.

The position throughout these years was stable. Neither side could break through; neither side could be broken. The Western front with its incessant bombardment, its highly organised attacks, and its daily encounters over

many hundred miles, ate up men and munitions, but no conclusion was in sight. In April, 1915, the Germans again attacked Ypres, this time with poison gas, for which the British and French were not prepared; but the Canadians held the breach. The British made attacks, in 1915, at Neuve Chapelle and at Loos; the French at the Vimy Ridge and in Champagne; but nothing was achieved. In 1916 the great event was the German attack upon Verdun, the angle towards Germany of the French line. This attack began in February, 1916, and lasted until August, though the climax was passed in May. To relieve the pressure on Verdun the British planned their great battle of the Somme, which opened on July 1st, and was supported by the French to the south. This battle, or series of battles, lasted with intervals until October; it was finely contested and proved that the British were at last as well equipped as the Germans with artillery and munitions, but it did not achieve a break-through. However, the effect was seen when in February, 1917, the Germans began their retreat from the lines they had hitherto held to a new and strongly and deeply fortified line of defence, prepared during the winter, and running from the Vimy Ridge to the St. Gobain Forest and the Chemin des Dames. This line is commonly known as the Hindenburg line. The Verdun battle also found its fitting conclusion when in October and December, Nivelle, the French General, by a skifully

organised series of attacks, won back nearly all the ground which the Germans had occupied in the bitter fighting of the summer.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DECLARE WAR

Two events mark out 1917—the entry of the United States of America into the War and the Russian Revolution. Feeling in the North American Continent had been confused and various. The Americans treasured a kindly feeling for France, who had assisted them in their War of Independence; they retained mistrust and dislike of the British as a heritage of that war and subsequent misunderstandings and disputes. Enthusiastic democrats, they suspected and despised all relics of aristocracy and monarchy such as are to be found in Europe. A sound political instinct made them unwilling to mix in European quarrels, just as it was a cardinal principle of their policy that no European power should interfere on the American Continent. There were many millions of American citizens of German extraction, most of whom retained some affection for the old Fatherland, though the greater part were loyal to the country of their adoption. The Irish element, which was also great, was hostile to Britain. The War brought many occasions for dispute between the United States and Great Britain. The Americans were ready to sell us munitions and all kinds of produce, but they resented any interference with their trade, and as the British blockade became

more and more stringent they found themselves not only cut off from the Central Powers but also strictly limited in their dealings with neutrals. It is much to the credit of our Foreign Office and our Navy that none of the incessant altercations ever led to a serious interruption of friendly relations. On the other hand, the brutality of the German methods of warfare revolted the Americans. The outrages in Belgium, the use of poison gas, the sinking of hospital ships, the deportation of civilians and of women from Russia and France, all these were calculated to arouse indignation and hatred. Not least repulsive was the reckless sinking of merchant vessels with their crews by German submarines. The destruction of the *Lusitania* in May, 1915, brought this directly home to the Americans; many American citizens lost their lives through that crime. In reply to American expostulations the Germans promised improvement, but their promises were insincere, and in January, 1917, they were revoked and Germany announced her purpose of unrestricted submarine warfare. The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, removed the Russian autocracy, which the Americans suspected and disliked. Thus, in April, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. The initiative was taken by the President, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, but the decision was that of the American people, who were at length convinced that the cause of England and France was the cause of justice and freedom—and safety.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Even now we know little in detail about the internal condition of Russia and the Russian armies during the War. We have ground for belief that there was intrigue, treachery, corruption, mismanagement, and neglect; we know that there was also devotion and heroism. Of all this the rank and file paid the price. No one knows what the Russian losses were, but they may well have exceeded those of all the other belligerents put together. The Tsar, Nicholas II, was a well-meaning man, without force of character or mind. His wife was a German princess; there was no doubt German influence in the Court as elsewhere in Russia; she was bound to be suspected—probably without cause—of German sympathies. But all her affections were centred in her only son, who suffered from an incurable constitutional weakness. A shameless rogue called Rasputin, who possessed remarkable power over many minds, persuaded her that he and he alone could keep the boy in health. The authority thus obtained he used for his wicked purposes, and so brought hatred and contempt upon the royal pair. In December, 1916, his death was decreed by a band of exalted persons, and the sentence was executed without concealment. But the drastic remedy did not save the autocracy; rather it hastened its fall. In March the people of Petrograd stopped work, as if by unpremeditated impulse. The soldiers

refused to fire on the crowds, and the Imperial Government melted away. On the 15th of March the Tsar resigned, and a Ministry appointed by the Duma—the elective assembly of Russia—assumed the power.

But the Revolution once started could not be controlled. It spread to the army, it spread to the navy. The moderate and middle-class Government, which first took up authority, soon fell to pieces. For a time an eloquent lawyer, Kerensky, endeavoured to hold the State together and to carry on the War. A last Russian offensive was begun at the end of June, 1917, but it soon was exhausted, and when the Germans hit back the troops refused to fight, and the Russian armies ceased to count as a factor in the War. For a while Kerensky held on to the semblance of authority, controlled more and more by his Bolshevik allies. In November Lenin and Trotzky, with their Red Guard, seized the power, and Kerensky took to flight. On the 17th of December the new Russian Government signed an armistice with the Germans, and on March 2nd, 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was concluded, by which Russia gave up to the Germans all her Baltic provinces, with Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, and abandoned Armenia and the Caucasus to the Turks.

1917

After the German retirement to the Hindenburg lines had been effected (it occupied the three

first months of 1917) attacks were made—by the British in the region of Arras, capturing the Vimy Ridge—by the French in Champagne, with the object of driving back the Germans from the Chemin des Dames and neighbouring heights. The British attacks near Arras had a limited success, but Nivelle, who commanded the French troops in Champagne, failed to confirm the exaggerated opinions of his ability which had been formed after his work at Verdun. Indeed, French losses were so serious on this occasion that France was profoundly discouraged. Nivelle was removed from the chief command, and his successor, Pétain, received orders to be more sparing of French lives. After March, 1917, the Germans felt safe in withdrawing some of their troops from the Russian front. Still the British continued to press on the German front in Flanders, with some hope of eradicating the German nests of submarines at Ostend and Zeebrugge. For 1917 was the year of extreme submarine activity and success, and Britain was in grave danger until the submarines were defeated. But the fierce and prolonged fighting in front of Ypres, from July to November, 1917, gave no adequate reward; the British attacks of November and December in front of Arras and towards Cambrai had no better success; and the gains of Pétain near Verdun and on the Chemin des Dames (August to November) still left 1917 a barren year, even if it had not ended in disaster to another of our Allies.

ITALY

After long and fruitless negotiation with Austria concerning the price of neutrality, Italy had entered the War in May, 1915, though for another year she delayed her declaration of war against Germany. Her operations had been directed towards the acquisition of Trieste on the one hand and of the Trentino district on the other. In both directions the country was very difficult, and hard fighting had made but little impression. Italy was full of discontent, and even her armies were demoralised and in part affected by enemy propaganda. In October, 1917, after the Italians had closed their operations for the year, an Austrian-German army under a German Commander was let loose upon them at Caporetto; the troops chosen for attack were known to be disaffected; they gave way without resistance; and with difficulty the German advance was arrested many miles to the rear—on the Piave. Both France and Britain were obliged to send contingents to support the Italian defence; the Germans were stopped, but the loss of prisoners, guns, and supplies, was as heavy as in any battle of the War.

1918

The night is darkest before the dawn, and the first half of 1918 was as gloomy as any period, except the few black weeks that preceded the Battle of the Marne. The Italians had been

defeated and barely saved from conquest; the Russian armistice of December, 1917, set free all the Austrian, German, and Turkish forces, that had been occupied in the East. The French were staggering under their losses, and the British were obliged to extend their line—which already reached from the sea to St. Quentin—further south to the neighbourhood of Coucy. Yet reinforcements adequate to their greater task were withheld for reasons which have not been stated. The Allies throughout the War had suffered from divided command; the Germans had been more fortunate in securing complete, or at least adequate, control over the armies of their Allies. In the winter of 1917-18 the British Government had endeavoured to set up unity of command, at least on the Western Front, but they did not get further than the establishment of an Allied War Council at Versailles, which was afterwards joined by the American Commander-in-Chief. A German attack in the north was expected, and even the region and the date were foretold, in January, by Sir Henry Wilson, the British member of the Allied War Council. American troops were arriving in France in great numbers, but they were still under training and had not yet appeared in action.

THE LAST GERMAN OFFENSIVES

The German attack came on March 21st, 1918. The Germans had developed and practised in Russia new shock tactics. Troops carefully

selected were sent forward without much artillery preparation, to be followed by successive waves, each passing through and beyond its forerunner. They were assisted by the dry spring, which made the ground hard and the rivers and streams low. The brunt of their attack fell upon the Fifth British Army, between St. Quentin and La Fère, which was unable to withstand the immense odds. Day after day the advance continued; the upper reaches of the Somme were lost, and the armies to north and south were forced to retreat in harmony with the retirement of the Fifth Army, until a great salient was created, with its apex a little south and east of Amiens. It was the greatest attack ever made by the Germans, and far exceeded in magnitude of effort the attacks upon Verdun. Yet by April 4th it was stayed, by joint French and British effort, and Amiens with its system of railways was saved. A few days later another attack was launched in Flanders, which was carried on throughout the month with considerable though not decisive success. By the beginning of May this attack was also checked; but the British losses of men and material had been enormous. However, our output of munitions was now so great that the losses of material were speedily made good.

THE UNITED COMMAND

The blow was severe; but it had four excellent consequences. The reinforcements which should have been sent in February were now despatched.

The American troops, which had been waiting to take the field until they could act as independent armies, were released to serve as reinforcements in the French and British forces. The German position had been rendered more vulnerable by the advances made. But chief of all the gains was the establishment of a single command for the forces of the four Western Allies—France, Britain, Belgium, and the United States. On the 25th of March General Foch was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the armies in France and Flanders. The War produced many good generals but only one soldier of genius, and Foch was he. Pétain, Hindenburg, Mackensen, Ludendorff, all had great qualities; Haig, Allenby, Byng, Plumer, all were great soldiers and leaders; many others might be named; but only one will go down to history as a master of the art of war. Wherever Foch was in command great things were done. In the Battle of the Marne Foch was in command of the Ninth Army, and seized the chance offered by Kluck's enforced retreat to "smash the keystone of the German arch." Later in the same year he was the spirit and soul of the fierce fighting which kept the Germans out of Calais and Boulogne. All honour to the British at Ypres, but without Foch and his counsel and his men their superb gallantry would have been in vain. And from the moment when he took over the chief command, the worst was over and the best began. The attacks on Amiens and on the Flanders front were held. Wherever

there was danger Foch found men to throw into the breach. Whenever things seemed hopeless he attacked. And when the time came to make the great advance the whole movement speaks of a supreme coordinating mind.

But before that day dawned the French had their own disaster to control. On the 27th of May Ludendorff, who under Hindenburg had the conduct of all the German movements in the West during this year, delivered a third attack—this time on the French line from Soissons to Rheims. He achieved here a rapid though a limited success, reaching the Marne, where his advance was stayed. He then delivered another attack between Montdidier and Noyon, which was held. After a pause, on 15th July he struck his last offensive blow to the east and to the west of Rheims. To the east of Rheims he had no success, to the west he made some progress, which was rather hurtful than helpful. On the 18th of July Foch took the offensive on the western front of the German salient or pocket, which had now formed between Soissons and Rheims, reaching south to Chateau-Thierry.

THE GERMAN DEFEAT

From that day onward the German defeat began. By the 2nd of August the French were in Soissons, by the 3rd the Germans were across the Vesle and the salient had been flattened out. On the 8th of August Haig struck on a twenty-mile front between Albert and Montdidier.

Immediate success followed, and the allied attack spread southward to Soissons and northward to Arras. On the 1st of September Peronne was recovered, and fighting to north and south was uniformly favourable. The Germans had nearly reached the line which they had held in March, 1918. But they were not to stay there.

On the 12th September an American Army cooperated as an independent unit with the French in the obliteration of that curious salient, reaching to the Meuse between Fresnes and Pont à Mousson, which the Germans had maintained since 1914. In three days it was cleared. Between 15th and 30th September the British troops completely destroyed the Hindenburg system of defence, and a little later St. Quentin and Cambrai were in the hand of the Allies. Blow followed blow to north and south; one advance was a stepping stone for another. On the 20th of September the Belgians moved forward in the north of Flanders. Progress in the south was the slowest, where an American army had the task of clearing the Forest of Argonne; while the French on their left pushed on through Champagne. In November a last great battle was fought in the north, between Valenciennes and Oisy, where German resistance was finally broken. And on the 11th of November, when the Armistice was concluded, the Allied line ran N.N.W. through Sedan, east of Maubeuge, and through Ghent to the Dutch frontier; though nowhere, except in Alsace, had the victorious

Allies set foot on German soil, nor had French territory been completely cleared of the invaders.

THE GENERAL COLLAPSE

The whole fabric of the Teutonic alliance collapsed very nearly at the same time. Serbians, French, British, and Greeks advanced in the Balkans, on September 15th, and on September 30th the Bulgarians signed an armistice. By the middle of October the Allies had reached the Danube. Early in the War the Turks from Palestine had threatened the Suez Canal, but they were easily repulsed. In 1917 the British advanced into Palestine, but were defeated at Gaza. In June, 1917, Allenby took over the Syrian command, and in December of that year he took Jerusalem. There he waited to prepare his final blow. On September 19th, 1918, with his British and Indian troops and a fine force of cavalry, he began a rapid encircling movement through the plain of Jezreel and cut off two Turkish armies, and by the 18th of October we had occupied Aleppo and reached the Bagdad railway at Muslemieh. Here Allenby could reach out a hand to the British in Bagdad, which, after many disasters, had been occupied by British and Indian troops in March, 1917. The Turks were pursued to the Tigris, and at the end of October, 1918, they too signed an armistice, which enabled British forces to occupy Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Finally, on October 23rd, the Italians struck the discouraged

Austrian army, drove it in flight, and imposed an armistice on November 3rd.

THE GERMAN ARMISTICE

The Germans were the last to surrender. It will always be a matter for debate whether the Western Allies did well to accept submission before the German armies had been surrounded and destroyed, and without invading German soil. Complete destruction was in sight; only Foch could guess within what time and at what cost it could have been achieved, and he has not told us. It is still open to Germany to assert that she was not defeated, and she escaped the desolation which fell upon great parts of France and Belgium. But the terms of the Armistice were those which only a beaten enemy could accept. The Allies occupied and still hold all German territory west of the Rhine, with bridgeheads on the further bank. The German army was disbanded; ships and munitions of war, locomotives and rolling stock of railways, were surrendered in vast bulk. Germany was delivered defenceless into the hands of the Allies, who could impose such terms of peace as they thought good. The Kaiser and the Kings, who by their office were responsible for the War, went into exile. Germany was forced to change her form of government at the mandate of the victors. Whether it was mercy or policy that stayed the knock-out blow, the completeness of the surrender cannot be denied.

THE NAVAL WAR

The great story of the War is the story of the war on land, and I have therefore followed it through to the end. But the war on land could not have been fought as it was fought without the ceaseless watch and relentless pressure of the omnipotent British navy. From the beginning the exits from the North Sea were closed to the Germans. The Straits of Dover to the south, and the northern passage between Norway and the Shetland Islands, were firmly held. Only in the Baltic was German commerce free, after Sweden had excluded our submarines from Baltic waters by mining her coasts. Of German ships outside the North Sea, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* escaped to Constantinople, where they no doubt put pressure on the Turks but did little other service. The German Pacific squadron escaped from Kiaochow before it was besieged by the Japanese. One of its cruisers—the *Emden*—had a long and destructive career in the Pacific, until she was destroyed by the *Sydney* at the Keeling Islands, November 9th, 1914; another was cut off in an African river. The rest of the squadron met a weaker British force off the coast of Chile and destroyed it, November 1st, 1914, but on the 8th of December was itself destroyed off the Falkland Islands. Inside the North Sea the German war-ships occasionally made a raid on sea-coast towns, and a few encounters took place, some sought by us, and others accidental.

But after the Battle of Jutland, May 31st, 1916, the German activities slackened off, and their war-ships hardly ever left their lairs. Only one surface-ship ever succeeded in slipping out of the North Sea—the *Moewe*, an armed merchantman, which, in 1916, escaped disguised into the Atlantic, there did much damage and returned home safely with her booty.

THE SUBMARINE WAR

From the beginning, however, of the War the Germans made great use of their submarines, which could not be confined within the limits of our guard. They occasionally sunk a ship of war, and they strewed mines in likely places. The *Audacious*—battleship—was sunk by such a mine off the north coast of Ireland, and it is probable that the ship which was carrying Lord Kitchener to Russia was destroyed in like manner. But above all, the German submarines devoted their attention to British merchantmen, which they sank without warning, by torpedo or gunfire, and often without giving the crew any chance of safety. Up to 1917 they observed a certain moderation in their crimes for fear of American displeasure, but early in that year they abandoned all scruple and hoped to win the War by ruthless destruction. No class of men showed more contempt of danger than the British merchant seamen, many of whom were sunk over and over again, and when rescued looked at once for a new berth at sea. In 1917 the country was in

serious danger by the rapid diminution of its merchant tonnage, on which it depended for food and munitions and materials for the manufacture of munitions. But at length, by collecting merchant-ships in convoys and guarding them with swift destroyers, by tracking the submarines and destroying them with depth charges, by trapping them with armed ships masquerading as tramps, and by a hundred other devices, the submarine was defeated. And in 1918 an audacious and successful raid was carried out on Ostend and Zeebrugge, the two most convenient bases for submarine operations, which thus were at least partially closed.

FOOD CONTROL

Nevertheless, from the end of 1917 onwards this country was in serious danger of famine. The Government never failed to supply a sufficiency of bread—helped by the energy of the farmers in cultivating grain crops, and by the multitude who worked little allotments. But sugar fell short first, then meat, butter, and other fats, and from March, 1918, onwards all these foods were rationed. Lord Rhondda should be remembered for the successful food control that he set up, using the municipal authorities all over the country as his agents. Not only food but food prices were controlled. The whole world was ransacked for provisions, and after food control had been established there was no actual scarcity. Such abstinence as was necessary was

cheerfully endured by the people, whose good sense assisted greatly in the success of the scheme.

