Canada, the healthy outdoor life led here among the sheep farms and the goldfields has produced in all these lands a peculiarly hardy, independent stock. The Australians and New Zealanders carry their heads high and will take commands from no man. England has been wise, if indeed the choice were hers, to drive so spirited a team upon an easy rein.

South Africa and the Boers.—If Australia's problems have been simple and clearcut, very different have been the problems of South Africa; for two fresh elements there entered in, which served greatly to complicate the issue—first, the existence of a large native population, outnumbering the white men even now by six to one, and, second, the settlement previous to England's own of Dutch immigrants from Europe. Between these Dutchmen, the natives, and the English there has been a continuous three-cornered struggle. The blacks, however, once the white man came, were doomed sooner or later to fall beneath his yoke; and the real antagonism has lain, in fact, between the political ideals of the two races of white immigrants. The Dutchmen, backward, conservative, and grasping, have desired to exploit the natives to the full, robbing them of their liberty at the same time as their land and using them to all intents and purposes as slaves. British representatives, upon the other hand, have at least desired to give the natives justice; and, though England has gradually absorbed their territory, this policy has more often than not been forced upon her by the necessity of preserving them from the Dutchman's harder yoke. Thus the British advance from the Cape upwards has been faltering and—one may almost say—involuntary; and the vacillations of the Government at home, however honourable in their intention, have not infrequently proved disastrous in the result.

It was slightly more than half-way through the seventeenth century that the Dutch established their station at the Cape, using it mainly as a port of call for India. But, as time went on, the settlement increased, swelled simultaneously by fresh emigrants from Holland and by Huguenots from France. Then, during England's great French wars and when Holland itself became Napoleon's pawn, England seized the Cape; and in 1815 the terms of the peace treaty made it hers. The Dutch colonists, or Boers as we shall henceforth call them, became thus the subjects of the British Crown; England gave them such rights as her own colonists enjoyed; and, had they seen eye to eye with the British upon the native question, all would have been well; but they did not. They were horrified and indignant when in 1828 England extended civil rights to all natives residing within the British border. Their anger was increased when in 1833 England passed the famous law emancipating slaves; and, though the Boer slave-owners received some compensation for their loss, they could not understand, still less forgive, the philanthropy which caused it. The last straw came in 1834, when the annexation of some Kaffir country east of Cape Town, which had been effected by the local governor and which suited exactly the policy of the Boers, was countermanded by the Government in London.

Two years later, their deep resentment took an unexpected shape, which has changed the whole history of South Africa. For a large number, though not all, of these infuriated farmers made up their minds to quit. They packed their goods and chattels upon wagons, put in their wives and families along with them, said a last farewell to their old homes, cracked their whips, set the oxen in motion, and disappeared into the north. Across the Orange River some came to a halt and settled down; others pressed farther north across the Vaal. At such a distance from the Cape they fancied themselves free from British interference, and here at least hoped to have it their own way with the surrounding tribes. The "Great Trek," as it was called, raised up a thorny problem for the British Government. Even in their new and distant domicile England began by claiming these truants as subjects of the Crown. In the early fifties she reversed that policy, giving their freedom to the twin Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State, and only making a proviso that they should not enslave the natives. But a Boer's pledge is lightly given; and England was soon to find that his tactics had not changed. Bad tales came down of his high-handed methods, which greatly disturbed the conscience of British rulers, shrinking as they did from further annexation, yet feeling in part responsible for what went on.

Zulu and Boer Wars.—In 1868 England had to intervene between the Boers and the Basutos, with the result that Basutoland became a protectorate of her own. In 1876 she found the Boers once more making trouble with the Zulus; and, fearful of the consequences were this warlike tribe let loose upon white colonists, she decided that the dangerous farce must end. So the Transvaal Republic was annexed to the British Crown. But the step brought England no peace. For more than thirty years her settlers had been pushing up the eastern coastline and occupying the long district called Natal. This province now impinged upon the Zulu country; and, though hitherto their tribesmen had been friendly towards English people, they much resented England's new action in taking their other neighbours and old enemies, the Boers, under her own protection—for that is how the annexation had appeared to them. In any case, after a year or two they rose. The British meagre forces were hard put to it to cope with them. One battalion was surrounded at a place called Isandhlwana and perished to a man. In the heroic battle of Rorke's Drift British defence was more successful; but it took a force ten thousand strong from England to put the Zulus in their place.

Nor was this bad affair long over when fresh trouble burst upon England. The Boers had gradually been working up for war. They had taken great affront at England's seizure of the district around Kimberley, where she claimed the famous diamond fields in 1871; and, now that their liberty was once more taken from them, they felt their case to be intolerable. A promise had been made indeed of giving them self-government; but nothing came of it; the authorities at home still dallied

with the notion; and in 1881 the Boers were up. The *commandos* gathered. The British garrisons in the Transvaal were cut off; and presently the British officer-in-chief, named Sir George Colley, in attempting to move northwards from Natal to their relief, was overwhelmed. Beaten back with heavy losses at Laing's Neck, he was surrounded shortly after at Majuba Hill; and the whole of his small force was either killed or captured. This disaster brought about a critical situation; and England stood now, as it were, at the parting of the ways. Mr. Gladstone, who

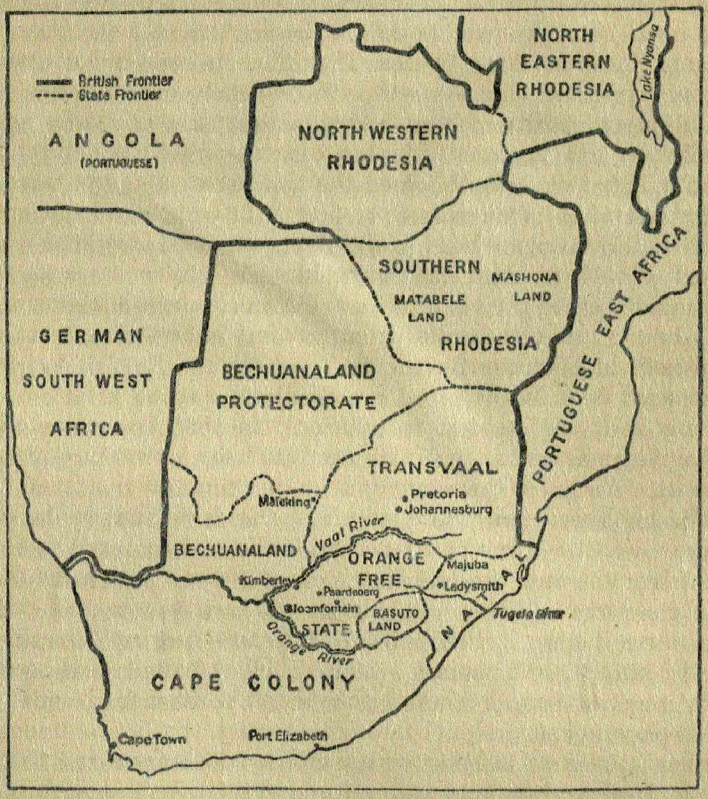


FIG. 54.—BRITISH EXPANSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

was then in power, had long been pondering in his elusive soul on the problems of Boer freedom. On entering office he had announced his firm intention of retaining the Republic under British rule. Before Majuba he had averred his readiness to treat about the question. After Majuba he threw up the sponge and gave the Boers their liberty. It was a rash concession; and it worked out ill. Elated by the triumph of their arms, the Boers took heart anew. Their President, Paul Kruger, was ambitious for his race. He saw a vision of the Boer Republics extending a powerful influence beyond their borders, repeating perhaps their recent feats of arms, and establishing—who knew if it were too

much to hope—a Dutch South Africa. Such was Paul Kruger's dream, and he prepared.

Rhodes' Forward Policy.—Meanwhile, the British residents in the Cape and other provinces had grown apace. The Kaffirs had long since been fought into submission. The Colony had become self-governing and was fast becoming rich: and there were many powerful merchants who had made their pile and who realized well enough the value of a British South Africa to themselves. One who was also rich, but who set England before riches, saw possibilities of a still grander sort, and dreamt of an Empire which should stretch beyond the Cape, beyond the Orange River and the Transvaal States, and reach into the dim and unexplored interior of the north. That man was Cecil Rhodes. This son of a Hertfordshire parson had gone out as a boy, with nothing in his pocket, to grow cotton in Natal. On the discovery of the diamond mines at Kimberley he had joined the general rush; and there, by sheer industry and force of character, he had built up a commanding position for himself. He became head of De Beers Consolidated Mines, and grew fabulously wealthy. But wealth for its own sake was not his goal. To him it was the mere means of securing a nobler cause, the cause he had most at heart. In his successive wills—and he made many—he always left the bulk of his huge fortune in trust for the British Empire's use; and no sooner was his financial position well secured than he bethought him of his ideal and turned to politics. In 1880 he took a seat in the Cape Parliament; and now it was that his work of territorial expansion was begun. He knew the country and he knew the tribes, as few other British knew them; and, as a result, he was frequently employed on commissions to the natives. In 1883 he was dispatched northwest to deal with the chiefs of Bechuanaland; and his persuasive influence there won England the addition of an enormous new protectorate. His next mission carried him farther still to Matabeleland, which lies north of Bechuana and the Transvaal. Here a chief called Lobengula was a powerful potentate; and it was resolved to approach him with a demand for trade concessions.