THE BLOCKADE

While our ports were open, though the ships might not always reach them, the German ports, except in the Baltic, were closely sealed. The Navy stopped all ships on their way and brought them into British harbours to be searched. If they carried contraband they were liable to seizure and confiscation; if not, either their cargoes were bought by the Government, or they were allowed to proceed on their voyage to some neutral port. As time went on it was found that neutrals, such as Holland and Denmark, were supplying Germany with necessaries; and we were obliged to limit the supplies which any such country might receive. There were protests, of course, but the good sense and tact of the Navy and the Foreign Office triumphed over all difficulties, and there is no doubt that scarcity was one of the causes that brought Germany to her knees. In this service, as in all others, the Navy was essential to success, though it won no conclusive battle like that of Trafalgar.

THE WAR IN THE AIR

The invention and perfection of the internal combustion engine made flying possible for man. In the ten years before the War rapid progress had been made in aerial navigation. Two main

types were developed: air-ships inflated with hydrogen, and therefore lighter than air; and aeroplanes which are lifted by their own power and kept aloft by the pressure of their planes against the air so long as rapid motion continues. Both alike are propelled or drawn forward by screws driven by powerful engines. The importance of flying machines for war was early recognised. Count Zeppelin, a German inventor, took the lead (about 1900) with his rigid airships, which carried a considerable crew and were capable of long voyages. The first considerable flight on a machine heavier than air was made by the American brothers, Orville and Wilbur Wright. This first success achieved, improvement was rapid. The French, by their boldness and ingenuity, took the lead before the War. A Frenchman, Blériot, first crossed the Channel in 1909. The Germans followed the French, and by 1914 had a considerable force of aeroplanes. The British were more backward, but the War worked marvels in developing the speed, the security, the power, and the handiness of aeroplanes. By the end of the War the British stood first in the number and variety of their machines, and second to none in the skill and audacity of their young flying men.

The flying machines were used for two main purposes; scouting by sea and land, which included the direction of artillery fire, and was aided by photography producing records of the country traversed. They were used also for

2	x	Leaf 2	FATS	FATS	FATS	FATS	
			13	9	5	1	
			FATS	FATS	FATS	FATS	
			14	10	6	2	
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			FATS	FATS	FATS	FATS	
			16	12	8	4	
			FATS COUNTERFOIL.—To be given to Fats Retailer.				
			Holder's				Leave blank.
			Signature				
			Address				
			1918.				

2. The Book must be registered at once for the purchase of Sugar, Fats (i.e. Butter, Margarine and Lard), Butcher's Meat and Bacon. To register for Sugar the holder must sign his name and enter his address and date of signing on the Sugar Counterfoil (Yellow), and take the book to the sugar retailer. The retailer will enter his name and address in the proper space (numbered 1) on the inside of the cover and on the back of the counterfoil, and will detach and keep the counterfoil. Registration for other foods will be effected in the same way, by use of the counterfoils for Fats (Blue), Butcher's Meat (Red), and Bacon (Red).

Leaf from a ration book.

City of Westminster
CITY OF WESTMINSTER
 SPECIAL NOTICE AS TO HOW TO PUBLIC AIR RAIDS
 THROUGHOUT THE GREAT WAR
 GIVEN BY
 THE WESTMINSTER CITY COUNCIL
A, B, C, and E Police Division

SPECIAL NOTICE

The greatest **safety** is obtained by **staying at home**; **there is danger in crowds.**

SHELTERS MUST NOT BE REGARDED AS PROOF AGAINST DIRECT HITS BY BOMBS.

The Police Authorities advise "That any ordinary dwelling-house is splinter-proof, and its occupants, provided they do not stand at open doors or in the line of the windows, are reasonably safe in their own homes from all but direct hits."

The probabilities of a direct hit are so remote that **PERSONS ARE STRONGLY ADVISED TO REMAIN AT HOME.**

This Public Shelter is only intended for persons who are some distance from private means of shelter, and **NO GUARANTEE IS GIVEN** that **IT IS** either **BOMB-PROOF** or splinter-proof, **OR SAFE** or suitable for shelter purposes; it is deemed to be only reasonably safe against **other** than direct hits, and persons sheltering therein do so entirely at their own risk, and without liability falling upon the Local Authority, the owners and occupiers of premises, or other persons therein; they must at all times obey the instructions of the Police, and in case of misconduct, are liable to be removed.

Smoking and Spitting Strictly Prohibited.
No Dogs or other animals must be brought into this Shelter.

The directions of Shelter Stewards must be obeyed.

After the "All Clear" Notice, all are desired to proceed home as quickly and quietly as possible, those nearest the exit leaving first.

BY ORDER.

Notice concerning safety of the public during air-raids.

bombing hostile positions, and by the end of the War the British were ready to bomb Berlin. But, in order that these two kinds of operations should be carried out unimpeded, fighting machines were also needed—to attack the enemy, to beat off his bombers and scouts, and protect our own. Less legitimate were the attacks initiated by Germany upon the civilian population in their enemies' country. For this purpose they first used Zeppelins, but these proved too vulnerable. They were open to the attack of aeroplanes and could be set on fire with inflammable bullets. In the latter part of the War attacks on London and other centres were frequently made by aeroplanes, sometimes by day, more often by night. Though a number of harmless people were killed and wounded, and a certain proportion were thoroughly terrified, the moral effect of these attacks was on the whole insignificant. More important, from the German point of view, was the great expenditure of men, labour, and material, which was thus imposed upon the British people and diverted from the fighting front. But as aeroplane construction is improved, and machines become more powerful for travel and the transport of huge bombs, loaded perhaps with poison gas, in any future war the destruction of civilians may become a frequent practice, and suitable protection must be provided. War is not a game, like cricket, which can be controlled by rules and umpires. The public opinion of the world did not deter the

Germans from the misuse of flying machines and submarines. The abuse of force can only be checked by force, and any league of peace that may set out to prevent war can only achieve its end by the possession and preparation of superior power.

INVENTION IN THE SERVICE OF WAR

In every age all the inventions of man are pressed into the service of war. The nineteenth century was the great age of invention, and the twentieth century bids fair to surpass it. But almost every machine or process devised by man for his own benefit can also be turned to his own hurt or that of his neighbour. In no branch of human knowledge did the War disclose greater advances than in preventive medicine, and surgery. Wherever the health of troops or the care of the wounded was unsatisfactory during this War, the cause can be found, as in Mesopotamia, at Gallipoli, and in Russia, to be the neglect of obvious precautions or the absence of essential equipment. Never were such great armies collected as on the Western Front, never was the health of troops better. And yet the prevention of disease very probably prolonged the War and may thus have increased the sum of suffering. Railways, telephones, telegraphy, with or without wires, every form of industrial manufacture, construction, and transport, went to feed the War. Motor cars and trollies transported troops and carried sup-

plies to the fighting line, and enabled war to be waged where war might otherwise have been impossible. By their means the rebellion of South Africa was crushed, and mobile Boer commandoes, such as baffled Kitchener, were speedily hunted down. But perhaps the most important engine of war invented in this great struggle was the so-called Tank—an armoured car carrying guns and moving on caterpillar wheels. This engine—which could be large or small, slow or rapid, was able to traverse almost any kind of surface; it could cross trenches and even streams, it could flatten out barbed wire and found no impediment in hedges or walls. Such machines first came into action in the battle of the Somme; up to the end of the War they were constantly improved, and they contributed greatly to the British success. In any future war such engines must play a great part, and profoundly modify the tactics both of defence and attack.

CONCLUSION

The Great War was a natural, but not a necessary, issue of the rivalries and animosities of European History since 1866. It was brought about by the deliberate act of Germany, impelled by the German military caste, with the willing complicity of the German people. The final German preparations began as early as 1913, and the murders at Serajevo supplied the occasion, which was promptly seized. The safety of Britain demanded her participation, but her

decision was determined by the wrongful invasion of Belgium. Germany was better prepared for war than any other power, and her resources throughout were more readily mobilised than those of her adversaries, because of the strength of her Government and the docility of her people. From the first the British people rose to the emergency, and success was due to their united effort, though British government, being organised for liberty rather than for military effort, was slow to realise the need for vigorous and systematic action and economical control. Germany soon established a dominant position in relation to her Allies, while her opponents maintained independent action, which was not always well concerted. Defeat was never far away, and victory was only achieved when in the face of disaster united command had been set up. The crimes of Germany at length brought their punishment, and the participation of the United States in the final offensive made victory certain. Throughout, the pressure of the British Navy hampered German action, and the blockade was a chief factor in her final defeat. The accumulated wealth and productive power due to mechanical and scientific discovery made the contest the more savage and destructive, and this was the first war in which the whole resources of Europe and a large part of the world's resources were mobilised in a world war. So far as the War is concerned the British people emerged with undiminished glory from

its greatest trial. Not least among its grounds for pride is the cordial and universal loyalty of its kindred nations and its dependent races.

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CHAPTER XI

AFTER THE WAR
1918-22

THE Armistice of November 11th, 1918, was celebrated with wild rejoicings, extended over several days. We had victory, we had peace; all would be well. Under the influence of those feelings the General Election of 1918 took place. Since the end of 1916 Mr. Lloyd George had been Prime Minister in the place of Mr. Asquith, who was bitterly attacked from many quarters for lack of energy and decision. A few of his colleagues followed him into retirement, but the majority accepted the change. The new Government was based upon the same Coalition of Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour, all three parties being represented in the Ministry, and in the smaller War Cabinet set up for the more speedy and purposeful conduct of the War. The enthusiasm, the dexterity, the courage, and the driving force of Mr. Lloyd George had commended themselves to the British people, over whom he had unrivalled influence. But the Parliament then in being had, in 1918, exceeded its lawful term by three years. Fresh authority from the people was needed for the Government which was to negotiate the terms of peace and

lead the nation back to the ways of normal life. It was realised that the problems of reconstruction, no less than those of war, required the combined effort of all sections and classes rather than the time-honoured methods of party antagonism. Mr. Lloyd George appealed forthwith to the country as the leader of the Coalition, which still had the support of nearly all the Conservatives, most of the Liberals, and a few Labour leaders, though the main Labour party thenceforward pursued an independent course.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1918

At this election, the first in which women took part, both people and candidates, in the first flush of joy, were filled with roseate hopes. The people demanded, and the candidates promised, the trial of the ex-Kaiser and of those responsible for criminal acts in the conduct of the War, full reparation from Germany for the cost imposed on the British through the War, generous treatment for those damaged by the War and for the dependants of the dead, and a happier world for all. Of these demands and promises—the trial of the ex-Kaiser proved impossible, because Holland would not surrender one who had sought her protection; Germany would not surrender her war criminals; some were tried in Germany but treated, in the opinion of their accusers, with gross indulgence; the provision for war victims and the dependants of the dead was, as we trust, not ungenerous, but it is impossible to make

good such ills as they have suffered ; and a better world for all cannot be secured by the act of any Government. Such illusions are natural to such a time and such a condition of mind ; but a nation must win its own better world, and that it may do though burdened with the cost and waste of four years warfare on a prodigious scale.

In the result the Coalition could rely upon support from 334 Conservatives, 233 Liberals, and 11 Labour members, while the entire Opposition only numbered 48 Unionists, 28 Liberals, 63 Labour members and 7 Irish Nationalists. Since the rising of 1916 Sinn Fein influence had been steadily growing in Ireland : the old Irish Nationalist party was, in 1918, almost swept out of existence ; 73 Sinn Fein members were elected, but none of them was willing to take the oath of allegiance to a British King or to attend at Westminster. They were pledged to demand an Irish Republic, completely independent and comprising the North as well as the South of Ireland.

THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES

The first task of the new Government was to draw up in council with its Allies the terms of peace. The Peace Congress was held at Versailles, and was attended by delegates of all the nations which had taken part in the War. Envoys also were present from India and the self-governing dominions of the British Empire ; and other interested Powers, new and old, were

represented. These nations were so many that, after a few larger and smaller meetings, the control of the settlement fell to a Supreme Council of the principal Allied Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—with whom was associated, as a belligerent though not as an Ally, the United States of America. The position of this great Power, represented by her President, Dr. Woodrow Wilson, was preponderant ; participant in the victory, bound by none of our obligations, troubled by none of our jealousies, enriched by our conflicts, not exhausted by her share in the struggle, the United States was looked up to as an arbitrator, welcomed as a friend, and called upon to find new solutions for old-world problems. Dr. Wilson was regarded, and regarded himself, as representing his great country with full authority. Unfortunately, it turned out otherwise ; and the conclusions adopted and in many cases suggested by him were never accepted by his people. This was unfortunate, especially for France, who, in reliance on the promise of a defensive alliance with Great Britain and the United States, renounced many guarantees for her security which she could have demanded. This promise Dr. Wilson was unable to make good : Great Britain's promise was contingent on the co-operation of America, and we have not hitherto been prepared to undertake so heavy a responsibility alone ; in consequence, the French attitude towards Germany has ever since been

influenced by fear for her safety, and troubled relations with Great Britain have often arisen.

THE TREATY WITH GERMANY

However, one way and another, by the patient labours of experts, the adroit diplomacy of Mr. Lloyd George, and the determination of all parties to arrive at a decision, the colossal document, embodying not one Treaty but many, was at length put into final form, and imposed upon the German delegates, June 28th, 1919. If France has reason to regret the intervention of Dr. Wilson, Germany has no less; for the fourteen points drawn up by Dr. Wilson and accepted by Germany as the basis of peace seemed to promise an indulgent peace; but the peace offered with the concurrence of Dr. Wilson was not indulgent. The conditions laid on Germany were severe, and her consent was required to other terms affecting her Allies which were also to her prejudice. Germany surrendered to France Alsace and Lorraine, and for a period the Saar district with its valuable mines. She gave up all her overseas possessions and dismantled Heligoland. She surrendered her navy, and bound herself to hand over a vast amount of war material and to reduce her army to 100,000 men. She agreed to build no flying machines capable of use in war. She gave up to an independent Polish State to be created most of the territory stripped from the old Poland by the partitions of

the eighteenth century, and secured to the Poles access to the sea at Danzig, which was to be made a free city. She consented to the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and left Bulgaria and Turkey to the mercy of the Allies. To France and Belgium she gave in reparation cattle, sheep, and horses, to replace those taken in the War, with coal, railway trucks and engines, and other goods to set off damage. She gave the chief part of her mercantile marine to compensate injuries to the Allies by submarine warfare. And finally, she bound herself to make good to the Allies their losses by the War, including pensions to the disabled and to the dependants of the fallen. The total amount of Reparations in money was not fixed, but was left for settlement later by a Reparations Commission. As a guarantee for the execution of her promises within the stipulated term of years, all German territory west of the Rhine was to be occupied by the Allies, together with the bridge-heads over the Rhine—the cost of the occupying armies being paid by Germany.

REPARATIONS

A great part of these crushing conditions was carried out, though the war fleet, duly surrendered to the custody of Great Britain, was sunk by its crews in June, 1919, at its moorings in Scapa Flow. But it must by now be apparent to those who at first expected great gains that the Reparations in money cannot be easily realised, or if

realised will be hurtful rather than helpful to the recipients. The total sum due has been estimated at seventeen thousand millions sterling, and there has since been talk of a commutation of six thousand six hundred millions. Even the lesser sum, spread over thirty-six years, would amount to one hundred and eighty millions a year. Wealth to such an amount could only be won, on the balance of exports over imports, by a very rich and prosperous nation trading freely with the whole world. And if it were so exported without return, that nation would soon cease to be rich and prosperous through the loss of its annual savings. That might be satisfactory to those—among whom may be many of the French and some of our own nation—who, because they fear Germany, do not wish her to be rich and prosperous; but unless Germany recovers her prosperity she cannot pay much, and if much is exacted she will with time become less capable of payment. Moreover, she can only pay directly either ourselves or France by selling goods in our own markets, which would undersell our own producers and create unemployment. After three years, no satisfactory solution of this problem has been found, and it is not clear where the solution lies. That the Germans are seeking to evade even such payments as they could make is clear enough, but no effective method of coercion is free from grave objection. It is to the interest of Great Britain that Germany should be prosperous, quite apart from any question of

Reparations; though the danger of a future war of revenge must always be kept in mind. The risk of an alliance between Germany and the Bolsheviks is also evident; different values can be assessed for each of these factors; to assess them rightly and to steer a course accordingly demands rare intelligence, judgement, and determination.

OTHER TREATIES

The treaty with Austria was concluded in September, 1919. Hungary was separated from her; her Slavonic provinces in the south were handed over to form with Serbia a new state of the South Slavs (Yugo-Slavia); Bohemia and Moravia were given independence as the Czecho-Slovak Republic; Galicia went to Poland; Istria and the Italian Tyrol passed to Italy, and Austria thus became an inland state without access to the sea. The proud and splendid city of Vienna, which was wont to draw her luxurious maintenance from subject lands, was brought to insignificance and penury. The Treaty with Bulgaria, signed in November, 1919, gave Macedonia and Thrace to Greece, which, then under the rule of Venizelos, was regarded as a friendly Power and almost as an Ally. A treaty with Turkey was signed in August, 1920, but never ratified, which separated Mesopotamia and Syria and Arabia from the Ottoman Empire and gave Armenia independence. The Allies were not, however, able to give protection to the Armenians, and

they passed under Bolshevik rule. The same Treaty gave Smyrna and neighbouring districts to Greece, but the Turks of Asia Minor refused to honour the promises of Constantinople, and under their independent leader, Mustapha Kemal, they became involved with the Greeks in burdensome and inconclusive warfare, which at last turned to the decisive advantage of the Turks. The Treaty with Hungary was signed in June, 1920; it gave Transylvania to Roumania, and a large Slavonic section in the north to the Czecho-Slovak State. Thus the whole of Central Europe was rearranged on a national basis. The new Austria was mainly German; the new Yugo-Slavia was composed of kindred Slavs—Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—speaking similar language; Bohemia became a Slavonic State, and the German minority therein, previously dominant, came into subjection; Poland comprised all the districts where Poles were in a majority. The inhabitants of Transylvania were chiefly of Roumanian blood and speech; and the haughty tribe of Magyars was left without alien subjects. Doubtful questions were decided by the principle of self-determination, that is, by allowing the inhabitants of the disputed district to vote whether, for instance, they wished to belong to the German or the Polish State.

Italy had historic claims to Dalmatia, which she was induced to surrender to the Yugo-Slavs, but a long dispute arose about Fiume, which, on the one hand, was the only port for the western

parts of Yugo-Slavia, and, on the other hand, had a considerable population of Italians.