Rhodes' power of dealing with natives was astounding. Once, with a few companions, but unarmed and unescorted, he went into a campful of unfriendly warriors armed to the very teeth; there won the chieftain over by dint of argument, and ended by reading the fellow a stiff lecture upon the error of his ways. With Lobengula he wrestled hard and long; but in the end he triumphed and won the King's consent. A chartered company was licensed to exploit the land's resources; and in 1890 an official expedition was sent up country to install it. The Matabele subjects of King Lobengula were highly suspicious of this foreign influx; and, respecting their alarm, the British first occupied Mashonaland, which lies away to east of them. Further expansion, however, was inevitable; and, war breaking out a few years later, England occupied the Matabele country too. The whole enormous district which Rhodes' policy thus won was christened, after him, Rhodesia. "Equal rights for

every civilized man south of the Zambesi" had been the watchword of Rhodes' enterprise. The Zambesi had now been reached. In 1890 Rhodes himself had become Prime Minister of the Cape; the future of South Africa lay in his hands; and the only obstacle which stood across his path and checked the realization of his great ambition was the hostile attitude of the two Boer Republics. They, unfortunately, did not believe in equal rights for every civilized man—still less did they believe in what we call liberty and progress. Rhodes knew them well; but with a true statesman's breadth of vision he desired to see them work along with England towards the common goal of a civilized South Africa. To this end he cultivated a friendly understanding with such Boers as had remained within British borders. He approached the Orange Free State with great schemes for laying railways and for opening up the country. He even wasted time in argument with Kruger. But the latter was as obstinate as only a Boer can be. He refused to let a railway cross his frontier. He tried to block the fords and thus sever all contact with the commerce of the Cape. His resistance in due time was overborne; but his attitude of hatred and suspicion was maintained. He was still playing with the dream of an all-Dutch South Africa; but not less obstinately was Rhodes resolved that, if South Africa was to belong to anyone at all, it was to be British and not Dutch—and the hour of decision was now near.

II

Unionist Government's Imperialism.—Such, then, was the legacy of Empire—pregnant no doubt with many anxious problems, yet on the whole secure and firmly knit—with which the British Government of the nineties was entrusted. In 1886, after the first Home Rule Bill and the fall of Gladstone, the Conservatives, or (as they now preferred to call themselves) the Unionists, had taken office. Lord Salisbury was their Premier, and they had an immense majority; but their achievements had scarcely been equal to their promise. They had arranged the celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee, passed a Bill creating County Councils, made national education free of charge, reduced the National Debt, and disappeared. For the General Election of 1892 had returned Gladstone once again to power. He failed, as we have seen, in his second effort to grant Home Rule to Ireland; then handed the reins of office to his Foreign Secretary, Lord Rosebery, and retired. Lord Rosebery had struggled on for eighteen months, but never passed a single vital Bill, though he framed many. The fact is that the Liberals were played out and the country was aware of it; and in 1895 the Unionists came back. This time Lord Salisbury included in his Cabinet one prominent seceder from the Liberal ranks, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Gladstonian policies, and above all the Gladstonian policy for Ireland, had converted this Birmingham manufacturer into an ardent Unionist and a champion of the Imperialist ideal. The new Government indeed was strongly

pledged, not merely to maintain at any cost the Irish Union, but to knit up the Colonies with whatever ties might serve to bind them closer to England. For the British public was now conscious of its destiny. It had lost all sympathy for Gladstone's squeamish conscience; it felt no qualms about "rising nationalities" in distant lands. On the contrary, it was very earnestly convinced that the British Empire was the world's greatest instrument for good; and it desired no better policy than to cast the net more widely. Men and women were beginning to attend lectures on the subject of the Colonies and to put it into books to teach their children. The most popular poet of the day was Rudyard Kipling, who trumpeted in verse the glories of dominion and sang of the white man's heavy burden in governing the black. Clearly the Salisbury Government had a mandate to go forward boldly on their course; and when the moment came, they did not fail.

The opportunity of making good their purpose came first in the Sudan. Egypt had been reformed with swift efficiency under the able administration of Lord Cromer; the corrupt and despotic methods of the old Mohammedan régime had been abolished; the irrigation of the fertile valley of the Nile made rapid progress; Egypt throve, as she had never thriven since the day the Romans left her fifteen centuries before. But in the Sudan things were different. There the Mahdi's successor proved no better than the Mahdi; and the wild fanatic Dervishes made frequent raids on the lands of Southern Egypt. The reconquest of what Gladstone had abandoned was imperative. A trained Egyptian army was to hand. British regiments were drafted out to stiffen them; Kitchener was sent to organize the expedition, and he did it to perfection. In the heavy battle of Omdurman the Dervishes fought like men possessed. But the steady discipline of Kitchener's force was too much for these ill-armed savages. Khartoum was entered and the Sudan occupied. At the eleventh hour indeed there arose a crisis which bade fair to mar England's triumph. At Fashoda, near Khartoum, there suddenly appeared a small French force under Colonel Marchand, which had made its way overland from the far-distant Congo, and which aggressively claimed the South Sudan for France. The British Government stood firm, while Paris blustered; and the claim was eventually withdrawn. It was as well; for within a twelve-month England was involved in a struggle at the other end of Africa for which her full energies were needed.

Jameson Raid and Kruger's Plans.—For England's relations with the Transvaal were now strained to breaking-point; and the situation which had developed there was this. In 1886 goldfields had been discovered in the neighbourhood of what is now Johannesburg. The usual rush of adventurers had followed; and a large local population of British nationality had thus settled down under the Boer régime. As might have been expected, they were treated with hostility and insolence. They were bled white by taxes which were out of all proportion and which provided nineteen-twentieths of the whole Boer revenue. At the same

time all share in the country's political life was obstinately denied to them. They were not even allowed to have a vote. In short, the lot of these so-called "Uitlanders" was quite intolerable; and the Boer, intent on keeping his own country to himself, meant that it should be so. By 1895, however, the patience of the Uitlanders was exhausted, and a plot was set on foot for a great rising. At the last moment their courage failed them, and the rising was called off. But Dr. Jameson, the Matabeleland Commissioner, resolved on a bold stroke, and, collecting six hundred horsemen from his province, he rode upon Pretoria. This "Raid," as it was called, proved a ludicrous fiasco; but it did endless harm. It brought about the fall of Cecil Rhodes, who had given secret backing to the project. It aggravated the Uitlanders' condition; and it stiffened the resolve of the Boer President, Paul Kruger, to push the issue with Great Britain to the test of arms.

The Boer War.—His calculations, though at many points ill-founded, were not so crazy as appeared upon first sight. He believed he would get help from England's European rivals; but, though the Kaiser wired his congratulations on the defeat of Jameson's Raid, expressions of sympathy were all that Kruger got when the hour of reckoning came. No less erroneously, as the sequel was to prove, he counted on the co-operation of those fellow-Boers who still resided within the borders of Cape Province; very few fulfilled his hope. But, even without such external aids as these, the Boers were no despicable force. They had the advantage of long preparation; their farmer-soldiers were well mounted and armed with Mauser rifles. Siege guns had secretly been smuggled in from Europe; and, above all, they knew their country like a book. The British Government, in fact, had no conception with what kind of enemy they had to deal; but, ignorant or no of the Boer's fighting strength, they were determined to put him in his place. Mr. Chamberlain, as Colonial Secretary, and Sir Alfred Milner, as Governor of the Cape, undertook negotiations; but they were foredoomed to failure from the start. For there could now be no turning back. It was not perhaps a very glorious posture for a country like Great Britain to be threatening and browbeating two diminutive Republics; nor were the commercial magnates, who pressed hotly for strong measures, a particularly high-minded or disinterested lot. Yet the Boers themselves had long since made clear the issue. South Africa could count on neither peace nor progress so long as their wilful obstruction blocked the way. They left England little choice but to go forward. To have gone back would have been to ruin all; and, if with foreign nations England incurred the charge of unsportsmanlike behaviour, there were few who had a right to cast the stone at her. In October of 1899 Kruger's ultimatum reached England and she was at war with both Republics.

The opening stages of the three years' struggle were a severe shock to British confidence. England had badly underestimated her foe. In a brief time the Boers had taken the offensive. In the west they had invested British outlying stations, Mafeking and Kimberley. On the

south they had crossed the Orange River and invaded the Cape frontier. On the east—and this was their most determined effort—they had swept into Natal. Here British defence broke down disastrously; and after a series of forlorn engagements Sir George White was locked up in Ladysmith. Reserves, however, had been gathering at Cape Town, and Sir Redvers Buller, now England's *generalissimo*, was preparing to strike back. Most unhappily, though for a variety of reasons, he attempted to strike in three places at a time, and the result was three defeats. Lord Methuen in the west, while trying to reach Kimberley, was badly cut up on the hills of Magersfontein. Gatacre, sent to engage the invaders of Cape Colony, was led astray by guides on a night march and his men surprised into a panic. Buller himself, who had moved east into Natal, was checked in front of the Tugela River. Neither the general nor the soldiers under him were as yet familiar with the new conditions under which they fought. The Boers took cover with the skill of seasoned veterans; and when Buller moved against them in a front-to-front attack, British ranks, which were insufficiently deployed, afforded an easy target to an invisible foe. Buller's loss on the Tugela was not, in fact, excessive; but his repulse disheartened him; and, though the garrison of Ladysmith was sorely pressed, he refused to risk another battle. The news of these three defeats, reaching London in December, filled the British public with unfeigned alarm. But "Black Week," as it was called, undoubtedly provided the stimulus to effort that England needed. Troops were poured out to Cape Town. New corps of volunteers were hurriedly enrolled. Even the Colonies prepared to find contingents. And, most significant of all, the veteran Lord Roberts was sent out as *generalissimo* with Kitchener himself as chief of staff.

Lord Roberts' arrival in South Africa worked marvels. He reversed the whole strategy of Redvers Buller; and, while the latter was kept hammering on the Tugela River, England's main concentration was directed to the west. Here, covering Kimberley, lay Cronje's army; its size was not considerable, and, thanks to the secrecy of Roberts' movements, no steps had been taken to reinforce it. When all was ready, Sir John French's cavalry swept north round Cronje's flank and raised the siege of Kimberley. The infantry meanwhile struck in towards Bloemfontein, and, fearing for his communications with the Free State capital, Cronje was soon upon the run. He was rounded up at a place called Paardeberg and surrendered with fully four thousand men. Meanwhile, but only in the nick of time, Sir Redvers Buller had broken past the Boers on the Tugela and pushed up to Ladysmith. The garrison was half-starving when the relief arrived; but they had done their work. Their defence had occupied a large containing army and so helped to pave the way for the successes in the west. Thus, beaten in two theatres, the Boers' resistance collapsed suddenly. In March of 1900 Lord Roberts made his entry into the Free State capital. Dispatching a flying column to the relief of Baden-Powell up at Mafeking, he then himself proceeded against Pretoria. The Boers' now scattered forces

on a few local triumphs, but the main issue no longer stood in doubt. On 5 June the Transvaal capital was entered; and in November Lord Roberts sailed for home.

But the war was not yet over. The Boers, as we have shown, were stubborn fighters, and, what is more, they were slim folk to catch. There followed a long period of guerrilla warfare, with which at first it was difficult to cope. Treachery, too, often made the British task more arduous. A group of Boers would frequently surrender and deliver up their guns; then, when their opponents' backs were turned, they were out into the field again. The rolling uplands of the open veldt were ideal ground for stratagem; and the elusive tactics of such leaders as de Wet baffled English men's pursuit. England had long since learnt that in this sort of country one mounted man was of more use than ten on foot; but now it required the organizing genius of a Kitchener to devise effective methods of rounding up the foe. The end, in fact, did not come into sight till an elaborate block-house system was erected. Encircling lines were drawn round the disaffected areas; and "drives" were instituted to hunt the enemy bands. At length, perceiving that the game was up, the Boers surrendered in the June of 1902. Their country was, of course, annexed by England. But for the rest the terms were generous. England allowed them the use of the Dutch language in their schools; she spent five million pounds on the resettling of their farmers; and, above all, she pledged her word at a convenient date to grant them the privilege of self-government. That pledge was kept; for in 1906, not five years after hostilities were over, they received the status of Dominion Colonies. In 1910, with Natal and the Cape province, they were knit into a federated Union; and the first Prime Minister of the Union Parliament was General Botha, who had led them against England in the field. Thus, if the war was indeed England's fault—and this, when all is said, is very doubtful—she has at least atoned for it by an act of generosity unparalleled in the history of the world.

Problem of Imperial Constitution.—In the opening days of 1901, and before the war was over, Queen Victoria died. She had maintained to the last her vivid interest in the affairs of State; and her wise discretion in the use of royal power had greatly endeared her to the people whom she ruled. Not without cause the wonderful developments which her long reign had witnessed were in some measure identified with her; and men felt prophetically that the great period of success which England had enjoyed during her lifetime might indeed be needed with the close of it. Nevertheless, whatever troubles were eventually in store, things for a while went well. The Queen was succeeded by her eldest son, King Edward, a popular sovereign and a master of diplomacy and tact. The Unionist Ministry, which had begun the war, saw it safely through to a successful end; indeed, the enthusiasm which the campaign aroused had enabled the party to secure a new lease of office. At the General Election of 1900—the Khaki Election it is often called—the rallying cry of the Empire and the Flag had swept the polls; and the

Unionists came back under Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour's leadership with a large majority. Great opportunities were opened out before them. They had appealed to the spirit of a united world-dominion; and the answer had surpassed their fondest hope. Not merely had the people of Great Britain shouldered with a will the heavy task they had undertaken in South Africa; but the great self-governing dependencies—Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Newfoundland—had stood by the mother-country at her need, proving their loyalty by the sacrifice of their sons. On such a foundation there was building to be done; but the responsibilities involved were great.

One important problem soon emerged. The military needs of an Empire scattered broadcast through every quarter of the globe were thrown into a strong light by the events of the late war; and not unnaturally the great Dominions began to consider anxiously the question of defence. New Zealand and Australia were soon ordering battleships—a step of which Great Britain could scarcely but approve. Yet here was raised a problem which no one had thought out. If on their own intiative the Colonies prepare for war, on whose authority, it might be asked, do the Colonies then make it? The answer was, of course, that the Empire's foreign policy lay in the hands of England; but if England's authority could thus involve the Colonies, then it followed that clearly some political machinery was needed whereby to keep her Government acquainted with their views. Now, in point of fact, such machinery was growing, but it had not developed far. In 1887, the year of the Queen's Jubilee, a Colonial Conference was held in London, attended by the Premiers of the self-governing States and by representatives from India. The experiment was successful and the Conference was repeated, until now it has come to be regularly held at four-year intervals. No steps, however, have as yet been taken to give this important body constitutional powers. Its discussions are to a large extent informal. Its decisions are not binding; and, whatever policies the delegates advise, it still rests with the British Government to treat such recommendations as it pleases. Thus the self-governing rights of the Dominions remain still incomplete. In most important matters they are true masters of their destiny. They settle their own commercial tariffs; and in the business of taxation and administration England never interferes. Even the right to regulate the flow of immigration has been left to them; and the Australian Government, for instance, is determined to exclude yellow labour from their country. But in the all-important questions of peace and war the Dominions have, theoretically at least, no voice; and, as one colonial Premier has complained, he himself has had less say in the Imperial policy than if he had stayed at home as a citizen of England and exercised his Parliamentary vote.

Tariff Reform Mooted.—Such then was the situation at the close of the Boer war. The opportunity was offered; but whether or no the time was ripe for setting up an Imperial Constitution is difficult to say. The Colonies themselves were jealous of their free-

dom and naturally averse to any binding system. Nor had any British statesman the strength or foresight to propose one. The only proposal made for giving greater cohesion to the Empire was conceived upon very different lines. The most forceful member of the Balfour Cabinet was Joseph Chamberlain, a clear-headed, eloquent, inspiring politician, but also by both origin and instinct a pushing business man. To his mind trade was the one essential link for binding the Colonies to England; and he accordingly advanced a thoroughgoing scheme by which to stimulate commercial intercourse within the Empire. By imposing protective duties on the mass of foreign imports, while allowing colonial products to pass in duty free, he hoped that the "Preference" thus accorded to the Colonies would induce them to trade more exclusively with England. The proposal caught the fancy of many Unionists; and, though Mr. Balfour was unwilling to declare himself, "Tariff Reform" became the party cry. The project was still under discussion when there fell the General Election of 1905. It there received its deathblow. From one end of the country to the other the Unionists were routed; and the country's verdict was given with no uncertain voice.

The explanation of its attitude is easy. Free Trade was the foundation on which England's whole prosperity had hitherto been built. Protection, on the other hand, recalled the ugly memory of the Corn Laws and the days of the "Black Forties." The majority of Englishmen were unmoved by the advantage of extending Preferential treatment to the Colonies, if this meant at the same time that taxes would be levied on many of the staple necessaries of life. They preferred Free Trade and a cheap loaf on their table to the less alluring prospect of a self-sufficient Empire and an expensive loaf. It was urged, as against this, that home industries would benefit by the foreigner's exclusion; but whether such would indeed have been the ultimate effect of Chamberlain's great scheme is for expert economists to judge; in any case the argument left the working classes cold. They would have none of it. Yet, perhaps deep down in the national intelligence there lay a more worthy, though unconscious, motive for the rejection of the policy. The defeat of the Unionists in 1905 marked a reaction against an Imperialism which had overreached itself. The war had roused a spirit which was out of keeping with the British character. There had been too much thumping, as it were, of the big drum, too much talk of the right of Englishmen to rule their fellow-men, and sentiments expressed too narrowly resembling the boast that Germans make of a "Kultur" to be imposed upon the world. The majority of Englishmen believed in the Empire and were grateful for its benefits; but they did not want an Empire aloof and self-contained, refusing, as it were, to make its contribution to the common stock of the world's prosperity and enterprise. In spite of all, the British are a generous race and like to have free dealings with their neighbours—the more, since it is a policy which seems to pay. The Empire very rightly they have always insisted on regarding as a means, and not as an end. It has raised up many peoples from a low and bar-

barous standard of existence and has given them the chance to live at peace and live like men. It has brought into being great and self-respecting States, modelled on the basis of those free institutions which England herself has so successfully evolved; and, wherever her dependencies have proved fit to shape their destiny, she has been content to leave it largely in their hands, valuing for them the right of self-development which she has found so valuable. It is by continued loyalty to these ideals, and not by the artificial bonds of pure self-interest, that England and the Colonies hold together.[1] For the British Empire could not have been won, far less could have been held, unless the spirit of a free and generous people had guided its destiny at every turn.