THE NEW STATES

The new States were constructed on ideal principles, which should have fair prospect of success if time be allowed and good-will and wisdom are present. But Poland also serves a political purpose. It is set up as a barrier between Germany and Russia. The Western Powers naturally feared that Russia, politically weak and economically prostrate, would suffer the peaceful penetration of Germany, who might thus, after a period of years, return to her plans of conquest with the resources of an exploited Russia at her back. But Poland, by her own ambition and zeal, nearly wrecked this plan. She aspired to recover her frontiers of 1772, which included many districts which were Lithuanian, Red Russian, or White Russian, rather than Polish. She also schemed to throw back the flood of Bolshevism, and for this purpose occupied Kieff, and joined hands with the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who were making head against the Soviet encroachment. But the Soviets hit back, and hit back fiercely. The Polish armies were forced to a disastrous retreat, and the Russians almost reached the German frontiers. The Western Allies, especially the French, were alarmed; but military intervention, if possible, would be expensive and unpopular; however, with the aid of French staff officers and

munitions from the West, the Poles rallied and drove the Russians in rout. Peace was concluded (October, 1920) between Poland and the Soviet Government on terms highly advantageous to the Poles, whose frontier was provisionally fixed far east of the line proposed by the Supreme Council.

The Czecho-Slovak Republic was by far the most stable of the new States. Its internal affairs appear to have been well managed; its economic condition has continued to be relatively sound; and it has not engaged in any imprudent adventures. Little news is published in this country about the Yugo-Slavic Kingdom; but it is understood that Serbia, which has all the experience in self-government and supplies the King, is politically dominant, and public finance is certainly bad. A Republic of Lithuania, proclaimed in December, 1918, with its capital at Riga, has maintained a precarious existence up to the present, in spite of Soviet and Polish hostility. Finland has made good its independence of Russia and would appear to be firmly settled.

Other Baltic tribes have set up as independent Republics under the names of Latvia and Esthonia. These regions, originally peopled by races of Lithuanian, Polish, or other Slavonic blood, in the middle ages were under the rule of the German Crusading Knights; later they were incorporated with Poland as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and afterwards came under

Russian rule; they have racial claims to separate government or governments.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The great contribution made by the Congress of Versailles to the promotion of peace and amity between the peoples of the world is the League of Nations. Professor Woodrow Wilson threw all his influence into this scheme, at the time when that influence was greatest. He insisted that a covenant establishing the League should form part of the main Treaty of Peace—the Treaty with Germany. Unfortunately, Dr. Wilson reckoned without his Senate, whose approval by a two-thirds majority is needed for the ratification of any Treaty. Unfortunately also, in his negotiations at Versailles Dr. Wilson acted as if he were supreme head of the United States and need ask for no advice or counsel, except at his own discretion. This set his opponents, the great Republican Party in the United States, against anything he might propose. Moreover, the Covenant of the League, if accepted by the States, clearly committed the North American Republic to action outside its own continent, a new departure which would be contrary to all established tradition. Thus it came about that the United States refused to ratify the Treaty which Dr. Wilson had signed, and has not, up to the present, shown any disposition to accede to the League, which to that great extent remains imperfect.

The main conditions of the Covenant should be in every mind. Adhesion to the League imposes the obligation not to resort to war without prior recourse to arbitration, and aims at "the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between Nations, the firm establishment of the understandings of International Law as the actual rule of conduct, and the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous regard for all Treaty obligations" between peoples. The territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League are guaranteed by the League. Any Member of the League resorting to war against the stipulations of the Covenant is liable forthwith to exclusion by the other Members from all intercourse, trade, and financial relations with the other Members, and the Council of the League shall recommend to the Governments concerned what effective force shall be contributed by each to protect the covenants of the League. The League at once received the adhesion of the British Empire and its dependencies, and of twenty-five other States; others have joined since; its headquarters and permanent organisation are at Geneva.

It is true that no force is at the immediate disposal of the League for the prevention of war between Members, but the moral effect of its engagements is of high value, and the economic boycott authorised and enjoined on breach of the Covenant would create great difficulties for the offending nation. As the League grows by the

admission of enemy countries not yet admitted, and the adhesion of others not yet included, that moral and economic effect should have more and more weight. No occasion has yet arisen which might test the strength of the League for preventing war, but at least one question arising out of the Treaty has been referred to the League, and was thus settled when other methods had failed. The division of certain important industrial districts of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland had been left by the Treaty for decision by votes of the inhabitants. The votes indicated a partition of the territory, but the interests and industrial interdependence of the area precluded any rule-of-thumb decision. The award of the League settled the political division of the area, but suggested that industrial cooperation should go on as before without regard to political frontiers. This proposal, wise and practical, was accepted, and so far as is known it has hitherto worked well. It may be hoped that other problems as they arise will be solved by like methods.

The experience of the Great War has proved what was previously only surmised—that modern war is destructive beyond conception, and can be continued until civilisation and the very means of livelihood disappear. The League of Nations gives hope, not only of preventing war but of the adjustment of international differences and the furtherance of more and more friendly discussion of points at issue. "A war to end war," that

Great War has been called. If by any means wars can be stopped, and communication and cooperation between nations can become more easy and amicable, all the sacrifices of the Great War will have their full recompense and reward. To that end the League of Nations is a well-devised means, not yet tested but full of promise. It is an ideal, and like all other ideals it cannot attain complete fulfilment; but by great ideals, however imperfectly realised, the human race pursues its toilsome passage upwards. It is for this generation, that generously leapt into war and learnt its lessons at so great a cost, to work out in practical form the principles embodied in the League of Nations.

THE MANDATES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Great territories were at the disposal of the Versailles Conference through the collapse of Turkey and Germany. The populations of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, speak Arabic; they are of various blood but they are not Turkish, and it was not their desire, nor was it the policy of the Allies, that they should return to Turkish rule. They had little experience of self-government and they needed a strong hand to keep order. On the other hand, it was contrary to the principles of Versailles that they should be handed over as chattels to a foreign power. The device was invented that the League of Nations should hand over such territories by "mandate" to some Power that was willing to

undertake the task of government on fixed conditions. The League retains the right of supervision, and at need can revoke the mandate. On these terms Mesopotamia—now called Irak—was accepted by Great Britain, and Syria by France. Palestine was also accepted by Great Britain, with the declared intention of providing a home for Jewish immigrants. All of these mandates have proved troublesome to the mandatory Powers. The Jews are not welcome to the native population of Palestine. The French drifted into war with the Arabs of Mesopotamia. The British had to suppress a serious rebellion in Mesopotamia. On the other hand, the Armenians, unhappy people, found no Power willing to undertake their guidance, and, between the Turks and the Kurds on the one hand and the Bolsheviki on the other, they have added another chapter to their long history of woe. It seems preferable to come under a mandate rather than to be left to shift for oneself; direct profit is not likely to accrue to a mandatory in such circumstances; great expense without direct return is more likely; the motive of duty must be present, and, if the League of Nations ever becomes a real force in the world, responsibility will be brought home to the rulers. The German colonies in Africa and in the Pacific were similarly disposed of; with them the possibility of profit is not so remote, and the effective supervision of the League is even more needed.

INDIA AND EGYPT

In accordance with the ideas of the time and the spirit that was moving, even amid the strife of opposing interests and jealousies that followed the peace, a great measure of self-government was conferred upon India by an Act of Parliament of 1919. That Act has now been put into operation, but a considerable section both of Hindus and Moslems have conspired to render it abortive. Up to the present its adversaries have not succeeded; but a people that receives freedom has to learn how to use it, and the Indians, like other nations, must pay for their experience, which cannot be won in a short time. In a similar spirit and about the same time independence was promised to Egypt, but, until a recent date, it has proved impossible to obtain the necessary guarantees for the security of Europeans in Egypt, for the safety of the Suez Canal, and for such measure of order and protection as may secure this coveted land against the intrusion of some other alien Power. Now an agreement has been reached, and it remains to be seen how this generous experiment will work out.

ATTEMPTS AT SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

During the War the power of the Government had seemed unlimited; the wealth that it could command appeared to be boundless. The people and its Government alike conceived impracticable hopes. If the Government had raised seven

millions a day for the War, could they not raise a much smaller sum to improve the condition of the people? If wages had been high during the War, how much rather should they be high in time of peace? If Government had fixed wages in time of war, could they not fix them in time of peace? If Government had controlled the supply of food and fixed the prices of meat, butter, and bread, how much more easily could they control routine industries such as railways and mines? If they could build guns and ships, could they not build houses, which were sorely needed? This attitude of mind was encouraged by the good trade which followed on the War. All the countries of the world were thirsting for our coal, our iron, our steel, our cotton and our woollen goods. For the moment they had wherewithal to pay. So great was the temporary abundance of our wealth in 1919 and 1920, that it was deemed just to continue far into the years of peace the heavy tax on Excess Profits which had been levied during the War. So great was the belief in government action that it was thought proper to continue the Defence of the Realm Act, with its wide powers, long after we were supposed to be at peace. There was plenty of money for the time being; if the Government were unwilling to give or to act, pressure was brought to bear; the organised industries were in the best position to bring pressure, and the pressure of those industries which were most vital to the country was most efficacious.

THE COAL INDUSTRY

Naturally, those industries which were both vital to the nation and controlled by Government were in the strongest position. All through the years 1919, 1920, and 1921, the coal industry was a constant source of anxiety. So early as March, 1919, the coal miners threatened to strike. They demanded a six hours shift instead of an eight hours shift, higher wages for the shorter hours, and the nationalisation of the coal mines. Apart from the supposed advantage to the nation and to the industry of national ownership, if the mines were owned by the nation the whole output of the mines could be pooled and the richer mines could pay for the poorer. A commission was set up under Mr. Justice Sankey to consider these questions. The commission recommended an increase of wages and a seven hours shift; suggesting the hope that with a seven hours shift the production of coal need not decrease. This hope was not realised; and it appeared that higher wages rather tended to diminish than to increase output. The majority of the Commission recommended that the mines should be nationalised, or brought under permanent government control. The first two recommendations were adopted, but nationalisation was refused by the Government. Agitation continued, and in 1920 the miners pointed to the great sums that the Government were drawing from the coal mines by way of duty on Excess

Profit, and demanded that this sum should be used to reduce the price of coal and at the same time to increase wages. In October they went out on strike, and a rise of wages was granted by the Government and further rises promised, if the output of coal was increased. In the spring of 1921 the Government determined to abandon the control of the mines and leave the miners to fight out their battle with the owners. The miners insisted on pooling the whole product of the mines so that the scale of wages should be uniform all over the country. A strike ensued which lasted twelve weeks. The miners were beaten, and since that time they have been left to make their own terms with the owners, and wages have fallen very greatly in nearly all districts. The output of coal has nevertheless increased, but the price of coal to the consumer is still double that of 1914. Transport and other handling charges account for a large part of the increase.

THE RAILWAYS

The railways made their bargain with the Government in 1919. There were no doubt some who wished the railways to be nationalised, but this demand was not pressed. The railway workers obtained an eight-hour day and very considerable increases in pay. Before the War railwaymen, as a class, were very poorly paid; now they are relatively well off. The universal eight-hour day is not suitable to some sections of the railway workers, whose working is chiefly

watching and waiting. But an admirable provision was introduced into their agreement—that wages should vary with the cost of living. This agreement has been observed without demur in times of falling prices. Nevertheless, as a consequence of these concessions high prices for railway travelling have been maintained, and the cost of transport for goods has been greatly increased. By recent legislation the many railway systems of the country are to be grouped in four great organisations, which should lead to various economies. It remains to be seen whether the high standard of efficiency and comfort established by competition between independent companies will be maintained.

THE DOCK LABOURER

The workers at the Docks have, in the past, suffered from low wages and uncertain employment. Men out of work drifted to the Docks for an odd job now and then. Only a few skilled men had regular work and pay. In 1888 the Dockers struck for sixpence an hour instead of fivepence, and with public sympathy they won. In 1919 they threatened a strike, and their case was submitted to arbitrators, who awarded sixteen shillings for an eight-hour day, four times as much as was granted in 1888. But the heavy extra charge upon exports and imports shifts the burden of misfortune from the dockers to the country at large, and by discouraging trade renders even the dockers' employment more

precarious, although the original scale of pay has now been considerably reduced.

AGRICULTURE

During the War the Government was forced to control agriculture, in order that the production of corn stuffs might be increased. After the War food prices were high, and farmers were prosperous. The Government set up Wage Boards in the several districts, and agricultural wages were raised to about three times the earlier level. They also guaranteed to farmers by law a high price for the corn which they might grow. But, unexpectedly, corn prices fell with a bump; and the Government, perceiving that the charge was more than the country could bear, withdrew their promise. The Wage Boards were also abolished, and the pay of farm labourers was left to be settled by agreement. Both changes of policy were received with very little opposition; both parties seemed to have welcomed their freedom, and no doubt they also understood that the artificial prices of corn and labour could not be maintained in altered circumstances.

OTHER TRADES

In other trades, where Government control did not operate, during the good times of 1919 and 1920 wages rose in similar proportions. The cotton and woollen industries were in roaring prosperity; profits were enormous and high

wages were readily given. In engineering, in shipbuilding, in the building trade, in printing and binding, similar results ensued. Agreement was not always obtained; thus the iron-moulders went out in 1919 for a rise of wages, and for several months held up the whole engineering industry, and no doubt this dispute with others had a considerable share in bringing the good times to an earlier conclusion. In ill-organised and poorly-paid industries the Government were active in setting up Trade Boards, to fix minimum wages. But, with the coming of bad times, the bottom fell out of this paradise of high wages, which even in the good times hardly kept pace with the high prices, and left worse off than before those depressed classes which were not strong enough to obtain their share.

GOVERNMENT AND WAGES

In all these disputes the Government took a hand, or were ready to take a hand. In some cases they settled the rates of wages themselves; in others they used their influence. To settle wages, otherwise than by agreement, is a task of incredible difficulty, and it involves consequences which none can foresee. What the Government, moved by public feeling, undertook for a short time, was in effect to take the whole wealth that the nation produces year by year and divide it anew among the many classes on new principles that had never been tested. No one knows exactly what that wealth may be to-day; still

less can any one guess what it may be in years to come. Government cannot increase it; by unwise action it can diminish it. Moreover, wages can be stated in money; but what money can buy depends on prices, and high wages inevitably increase the price of goods that all desire to buy. What every one desires is high wages and low prices. This combination can only be obtained by skilful and enterprising management, and the cordial cooperation of all concerned in industry and commerce. The policy of high wages led to high prices; now prices are falling, and the wages then settled can no longer be paid; at this moment bitter struggles are being fought out in industry; the like may be expected in every trade where the new state of affairs is not understood or not accepted. The shipbuilders have settled their quarrel, and the cotton operatives, whose policy is guided by prudence informed by long experience, have reached agreement with their employers. While I write the engineers are locked out, and are likely to remain out with all their allied trades until masters and men can agree as to the proper share of each side in the management of the industries concerned. The engineers' dispute is not solely or mainly a question of wages; it is a consequence of the increase of automatic and semi-automatic machines which threatens the position of the skilled engineers. Foreign competition necessitates the use of all mechanical devices that are economical; and it would seem

that the skilled engineers are fighting against fate; though there will always be a need for skilled engineers, their dominance is likely to be reduced for a time at least. The rate of wages that can be paid must depend upon the wealth of the people, and the wealth of the people depends partly on the effective work of the people and partly on the condition of things at home and abroad. But the people would seem to have been convinced that no durable settlement of labour disputes can come by the arbitrary decision of government.

GOVERNMENT HOUSING

One of the schemes suggested by the spirit and beliefs of the early years of peace was the building of houses for the people. Housing has never been so good in this country as one could wish; a great part of the people have lived in crowded, grimy, unhealthy dwellings. But the housing of the country cannot be better than the people is able and willing to produce and to pay for. For years before the War the cost of housing had been going up; men were not able or willing to pay much more than they were accustomed to pay; and consequently the provision of buildings did not improve or keep pace with the growing population. For four years, because of the War, building stopped; repairs ceased; bad buildings became worse. After the War men demanded better conditions of life and were less easy to satisfy. The people called for

more and better houses; but all building materials were immensely dear; wages went up in the building trades as other trades; and those whose business it is to build houses for other people to live in could not build at a rent which the people could afford to pay. So the Government undertook the task; 500,000 houses were spoken of; 200,000 is now the figure named; and prices in the building trade have now fallen perhaps by so much as half.

The work was to be carried out by the Local Authorities—cities, towns, and county councils. The cost was to be shared by the State and the Local Authorities. The Government is not accustomed to this kind of work; their agents will not be so alert, so experienced, so vigilant, as the man who works for private profit. I doubt if any one believes that the Government could do the work as cheaply as building contractors. And when the work has been done the question of rent arises. With high cost of materials, high price of labour, and the belief that the Government would and could pay whatever was asked, houses were being built at not less than three times the cost of similar houses before the War. But the man who has been accustomed to pay five shillings a week, or eight shillings a week, would not, as a rule, be able or willing to pay fifteen shillings a week or twenty-four shillings a week, with high rates on the top of that. The Government cannot get any better rents than the private builder. They

will have to let their houses for what they can get, which will be less than enough to meet the interest on cost and repayment of capital expenditure, and necessary repairs year by year. The balance will have to be paid from the rates and the taxes. And the taxes and the rates come out of the money of the people. Moreover, neither the Government nor the Local Authorities can build a single cottage; they can only make the plans, give the orders, and pay the bill out of the money of the people. The work must be done by the bricklayers, the masons, the joiners, the plasterers, and the carpenters. So at the end it comes to this; the people anyway must build and pay for its own houses. There is no magic of government by which this necessity can be avoided.

A CHANGE OF FEELING

The buoyant hopefulness that marked national behaviour after the War did not last even two years. By the end of 1920 depression began to set in. This is a democratic country; and although it may be a relief to abuse the Government when things do not turn out as well as we hoped, we should, I think, perceive that for the most part they are only trying to do what we want. If we demand impossible things, they will attempt to do impossible things. The change of feeling that became evident at the end of 1920 was due to the unmistakable pressure of bad times, felt through high prices, bad trade, and the burden

of taxes. This change of feeling is evident in the change of government policy. In 1921 they gave up the control of the coal mines, and the responsibility for the railways; they put a limit to the building of houses which they were prepared to guarantee. They took less share in the settling of labour disputes. I should say that the people had begun to understand that a government which is too busy is worse than a government that is too inactive. And the Government responded to the changing mood of the people.

HIGH PRICES

Prices rose during the War, though slowly. At the end of the War they were reckoned to be less than double the prices of 1914. But instead of falling after the War they continued to rise, until about the beginning of 1921 they were two and a half times as great as before the War. High prices depend upon many things, but they may arise from actual scarcity. After the War, as well as during the War, there was actual scarcity. Thus, the high price of coal after the War was partly due to short production in this country, but largely also to short production of coal in France, Germany, Poland, and other countries of Europe. High prices may also be caused by the increased wealth of the people who want to buy; if more of them can afford to buy larger quantities, prices go up. In these two years the people was or appeared to be wealthy.