CHAPTER XV

THE RISE OF LABOUR

It is hard to disentangle the affairs of a time so near to us as the years which intervened between the fall of the Balfour Ministry in 1905 and the outbreak of the war in 1914. It was a busy rather than an eventful period. No very momentous issues seemed at stake; yet England somehow was restless and ill at ease. The old complacent, comfortable days of the Victorian era were gone by; the great dominating figures—Gladstone in politics, Browning and Tennyson in letters, Ruskin in art—had vanished from the stage; and, as the complexities and problems of British civilization became more huge and overwhelming, individualities appeared to shrink. Men felt that they were living in an age of little men; they accused themselves of decadence, and declared that all ideals had been lost. Warnings of the impending German peril were disregarded. Politicians squabbled over what now seem foolish trifles. There was no clear vision; and it was hard to say what mattered or what did not. Nevertheless one fact seems pretty certain. The real outstanding feature of this decade was the emergence of the Labouring Man as a new political force. Hitherto, though normally dissatisfied and frequently rebellious, he had been for the most part inarticulate, or at any rate incapable of making his voice heard in the councils of the nation. To-day that voice has swelled in magnitude and violence, till it almost seems at times to drown all others. The rise of Labour has been

[1] How strong is the sentimental tie which binds the Empire together, was proved in an interesting fashion shortly after the Unionist downfall. Under President Taft's administration the United States offered to lower the tariff of duties on Canadian goods, provided a similar reduction were made in the duties levied on their own. The offer was refused; and, though perhaps the refusal was in part dictated by the desire of Canadian financiers to keep Canadian trade along the lines which they had planned, yet public opinion as a whole was mainly swayed by the larger consideration, that the colony's independence and its loyalty to the Empire required it to keep free from any such entanglement, however advantageous to its pocket.

swift indeed. For it was only in the years immediately before the War that the working man of England began at last to realize his strength. In those years, whatever else may have been happening to obscure it, we seem to hear the first premonitory rumbling as of a giant awakened out of sleep.

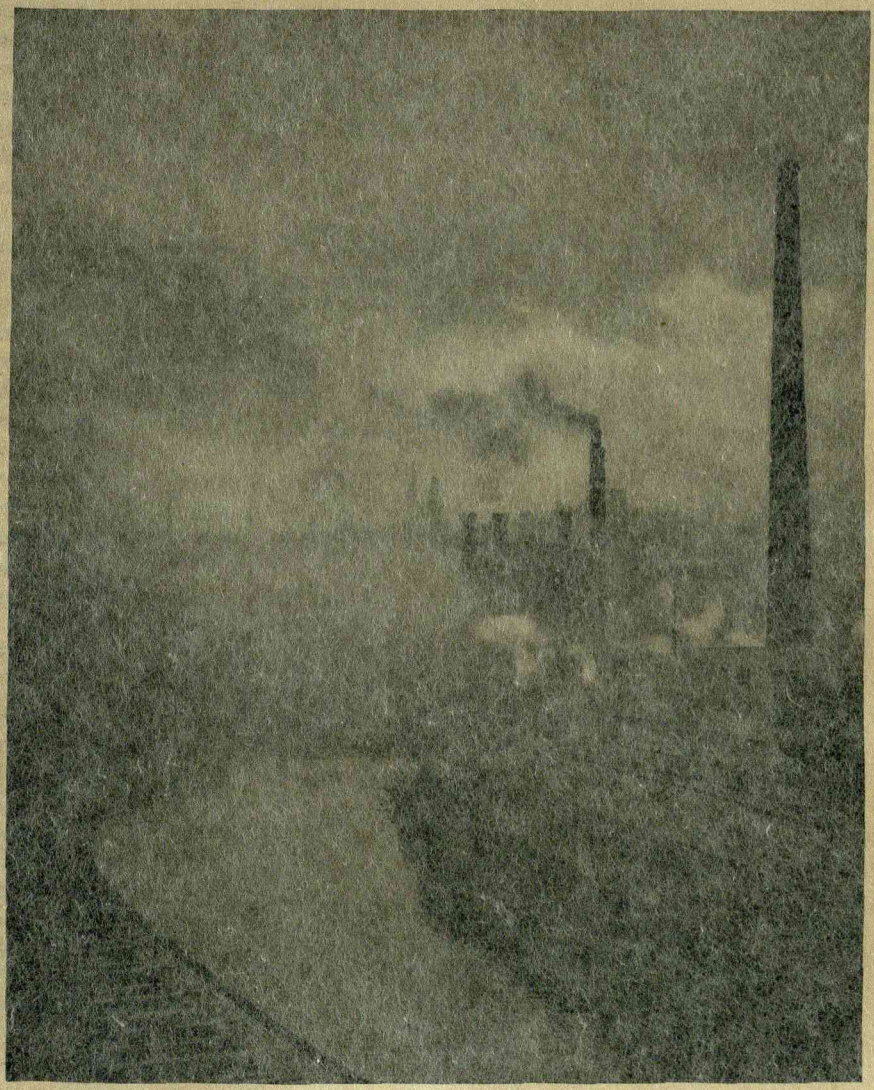
Growth of Trades Unions.—Since the days of Chartism and the Anti-Corn Law movement there had been, as we may guess, enormous changes. The workers were no longer now regarded as a superior sort of animal, to be used much as animals are used and, if insubordinate, to be suppressed by force. The national conscience had been stirred from its indifference to the sufferings of the poor. Laws had been passed compelling masters to regard the health and safety, if not as yet the welfare, of their men. The ban upon Trades Unions had altogether vanished. Free education had given every one some chance to make his way; and by the extension of the franchise the majority of adults had secured the privilege of a Parliamentary vote. Poverty, too, was by now less universal. After the abolition of the Corn Laws the country had grown prosperous; and, although of course there had been ups and downs, the working class had reaped a certain share in that prosperity. If, perhaps, a third of them still hung upon the border-line of abject poverty, the average man was able now to live in a self-respecting fashion, and unusual skill could frequently demand a very substantial wage. But such improvement in the working-man's condition did not by any means imply that he was satisfied.

History has shown that it is not always the most wretched and down-trodden class which rebels most readily against its lot; on the contrary, it is the man who has already made some progress that realizes best how much remains to win and who reaches out for more. So the organization of the Labour movement has proceeded from the better paid workers who could afford to collect funds; and it has spread by a slow transition from the skilled minority to the great mass of the unskilled. Such organization has taken years to build. Since the repeal of the Combination Act in 1824 Trades Unions had, of course, existed in some form; but it was the greater liberty Disraeli gave them in 1875 which marked the true beginning of their latter day success. In the last quarter of the century the number of the Unions was very nearly doubled. By the century's close their membership included perhaps two million men; and within the next twelve years as many more were added. Meanwhile energetic war had been waged against employers; and great strikes, such as the Dockers' Strike in 1889, had revealed the power which Labour, if united, could command. Nor had the old bitterness between men and masters been allayed by the gradual improvement in both wages and conditions. Indeed, if anything, the breach had widened, and this for various reasons. In the first place, England's industries had so increased in scale that master and men were no longer on familiar terms of daily intercourse. In earlier times they knew each other well, and such knowledge contributed to a friendly understanding.

But now the owner of perhaps a dozen factories stayed at his central office and seldom visited the works. So the human touch was lost; and the system came to resemble a huge, impersonal, and implacable machine. Then again, while the working man was adding a few shillings to his wages, he was tantalized by seeing the big commercial magnate grow rich beyond all dreams. The fact is that the increased wealth which the community was enjoying was very unevenly distributed. "To him that hath shall be given" appeared to be the law of modern economics; and the master of a coal-mine or a factory piled up his fortune by the simple process of accumulation, often through no industry or merit of his own. So the "Capitalist" class who owned this "Capital"—owned, that is to say, the machinery or plant by which raw material or manufactured goods could be produced—came soon to be regarded by the workers as a set of useless drones, privileged to control their labour and wax fat upon its proceeds by no other right than the mere title of possession. This right the working man now began seriously to challenge. He saw the great resources of the country—the coal-mines, the railways, the factories, and the rest—parcelled out, as it were, among a few rich men, and he himself excluded from all share in their vast profits. He felt that the whole fabric of modern industry, resting as it does upon the exclusive right of private ownership, had been built upon a wrong foundation. He began to ponder how the mistake might be corrected; and, once the idea was mooted of dispossessing the "Capitalist," theories began to rise about the uses to which Capital itself might in that event be put.

Socialists and Syndicalists.—Such theories were not new. Men like Robert Owen had held views upon the subject in the first half of the century. A little later, the German Socialist, Karl Marx, had exercised a world-wide influence, predicting in fierce tones the inevitable fall of the capitalist, and heralding as a sure and certain fact an almighty revolution which should one day bring the workers to their own. In England (where Karl Marx eventually found harbourage) many earnest thinkers such as William Morris had propounded various schemes. By the beginning of the new century, however, two main schools of thought may have been said to hold the field; and between these two the British Labour leaders were divided. One group, and that the larger of the two, were Socialists in the true meaning of the term. They believed, in other words, that the ownership of "Capital" should be vested in the hands of the "Society" or State; that the mines, the factories, the railways, and even perhaps the land, should belong not to individuals, but to Government itself, and by Government should be administered, as the interest of the community dictates. Such "nationalization," as we should call it now, could either be accomplished by downright confiscation or by the more equitable process of buying the existing owners out. In whichever case the policy would involve no great or terrible upheaval; it would not even involve a break with the normal methods of Parliamentary government; and the great change would be effected under the

PLATE XXIII



A MODERN FACTORY TOWN—SHEFFIELD

guise of law. The Socialist group, in short, were for accomplishing their purpose by constitutional and not by revolutionary methods. The other group were of more extreme opinions. They held vaguely that the workers should *themselves* possess the mines and factories they work. Syndicalists was the name these theorists sometimes went by; but into their camp were gathered all the various violent elements which made for the destruction of existing institutions and for a clean cut with the past. Such men felt that to work for any master—were he private individual or Minister of State—was at best a demeaning task—a state of industrial slavery unhappily surviving when political slavery had long since been done away. Socialism proper would not, they realized, avail to terminate such slavery; for it would merely divert them from the service of their masters to the service of the State. These men's policy was, therefore, to press on the final issue between employers and employed—from strike to revolution, and from revolution to a form of society completely new, in which the workers would at length be true masters of their destiny, working no longer for a master's profits, but producing for their own benefit alone. Meanwhile, by dint of an organized campaign, they meant to push their wages up and up, until the capitalist's position should become untenable. Industrial action through the strike, not Parliamentary action through the ballot-box, was to them the only way.

The Labour Party and Lloyd George.—Such, briefly, was the situation in the world of Labour when the General Election of 1906 took place. To the Constitutional or Socialist section of Labour it was a grand opportunity for making a big effort. The time indeed was ripe for a political campaign. Education had begun to take effect; the working man had come by now to realize the value of his vote; and, if votes alone were an index of success, the electioneering of the Socialist party was undoubtedly a triumph. Hitherto the true representative of Labour had been somewhat of a rarity in Parliament. Mr. Keir Hardie's uncompromising figure was regarded with amusement; and nobody had thought of taking such wild men seriously. But in the Election of 1906 many a seat was contested by official Labour candidates; and in the sweeping victory which the Liberal party won these Labour candidates enjoyed a generous share. Over fifty were returned to Parliament, one section known as the Independent Labour party, being more or less definitely pledged to a policy of "Socialist" reform. Their number was, of course, comparatively small in a house six hundred and seventy strong. They were without experience in Parliamentary tactics; and their leader, Ramsay Macdonald, lacked a statesman's force. Nevertheless, from the start the Labour party's influence was felt; for, as luck would have it, the Liberal Government was sympathetically inclined. They were anxious to show that they too were representative of the People; and within the Cabinet itself there was more than one Minister who had the working man's cause very genuinely at heart. John Burns, the stalwart self-made man from Battersea, had been promoted to the Local

Government Board; and more important still, though at that date less well known, there was the clever Welsh attorney, David Lloyd George, whom Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Premier, had picked out for his evident ability and put in office at the Board of Trade.

Lloyd George's rise was miraculously swift. During the days of the Boer War he had made himself unpopular by questioning the justice of England's case; and once at a public meeting held in Birmingham he had been forced to flee from the pursuit of infuriated patriots, disguised, so rumour had it, in policeman's clothes. Such moral independence proved at any rate his courage; and he was now to display other qualities besides. He possessed the imagination to conceive great measures, the doggedness to fight down opposition, and, above all, the eloquence to win support. On the platform his Celtic ardour glowed with the fierce energy of a man inspired. His racy rhetoric could touch the emotions of the most humdrum audience; and, lacking restraint, he was not always overscrupulous in his appeal to instincts and passions which are best ignored. When on Campbell-Bannerman's death in 1908 Mr. Asquith succeeded to the Premiership, Lloyd George was raised to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. His position in the Ministry, aided by the magnetic influence of his enthusiasm, served to carry the Liberal party forward into unpremeditated paths. Had the Labour party itself come into office, it is scarcely likely that it would have effected more for the welfare of the masses; and the House of Commons had a busy time.

The Legislation passed during these years covered a wide field; but in essence nearly all of it was of a "Socialistic" type; that is to say, it took out of the hands of individuals and placed under the authority of the State much that closely concerned the Englishman's daily life. In the nation schools, for instance, finding that many of the pupils were but ill-provided for the midday meal, the Government devised a scheme for feeding them at public cost. Medical inspection of the children was also provided gratis; and, to prevent unemployment, a system of Exchange Bureaux was started, for giving workmen information where employment may be found. All this was a very definite departure from the old Whig principle of *laisser faire*. But the eager Liberal Government had now whole-heartedly embraced the doctrine that the State should intervene in aid of those who cannot help themselves. Indeed, they were preparing to go further still; for they adopted the much more disputable doctrine that, where the poor, as such, need helping, the rich, as such, should pay: In the past, of course, the rich had very substantially contributed to such national expenses as the upkeep of the schools; but they contributed as citizens, and, as citizens, they were equally entitled, if they chose, to make use of the schools for their own children.

Insurance Act and Land Taxes.—Now, however, they were made to pay for what they could not share. In 1908 an Act was passed providing all old persons of seventy and upwards with a pension of five shillings every week. The funds came mainly from the rich man's pocket;

of the poor no contribution was required. But only the poor could enjoy the benefits; for, if the aged person had more than a trifling income, the pension was withheld. The critics of the measure called it pampering, and bewailed such a discouragement to individual thrift; yet the reform had great advantages; many deserving folk were saved from the indignity of ending their days in the workhouse; and, if the principle of the law was novel, its effects were good. Still more was this the case with the Insurance Act of 1911. Here it was felt, and not without good reason, that the nation's health had hitherto received inadequate attention. Some, no doubt, among the working classes could afford to pay for doctoring. The more prosperous and prudent paid money to a club or common fund, on which, if they fell sick, they could draw to meet the doctor's bill. But there was a very large proportion of the working class which was not so insured; and the Liberals accordingly determined to make Insurance compulsory on all—that is, on all the poor. Every employed person was to pay a few pence weekly; every employer was to pay as much again; and the State would add its share. From this fund free medical attendance and sick pay were provided for the person so insured: and, though the scheme has drawbacks, there can be little doubt that thousands upon thousands have been saved thereby from permanent disablement or premature death.

Perhaps, however, the most famous step in the "Socialist" direction was the Land Act framed by the Chancellor in the same year. It was an old complaint, as we have said above, that certain folk grew rich through the right of mere possession and through no merit of their own. If, for example, a man owned a plot of land upon the outskirts of a town, the value of his plot might well be trebled, when houses spread that way; yet he himself would have actually done nothing to deserve the "increment." It was this unmerited or "unearned increment" that Lloyd George proceeded to attack, claiming for the Exchequer a percentage of the profit on the sale of such estates. He aroused a storm of protest. Proprietors throughout the country were naturally indignant and called him ugly names. But the Welshman's blood was up; and he proceeded to denounce the wealthy landlords for their selfish misuses of the nation's precious land. His scheme included a tax upon estates which had been left "undeveloped," withheld, that is to say, from productive cultivation. Grouse moors, he maintained, should be put under the plough instead of being wasted upon rich sportsmen's pleasure; and he drew a lively picture of the available employment, should every park and flower-garden be converted into fields. In this Socialistic talk no doubt there was much exaggeration; and the Chancellor's refusal of an extensive estate in Scotland, offered by a well-known peer on easy terms, disclosed the hollowness of his pretensions. Yet the discussion of the issue was vigorously pursued; and Lloyd George pressed his case with a flood of giddy rhetoric. Very little money was brought into the Exchequer by the land taxation he applied; but a deal of bitter feeling was aroused by his attempt to set the different classes of the com-

munity at variance. Such appeals to social prejudice as his notorious Limehouse speech have encouraged the poor to regard their richer neighbours as natural enemies; and in later times it was to need all Lloyd George's eloquence to heal the discord fostered by the utterances of his less prudent days.

The Parliament Act.—But of all the issues raised during these years the most fiercely and bitterly contested concerned the House of Lords; and the most permanent achievement of the Liberal Ministry was to alter the fabric of the British Constitution. Throughout its lengthy history it has been an obvious, though unenviable, duty of the Second Chamber to act as a brake upon the impulsive legislation of the Lower House. By temper and by precedent the Peers are naturally conservative; and in a sense it is their part to be so. To the Liberals, however, it was particularly galling to find their schemes frustrated and their reforms cut short by the veto of the Lords. Several Bills to which they had attached considerable importance were summarily dismissed, sometimes without debate. One, amongst others, for cutting down the number of superfluous public-houses was thrown out in 1908; and not without some justice it was felt that the rich brewers had used their influence to work up the opposition of the Lords. The climax came, however, when in the following year the Liberals' Budget met with the same fate. Such a step was without precedent; for by long-established custom the right of taxation had become a privilege peculiar to the Commons and a privilege with which the Lords had never interfered. On the other hand, if their action was unusual, the Lords could plead that the Budget in question was unusual too; for, besides provision for the normal revenue, it contained arrangements for Lloyd George's land taxation; and this, so the Lords argued, involved a new and fundamental change concerned not so much with revenue and taxes as with rights of ownership and principles of law. Argument, however, was of no avail. The patience of the Liberals was exhausted. They appealed in autumn to the verdict of the polls; and by a slender margin the nation backed them up. When they came back to Westminster at the beginning of 1910, they outnumbered the Conservatives by a majority of two. With the support, however, of the Labour party and the Irish Nationalists they could count on victory; and such support was certainly forthcoming.

Yet there still remained a stern battle to be waged; and all through that spring and summer the controversy ran on. The Conservatives, who were in no mood for tame surrender, put forward alternative proposals. They maintained that the Liberals had been returned to Parliament on a variety of issues, and that to ascertain the people's genuine verdict on this one straightforward question a special vote or "referendum" should be taken. The Liberals, however, were most unwilling to surrender their advantage, and were now resolved that, come what might, the veto of the Lords must be somehow curtailed. In May King Edward, who had tried to mediate, broke down in health and died.

compromise was then seen to be impossible; and the Liberal Government pressed on a measure depriving the Upper House of its right of absolute veto, and allowing it merely to delay a Bill's enactment for a period of two years. This measure passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords; so on the Lords once more, as another year was ending, the eyes of all Englishmen were fixed. Would they gracefully consent to the passage of the measure and so sign their own death-warrant, or would they still refuse to bow the neck? They still refused; and for the second time within a twelvemonth the Liberals appealed to the constituencies. The verdict given at the polls was just the same. The Liberals now came back in a majority of one, but confident of help, as upon the first occasion, from the Irish party and the Labour men. Mr. Asquith, moreover, held a weapon in reserve. Should the Lords continue their obstinate resistance, he was ready, like Lord Grey at the great Reform Bill crisis, to create new Peers in a sufficient number to swamp their opposition; and, what is more he had the King's assent. Then with infinite reluctance the Lords submitted to their fate. Some, vowing that to save the Constitution they would "die in the last ditch," stuck stoutly to their colours and cast votes against the Bill.[1] But the greater part, showing more dignity and prudence, stayed away; and by seventeen votes in a half-deserted chamber the "Parliament Act" went through the House of Lords.