Wages were high and trade was good. Moreover, Government was spending freely; and the credit of Government is so good that for a considerable time the lavishness of Government produces the appearance of real wealth. Again, the cost of production had risen in every industry. Coal had risen partly by scarcity, partly by increased cost of labour. The price of coal enters into the price of every commodity—more or less. Transport was expensive, partly because of the cost of coal, and partly because of the increased wages of railwaymen, sailors, and dock labourers. Sea transport for a time was enormously dear and shipping yielded fortunes; the cost of freight checked trade, and the ship-owners from rich became poor. Cotton and woollen goods were dear for all these reasons, and also because of foreign demand. Everything that is dear tends to make something else dear; and the only thing that can stop the rise is the inability of customers to pay and therefore to buy. That comes in time; and the greater the rise the greater and the more prolonged the consequent fall.

DECLINE OF TRADE

The good trade of 1919 and 1920 was due partly to prosperity or apparent prosperity at home, partly to the demands of foreign countries, whose hunger for our goods had gone unappeased for four years. But they also had suffered in industry and trade, and when they had completed

their necessary purchases their demand fell off; they could not afford to buy at the high prices which prevailed.

PAPER CURRENCY

Whatever else the Government of this country may have wrongly done or left undone, they deserve great credit for firmly maintaining the public credit. They met all their huge obligations, raising the requisite money partly by taxation, and partly by selling stocks accumulated for the army and shipping received from Germany. They even paid off debt. It was in their power to issue paper money without limit, but they kept the issue strictly within bounds, and even reduced it cautiously. Thus, while I write, the pound is worth about eighteen shillings in gold, and the time when golden sovereigns could be current again is not far distant. But other countries were not willing, or were not able, to pursue so prudent a policy. The United States had no such burden to bear as we, and thus they had no temptation to tamper with their currency, which is still equivalent to gold. Japan, which took only a small part in the War, has maintained its currency at about its normal level. But there are few countries in Europe that have resisted the temptation to pay their way by printing notes. The French franc is now worth about half its par value; the Italian lira is about one quarter of its nominal worth; if our pound were depreciated as is the German mark, it would be worth less

than a halfpenny; if it fell as the Polish mark has fallen, it might be worth a decimal of a farthing, and if as the Austrian krone, a smaller decimal; while I cannot remember how many millions of Russian roubles are supposed to be equal to our pound, but it is a very large number. It is interesting that, although the use of money might in theory be dispensed with on Communist principles, the Russians have not abandoned it; the instinct for the use of money is ineradicable in man; and a great part of the Russian difficulties arise from profligate overprinting of currency notes.

EFFECT OF DEPRECIATED PAPER

Paper money is like other commodities; if produced in excess it falls in value. A coin or note is valuable in proportion to the work it has to do. If there is enough work for a million pounds to do, while maintaining the full value of each pound, and if then ten million pounds are issued, each pound of the larger issue will lose value in similar proportion. Those foreign Governments whose pounds are worth small decimals of a penny, have been meeting their obligations by the issue of paper money. And this is not so bad for the individual as you might suppose. It is not as if I had ten pounds in my pocket overnight, and woke up in the morning to find it was worth a penny. On the contrary, the note as it passes from hand to hand loses only a small fraction of its value, which may not

be noticeable, unless any one were so foolish as to hoard paper money in a bankrupt country. The over-issued paper money loses its value most rapidly in commerce with other countries. At home prices of commodities rise indeed, but the rise is retarded by custom; sooner or later they will reach the proportionate level, but this will be later rather than sooner. Thus, a country in which paper money is inflated can for a time sell abroad at some advantage, but at all times it must buy at a disadvantage. To some extent this assists German exports to England, because wages and cost of materials produced in the country lag behind the values set on German currency abroad; for like reasons it greatly impedes our exports to Germany. One advantage the Government has, which lives by the printing of paper, namely, that the burden of its debt and of the interest on the debt continually diminishes. If the Government borrowed a million pounds at par value, and the pound fell to twopence-halfpenny, the taxpayer would be relieved by ninety-nine parts in a hundred. But we hold that the Government which pays its debts in full value, or nearly so, earns at whatever cost a full equivalent in public and private credit. The countries of Central Europe are impoverished and embarrassed, and could not in any case buy foreign goods in large quantities. But the depreciation of the various currencies, and the uncertainty as to their value at any fixed date, is a great additional handicap to our traders.

Even if the Germans, for instance, did not need any of our products, they could buy from other countries which trade with us, and that would set up a circular flow of trade. If the German currency were fixed, say at ten or twelve thousand marks to the gold pound, trade with Germany would be facilitated; and the same is true of any other country; but to fix the value it would be necessary to desist from the printing of new paper money, except to replace what was worn out, and a reserve of gold would be needed in the country for which in certain conditions the paper should be exchangeable. It would also be necessary that each government should reduce its expenditure to the amount which it can raise by taxation. The first need for the prosperity of Europe is to fix the value of the various currencies, and maintain it as fixed; but that can be only by the determination of the several governments and of the peoples whom they represent. This country has been accustomed to draw a very large proportion of its livelihood from foreign commerce; it is, therefore, more directly interested in the prosperity of foreign countries—even of enemy countries—than such a nation as France, which is largely self-supporting. Hence arise differences of policy between England and France, which sometimes threaten to turn our friendship into enmity. It is possible for France to think that the ruin of Germany would be profitable to her; it is not possible for us to think that, unless we were stone-blind. Great patience

and forbearance is needed on both sides, where interests are so divergent; but whatever disputes may arise, the interests which Britain and France have in common by far outweigh those which are in opposition.

TAXATION

While we were rich, or thought we were rich, enormous sums were raised in taxes, and enormous sums were spent. Enterprises in Mesopotamia and Persia were lavishly maintained. Eager to remove all injustice, we introduced new and generous scales of pay for soldiers and sailors and police. Not only the central Government, but also the Local Authorities, spent lavishly—on wages, education, building, road making, and the relief of the unemployed. But about the end of 1920 it was plain that trade was falling off. I do not attribute the great slump which followed to the Coal Strike of 1921: but beyond doubt it was hastened and intensified thereby. Enormous sums were still collected in taxes on beer, spirits, tobacco, and sugar; but the chief burden of taxation fell on the propertied classes, by excess profits duty, income tax, super-tax, and duties on succession to property. Whereas before the War revenue had been raised in nearly equal proportions by indirect and direct taxes (p. 163), the yield of direct taxes was now double that of the indirect. With bad times another change of feeling came over the people. It was felt rather than argued

that the excessive taxation of the rich not only prevented the due renewal and increase of capital, but also diminished expenditure, and therefore the employment of the wage earners. It was felt that many things which had been thought desirable, and even necessary, could not be afforded. As the people had called for free expenditure so it now called for economy. The Government responded; a Committee was set up under Sir Eric Geddes to suggest savings; a Commission was sent to Washington to agree with the United States, France, and Japan on a limitation of naval armaments; and a Conference was held at Genoa, with the hope that some bond of peace might make it safe to reduce armies and the cost of armies. Washington was successful; the Conference of Genoa was not given a chance. The chief part of the economies suggested by the Geddes Committee were adopted; but it is clear that for years to come we must spend according to our means and not according to our desires, however benevolent.

The people has learnt many lessons in the last three years. It has learnt that wealth is not inexhaustible; that men must earn the wealth that they desire; that Government can only do great things if the people greatly assists them; and perhaps it has learnt that the people can do more for itself and better than the Government can do on its behalf. But the disappointments have left a harvest of strife and mistrust; and the time of peaceful cooperation at home is not

yet in sight. Whether we are wise or whether we are foolish, whether we are united or whether we are divided, hard times are before us; but only by wisdom and friendly cooperation can those hard times be mitigated and abridged. And if we win our way back to peaceful cooperation and mutual good-will, we shall find that both in the times of lavish hope and in those of painful thrift and labour we have gained much.

IRELAND

At the beginning of the War the feeling in Ireland towards Britain was better than it had been for two generations. For a time the Irish enlisted freely, and those who fought always fought bravely in the common cause. What brought about the change is not clear. There were mistakes made by the military authorities; it is certain that foreign and hostile and secret influences were at work; the indefinite postponement of Home Rule encouraged the old mistrust; at Easter, 1916, a rebellion broke out in Dublin, which was put down by force; but all the time the secret organisation of Sinn Fein was gaining ground, and when the War was over Sinn Fein came forward with its demand for complete independence under a Republican Government for the whole of Ireland. The British Parliament framed and passed a new Home Rule Act, giving self-government separately to Southern Ireland on the one hand, and to six counties of Ulster on the other. This scheme was ultimately

put into force in Northern Ireland, but Southern Ireland would not have it, and a campaign of secret murder continued for two years, which led to retaliation by the military and the police. At length, in 1921, an offer was made to Southern Ireland of self-government as complete as that of any Dominion, and emissaries of the Sinn Fein Assembly came to London and signed a treaty on this basis. But Southern Ireland at once fell into two parties, those who accepted the Treaty, and those who rejected it. The campaign of murder continued, but it continued—mainly, though not entirely—as between Irishmen of different factions. When you read this you may know the issue, which no one can foretell at the moment when I write.

EUROPE

Throughout these years the task of the British Government, and especially of the Prime Minister—Mr. Lloyd George—has been made trebly difficult by the burden of European controversy and European problems. Even the formal conclusion of peace is not yet in sight, though the complete defeat of Greece should lead to some settlement with Turkey. The States set up from the fringe of the Russian Empire and the fragments of Germany and Austria Hungary seem to be settling down; but they have more than once been on the verge of war; and they are all very far from political and economic stability—poor, wretched, disturbed, and hungry,

some even to starvation. The Treaty of Versailles is a constant anxiety to Britain, France, and Italy. The disarmament of Germany has been delayed and resisted and may not even now be complete. Considerable amounts have been drawn from Germany in money and in kind; but the vast sums expected have not been forthcoming, and it may be doubted whether any German Government could be strong enough even to attempt any adequate payment. Two lines of policy present themselves; to extract from Germany, by force if necessary, all that can be taken, even at the cost of her ruin and the breakdown of her Government; to this course the policy of France seems to incline, and it is in accordance with Treaty; or to nurse Germany into prosperity for her own benefit and that of her neighbours, with the hope of obtaining limited reparations later on; to that policy Great Britain appears to lean; it is more merciful and it may be more prudent. But meanwhile the union and friendship of France and Britain is the main safeguard of Europe, and the problem of statesmen on both sides is to reconcile irreconcilables by compromise. This problem alone is quite enough to take all the thought and attention of a Government, which has nevertheless to deal with ten thousand other cares.

BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA

After the fall of Kerensky the government of Russia passed into the hands of the extreme party.

This party is known as Bolshevik, because it was at one time a majority. The word Bolshevik is akin to *plus*, as the name of the rival party—Menshevik—is akin to *minus*. Its main doctrines are the communisation of all property, and sole power for the proletariat, that is, for those who live by the labour of their hands. All those who used to live by the revenue of property drop out when all property is owned in common by the proletariat. The members of the professional, learned, and artistic classes, only find their place in the new society by accepting life on the same conditions as the proletariat. The method of government is by Soviets, that is, by Committees, to which only members of the proletariat are eligible. Local Committees deal with local affairs, and a Central Committee, elected by the Local Committees, governs national affairs.

That is the scheme, but it did not work quite according to plan. Russia had little or no experience in self-government; she was therefore at the mercy of visionaries and the jackals who prey in the wake of visionaries. Election was supposed to be free, but in practice only those who adopted the extreme views were allowed to be elected. Thus the power fell into the hands of an active minority, who had all the arms and the disposal of all the wealth. They and their supporters and their soldiers had the best; all others, at any rate in the towns, had to be content with short rations and old clothing. But the peasants—the producers of food—did not fall in

with the scheme; their stores might be torn from them by force, but they did not willingly surrender them; if they were robbed they ceased to work; if they were out of reach, they worked enough to satisfy their own needs; but since they could neither buy nor sell, at least legitimately, they produced little surplus. Industry was carried on by coercion, and naturally flagged. Railways and rolling stock and all machinery deteriorated, roads fell into disrepair, and in 1921, with the drought, huge districts were starved and are still starving. It is understood that the Bolshevik *régime* has been mitigated to some extent; and private enterprise has now more liberty. But without the aid of foreign capital and foreign direction on a very great scale the restoration of Russia as an industrial state seems impossible, and foreign assistance will not be given unless the right to profit and freedom of trade within and without Russia is securely guaranteed. But no such guarantee can be trusted unless the debts of the Russian State are acknowledged, and unless the property of foreigners in Russia which has been confiscated is restored to its owners. The grant of such conditions is contrary to Bolshevik principles, and to concede them implies the failure of the Bolshevik experiment. A historian is not called upon to prophesy; if he prophesies he risks his reputation for prudence; but for my own part I do not see how Western Europe can come to terms with Bolshevism. If it does I do not believe

the terms can be observed. Failing that, I do not see how the Bolshevnik tyranny can avoid gradual decay, until nothing is left in Russia but the peasants' communities, which can be self-supporting on a low grade of culture; from this broad basis the organisation of railways, trade, banking, and commerce may be slowly re-created, by the work of a whole generation, or of several.

In spite of poverty and progressive decay, the Bolshevnik State has never lacked funds or energy to spread its doctrines in foreign countries. Their gospel imposes on them the duty of converting their neighbours, and the only hope of its ultimate victory lies in forcing the Bolshevnik *régime* upon as many neighbouring countries as possible. For this reason nations like France and the United States are firmly opposed to negotiation or political intercourse with the Soviet Republic. The British Labour Party has at times shown some sympathy with the Bolshevnik Government, which has been trying an experiment not very different from the universal scheme of nationalised production which is advocated in resolutions of the Trade Union Congress. But there are few now in Britain who would not resent the charge of Bolshevism, and the complete failure of the Bolshevnik scheme to secure tolerable conditions of life has discredited Communism all over the world. Nevertheless, the British Government has been foremost in attempting to open up intercourse with Bolshevnik Russia, and the Genoa Con-

ference was summoned with this purpose among others. If the Bolshevniks renounce their declared intention of using every available means to upset the ordered constitution of all States like our own, and if they guarantee the security of property and person to foreign traders and capitalists in their country, Russia may be again admitted to the European brotherhood, but it is probable that in that case the Bolshevnik rule would come to an early end. The well being and prosperity of Russia, like that of every other country, is valuable to all other countries, and above all to Britain; but it seems likely that things in Russia must be even worse before they can be better. It is a pity that information about Russia should be so scanty and unworthy of trust, for I guess that if we knew all no one again would venture to advocate any Communist experiment until the memory of the Russian Terror had faded. We know enough to justify belief that life in France under the Jacobins was a paradise compared to life in Russia under the Bolshevniks. And yet the Communist experiment could not be so disastrous in Russia, where industrial development was small and local, as in a country like our own, in which five-sixths of the population is dependent on mechanical industry and the foreign trade for which it works.

CONCLUSION

We are now in the fourth year of peace, and the visions of greater happiness, good-will, and

justice have not come wholly true. The people has passed through many moods; it has pursued and persuaded its rulers to pursue phantoms that eluded all pursuit. The trial continues; it will always continue; a new world is in the making; false hopes have led to disappointment, and disappointment has led to discord, which in its turn has delayed more modest achievement. Classes have been turned upside down and inside out; some rich have become richer, many rich have become poor, and some who were poor have become rich. Want has begotten greed and hatred; never has the race for wealth and pleasure been more passionate and more unscrupulous. And yet as a people we stand where we did; our moderation, our self-control, our stability is unimpaired. For a while we thought that the Government which was forced to govern us in war could govern us to our greater profit in peace. But, unless I mistake, we are returning to our normal attitude of mind. We realise that the people must do its work and shape its own fortunes. If the world is out of gear, it must be put right, and we shall do our share. The breakdown of Russia, the collapse of the proud monarchies of Central Europe, the painful birth and childish ailments of new States, have cut off accustomed sources of well being; we grumble, but we carry on. Our generous passion for liberty has led us to risky experiments in India and in Egypt and in Ireland. Our love for romantic adventure and action has given

us queer problems to solve in Palestine and Mesopotamia. We have not sought an easy or a peaceful life; our people is busy throughout the world; it finds its failures as well as its successes; often it sees the truth, and sometimes it believes a falsehood; but in all this rocking universe our British kingdom, our British Empire of self-governing Dominions, stands stable, trustworthy, and confident; it minds its own business, and its business is the business of all this globe. It is conservative without rigidity; it is strenuous without levity; it is eager for new work and new duties, but it maintains with fidelity its ancient obligations. Such as our fathers have made it for us, such shall our young men and our young women maintain it. And it will be maintained, not by the virtue of any formula or philosophy, not by the government of archangels, but by the patience, endurance and courage of this people and the sons and daughters of this people. This Empire is a league of nations, and the other League of Nations that was born at Versailles will find its chief strength in the experience and the stored energy of our elder league.

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CHAPTER XII

THE OTHER REVOLUTIONS

THE continuous life of a nation is infinitely complex. To get the complete picture of the whole is impossible for us ; separate pictures of separate aspects may have more completeness, but many separate pictures do not serve the same purpose as a general view. We need to see the continuous life of the people in relation to each of the other nations with which it has definite intercourse ; we need to see it in relation to all other nations and to all the world. We need to see its internal life of politics, of work and play, of toil and leisure, of strife and comradeship, of earning and spending, of producing and consuming, of law-making and law-interpreting, of art, literature, music, and learning, of growth and destruction and construction. For those one hundred and fifty years which fall within the compass of this book, perhaps fifty, perhaps a hundred different histories of the British people could be written, each different from the others, not only in treatment but in matter, except for a small connecting thread common to all alike. And yet every one of these histories would have its influence, great or small, upon the others and

upon the main history, and he who attempts to write a story of the whole should have all the other stories somewhere, somehow, at the back of his mind.

Nevertheless, though the life of the people can for convenience be divided into a hundred lives, each of which has its separate interest and importance, that life is but one and its story is but one, woven as a cable or a pattern out of all the threads in combination. That story, or that moving picture, exists somewhere, say in the mind of God or of our own recording angel, but our intellects are not big enough to grasp it both as a whole and at the same time in all its parts. It is better to have some conception of the whole than to know all the parts and lack the unifying vision. Therefore, for each who desires to comprehend history, it is, above all, necessary that he build up for himself a scheme, a plan, a framework, into which all his miscellaneous knowledge can be fitted. Each man's plan may be different, but in so far as each is true they will all be alike. To each of us some things will be important which others will throw into the background or discard altogether. But each should have his own scheme, made for himself to form the scaffold of his own knowledge, of his own conceptual edifice ; he may, indeed he must, work from the schemes of others to his own ; but the scheme which will best carry his own knowledge must be of his own slow, zealous, and patient construction. This book endeavours to

set out my own sketch plan, and the facts, actions, movements, and commentaries, therein set down are those which I have chosen out of many to indicate the detail, its colour, and its texture. You will find in my sketch much that is not given in other histories; above all, you will find much omitted which other histories retail. If it helps you to frame your scheme for the needs of your own independent mind, I shall be satisfied.