Thus the Constitution, handed down through six long centuries, was destroyed within a year; and the people's elected representatives became henceforward the sole sovereign power within the State. Yet common sense had not quite deserted the English people. The need for a Second Chamber was universally admitted; and even the Liberals felt that, though shorn of its old powers, such a Chamber should at least command respect. Now, whatever might be said for the existing system of hereditary Peers, its weakness lay in the transparent fact that it represented no one; and here, as the Conservatives themselves agreed, there was room for some reform. They therefore welcomed a hint contained in the preamble of the Bill, that at some future date the composition of the Upper House should be revised, and the system of nomination should be set, if possible, on a more representative basis. Seventeen years have passed; nothing has been done, and the fulfilment of the pledge is long since overdue. Yet the strange thing is that the House of Lords is perhaps even more respected to-day than before the Act was passed.

Labour Agitations.—So complete a triumph was enough, one would imagine, to satisfy the most ardent apostle of democracy. The Labour party at any rate had good reason to be satisfied. In more ways than one the passage of the Bill was to them an earnest of victories yet to come. It had cleared away the most serious obstacle to their own revo-

[1] The Conservatives' dislike of the Bill was much intensified by the knowledge that the first use made by the Liberals of their victory would be to pass Home Rule for Ireland.

lutionary schemes. It had brought them more than ever into favour with the Government; for without their added vote the Liberal majority alone would scarcely have sufficed; and for the services thus rendered they now expected their reward. A further instalment of Socialistic legislation was in view. Yet, strange to say, at the very moment when their prospects seemed most bright, the Labour party found that it had lost the confidence of its own constituents. Working men throughout the country had seen with satisfaction the return of their candidates in 1906. They, too, had for the moment pinned their faith upon the efficacy of Parliamentary action; and they had hoped for great results. Five years had passed; and what after all was there to show for it? The hated Capitalist still ruled supreme. The Government had not thought fit to dispossess him of the railways or the mines; and, in the profits of industry which still went to swell his fortune, the working class themselves had got no share. Little wonder then that the rank and file of Labour were out of patience with the slow, unadventurous tactics of their representatives in Parliament. If constitutional action was so sadly ineffective, the second alternative was still waiting to be tried; and the mass of working-class opinion swung suddenly round towards the champions of the Strike.

This vigorous faction had not meantime been idle. The organizers of the Trade Union movement had long since come to realize that in unity alone lay their prospect of success. Divided counsels spelt inevitable failure; if one set of miners struck, while others stayed at work, the issue was almost bound to go against them; and the Trades Unions therefore were making strenuous efforts to gain greater solidarity within their ranks. Since the beginning of the century much progress had been made. The membership, as we have said, had practically doubled; and there was less danger now that the labour of non-unionists or "blacklegs" would avail to break a strike. More important still, the various rival Unions had striven to compose their differences and work in unison. The separate societies of railwaymen, for instance, were now fused to form one whole. Similar amalgamation had taken place in other trades; and, if the Union leaders thought fit to call a strike, they could now count with some reasonable assurance on paralyzing their industry completely. Their power, in fact, was great; yet, as the sequel was to prove, not so great as they imagined; and their schemes in some directions outran all limits of the practical. One favourite project was to win all at a blow by the simple expedient of a "General Strike," in which every worker throughout the entire country would participate. In practice the scheme was little likely to succeed. The mass of Englishmen are too conservative for such adventures; and the Unions were too jealous or suspicious of each other to combine. Failing this, it was still argued that, if one whole industry downed tools together, great results might be obtained, and, when the failure of the Labour men in Parliament had begun to bring discredit on the "Constitutional" party, the champions of industrial action recognized their chance. In 1911

general strike of railwaymen was called. The men's leaders had claimed the right to treat with the Companies' Directors on questions of discipline and wages. The Directors had refused to accord the leaders such official recognition; and, feeling the demand to be fully justified, the men came out *en masse*. For a few days the transport system of the country was almost at a standstill; and no one could foretell what the end of it would be.

It so happened, however, that at this very moment a serious foreign crisis intervened. War seemed imminent; and an appeal to the patriotic feelings of the strikers brought them back at once to work. Their demand for "recognition" was eventually conceded; and, though their strike had won no decisive triumph, the example of the railwaymen encouraged other trades to follow suit. During the next three years the industrial world was in a ferment. Claim followed claim with bewildering rapidity; and nothing seemed to satisfy the men. The Government did what it could to mediate; but it seldom succeeded in keeping the peace. In 1912 alone more than eight hundred strikes took place, affecting a million and a half employees; and the total number of hours lost during the year ran to over forty million. Meanwhile, too, the Labour leaders were busy with fresh plans. Greater solidarity was still the cry; and shortly before the War an important step was taken towards the old ideal of the "General Strike." An alliance was struck up between three great bodies of industrial workers—the three most vital to the nation's daily life—the miners, the transport workers, and the railwaymen. In the event of one of these embarking on a strike, the other two were, in a manner, pledged to lend assistance; and, though it remained doubtful how far the men in practice would be willing to sacrifice themselves to help their colleagues, the leaders were intoxicated by a growing sense of the tremendous power they wielded. The outbreak of the War cut short for the time being their more ambitious projects; but in the long run it served the cause of Labour well. Wages mounted. Claims, hitherto rejected, were hastily conceded, as the only method of keeping the men at work; and Labour emerged from the prolonged ordeal in a far stronger position than before. Yet the Capitalist also was still strong. The extremists on both sides were still unsatisfied; and the struggle which was in progress when the War began was resumed with added vigour at its close. Masters and men have yet to learn that neither of them can prosper unless the other prospers too.

Female Suffrage Agitation.—Troubles seldom, they say, come singly; and Labour unrest was but one of many difficulties which disturbed the peace of the Liberal Ministry during its later years. One constant source of annoyance was the Female Suffrage movement which was now gathering great force. Women, who for the most part came of well-to-do connections, pressed their claim to share the vote with the zeal and fury of fanatics. From protest and agitation they passed to open violence. Ministers were waylaid; public buildings set on fire; and threats of still more vigorous measures filled the air. The patience of

the policemen, was severely taxed in dealing with these frenzied Amazons. Meetings in Trafalgar Square and other parts of London had to be broken up by force. Ringleaders were arrested in large numbers; and some, to complicate their captors' task, attached themselves by chains to posts and railings. Once in prison, however, the Suffragettes were even more of a nuisance than when they were at large. Many went on hunger-strike and left the Government to choose between setting them at liberty and the more odious alternative of allowing them to die. Forcible feeding was tried; but it was not a great success, and a middle course was taken. The hunger-strikers were released from jail when their symptoms grew alarming, and arrested again as soon as they were well. So the farce went on, till the War came and stopped the folly. The patriotic bearing of multitudes of women and the useful aid they rendered in the Red Cross or other services secured them in due course the just concession which their factious agitation had made it difficult to grant. In 1917 the franchise was extended to women over thirty, and six million fresh voters were thus added to the register.[1] What effect this change may have on party politics is as yet an unsolved enigma; but women's capacity to deal with public business becomes every year more evident. They have served on Government Committees, in the Civil Service offices, and in every department of local administration. Lady members have even been returned to Westminster; and thus the sex which was once regarded as the chattel of the male has now attained an equal right with men to express its opinions and defend its rights.

Home Rule and Ulster's Opposition.—One other problem—and that of more serious import—lay across the path of the harassed Liberal Government. When the Parliament Act was going through the Commons, the vote of the Irish Nationalists had been almost indispensable to the Liberals' victory. But that vote was not given for nothing. A pledge had been exacted that, when the House of Lords was tamed, the Home Rule scheme which, nearly twenty years before, the Lords' veto had frustrated should once more be revived; and now Mr. Redmond, the Nationalist leader, claimed the fulfilment of that pledge. The Liberals accordingly introduced a measure much on Mr. Gladstone's lines. It was proposed to establish a separate Parliament in Dublin which should deal with all lesser questions of Irish legislation, while the Parliament at Westminster (still containing Irish members) should keep entire control of foreign policy and regulate such matters as defence. Such a proposal was, of course, resisted by its traditional opponents. All the old objections which had been used in Gladstone's day were brought up and urged anew; but the Unionist opposition might argue themselves hoarse; they were overborne by numbers and it was now a moral certainty the Bill would pass. The House of Lords might delay it for a season; but they could do no more; and within a year or two (if the Liberals retained office) Home Rule would be a fact. The real question, therefore, was no longer whether Ireland would become self-

[1] In 1928, the age limit was reduced to twenty-one.

governing, but what precisely would happen when she did.[1] That there would be serious trouble was not difficult to see. In each of the four provinces, but more particularly in the northern province, Ulster, there were still living the descendants of those Scottish and English settlers who had been planted there at various times gone by. These folk felt no desire to be governed by a Dublin Parliament, in which the majority was certain to be Catholic, and which, as they felt sure, would let slip no opportunity of making life intolerable for them. Unlike the native Irishmen, this Anglo-Scottish element was prosperous and industrious; the manufactures of Belfast and the north lay largely in their hands; and, seeing that Ireland in the main is agricultural, these manufactures formed no small proportion of the country's wealth. The liveliest fears were therefore entertained lest under a jealous and revengeful Home Rule Parliament the north would be bled white by an oppressive and extortionate taxation. Rather than submit passively to such a fate the men of Ulster were prepared for anything. The old grim spirit of their Scottish ancestors lived on in these determined loyalists. "Ulster will fight," said a wise man in Gladstone's day, "and Ulster will be right." It looked, indeed, as though the prophecy were true. For aptly to the moment a leader had appeared.

Sir Edward Carson, a well-known barrister and an astute Parliamentary hand, announced his intention of organizing the Ulstermen's resistance. Volunteers were called for; and the call was eagerly answered. Large bands paraded in the Belfast streets and drilled with dummy guns; and meanwhile more serviceable weapons were smuggled over in large quantities. This was a game, however, at which two could play; and, taking their cue from Sir Edward Carson's tactics, the Nationalists also began to drill their men. Thus, while the British Government was wondering how to stop these dangerous movements, Ireland itself was rapidly converted into two armed and hostile camps. Ulster was defiant and prepared. The Nationalist volunteers, though less efficient, were spoiling for a fight; and a single chance encounter might almost at any moment have plunged the country into civil war. At length the Liberal Government was roused to action and determined to disarm these amateur contingents. The intention was kept dark; but secret orders were conveyed to the commanders of the British regiments then stationed in the country. Suddenly in the spring of 1914 the public were startled by the alarming news that mutiny had broken out in the great Curragh camp. The fact was that certain officers, who had been ordered, as they understood, to march on Ulster, had refused point blank to move; and, rather than assist to put down a loyal cause with which they fully sympathized at heart, they preferred to abandon their commissions. All England was thrown into a flutter of excitement. The discipline of the army was seen to be at stake. Generals resigned, Ministers prevaricated;

[1] The Bill actually became law at the beginning of the War; but the situation in Ireland made it impossible to carry the law into effect.

and those who were thought to have issued the original instructions were bitterly assailed. Then, just when men were speculating whether Civil War would follow or the Liberal Ministry would fall from power, the storm-cloud which had been lowering over Europe broke and Armageddon was upon all the nations. In those anxious months of autumn, when England's very existence seemed to hang upon a thread, the Irish imbroglio was naturally forgotten. It would have been well, as subsequent events have proved, had England also possessed the courage to forgive. One generous gesture at that crisis of her fate might well have earned her the Irishman's eternal gratitude; and a measure of Home Rule which later on contented no one might then have achieved success such as scarcely the most sanguine among Englishmen dared hope. But, as often before, the Liberal Government faltered. Mr. Asquith, with all his skill in Parliamentary tactics and his lawyer's gift for lucid argument, was not the man to run great risks for an ideal. In the phrase which he himself so often used, he preferred to "wait and see"; and the opportunity was lost.

CHAPTER XVI

THE YEARS BETWEEN

In the European history of the last half-century two dates will stand conspicuous—1871 and 1914. In 1871 arose the German Empire, the consummation of Bismarck's strong diplomacy, built upon the ruins of defeated France. In 1914 that Empire's whole existence was staked upon a challenge issued, like Napoleon's, to the rest of Europe for the world's supremacy at arms. In the years between—four-and-forty years of peace which was no peace—was forged the terrible instrument fit to deliver such a blow and the national spirit which, when the time came, should have the hardihood to use it. Directly, at least, Bismarck was not responsible. The object of his aggression having been achieved in the overthrow of France, he was content to let well alone and to maintain by a defensive policy the great place that Germany had won. The defeated enemy was allowed no opportunity of raising up her head, much less of taking her revenge, and more than once in the years following Sedan, when her recovery appeared to him too perilously rapid, Bismarck threatened her with fresh invasion. He was warned off by England; and thereafter he made shift to hold France down by the less brutal, but scarcely less effective, method of keeping her in political isolation. Russia, of all the Powers, was her most likely friend; but German diplomacy had many shifts, and the Tsar was not difficult to manage. Bismarck humoured him, and made him see that his own interests as a despot were closely interlinked with those of his fellow-despot on the Prussian throne. But, although this secret understanding with St. Petersburg dispelled the likelihood of a Russo-French alliance, yet

Bismarck was well aware that the Tsar's favours were at best precarious; and he did not scruple to use the Russian bogey as a means of securing for his own country a more staunch and serviceable friend. By playing on old fears of her big, restless neighbour, he compelled Austria more and more to lean on Germany; and in 1879 a pact for mutual aid against the Russian menace was arranged between Vienna and Berlin. It remained to entice Italy within the circle; and by setting her at loggerheads with France over North Africa this equally was done. In 1882, therefore, a "Triple Alliance" was concluded; and Germany and Italy and Austria, though apparently predestined, by every circumstance of history and tradition, to perpetual feud, were thus by Bismarck's incomparable diplomacy knit in one solid block. The Balance of Power was thereby redistributed; but the Chancellor's achievement, while confirming the preponderance of Germany in Europe, made at least for the security of Europe's peace. For twenty years the helplessness of France and the cautious self-restraint of German policy encouraged hopes of a lasting equilibrium. Then in a twinkling all was changed. In 1888 William I of Prussia died. His successor, Frederick, mounted to the throne a doomed and dying man. A brief hundred days of rule and he was gone. His son William II, a young man of nine-and-twenty, reigned in his stead; and among the first foolish acts of a long and foolish reign was the dismissal of the man who had made Germany great. Like George III, William was determined "to be King." He refused to be Bismarck's or anyone's disciple. So, without as much as thank you, he dropped "the Pilot" overboard and himself stood to the helm.[1]

The Kaiser and Colonial Empire.—The Kaiser William was a man of many qualities. He could make a speech, paint a picture, or compose a military march. His imagination, though impetuous, was fertile. He would have cut a figure in any walk of life. But the desire to cut a figure proved, in fact, to be his curse. He was for ever acting to a part, and, whatever were that part, he overdid it. Was a battle to take place upon manœuvres, he must needs appear to lead the cavalry in person, got up for the occasion in a uniform most carefully selected from the three hundred stocked in his capacious wardrobe. Admiral or orator, connoisseur or statesman, he took up every rôle with a vainglorious gusto, which made the wiser Germans laugh. But, unhappily, the rôle which he himself most fancied, and for which at the same time he was most ludicrously unfit, was one which flattered the national conceit and compelled the admiration of his servile folk. No mere play-actor can dominate the universe; yet such was the aspiration of this man. "Nothing," he once said, "shall hereafter be settled in the world without the intervention of the German Emperor"; and to this the German people echoed a proud assent.

[1] Recent disclosures, however, have shown that the fault was not all on one side, and that the stubbornness and pride of Bismarck were in part responsible for the breach.

It was barely twenty years since they had become a nation, yet already they were conscious of a great and glorious destiny. Their numbers were fast increasing—from barely forty millions in 1871 to nearly half as many again before the century's close—and a forceful foreign policy was therefore not unnatural to a race endowed with all the ambition and energy of youth. The fact is that even before the accession of the Kaiser such a policy had been resolutely urged, and in Bismarck's day—though against Bismarck's better judgment—bold projects had been laid for expansion overseas. It was the time when Africa was being opened up; and no sooner were the continent's resources brought to light than every State in Europe fell to scrambling for its share. The Belgians were on the Congo; the Portuguese had stations on the southeast and southwest coast; and England was well established both in Egypt and at the Cape; the German Government, therefore, not to be outdone, had also staked off its claim. In 1883 a large strip of the west coast, adjoining what was soon to become British Bechuanaland, had been occupied by German pioneers. Next year upon the Gold Coast they gained a further footing in Togoland and in the Cameroons. These Colonies were exploited with the thorough-going industry so characteristic of all German State-run enterprise. What was less meritorious, if not less typical, the native inhabitants were brutally maltreated; and, since these lands were ill-adapted to extensive emigration, the undertaking was at most a very qualified success.

The young Kaiser, however, did not see it in that light. He simultaneously boasted of what empire he possessed and chafed under the sense of its comparative insignificance. Of the British world-dominion he was, of course, supremely jealous; but his direct antagonism was reserved for France. The free hand England had allowed her on the northwest coast of Africa was thus doubly an affront to his ambitious soul; and in 1905 he announced his high displeasure by a dramatic coup. Landing from his yacht on the Moroccan seaboard, he promised the natives to safeguard their threatened freedom. France boiled at the insult; but, not daring to make war, she submitted the question to a Conference of the Powers which, largely thanks to Roosevelt, the American President, was convened at Algeciras. The verdict given was a compromise. The Moroccans' liberty was guaranteed; but France was permitted to police their towns. The Kaiser was disappointed; but six years later he returned to the attack. On the plea of suppressing unrest among the natives, the French had occupied the town of Fez. The counter-stroke was startling. A German gunboat was ordered to put in at Agadir as an avowed preliminary to making it a German naval base. France alone was scarcely able to withstand the threat; but on this occasion Great Britain took her part. Her Grand Fleet was put in readiness; and only the unwillingness of either side to fight availed to bring the issue to a peaceful settlement. Thus once again the Kaiser had been foiled; and in Africa at any rate his Imperial aspirations had suffered a rude check. But there are other countries in the world than

Africa; and already for some time an alternative outlet for German enterprise had been in contemplation.