The story, as I have given it, is sufficiently varied. I have taken you in this volume to France, to America, to India, to Russia, to Germany, to show the outside forces and ideas that worked upon this people and modified its conduct, its fortunes, and its aspirations. I have alluded to this and that, that you may see that no set of movements or actions or events can be isolated; every centre of force is affected by every other. But in the main the story, as I have sketched it, is the story of a political revolution and a social revolution which were closely interwoven. It remains for me to recall the promise made in the first chapter of this volume, and indicate to you the scope and character of those other revolutions, which can be separated in thought and description from the social and political revolutions, though all are in fact closely connected, mutually intermingled, and interdependent. Those revolutions are known as the Industrial Revolution, the Agricultural Revolution, and the Scientific Revolution.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution began in England. Since the decline of the Dutch Power, England had the greatest carrying trade of the world, and the profits of her trade with the East and the West Indies yielded a sufficient capital for her earlier enterprises. She was not divided like France into provinces with tariff boundaries; her rivers were free from tolls, and her position was suitable for oceanic traffic. She suffered little from internal tumult or from foreign war. Her laws were good, and the Government left the citizens free to follow their own profit without serious impediment. Her citizens were self-reliant and adventurous, and fit to deal with untried conditions. In civilisation and knowledge they were behind the French; good means of transport are necessary at all times for advancing trade and industry; and in the construction of roads and canals the French were far ahead of the British. Throughout the eighteenth century French trade with foreign countries was greater than the British, and the French population was three times greater than our own. Our one natural advantage over the French was in the more abundant possession of coal and iron, and that advantage did not tell until methods had been invented for smelting iron with coke. On this invention hinged the Industrial Revolution; it was not initiated by the aid of chemists, but by practical experiment. It was in use in 1730, but

developed slowly; the iron industry, which had declined with the exhaustion of timber, had a new birth about 1760, and its future strength could be foreseen when the processes of puddling and rolling iron were adopted (1783).

TRANSPORT

In the last fifty years of the eighteenth century improvement of the roads began, by the aid of turnpike trusts, which improved the ways and collected a toll from each user. But this reform also proceeded slowly, and by separate districts, and many districts lagged behind. The building of canals began about the same time and facilitated the carriage of heavy goods. The improvement of the roads and the full development of our system of canals was only just complete about 1840, when the canals and the stage-coaches began to be superseded by the steam-drawn traffic of the new railroads.

MECHANICAL INVENTION

About 1760 a new industry in cotton textiles was growing up, and the demand for cotton yarn spun by hand became so great that attention was bound to be diverted to mechanical devices for more rapid spinning. The spinning-jenny of Hargreaves was invented in 1767, and was followed by the invention of Arkwright, applying water power to drive the spinning machines. The balance was then reversed, and there was more yarn than the weavers could deal with.

The difficulty was partly met by the adoption of the "flying shuttle," an invention dating from 1733, but not adopted until near the end of the century. Looms driven by steam power were not generally adopted for cotton weaving until after 1815. In the woollen, silk, and flax industries mechanical appliances gained ground more slowly, but by the middle of the nineteenth century hand-spinning was confined to remote and primitive districts, and hand-weaving was a dying trade.

No one can say why mechanical invention became active in the eighteenth century. We can only say that times were favourable, needs were pressing, and the genius of our people, resourceful and practical, suited the times and their needs. In this age many movements, that had begun long before, came at one time to fruition. The whole world was opened to navigation in the sixteenth century; it took three centuries to build up the fleets, the harbours, the docks, the experience, the knowledge, the commercial relations and habits, to make full use of all the opportunities offered. Plantations in the new world began in the sixteenth century; it was two centuries before they were strong enough to claim independent existence. The patent law of James I, which refused the grant of monopolies by patent, except where some new device was advantageous to the community, obtained a new importance and a new meaning when fortunes could be made by new inventions.

The fortunes were not always made by the inventor, but the patent law gave the inventor his chance. When one inventor had obvious success, other minds were set aworking; the fad became a fashion and a profitable fashion, until thousands and tens of thousands were thinking and planning, and new ideas were daily conceived and adopted, so that the whole field of industry was covered. When one invention was successful it upset the balance and created a new need for the inventor to satisfy, as when the abundance of cotton yarn forced the invention of the power loom.

STEAM POWER

The first machines of the new era were worked by hand; then water power was used, and many a lonely valley was chosen as a factory site. But water power is uncertain because of floods, frost, and drought. Now that means of storing and transmitting energy are known, water power has a future, and industries will spring up on the skirts of the great mountains, as they have around the falls of Niagara. The power of steam had long been known—even to the Greeks; but it was first used, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, for pumping water from mines. In 1782 Watt showed how to transform the up and down motion of the steam pump into a rotary motion, which could be used for almost every purpose: for raising and lowering weights, for driving spindles, lathes, and looms, for steam

hammers and cranes, for shaping molten iron, and for the pistons, screws, and turbines of locomotive engines on land and water. He also greatly improved the economy of the steam engine, and thus increased the power derived from the burning of a given weight of coal.

IRON

Coal is necessary for steam power; steam power was first used to make the getting of coal more easy. Steam power made the use of machines ten times more efficacious; the improved working of iron, due to the use of machines and steam, made it possible to use iron for machines, which at first were mainly constructed of wood. Better iron and better methods of working iron made possible larger and larger constructions, larger and more forceful assemblies of machines, greater and greater concentration of power, more and more energy for the transport and handling of material. With the better construction of machines, it was perceived that for borings, turnings, planings, and shapings, machine tools were more accurate and trustworthy than any operation of the human hand. The turning of screws and nuts, the boring of the cylinder to fit the piston, and the planing of the piston to fit the cylinder, and all similar work, can be done by machines with infinite delicacy and precision, whether on a great scale, as for a marine engine, or on the smallest scale, as for the works of a watch. If the hand has any part in the job, the

big fittings can hardly be done at all, the smaller only by the expenditure of much time and skill. The process of manufacturing machines by machines began to gain ground by degrees from 1820; it has been proceeding ever since, till it can be used, for instance, in the mass production both of great motors and of watches, all with identical machine-made parts.

The process by which the manufacture of cheap steel became possible was introduced about 1853; it has led to the use of steel for many purposes originally served by iron; but after all steel is only iron with a chemical difference.

More recently, the chemist has come to the aid of the mechanical engineer, and by the addition to steel of rare minerals, such as tungsten, machine tools have been evolved which preserve their cutting edge, though raised to red heat as they do their work. Thus coal, iron, and steam, have worked in and out together in the industrial revolution, each necessary to the other, each sharing in the improvement and better economy of each.

TRANSPORT

The production of goods for ordinary use, in greater and greater masses, is one aspect of the course of the Industrial Revolution, until nine-tenths of ourselves and a large proportion of the inhabitants of the whole world wear clothes and boots and hats turned out to identical patterns,

ride in motors and on bicycles of which each is equivalent to many thousand others, travel in coaches propelled by engines manufactured to standard designs, and in machine-made ships to machine-constructed ports, see identical films produced by the thousand reels, and read the mass production literature of Mr. Wells and Mr. Arnold Bennett and the daily Press. But if commodities increase in mass beyond the means of transport, the aims of the producers are frustrated; stocks accumulate, prices fall, trade becomes depressed. One mark of the industrial era is its power of rapid adaptation, which has led to proportionate or nearly proportionate developments in many directions. If a need was perceived someone hurried to satisfy it. If a way was not evident, a way was found. Thus, on the whole and throughout the period, transport improved as production increased, and as transport improved production moved in unison. Development, whether two-sided or three-sided or many-sided, tended on the whole to correspond. The first slow beginnings of the Industrial Revolution coincided with the improvement in roads, the development of a canal system, and an increase in the size, the number, and the speed of ships. When inadequate means of transport threatened to check the increase of production, the locomotive steam engine was invented. The first railway travelled by steam locomotives was opened in 1825, and ran from Stockton to Darlington; the Liverpool and

Manchester Railway followed. Manchester was connected with London by rail in 1837, and between that date and 1846 the chief part of our railway system was either constructed or planned. Extension, completion, and improvement have followed, but the main lines were then laid down. Railways on the Continent of Europe were largely planned and constructed by British engineers and British navvies, and you may notice that on the Continent, whereas road-borne traffic generally passes to the right, rail-borne traffic generally passes on the left, as in England. A complete railway system for France was worked out under Napoleon III, in Germany a little later, and the much greater area of the United States obtained an adequate railway system in the seventies and eighties of last century. These and many other changes in all parts of the world originated in a British invention, and many of them were financed with British capital.

CHANGES CAUSED BY RAILWAYS

Before the invention of railways the development of countries was conditioned by access to the sea, by the presence of navigable rivers, by heat, and cold, by mountains and deserts. Railways tunnel through mountains, they traverse deserts and swamps, they connect territories severed by nature; they are independent of frost and sun. Without them the development of wild countries, like the North American Continent,

would have been incalculably retarded; and many parts of Africa could never have been opened up. The British occupation of India began in three maritime centres, Bengal, Calcutta, and Madras; India was conquered without the aid of railways; but it could never have been penetrated by British influence, as it has been, without the railways which were built under British guarantee and mainly with British capital. Railroads have increased the power of mankind to utilise the resources provided by nature; they have multiplied the races living upon the earth by increasing their means of subsistence; but whether that power tends to happiness and well-being or the reverse depends on the wisdom of us to whom it has come.

MARITIME TRANSPORT

The first vessel propelled by steam began to run from New York to Albany, in 1807, but the invention progressed slowly. The first voyage from London to Glasgow was made by a steamship in 1815, but the early steamers were small and inconvenient, and used rather by passengers than for freight. The use of iron for building ships marked an advance, but not until after 1860 did steamships begin to encroach on the practical monopoly of the sailing ship. The fifties were the age of the fast "clippers," built in Britain and the United States—chiefly for the valuable tea trade—these, in favourable weather, could equal the speed of many a second class liner of

to-day. In the seventies ships began to be built of steel, and the opening of the Suez Canal, in 1869, gave a great impulse to steam navigation, since the canal cannot be navigated by sailing vessels. The Civil War in the United States (1861-65) removed American competition in the carrying trade, and before the Great War British shipping was about half of all the shipping of the world, and only a small fraction of it was driven by sails. Mechanically, the development of the turbine in the last twenty years gives as great an economy of space and fuel as in earlier years that of the triple expansion engine. The increasing use of oil fuel for marine engines, and of the internal combustion engine for ships, might seem to threaten the British maritime supremacy, since we have little oil in this country and abundance of coal; but so long as we can build and run the ships better and cheaper than our rivals we need not fear, though we have to buy our oil. The poverty of so large a part of the earth through war and bad government is a far more serious danger; for our merchant fleet was built and has been maintained for a far greater traffic between nations than the world for the time seems able to set agoing.

OTHER FORMS OF TRANSPORT

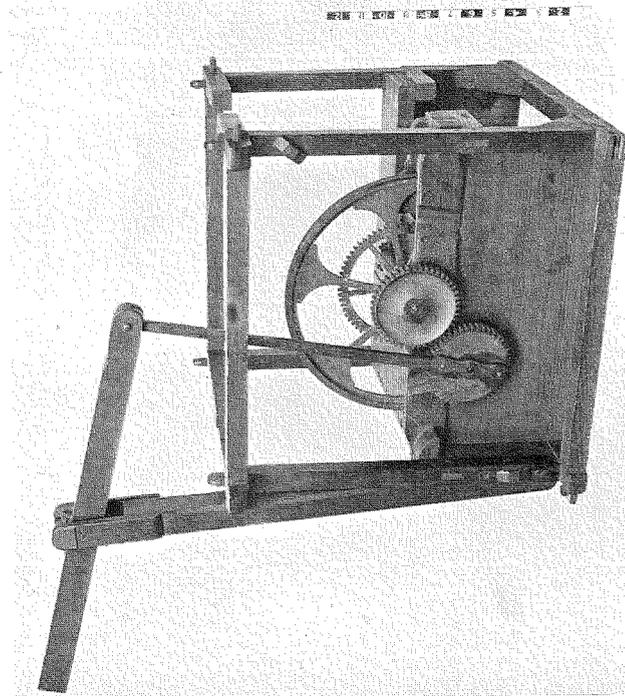
The use of the internal combustion engine on land promises other early developments. For swift and easy transport of passengers, the motor car since 1900 has already made a little revolution

of its own, the limits of which cannot be seen; and the motor lorry is coming into general use for all but the heaviest traffic. The use and construction of motor lorries was greatly stimulated by the War. Our roads will need reconstruction, and our habits of life are already changing. The poor horse is being dislodged from his ancient and honourable partnership with man. Agriculture suffers change, since motors do not need straw litter, hay, or oats. Some think the position of the railways is threatened, but that may be a false alarm. Everything that encourages frequent traffic and easier intercourse between man and man brings grist to the railway mill. But the industrial revolution is not yet over; and aeroplane transport is still in its infancy. At present the most valuable function of the aeroplane seems to be in peace the bridging of desert trails, as between Bagdad and Cairo, and the policing of disturbed and ill-populated districts, as in Mesopotamia.

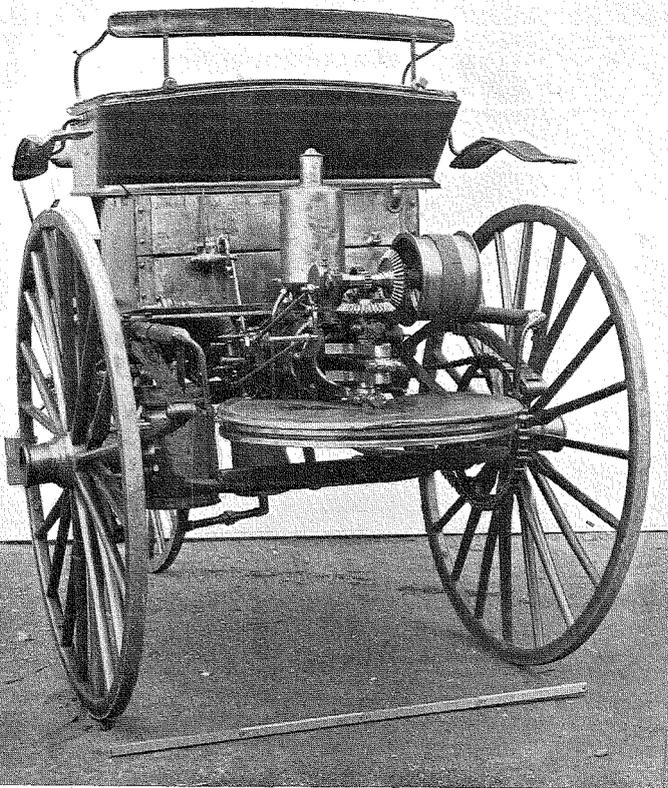
COMMUNICATIONS

Communication by letter was speeded up and cheapened by mail coaches, rail transport, and steam navigation. The penny post was introduced into this country in 1840, and before the Great War it was extended to the whole of the British Empire. But even greater speed for messages was desirable, and from about 1837 electric telegraphy became practicable. The invention was shared in about equal parts by the

United States and this nation ; the Morse Code in particular is of American origin ; the principles which made telegraphy possible were worked out in at least a hundred years of scientific research. In 1866, after many failures, telegraphic communication with America was established by oceanic cable. About 1880 telephonic communication by wire came into public use ; this invention also sprang from disinterested scientific investigation ; the practical details are mainly American. Wireless telegraphy was worked out in the twentieth century, chiefly from the scientific discoveries of Hertz, a German, adapted by the practical ability of Marconi. The War begat aerial telephony, and no doubt, in a few years, few middle-class homes will lack a listening instrument. For trade and industry the value of rapid communication lies in the better adjustment of all effort to every purpose. The business of the world is too great and too extensive to be perfectly adjusted ; but every avoidable delay, error, or misunderstanding, causes needless waste of time and effort ; the greater the interests and operations concerned, the greater the value of prompt information and prompt transmission of instructions ; thus every improvement in communication means that general needs are better and more cheaply served. Regret is often expressed that labour-saving contrivances do not diminish the total amount of labour that humanity is forced to expend, as if labour itself were an evil. Not



Watt's sun and planet engine. Patented 1781.



Earliest motor-car in Britain. 1888.

labour is an evil, but wasted labour, suspended labour, impeded, ineffective labour, ill-rewarded labour. Better communications mean better direction of labour; and better direction means for all better reward for the labour of all.

THE WORLD MARKET

Mass production, steam traffic by land and sea, telegraphic and telephonic communication, have made the whole world one market for all the chief classes of goods. Other devices, such as cold storage, due to scientific discovery, have brought into this category even perishable goods, such as fresh meat and fruit. Thus the terror of famine has disappeared from the world, except where transport has been interrupted, as in Russia, or where it is primitive, as in China, or where the population lives on the margin of existence, as in India. If the harvest fails in this country, as it failed in 1879, only the farmers suffer; supplies flow in from every part of the globe; for the trade of this country the whole world is our harvest ground and the whole year our harvest time. Misfortunes arising here are thus mitigated; misfortunes arising elsewhere are shared; thus we suffer by the dislocation of Central Europe and the disasters of Russia. If we try to make our coal dear to the world, coal comes from the United States to frustrate our efforts. If our engineers and their employers cannot agree as to the management of their trade, American, Dutch, Belgian, and

German engineers will do their work. If there is drought in Australia, wool prices rise for all mankind. The direction of industry and commerce continually demands greater knowledge, experience, and intellect; great fortunes are constantly made and lost by the presence or absence of the necessary foresight, courage, information, and judgement. No market can stand by itself, least of all the market of this country which is unprotected by tariff duties; (partly because we have free trade) the exchange of all the world for sugar, tea, coffee, spices, wool, leather, rubber, vegetable oils, furs, and the principal non-ferrous metals, is centred in London. A tornado in the West Indies, a flood in China, a frost in Texas, a failure of the monsoon in India, a rebellion in Mexico, are at once known and felt in all the chief centres of Europe and America; and of all those centres London is the most sensitive.

FINANCE

The saving disposition of the Victorian, coupled with his energy and enterprise, built up in Britain a continually increasing store of free capital. The honesty and prudence of his banking and exchange houses made all that capital fluid and ready for operations at home and abroad. We lent and invested money in every country on the map; the capital went out, not so much in money or in credits as in British manufactures—rails, rolling stock, machinery, mining plant, and the

like; the revenue returned to us in food and raw material for our industry. Losses by defaulting countries or unfortunate enterprises were written off against the gains; even the expenditure of the War, our debts to the United States, our unrepaid advances to most of the countries of Europe, and our sales of foreign securities, have not shaken our position. It was thought that after the War the United States, the greatest of world creditors and the possessors of nearly all the free gold, would become the centre of world finance; but the good-will, the prestige, the tradition, the reputation, the system, of British finance have restored the old-time channels of credit, though some of our clients are no longer able to borrow, and all have had to trim their sails.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES

In the mobilisation of capital Joint Stock Companies have played a great part, and one-man firms or private companies are now the exception. Companies with unlimited liability were at one time common; in that case all the shareholders were liable jointly and severally for all the debts of the firm. When the City of Glasgow Bank failed, in 1878, only a handful of the shareholders (two, if I am not mistaken) remained solvent when the debts of the Bank had been paid. Since 1855, and under subsequent Acts, Companies with limited liability have become the rule, and even family concerns are commonly registered under the Limited Liability

Acts for convenience in dividing the property among those interested. Under these Acts the shareholder is only liable to the nominal amount of his holding, though if the shares be only partly paid up he may, in case of need, be forced to make up the whole amount. The Company is organised under a Chairman and a Board of Directors, who are elected by the shareholders; usually there will be one or more Managing Directors, who are the paid servants of the Company. As long as things go well the Chairman and Directors have a free hand; but where trouble arises the shareholders become vociferous. This method of organisation is convenient from the point of view of capital, because every shareholder knows what he is risking and can, as a rule, realise his shares at some price or other, good or bad, and because the best professional talent can be employed to conduct the affairs of the Company. From the point of view of the staff, the personal knowledge and understanding of the employed possessed by the old-time owner of the business is often regretted. It is said that a Company "has neither a body to be kicked nor a soul to be damned"; it is an impersonal concern, an abstraction, a creation of the law. Yet there are favourable examples of Companies as there were of old-time employers, and I do not know whether the proportion of good to bad is greater or less in one class or the other. I fancy the self-made manufacturer of the thirties and forties was a pretty hard nut.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE

The Stock Exchange is a necessary wheel in the financial coach. If the public wishes to make investments, or to call in money invested, there must be intermediaries between buyer and seller. The stockbroker is the agent who will find you, for a small percentage, a seller or a purchaser for any well known stock in which you wish to deal at the price of the day. On the London Stock Exchange the jobbers are the pivotal class; each of them specialises in some special class or classes of security, and makes it his business to know the state of the market on any day and to foresee any likely movements of the near future. A broker comes in and says, "What are War Loans?" The jobber replies, "100-100 $\frac{1}{8}$ "; meaning that he will buy at 100 and sell at 100 $\frac{1}{8}$. The broker, who has not disclosed whether he wishes to buy or sell, then replies: "I sell a million." The jobber, unperturbed, jots down the bargain, confident that before he has to pay he will have disposed of all his purchase to some other brokers. In other markets the dealings would be smaller, but the principles are the same. The jobber takes the risks, relying on his knowledge and judgement; sometimes he may be wrong, but if he is not more often right than wrong his occupation will be gone. Of course, it is a speculative business; money is easily made and easily lost; and those that hold that all speculation is wrong would gladly abolish the

Stock Exchange. But the best opinion maintains that the professional speculator is necessary, not only to the Stock Exchange, but also in every great market. He foresees the rises and discounts the fall, and eases the passage from hope to despondency or in the other direction. Without his intervention trade and finance would be more precarious, less supple; rises would be more rapid and more fierce; declines more disastrous. You can guess what a variety of securities are dealt in on the Stock Exchange if you look at the list published daily in the *Times*. On the produce and like markets the principles of dealing are similar, except that bargains are often made for distant dates, and the speculative element is therefore greater than upon the Stock Exchange.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND GENERAL WELL BEING

These are the main elements in the Industrial Revolution. Its raw material was all the stuff of the world, but more especially iron and coal. Its physical energy was derived from coal; more recently also from oil and falling water. Its human energy came from the will of man to do his job, to make his profit, and from the desire of all men for food and clothing, house room, comfort, amusement, and luxury. Its methods were stabilisation of credit, mobilisation of capital, mechanical invention relying more and more on science. By these means it proceeded from

small things to great things; from great things to things still greater, until the whole world became one workshop, one market, one farm, united up by rapid transport and by electrical communication. It is a great thing; if you ask me if it is a good thing, I cannot tell you; it was, it is, and it has to be; I think it idle to censure the inevitable or to pass judgement on destiny. I am not going to say that the Industrial Revolution ought to have been prevented. It might have been prevented, probably it was delayed, by such events as the Thirty Years War. For my part, I prefer the Industrial Revolution to the Thirty Years War. I am not going to say that we ought to go back on it, as William Morris suggests in his *News from Nowhere*. His story does not tell how many millions perished, or how they perished, before England could be restored to a rural and art-loving economy; what harvest of sickness and hatred was left behind. Personally, I would prefer to inhabit industrial England, even after the War, rather than de-industrialised Russia. Moreover, even if the life of our great-great-grandfathers was much better than our own, in the sight of God or of William Morris, it does not follow that we should be more happy living as they did. We have got used to our own ways and we should detest theirs; so that's that, so far as we are concerned. A certain amount of discontent is a good thing; it quickens the desire for improvement; but fundamental discontent is a bad thing;

it stops healthy action and fires a purposeless passion to change and destroy without regard for consequences. All this one hundred and fifty years we have been toiling and suffering, sweating blood and tears, to make this world better for ourselves and our children. If we believed that we had wholly failed, fundamental discontent would be justified. We have won enormous power over the enormous forces of nature; if I believed that we had used it on the whole for evil, I would tell you so.

LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I am not going to tell you that man ever was, or now is, or ever will be, a wholly rational and virtuous animal. On the contrary, at all times that I have observed, his chief troubles have been of his own making. On the whole, no doubt, he is a good natured and well meaning creature; but he is also greedy, lazy, ignorant, short-sighted, quarrelsome, and jealous. You do not need history to recognise that in yourselves as well as in your neighbours. It does not follow, because he is handsome in his face and figure, or because his surroundings are picturesque, that he is happy or well-behaved. In the eighteenth century the life of England was mainly rural; but the rural life of that time was not better than the rural life of to-day. Ignorance was profound; brutality was common; sickness and poverty were far greater. A very small class was polished and cultivated; it had its

dissolute elements, as opulent society has to-day; it was both good and bad; but the bad was more easily seen, as it is to-day. But the life of the squires and lesser gentry may be studied in the works of Fielding and Smollett; it was jolly and robust, it was also brutal and coarse. The towns for the most part were small and sleepy; their government was selfish and inert; and slum life was filthy and nauseous beyond anything we know to-day. London was already great and populous; the streets were dark and dangerous and filthy with mud and ordure; in the poorer parts there was literally no sanitation; and overcrowding was beyond anything we condemn to-day. In the days of cheap gin drunkenness exceeded the worst dreams of temperance reformers. Our population, though six times larger to-day, is ten times better cared for; of innocent and cheap amusements we have plenty now; it can hardly be said that there were any then for the mass of the London population.

DOMESTIC AND FACTORY PRODUCTION

Before the Industrial Revolution, there were no doubt factories here and there and in certain industries; but spinning and weaving—in cotton, wool, silk and other materials—and many branches of iron manufacture, were carried on in the country and the small towns by the house-father and his family. Spinning was the by-industry of the women; weaving was often

combined with the tillage of a small holding. Where and when circumstances were favourable, this mode of life gave freedom together with moderate prosperity; but there was great waste of time in collecting the yarn and in marketing the finished goods, and the producer was hardly less in the power of the merchant than the wage-earner of to-day is in the power of his employer. When conditions were bad, as in Spitalfields, or when prices were falling, the tyranny of want made the parents as regardless of the welfare of their children as the worst employer in the worst of the early factories. The early factories were bad as regards health and hours and other conditions of labour; under the truck system the employers pillaged their workpeople and bound them down with debt; during the period of transition the hand-loom workers struggled for a generation against inevitable extinction; but since the thirties conditions in factories have steadily improved; the worst conditions are now to be found in industries that are carried on in crowded homes; and in these legislation has endeavoured, wherever possible, to encourage the factory system. Workers are now protected against accidental injuries by machines, and against diseases set up by the dust of iron and steel or by the use of lead in manufacture. Wages in industry throughout the nineteenth century tended to rise; prices of necessaries, comforts, and luxuries tended to fall; the period of transition

was bad, but on the whole the Industrial Revolution has greatly increased the material welfare of the operative classes.

TOWNS

The worst incidents of the Industrial Revolution were in the villages and towns that hastily grew up without plan or safeguards for health—in the iron and coal districts, or where the neighbourhood of canals or railways encouraged the growth of new industries. But one feature of the Industrial Revolution is the invention of sanitation for large towns; main drainage and pure water supply are gifts of the nineteenth century which outweigh its grime, discomfort, and distress. In parts of the Black Country, and in the areas of the chemical industry, the beauty of the world seems to be obliterated, but even in such blighted areas human beings live and thrive. About 1870 the curse of coal smoke was most heavy on the great towns and industrial areas; something has since been done to alleviate it, but it remains a problem for the twentieth century to remove it altogether, a problem that would not be beyond the skill of man, since coal smoke is wasted fuel, and economy of fuel should in part at least repay expenditure. The chief part of our big cities seems dingy, monotonous, and ugly beyond bearing. Yet the population that is born in the country flocks to the towns; those who reach the towns do not willingly return to the country; man is a gregarious animal, and the

crowded life of cities has for him variety and excitement and stimulus which outweigh the loss of sunshine and pure air, and of the sights and sounds and perfumes of the countryside. The growth of towns means a loss of beauty in life and of the desire for beauty, which is perhaps the greatest loss of all. But great towns are no longer incompatible with well being; we have made our towns healthy, perhaps some day we may have energy and wealth and will to make them beautiful. Meanwhile, the Industrial Revolution provides a remedy for its unlovely creations; he who wills can escape from smoke and grime on train, on push-bike, on motor cycle, or by motor-bus, and in most districts he can reach something different by the journey of a few miles.

FREEDOM

There is no doubt that the social and political changes which accompanied the Industrial Revolution have resulted in greater freedom for the individual and the masses. The abolition of the Law of Settlement made each man free to go where he pleased and live where he pleased. Freedom of speech, freedom of public meeting, freedom to print and publish, freedom to combine, are now almost complete. The tyranny of the squire and the parson, though it may still be talked of, is now hardly worth the expenditure of breath. Even the bondage of want of pence, the heaviest bondage of all, is reduced for

everyone now that wages are so much higher, and money will buy a greater variety of things. The bondage of ignorance is relaxed by freedom of education in all its stages and by cheap books. The bondage of the guild, the caste, the class, is gone. Kings and aristocrats have surrendered their power; every man and every woman can possess a vote. Yet the yearning for greater liberty was never more apparent. It is not only that man's desire for freedom grows as one barrier after another is removed. It is not only that greater opportunities for action, experience, and enjoyment, call with more compelling voice. It is that man, herded and organised in greater aggregates, must surrender a part of his liberty to his neighbours and a part to the greater organisation in which he is comprised. The rights of property, while they were and where they are subdivided, were and are the most treasured safeguard of individual liberty. When property is massed in great organisations of capital, and no man can work effectively without the aid of capital, the power and odium of the tyrant falls to capital and capitalists. Where men work together in thousands for a single purpose, they are bound to a rigid routine, to monotonous operations, and fixed hours. Trade Union regulations bind them to a single trade, and to the policy fixed by a committee and a majority vote. The system by which we live is so massive and so complicated that none of us can fully understand the pressure which we feel. It galls

nevertheless, and galls everyone; but it is the system by which we live and without which we should die; the shoe fits better than it did, the system has already been improved, and even misdirected experiment is a guide for the future.

UNEMPLOYMENT

I cannot leave the Industrial Revolution without a word on unemployment, the greatest terror to the individual in modern life. Since slavery ceased, I imagine that unemployment has always been incidental to industrial life. But mass unemployment is an incident of mass production. When the system is great and delicate, any disturbance of balance, any defect in proportion, throws a part of it out of gear. War is the great disturber of equilibrium, and after the Napoleonic wars unemployment was for years relatively greater than to-day. Throughout the nineteenth century the machine failed frequently; in the seventies of last century unemployment was worse than now. As the machine grew older it was better and better adjusted. Bad as things are to-day, they are not so bad as the great world disturbance seemed to portend; and the great system still produces so much wealth that we are able, out of our superfluity, to relieve distress, and thus we may tide over the worst until a new balance of trade and industry throughout the world may be restored. There is no doubt that the better adjustment of world

commerce that has come by experience, the more rapid passage of information, the greater powers of rapid action and cooperation, have reduced the magnitude and severity of those waves of depression which in the nineteenth century were regarded as natural phenomena, periodically due like the tides and the changes of the moon. We have suffered in the last thirty years nothing so acute as the bank failures of 1825, the railway crisis of 1847, the Black Friday of 1866, or the long and agonising depression of 1874 to 1885 which followed the boom of 1871-74. But, however wisely we may conduct our affairs in this country and this Empire, we cannot exclude cataclysms like the Great War, disastrous experiments like the Russian Soviets, the consequences of revolution in foreign lands, or of unforeseen and unavoidable disaster in some quarter of the globe. Our system of insurance against unemployment was a great step forward; if it had had a fair spell of trial it would have been better fitted to meet the extraordinary demands that have been made upon it since the autumn of 1920. But it may be some consolation, it may be ground for courageous hope, that our fathers met and endured greater trials. The Roman poet said—it is my own family motto—"Fortune is never adverse, if there be wisdom." Life is not a game of luck only; it is a game of skill, of patience, of prudence, and of courage.

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

In my first volume (pp. 81 and 177-182) I have said something about the medieval scheme of agriculture. In my second volume (pp. 56-63 and 243-5) I have spoken of the changes that took place in Tudor times, and of the improvements that were being introduced in the eighteenth century. I need not repeat here what I have said there. I must, however, remind you that in the eighteenth century great parts of the country that were fit for tillage still lay waste. Of the cultivated lands, perhaps three-fifths were still worked on the wasteful system of open fields, which forced the small owner to follow the methods of his neighbours, to observe the customary rotation with fallow one year in three, to admit the cattle of the village to graze on his land as soon as the corn was carried, and precluded any progress or experiment in the arts of tillage. It is not an accident that the industrial revolution and the agricultural revolution moved forward side by side. The same ideas as stirred the minds of those who made fortunes in the foreign trade by new devices inspired also some of our enterprising and ingenious landowners. A few active and resourceful men determined that things could be done better, that they should be done better, and they were done better. Very slowly the rank and file followed the example of their leaders; but by degrees it became evident to the most conservative that

profit was to be made by breeding better cattle, by growing clover and turnips, by a new rotation of crops without fallow, by the more skilful use of manures, by drainage, and by better ploughing. However, it was only possible to use the improved methods on enclosed land; and a new movement gathered strength from about 1760 for enclosing waste and common pasture, and redistributing the lands of the open fields. The impulse came from the increase of population and the rise of prices. How far the rise of prices was due to the increase of population it is not easy to say; but it is certain that the exceptional cheapness of the first half of the eighteenth century was not carried on to the latter half. But sooner or later the increase of population must have its natural effect; and the long war of 1793-1815, and the bad harvests of the war period, only accelerated the movement that must in any case have resulted as the new methods of production gave wages to greater numbers, all of whom with their dependants needed food. On this, as on many occasions, the national need coincided with the profit of individuals—of farmers and landowners, who benefited by the enclosures and the better mode of cultivation which the enclosures made possible. Enclosure was the only practicable means of preventing famine.

ENCLOSURES

Enclosure could be of waste land—moorland, heath, forest, or fen; even on waste land there

might be the custom of taking fish or game, cutting turf or reeds, or of casual grazing. But the claims on such account did not always or often necessitate legislation, though there might be violent resistance, such as delayed the reclamation of the Bedford Levels (vol. II, p. 166). Enclosure could also be of common pasture, where the neighbours owned by law the privilege of turning out their beasts. To enclose land owned and cultivated on the open field system, it was necessary, either to obtain from the owners the voluntary surrender of all their rights—a method which could be frustrated by one cantankerous freeholder or copyholder, or to proceed by Act of Parliament, which was also convenient when common pasture was to be enclosed. In the first thirty-three years of the reign of George III, 1,355 such Acts were passed; in the twenty-three years of war there were 1,934, or more than twice as many on a yearly average. In the later years population was growing faster, but the dearth caused by war and bad harvests gave the more powerful impulse.

ENCLOSURE ACTS

To obtain an Enclosure Act from Parliament, it was necessary for the landowner and the tithe-owner, together with four-fifths in number and value of the persons interested, to agree to promote a Bill. When the Bill had passed through Parliament, Commissioners were ap-

pointed, who proceeded to re-allot open fields and common pasture among those possessed of various rights. In 1801 a General Act was passed, simplifying the procedure for enclosing commons, and in 1836 a further General Act was passed "for facilitating the enclosure of open and arable fields." Thus, for all the policy of Enclosure, and for its results, Parliament was responsible; it was pointed out at the time, and it is a just arraignment against the ruling classes of that age, that the small commoners got no suitable compensation for the rights of pasturage which they lost. It seems to us to-day that it would have been both just and useful to assign to each a plot of land about his cottage, equivalent in value to the rights which he resigned. But we have more experience to-day of social legislation, and our ideas have been modified by democracy. The small plots assigned to small people were rarely well placed for their use, and were generally sold at once; the money was soon spent, and as enclosure proceeded the class of agricultural labourers became, what they have been ever since, landless and dependent only upon wages for their substance. The larger allotments made to owners of fifteen or thirty acres were seldom retained by their proprietors for any length of time; large farms were fashionable, and landowners bought out the small yeomen to consolidate their farms. It is true that, in the condition of agriculture as it was then, better cultivation resulted; the large

farmer could better afford the new machines and better understand the new methods. It is true also that the English system, whereby the landowner does the repairs and assists the tenant in draining, fencing, and other improvements, has led in the past to excellent relations between landlord and tenant. But the loss of a class of small holders, a grade through which the agricultural labourer might rise to independence and prosperity, is a great misfortune for the country. We have done something, of late years, painfully and expensively, to create small holdings by legislation. But in general a class of peasant owners is born not made; and the present dearth of skilled labour in the countryside is a due penalty for a mistake in national policy. In the circumstances we need not wonder that the most enterprising of the country folk have during the last hundred years drifted to the towns, or emigrated to the Colonies or to the United States.

AGRICULTURAL INVENTION AND IMPROVEMENT

It was not only wise to encourage enclosures, it was necessary; but government is at best a clumsy instrument; the needful legislation was marred by neglect of detail, and therefore was neither just nor humane nor to public advantage. Where far-sighted men worked out their own improvements in concert and in emulation, we find no such need to qualify our praise. Agricultural improvement was started by a few minds;

very slowly it spread, until it became universal. All the time knowledge was ahead of practice; at the present day Agricultural Colleges and Centres of Agricultural Instruction put the results of experiment and research within the reach of all; but at the beginning both farmers and squires were tenacious of their old customs, and methods of proved success were unwillingly adopted. The lines of advance may be classified as follows: new crops and new succession of crops; more and better cattle; new machines; new methods of cultivating the land; new fertilisers. As with the industrial revolution, agriculture did not at first owe much to abstract science; improvements were made by isolated experiment; but as time went on the researches of chemists and biologists contributed more and more to the common stock of knowledge and approved procedure.

NEW CROPS

The introduction of turnips in large cultivation is due to Lord Townshend, in about 1730. These roots made it possible to keep the flocks and herds alive through the winter, whereas in the past a large proportion had been killed in the autumn and salted down. They also enabled the farmer to carry a larger head of cattle on a given area of cultivation, and therefore gave a greater abundance of manure for fertilisation. Roots, clover, ryegrass, sainfoin, and lucerne, grown on arable land, made it possible to dispense with

fallow. It was found that, by varying the crops grown, the fertility of the land suffered no deterioration. Different crops draw different constituents from the ground; later, chemists and biologists discovered that certain plants, with the aid of bacteria, draw nitrogen from the air, store up nitrogenous plant-food in their roots, and thus actually enrich the soil for their successors. Working on in the same direction, in process of time farmers learnt that a second crop of mustard or the like could be raised, after grain had been harvested, to provide additional nutriment for cattle. Potatoes were not widely grown until after the Napoleonic wars. It is nearly two hundred years since Townshend started the cultivation of turnips and clover; similar lines were pursued with conspicuous success by Coke of Norfolk (1754-1842); Arthur Young (1714-1820) acquired knowledge by his travels and spread it by his writings. Such examples and teaching were slowly followed, but the first successful experiment in the variation of crops was the most important. In recent years, the researches of Mendel have encouraged attempts to fix in new strains of wheat and other plants that combination of qualities which growers most desire; great results have been obtained and greater may be expected. None of these changes were possible as long as the cultivator was bound by the routine of the open field.

IMPROVEMENT OF CATTLE

Until the eighteenth century, though the virtue of selective breeding was known to those who bred race-horses, no care was taken in the mating of cattle, sheep, pigs, or other farm stock. Robert Bakewell (1725-95) first started to improve the breed of horses, cattle, and sheep. Among horses, he chose for his sires and dams those of most compact power and endurance; among sheep those that developed most quickly, were most hardy, and yielded the best carcasses; among cattle those which were best for the butcher. He did not hesitate to breed in and in, when he had found the best strain for his purposes. Following on Bakewell's example, in the nineteenth century the British breeds of farm horses, horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and fowls, have been infinitely developed; and British pedigree animals are sought in every country of the world.

MACHINES

In farm machinery, Jethro Tull (1674-1740) was the unfortunate pioneer. He discovered that the old plan of sowing broadcast by hand was wasteful of seed and ineffective, and that it could be better done by machine. He introduced a drill drawn by horses which conveyed in due quantity the seed to the ground, planted it at the most suitable depth, and then covered it with soil. The plants, thus grown in regular rows,

allowed the farmer to pass a machine with hoes through the intervals, and thus keep down the weeds. His invention was not generally adopted until long after his death, and throughout his life he struggled with prejudice and adversity. Since his time innumerable improvements have been made in horse ploughs, steam ploughs which drag the scarifiers through the ground with wire cables, tractors which move over the fields drawing the ploughs behind them, reapers which cut the grass or corn, binders which bind the corn in sheaves as it is cut, machines for thrashing grain, chopping straw, slicing turnips, and turning hay; in fact, mechanical invention has had hardly less effect on agriculture, especially in new countries where farms are larger than here, than on the manufacture of fabrics or of iron.

CULTIVATION

The old plough in 1700 was a cumbersome contrivance. It required a great train of horses or oxen; it only cut a furrow to the depth of five or six inches. Lighter, handier ploughs were invented in the eighteenth century, and deep ploughing was advocated, in order that the soil should be disintegrated and exposed to the weather to the fullest extent. Fields were drained in the old days by ploughing the soil into wide ridges, leaving channels at the interval of twelve or fifteen feet. Later, where this device was not sufficient, ditches were dug and filled with brushwood or stones. It was not until

about 1830 that drain pipes were introduced into agriculture, and waterlogged areas of rich soil were thus made available for cultivation.

MANURES AND DISEASE PREVENTION

The natural manure of animals was made more abundant when food was grown for a greater number of cattle; and in the eighteenth century other fertilisers were by degrees introduced. Marl was widely used for enriching sandy land; the value of lime and chalk for certain soils was recognised; but the true principles of the use of fertilisers were not understood until Faraday (1791-1867) had linked up chemistry with agriculture, and Liebig (1803-1873) had worked out the chemistry of plants and soils in detail. Now we ransack the world for nitrates and guano, and go to the iron works for their basic slag. In the reverse direction the value of sulphate of copper and other dressings for the destruction of fungoid or animal diseases has been discovered; potato disease, which ruined Ireland, is thus mitigated, and even the dread phylloxera, which devastated the vineyards of France, is now kept in check. Entomologists study the life history of destructive insects for the benefit of cultivation; the microscope is turned upon the fungi and bacteria which sometimes injure, sometimes aid the growth of useful plants; and medical science is used for the benefit of the animals employed by man.

RESULTS

As I have said, in all countries of ancient occupation, such as our own, man has made the country hardly less than he has made the towns. If you know the Rockies or the Selkirks, and know also the Alps, you will recognise how man can tame even the mountain forests and the mountain pastures. Man has made England and remade it; and no greater transformation has ever taken place in our country than was seen between 1760 and 1860. Even the highways in 1760 were rough and rutted in dry weather, almost impassable in wet; and the traveller had the right to deviate into the fields when (as often happened) the main track was less inviting than the meadow or the ploughed field. The side roads and the field roads were unmetalled driftways. There are few farm roads of to-day that are not better than the highways of 1760. The old untidy common fields intersected with tracks and balks have given place to smooth arable, clean of weeds, and finely worked as a garden bed. The undrained commons and heaths, where undersized, untended cattle picked a scanty living, have become rich pastures or productive fields. Hedgerows and hedgerow trees make a pleasant pattern through the brown earth or among the green meadows. Our cottages are not always much to boast of, but only the most durable have survived, and those are at least beautiful to look upon; the miserable shacks

where the poor once lived have crumbled away. The landowners benefited by the industrial revolution, they benefited by the agricultural revolution. They have since fallen on evil days, but the parks which they laid out, the trees in which they took a pride, the mansions which they built, still survive, and help to make England through and through the most homelike comfortable country of the world. Up to 1870 it was also the best cultivated. It is still well cultivated, but since that time free trade, together with improved transport and the development of new lands beyond the sea, have brought hard times to the farmer and his landlord. The lead which England possessed has been lost; Germans and Belgians and Danes have worked out a new economy which does not seem to suit our people or our system. But the big farming with mechanical aids, which we invented, was found suitable to new countries where our countrymen have been pioneers. Our machines have been improved and made more powerful for the wide prairies of Canada and the United States. The cattle which we have bred enrich the ranches of North America; the sheep which we selected produce the wool of Australia and fill cold-storage vessels with their carcasses. Tea planting, coffee planting, rubber planting, with all their scientific and mechanical aids, are the natural sequence of the revolution started by Townshend, Bakewell, and Jethro Tull.

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

Science is that part of man's knowledge which has been brought into order and established by proof. So far as we know, the whole universe is one and homogeneous. We presume, therefore, that all knowledge is one, and explicable in accordance with the same principles. Every kind of knowledge is akin to every other, supports, supplements, and explains all other. It is only for convenience that we separate our knowledge into branches; no branch of science stands alone. Take history on the one hand, and physics on the other; no two branches of knowledge appear at first sight more alien to each other. History is the mass of ordered knowledge that we possess of the doings of mankind upon this globe; physics is the study of matter in special relation to those forms of energy which are evolved by matter and affect matter (heat, light, electricity, gravitation, and the like). We can consider man as a living being, without concerning ourselves at all with the means by which the energy of his body is produced or preserved. No chemical or physical analysis of Caesar would explain to us the forces of his mind or will. Yet the historian must ever have in mind that man is a physical phenomenon; that the chief part of the energy which he possesses or controls is derived directly or indirectly from the sun; that he is the creature of food and climate, that his action is limited by heat, cold, light, and gravitation, that his know-

ledge is bounded by his senses. And among the doings of mankind upon this globe perhaps the most important is the progressive extension of his knowledge of animate and inanimate nature. Again, for convenience we study Chemistry apart from Physics, but the more we learn the more clear it becomes that Chemistry cannot be understood without Physics or Physics without Chemistry. Life is a mystery, and we do well to study the basis and manifestations of life as a separate science; but when we have extended our knowledge of life to the walls of the living cell, we realise that at least some part of that mystery is hidden in the physical and chemical properties of the complex constituents which the cell can only liberate at its death.

MEANS OF OBSERVATION

Science is built up by three processes; systematic observation, careful experiment, and exact reasoning. Observation is limited by the senses, the results of experiment can be observed only by the senses, we can only reason from what we have observed, or others have observed. Therefore, the beginnings of modern science can be traced to those instruments by which our powers of observation are extended beyond the limits of our natural vision and feeling. I have noted, in Vol. II, on p. 291, as cardinal events in the history of human knowledge the invention of the microscope, the telescope, the thermometer,

the barometer. There are other cardinal inventions. The balance was invented before history; it was made to weigh gold and silver, cheese and butter; in the nineteenth century means of weighing have been improved until the chemist and the physicist can calculate with accuracy, not only the weight of gases lighter than air, of molecules and atoms, but even the mass of those electrons which are believed to be the infinitely small constituents of atoms. When a man first built a house, he needed a measure, and used his thumb, his span, his foot, or his cubit. The foot rule divided into inches was an advance. Now, with the micrometer and the vernier, he can divide an inch into ten thousand parts; he can reckon the size of the smallest bacillus that the microscope will show; and in industry he can estimate the size of his fitting to "half a thou." Geometry was invented to measure and plot out fields; with theodolites and artificial levels and delicate instruments for angular measurement, it can not only map the globe, but measure distances that can only be reckoned in thousands of years of the passage of light. A stop-watch graduated in tenths of a second is a useful instrument for reckoning the speed of a race-horse; but the astronomer can tell us with accuracy the speed of light—186,000 miles per second, and with somewhat less confidence will express his belief that no known form of energy can exceed that rate of motion. The spectroscope breaks up the ray of light into

its constituent modes of motion, some visible to the eye and some invisible; it enables us to distinguish the light emitted by one form of incandescent matter from that proceeding from another; thus it gives us power to perceive the various forms of matter that are burning in the sun or in the most distant stars, and to discriminate between the light of a receding and an advancing star. Heat can be recorded by gradations infinitely small and up to temperatures which would instantly dissolve any known form of matter.

On the improved accuracy and delicacy of all these aids to sense the extension of our knowledge is in the first place due.

UNIFYING PRINCIPLES

Man pursues knowledge for its own sake, and ever may he do so. I need not to justify the man who counts the facets of an insect's eye, who deciphers the hieroglyphs of Egypt, or the cuneiform inscriptions of the Euphrates valley. But even those who judge the value of all knowledge by its contributions to man's wealth and well-being have ceased to depreciate research, however disinterested. Even they know that the bye-products of disinterested science are telephones and telegraphs, a lowered death rate, new metallic compounds which work miracles, painless operations, automatic and semi-automatic machines, and a thousand other devices

that make wealth more abundant and life more tolerable. For such the desire of knowledge is justified by its by-products. But for the increase of man's comprehension of God's work, for the extension of his intellectual vision, those principles established by science which make for the unification of all knowledge are the most valuable. The greatest of these are found in physics, of which astronomy is a part. Newton first saw clearly the all pervasive force of gravitation, which draws all matter together in accordance with fixed laws. The verification of these laws by the observed movements of the earth and other heavenly bodies first justified the belief in a homogeneous universe, throughout which this principle—of gravitation—at least was valid; that belief has since been confirmed by spectroscopic and other observations; we may now be in sight of a theory which may explain how or why all matter should attract other matter; why its attraction should obey these laws. In the eighteenth century, Lavoisier, by greater accuracy of chemical measurement, came to the conclusion that though matter might assume different forms by chemical change, and enter into various combinations, its mass remained unchanged. On this hypothesis—that matter was indestructible—all subsequent chemical investigation was based; and it is not yet certain whether the discovery of radium need disturb the validity of Lavoisier's guess; though the behaviour of radium seems to refute

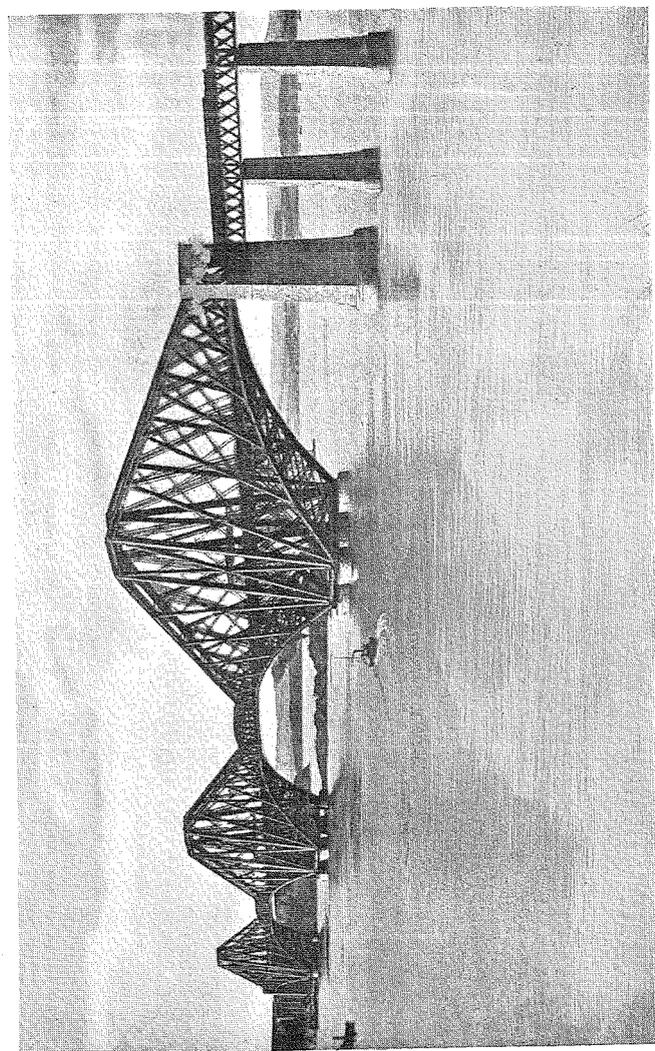
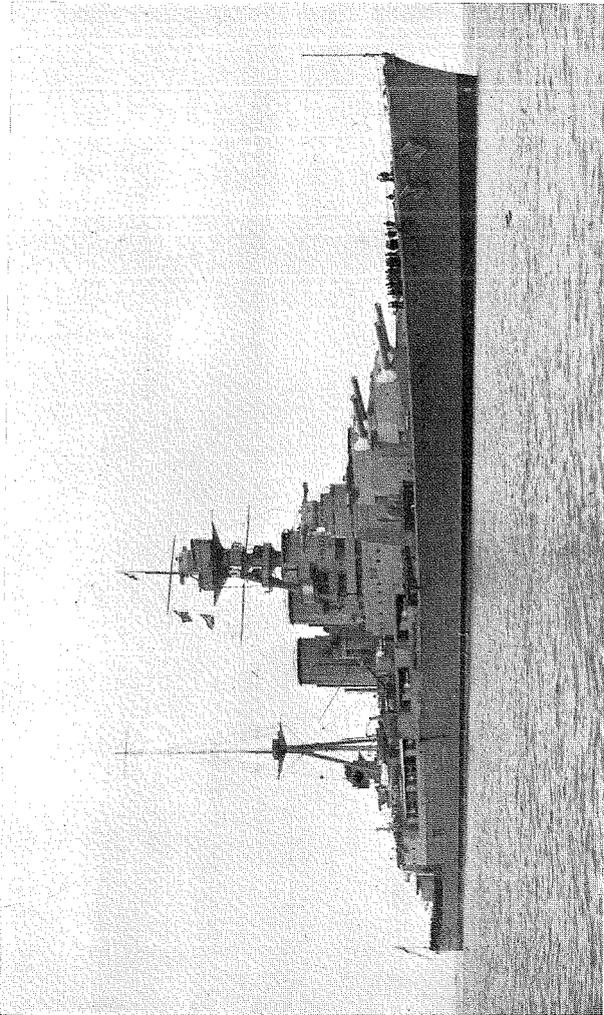


PLATE XXIV.



The Hood: battle-cruiser. 1918.

the further guess of Dalton, that every atom is indestructible and indissoluble. Following on the work of Newton, the reasonings and observations of Joule (1843), of Helmholtz (1847), and of Clerk Maxwell (1831-79), established a similar principle that energy (the power of doing work) is indestructible, which involved the recognition that heat, light, electricity, gravitation, etc., were all forms of energy, transformable one into the other under particular circumstances. Thus the energy evolved by burning a ton of coal can be used for central heating, for lighting a town, for driving an electric motor, or for lifting water from a mine; and the energy set free by the chemical action of oxygen upon the coal, so far as it does not reappear in heat, light, or motive power, can be otherwise accounted for; it is partly intercepted on the way by mechanical resistance and ultimately dissipated into space. Thus the heat of the sun is now commonly explained as arising from its own gravitational stress; this produces accelerated motion of its atoms, which is then radiated through the ether in the form of light and heat. That all these modes of energy are fundamentally identical is proved by their transformation one into another in constant ratios. To explain their action through empty space, their penetration of solid bodies, it has been found necessary to assume the existence of something, which fills all space, whether occupied by solid bodies or otherwise void, which has no weight, retards no motion, is

infinitely elastic, and transmits energy by its undulations. Such a substance transcends all our powers of observation; yet we need to postulate a medium to serve for the transmission of energy; without it, or something like it, the starry heavens would be black as Erebus. We call it Ether, and, so far as we can see, this all pervasive postulate, itself unchanged and unchangeable, is the basis of all being; the one eternal, of which all that we know is a manifestation. Congruent with this hypothesis are the suggestions recently advanced, and supported by the highest authority, that matter is energy and energy is matter; that the atom, lately assumed by modern science, as it was by Democritus and Lucretius, to be the ultimate and irreducible unit of matter and material substances in their several kinds, is itself a multitude, a whirling dance of little nodes of energy, little its which science can only describe as charges of positive or of negative electricity.

To this point of light or darkness we have arrived. No man just now can lead us further. There is a new world, the world of the infinitely minute, to be explored, which lies below, or above, or beyond, the chemistry of the elements, with their atomic weights, their chemical affinities and disparities, their molecular compounds, which especially in the constituents of living bodies display a marvellous intricacy. These Dalton, Mendeléeff, and their successors, have worked out, and on them the whole system of inorganic

and organic chemistry depends. The validity of that system is not shaken, whatever the atom may be. But if we accept the new physics we can no longer believe in the indestructible, indissoluble atom; the transmutation of elements becomes possible, if not probable; and those who look to science for the increase of man's mastery over the awful powers of nature may dream of the day when the energies imprisoned in the several atoms can be released, and diverted this way or that at the bidding of the chemical engineer. The energy of a single atom, on this hypothesis, may be small; but the energy of a pound of atoms, simultaneously released, might shift a mountain. We have already learned to dissolve a molecule by a fire or an impact; the forces thus released are, in high explosives, stupendous, but capable of control. Some day perhaps our internal combustion engines will be driven by the explosion of atoms. These are fanciful dreams, but they show how the range of man's imagination has been extended.

THE CELLULAR DOCTRINE OF LIFE

The intimate study of life has been illuminated by the microscope. By microscopic examination the cellular doctrine of life was established about 1838, and still holds good. The ultimate unit of life is the cell. The smallest living things, vegetable or animal, are single cells. To their class belong those microscopic

organisms, known from their shape as bacteria and cocci, many of which produce disease in animals or vegetables, though some are beneficent in their action. Some of the fungi breed alcohol, which may or may not be reckoned to their credit. Larger animals and plants originate from a single cell, commonly the result of the coalescence of two cells proceeding from the male and female of the species. In this cell lies the miracle of highly organised life. From its subdivision come the great variety of cells which compose a great part of our bodies, build up all the organs by which we maintain our life, and construct that part of our solid frame, such as the bony skeleton, which is not itself made up of living tissues. There is an infinity of cells in our body, each separately alive and propagating itself by subdivision, grouped in very many different classes, each producing different structures, performing different duties, and secreting different substances. Yet in the healthy body the due proportion of all the parts is strictly preserved according to the ancestral pattern. In the original cell—if anywhere in the body—must lie the hereditary impulse, which instructs its multitudinous offspring to produce, each after its own kind, all our tissues in due proportion, and to such a pattern that the child resembles one or other or both of its parents. This power of ordered and symmetrical evolution possessed by the germinal cell is to me the wonder of all wonders; it culminates when another cell,

descended from the original cell through many years of variation and subdivision, proceeds to initiate once more the predestined round. At the door of the cell our knowledge of life ends. We can see something inside the cell, but if we rupture its walls its life speedily becomes extinct, and changes no doubt at once supervene which frustrate examination of its inmost secrets.

EVOLUTION

The origin of life is to us unknown. So far as our knowledge extends, every living thing proceeds from some other living thing, and perpetuates with slight differences the pattern of its ancestors. But we firmly believe that there was an age when this world was so hot that no life such as we know could have existed. We therefore believe that life must have had a beginning on this globe; but no one can tell us how it began. It is open to anyone to believe that there was a creation, or that there were several creations in successive ages, or that creation is constantly proceeding. But since the eighteenth century men have been more and more convinced that the vegetable and animal world as we know it was not created at one time in its present patterns. Lamarck (1744-1829) was the first to argue that the present types of life were evolved from earlier types by hereditary succession with progressive modifications. He suggested that life on the world was subjected at different times

to very different conditions; that different conditions called for different development, which came by natural reaction; and that the new types as they arose were carried on by heredity, until further changes supervened. But his ideas received little attention and less approval in his own day. Geological research, as it proceeded, revealed that in different ages different forms of life existed. Some of the most ancient forms still survive; but whole races of plants and animals have disappeared, such as the huge lizards whose skeletons are found in the blue lias. Moreover, in the earlier periods animals such as the horse and the man are not found. Charles Darwin (1809-1882), who combined patient and persevering observation with the light of genius, put an ordered mass of relevant facts together in the *Origin of Species*, published in 1861. He assumed that since the beginning of life the working of heredity had been subject to an infinity of casual changes, and those changes which were favourable to the survival of the several races in the universal struggle for existence were perpetuated and inherited; those which were useless or disadvantageous died out. This principle, which determined the continuance or disappearance of each and all of the casual variations, he called Natural Selection. Some marks of species, such as the brilliant plumage of mating birds, he explained as results of a particular mode of Natural Selection—the perpetuation of any striking features which aided

one sex in winning the approbation of the other. Incidentally, he pointed out the close similarity of man in structure and conformation to some of the higher apes, and inferred kinship. His doctrines at once caught on; his disciples proclaimed them with zeal, and by many it was taken as proved that the whole variety of species on the globe was derived by progressive modification from unicellular life, and that the doctrine of Natural Selection was sufficient explanation of all the changes. On the other hand, the first chapters of Genesis were then taken by many as literally true, and those who believed that God at some historical moment had created man in his own image denounced Darwin and his followers as heretics, and others resented the suggestion that kinship with man should be claimed on behalf of the apes and other types of the "inferior creation." But the doctrine of modification of species in the course of descent convinced the world, though many now hold that Darwin's explanation of the manner and causes of change is far from adequate.

THE DOCTRINE OF NATURAL SELECTION

That there is an eternal struggle for existence, that the fittest do in some sort survive, is no doubt true, though it cannot be the whole of truth. It is not in itself a comforting doctrine; the struggle for existence seems a harsh and wasteful method for the improvement of God's

creation; the fittest who survive are not of necessity those who are most highly gifted or those who possess the most exalted qualities; they are those most fit for the environment, such as it may be; if evolution has produced the red deer, the eagle, and the lion, it has also produced and perpetuates the dung-beetle, the tape-worm, and the louse. Man makes his own environment, partly by his conscious effort, partly by his weakness, his neglect, and his apathy. If his environment be evil and sordid, those who survive will be suited thereto. It is in the power of us all to improve our own environment by our action and our example; if we succeed the pattern of man that persists will also be better.

But the central idea expressed in the word Evolution is of wide application, and of the life of man as seen in history it is clearly true—methods of cultivation, methods of warfare, methods of transport, arts and sciences, all proceed by continuous evolution, until by some accident a change takes place which extinguishes a mode of existence. Thus, civilisations—the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Roman—have grown up and perished, leaving, some little, some nothing, behind; while the Chinese, which is perhaps as old as any, still survives, with little change. The mark of the nineteenth century is the speeding up of evolution—agricultural, industrial, scientific, democratic; the societies in which this evolution has been most rapid have hitherto multiplied and thriven; but their hour

may also strike, and they may be numbered with the have-beens. The stone ages succeeded one another over many thousands of years; the bronze age was succeeded by the iron age; the pastoral age was followed by the agricultural; commerce has increased, and again it has shrunk; arts have been invented, have been lost, and have been invented again; but in no age has the world changed so rapidly and completely as in the nineteenth century. In no direction has it changed so greatly as in the extension of knowledge, and the immense new fields open to the exploration of reason and intuition.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATION

From these results of the patient investigation of thousands, the disciplined reason of many, and the intuitive genius of a few, we must pass to another province of knowledge. The nineteenth century all but completed the work begun by Columbus. Our knowledge of the world depends upon our means of transport, the previous knowledge which we bring to the observation of new areas, and the accuracy of our means of measurement and calculation. Columbus discovered America; Cortes and Pizarro conquered great tracts of South America; the American continent was extensively populated before it was discovered by Europeans, and great civilisations had arisen there and perished. But America could not be known as a whole until one

race had explored it. This task fell to the white race. That race was inflamed with a glowing desire for knowledge, profit, and adventure, each separately and all together. It commanded all the powers and devices for travel which experience and invention had suggested, and all the ordered knowledge of a scientific age. The deserts of Africa had been seamed by caravans since the beginnings of history; every part of it was known, not only to its inhabitants but to travellers and merchants and slave traders in some degree; but Africa was not known as a whole till Bruce and Mungo Park, Livingston and Stanley, Samuel Baker, Burton, Speke, and Grant, and many more of many races, had brought its knowledge within the range of western ideas. The exploration of Australia alone would make a book. The same is true of Asia. Our knowledge of China as a whole dates from the nineteenth century; parts of Asia, especially Tibet, are still imperfectly explored; but there, as elsewhere, neither climate or distance, not rivers, deserts, mountains, or hostile inhabitants, have been able to exclude the European. The seas and oceans of the world have been mapped, and charted, and sounded; the ice caps of the north and south have been attacked, until both the North Pole (1909) and the South Pole (1912) have been reached. Thus, within a century our knowledge of the whole globe, which in 1800 was but local and partial, has been linked up in every direction.

Geography is not a single science; it is the meeting ground of all the sciences; the physicist, the chemist, the geologist, the botanist, the entomologist, the historian, the archæologist, the philologist, the ethnologist, and the anthropologist, all find their material on the surface of this globe, and all make their contribution to the ordered whole of geographical science. Thus the completer exploration of four continents supplies matter for every science; and in this extension of the field for scientific observation British zeal and genius have been always in the forefront.

THINGS OMITTED

I have long since exceeded the limits originally proposed for this volume; nevertheless, I am forced to omit much that is worthy of note, much that in earlier volumes I have been able to treat. The nineteenth century is more fully recorded than any, the horizon is far wider, the general rate of development far more rapid, the complexity and variety of our interests more widely extended. Moreover, in past ages movements can be judged by their results; there is hardly one of the movements of the nineteenth century of which one can say—this was its aim, this was its conclusion. Again, hardly any movement is complete within the limits of this island; if it starts here, it has its reactions abroad, and waves of force come back to us from distant countries. The industrial revolution began here, but we cannot

consider it as a British problem ; world commerce brings in all the world ; and our action in such a matter as the engineers' strike cannot be decided on British grounds alone, but by our position in world commerce. Therefore I have not been able to touch on literature, art, architecture, sports, or clothing ; one of the most remarkable differences, to my mind, between the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century is the abandonment by the adult male of the elegant and vivid costume which in almost all ages he has affected, and the adoption of a plain, sober, and unpretentious uniform, which blurs his outline and adds neither colour nor dignity to his aspect. Meanwhile, his wife and his sweetheart have at no time abated anything in the various means adopted to accentuate their charms. These and other interesting subjects I must leave undiscussed and undescribed. Each and all of them form part of the history of our people, as expressing the inward changes of the few creative minds and of the multitude with whom they shared a common atmosphere. I regret that they cannot be included in my survey.

CONCLUSION

The industrial, agricultural, and scientific revolutions were nearly synchronous, and were similar in their manner of evolution. Each began with cardinal discoveries of one or more individuals, each was slow in its early develop-

ment, each gained momentum by degrees, until the whole world was involved. The industrial and agricultural revolutions began in this country ; the industrial revolution affected the internal economy chiefly of Britain, the United States, Germany, and France ; the agricultural improvements made in Britain were adopted also by the various countries of Europe, but they were carried further and utilised on the greatest scale in new countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and parts of South America, where there were great expanses of fertile and uncultivated land. The changes in transport slowly brought about by mechanical invention and the use of coal for power made the whole world one market, and mingled the products of every climate in one pool for general use. The scientific revolution was greatly aided and accelerated by mechanical devices for extending the scope of sense observation and estimating the magnitude of things observed. In the later days of the industrial revolution the aid of science for the improvement of industrial processes has been and is more and more valued. All three work in and out together, as iron, coal, and steam have acted and reacted upon each other in the development of industry. All three together have led to profound social and political changes in the countries most affected, and no area has resisted their influence, not the religions and the castes and the customs of India, not the prehistoric civilisation of China, nor the barbarous

regions and races placed under the tropical or the Equatorial sun, in Africa, New Guinea, or Malaya.

FOR REFERENCE

Professor L. C. A. Knowles. "The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century."

R. E. Prothero (Lord Ernle). "English Farming, Past and Present."

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A FEW DATES TO GUIDE THE READER

- 1740 Accession of Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia.
 1756-63 Seven Years' War. England at war with France.
 1757 Clive takes Calcutta and Chandernagore.
 1758 Clive Governor of Bengal.
 1759 Wolfe victorious at Quebec.
 1760 Accession of George III.
 1763 Peace of Paris between England and France. The thirteen American Colonies freed from the French danger.
 1765 Clive Governor of Bengal for the second time. Stamp Act for the American Colonies. Watt constructs a steam engine.
 1767 Act for import duties in America. Hargreaves invents the spinning jenny.
 1773-85 Warren Hastings Governor-General of India.
 1773 Boston tea riots.
 1774 Louis XVI King of France.
 1775 Skirmishes at Lexington and Bunker Hill.
 1776 American Declaration of Independence.
 1778 France in alliance with the American Colonies.
 1782 Watt improves the steam engine.
 1783 Treaty of Versailles. American Independence recognised.
 1784 Pitt's India Act.
 1789 American Constitution comes into force. The States General of France meet.
 1791 French Constitution voted. Legislative Assembly of France meets.
 1793 Louis XVI executed. War declared on England by French Republic. July 10th, Great Committee of Public Safety set up.
 1794 Fall of Robespierre (July).
 1794-5 The French occupy the Low Countries.
 1795 The Directory set up. Oct., Bonaparte aids in the suppression of a rising in Paris.
 1796-7 Bonaparte in Italy.
 1798 Bonaparte in Egypt. Battle of the Nile. Rebellion in Ireland.
 1799 Napoleon first Consul.
 1800 Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
 1801 Battle of Copenhagen.

- 1802-18 Mahratta Wars.
 1804 Napoleon Emperor of the French
 1805 Battle of Trafalgar. Death of Nelson.
 1806 Death of William Pitt the Younger.
 1808 Sir John Moore dies at Corunna.
 1809 Sir Arthur Wellesley takes up the command in the Peninsula.
 1810 Wellesley at Torres Vedras.
 1814 Paris occupied by the Allies. Napoleon abdicates.
 1815 March, Napoleon returns. June 18th, Battle of Waterloo. Napoleon abdicates again. Restoration of French monarchy. English Corn Law passed. Steamship runs from London to Glasgow.
 1817 Bentham writes on Parliamentary Reform and Ricardo on Political Economy.
 1819 Riot severely repressed at Manchester. Six Acts against political disaffection. Currency reformed.
 1820 George III dies. George IV succeeds.
 1824-5 Combination Laws relaxed and remodelled.
 1825 Railway from Stockton to Darlington opened.
 1829 Peel's Police Acts. Catholic Emancipation passed.
 1830 George IV dies. William IV succeeds. Revolution in Paris. Louis Philippe King.
 1830-4 German Zollverein completed.
 1832 First British Reform Act.
 1833 Slavery abolished in British possessions. Child-labour restricted.
 1834 New Poor Law.
 1835 Municipal Corporation Act.
 1837 Victoria Queen on death of William IV.
 1838 Lord Durham Governor-General of Canada.
 1843 Sind conquered.
 1845-9 Sikh Wars.
 1846 Corn Laws repealed.
 1848 Second French Republic set up.
 1852 Louis Napoleon Emperor of the French.
 1854-6 Crimean War
 1857-9 Indian Mutiny.
 1859-61 New Kingdom of Italy set up.
 1861 Charles Darwin publishes *The Origin of Species*.
 1861-5 American Civil War.
 1862 Bismarck chief Minister of Prussia.
 1864 Danish War.
 1866 Austro-Prussian War.
 1867 Disraeli's Reform Act.
 1868-74 Gladstone Prime Minister.
 1870-1 Franco-Prussian War.
 1870 Napoleon III abdicates. Third French Republic. British Law for General Education. Army Reforms.

- 1874 Disraeli Prime Minister.
 1877 Parnell begins his agitation for Home Rule.
 1877-8 Russo-Turkish War.
 1878-81 Afghan War.
 1879 Zulu War. Land League in Ireland. Agricultural depression begins.
 1880 Gladstone Prime Minister.
 1881 First Boer War. Irish Land Act.
 1882 Egyptian War. Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy.
 1885 Death of Gordon. Salisbury Prime Minister. Franchise extended in the Counties.
 1886 Gladstone Prime Minister again. Home Rule split. Salisbury Prime Minister.
 1887 First Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
 1888 William II German Emperor. Local Government Act.
 1889 British South Africa Company formed. Fall of Parnell. Alliance of France and Russia.
 1892 Gladstone Prime Minister.
 1893 Second Home Rule Bill rejected by the Lords.
 1894 War between China and Japan. Gladstone resigns. Lord Rosebery Prime Minister.
 1895 Salisbury Prime Minister. Jameson raid on the Transvaal.
 1896 Dongola occupied by Kitchener.
 1897 Second Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
 1898 The Sudan conquered.
 1899-1902 Second Boer War.
 1900 Commonwealth of Australia created.
 1901 Queen Victoria dies. Edward VII King.
 1902 Balfour Prime Minister. Treaty of Alliance of Great Britain with Japan.
 1903 Chamberlain starts Tariff Reform campaign. Irish Land Purchase Act.
 1904 French and British Agreement.
 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War.
 1905 Campbell-Bannerman Prime Minister. Labour Party formed in Parliament.
 1908 Young Turk Revolution in Turkey. Austria annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina. Asquith Prime Minister. Old Age Pensions.
 1909 Federation of British South Africa. Lords throw out Finance Bill.
 1910 Death of King Edward VII. Accession of George V. Parliament Act thrown out.
 1911 Parliament Act passed. Salaries for Members of Parliament. Morocco under French Protectorate.
 1911-12 Italy at war with Turkey.
 1912-13 Balkan Wars.
 1914 Acts passed for Welsh Disestablishment and Home Rule.

- 1914-18 Great War.
 1916-22 Mr. Lloyd George Prime Minister.
 1918 Nov. 11th, Armistice with Germany. General Election
 (women voting). Coalition Ministry.
 1919 Congress of Versailles.
 1921 Treaty with Ireland.
 1922 Mr. Lloyd George resigns.

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