The Kaiser and the Near East.—Nothing perhaps has given more amazing proof of the German nation's energy than the rapid extension of their foreign trade. Within a few years the Fatherland had been developed from an agricultural country into a throbbing hive of manufacture. Cheap products "made in Germany" flooded the world's markets. German merchantmen and liners thronged the seas; and the vigorous enterprise of German agents pushed trade in every continent. One special sphere of activity, however, attracted the eye of their ever-watchful Government. While Africa engrossed the other Powers' attention, the Middle East had hitherto been scarcely broached. Yet Mesopotamia was a fertile field for commercial exploitation; and the only serious bar to its development was the conservative habit of the Turk. To win the Turk's approval was, therefore, among the Kaiser's most dearly cherished schemes. In the first year of his reign he had visited the Sultan. He visited him again in 1898; took an official tour through Palestine; made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem itself; and then astounded Christendom by proclaiming in loud tones his eternal friendship for the Mussulman. The way being thus prepared, the scheme was launched. A railway was projected across Asia Minor, through the Taurus mountains, to the city of Bagdad. The Turk was willing; and grand prospects opened out—of wealth to be gotten from the fertile plains, of bases to be established on the Persian Gulf, and eventually perhaps of a bid for British India and a challenge to England's whole Empire in the East. Meanwhile in Europe all favoured the design. Ferdinand, King of Bulgaria, was a German born; and he gladly allowed free passage through his country to the trunk route connecting Constantinople and Berlin. Austria, for her part, was assisting in the project. The extension of her influence among the Balkan States was for her no novel policy; she had long kept a jealous eye upon these weak and helpless neighbours; and in 1908, to the dismay of Serbia, she had annexed Herzegovina and Bosnia at a blow. Who next would be her victim was not difficult to guess; for the Kaiser was behind her and his aim was pretty clear. The "Germanization" of the Balkans was, in fact, an essential part of the general "eastward push"; and upon this very issue, as we know to-day, hung the fate not of a railway nor of a few small States, but of the world itself.

German Militarism.—Had the Kaiser's high ambitions been pursued by peaceful methods, it would be hard to condemn them as wholly illegitimate; but that was not his way. He always thought, and more often than not talked, in terms of armaments and wars. His Germany stood forth as a competitor for power arrayed in "shining armour." His diplomatic coups were never veiled in decent cunning; they were blatant demonstrations of the might of the "mailed fist." Nor was this braggart talk mere empty boasting. Germany, beyond a doubt, was strong for war. Her army, since its celebrated triumph over France,

was admittedly the finest in the world; and it did not stand alone. For side by side with it the Kaiser had built up a formidable fleet. The defence of German commerce was the motive he alleged; but, such pretences notwithstanding, it was clear that his real objective lay outside the North Sea and that the growing German Navy was a challenge to that of England. Kindred preparations were meantime pushed on apace. Heligoland, which England had captured in the Napoleonic wars, but restored to its natural owners by Lord Salisbury in 1890, was rapidly converted into a fort of monstrous strength. Hard by, through the neck of Schleswig-Holstein, was dug the Kiel Canal, which, when completed, would allow the Kaiser's battleships to concentrate at will in the North Sea or the Baltic. By now, moreover, the number of those ships was no longer insignificant; and there were more to come. When England built the Dreadnought in 1906,[1] the German Admiralty was not slow to follow suit; and the programme of construction aimed at three and thirty ironclads to be launched by 1912.

Such schemes, in addition to the upkeep of their army, cost the German people dear; but they bore the heavy burden with a cheerful pride. Bismarck had taught them to believe in "blood and iron"; and under the Kaiser's influence the militarist spirit had taken deeper root. The protest of Socialists and Liberals availed nothing; the electoral system (as was explained above) gave little chance in Parliament to the people's representatives; and the aristocratic "Junkers," whose position was dependent on the Crown's supremacy, backed their beloved Emperor's policy through thick and thin. So the militarist ideal caught the nation in its grip. The past record of German prowess was extolled with giddy fervour; history was distorted to prove that might was right; and the children in the schools were brought up to the refrain of "Deutschland über Alles." The discipline of the army, in which all German manhood served its apprenticeship to war, was gradually strengthened. The military caste of well-born officers grew every year more arrogant; they would shoulder even women off the pavements where they strutted; and when a young lieutenant cut down a mere civilian for laughing at his antics, the higher authorities applauded and condoned. It was clear, in short, that, if the Kaiser talked of using the "mailed fist," there was a terrible reality behind the threat. We have come now to think of war as an almost unqualified disaster; but to the majority of Germans it was then the very goal and summit of life's purpose and the only true adventure which could call forth the best qualities in man. They believed that struggle was the very salt of life; and many, looking forward to the inevitable conflict which should prick the empty bubble of the British world-supremacy, made sure that German hardihood would outmatch the degenerate foe, and toasted with enthusiasm the coming of "the Day."

[1] The reorganization and strengthening of the British Navy during these years was due mainly to the genius and energy of Lord Fisher.

Tension Grows.—To neighbouring Powers, meanwhile, these noisy preparations were the cause of sincere and justifiable alarm. France, in particular, lived in a constant panic. Her recovery from the defeat of 1870 had been slow. Internal dissensions between Republicans and Royalists, the factious agitations of anti-clerical reformers, and the unsavoury intrigues of powerful Jewish financiers had kept her perpetually upon the rack; while Bismarck's skilful shepherding of Europe had left her, as England saw, without a friend. Once Bismarck was removed, however, she was quick to seize her chance. In 1894 she made a bid for Russian sympathy; and shortly after a regular alliance was struck up between the two. But this was not enough. French nerves were still disquieted; and towards England also a feeler was thrust out. British traditional policy of isolation, begun by Canning in pre-Victorian days, was, of course, the most serious obstacle to a definite understanding between England and France. England had no desire to be entangled in her quarrels; and for various reasons, as has been shown above, British sympathies lay rather with the German than with her. But the events of the Boer war awoke England to a sense of her own military weakness and of the growing hostility displayed beyond the Rhine.

Alarmed by the German menace, King Edward undertook a complete reversal of previous foreign policy. The fruit of his diplomatic efforts was the Franco-British "Entente" of 1904; and, although no pledge was given that England's army would be sent to fight abroad, yet morally at least she was henceforward bound to stand against Germany with France. Apart from this, however, England's attitude was undeniably pacific. Lord Roberts' appeal for a modified conscription was treated with contempt. To the speeding-up of the German naval programme England replied with a suggestion for restricted armaments. But as well might she have spoken to the winds. For the Germans in their turn were growing nervous. With Russia on the east of them, with France upon the west, and with England, as it were, astride the seas, they felt themselves encircled by a ring of enemies and suspected a deliberate conspiracy of the Powers to crush their rising strength. So their war-like preparations were redoubled; and a tense atmosphere of scarcely veiled hostility crept over the whole continent. If the "Triple Entente" between England, France, and Russia had been the outcome of an honest apprehension, the Powers of the "Triple Alliance" (or, since Italy was lukewarm, the two more powerful of them) were scarcely less convinced that an attack on them was brewing, and that their preparations were required in self-defence. At each fresh crisis of international dissension, the omens became more and more alarming. The blood of France was up. She had never quite forgotten her old longing for revenge; and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, her two precious Rhineland provinces, still rankled. After the German Emperor's coup at Agadir, when the world's peace for a moment had hung trembling in the balance, she was more alarmed than ever; and in 1913 she resolved

on a new measure of precaution. A sudden blow was what she feared; and, to multiply the forces which should be ready to receive it, she now extended the period of her conscripts' service from two years into three, thus increasing the number of those under the colours by one half. Simultaneously the Kaiser made additions to his army; and so the frenzied race ran on. Efforts were made by Mr. Asquith's Government to arrive at some more friendly understanding; and even in Germany there were many who refused to believe in the necessity of war. One thing is certain; their voice was never heard or, if heard, was disregarded at the Kaiser's council board. Even had he himself desired, it was too late to draw back now. The mad part he had enacted he must play through to the end; and, under the strong manipulation of the men whose creed was war and whose whole career had been devoted to war's preparation, the Kaiser now made ready to ring up the curtain on the last, awful scene of Europe's tragedy.

Serajevo to the Fourth of August.—Given that a quarrel was somewhere to be picked, it was not difficult in 1914 to choose the spot. During recent years, as in others more remote, the Balkan States had been the storm-centre of Europe. Since their emancipation from the Sultan's yoke, these States had not grown less bellicose nor more friendly to the Turk; and towards the end of 1912 they had all fallen in a body on their old oppressor and compelled him to disgorge almost all the territory he still possessed this side the Bosphorus. That done, they fell to quarrelling over the division of the spoils; and in a second war which followed Greece, Serbia, Turkey herself, and eventually Rumania too, combined for the undoing of Bulgaria. Now to the two Central Powers at any rate all this was most unwelcome; and the defeat of their friend the Turk, closely followed by the humiliation of Bulgaria and her pro-German King, was a distinct set-back to their own Balkan plans. Austria, acting largely on instructions from Berlin, was still pursuing the old aim of extending her influence towards the south; and there could be no more serious obstacle to her design than an enlarged and powerful Serbia. For Serbia was no willing tool to Austria's policy; on the contrary, she had bitterly resented within the last few years the seizure of Herzegovina and Bosnia; and the alienation of these two kindred Slav communities she still regarded as a blight on her own national ambitions. She may or may not have entertained some hope of their recovery; but it was not long before a malicious fate gave the Austrians some chance of pretending that she did.

About the midsummer of 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Emperor's throne, was paying Bosnia an official visitation, when at Serajevo—a name now of evil memory—he was shot dead in the open street by a political assassin. With more subtlety than justice, the Austrian Government at once declared that the criminal was the agent of a Serbian plot and called upon the Serbian authorities to expiate the deed. The unworthy implication was vehemently denied; but, knowing she could count upon vigorous German backing, Austria was

not to be put off, and she presented Serbia with an ultimatum the terms of which meant nothing less than absolute subjection. Forty-eight hours were given for an answer; though even within that time the greater part of her demands were yielded, Austria declared war on 25 July. Thus pressed, the Serbs appealed to their old champion, Russia; and Russia, fearing the worst, began to mobilize. It was a fatal though doubtless a necessary step. Germany, though in fact far more prepared than Russia, cried out that she was threatened. A hurried duel of diplomatic fencing then ensued, Berlin, the secret prompter of the Austrian ultimatum, posing throughout as an injured innocent, yet all the while refusing to take a single step towards delay or compromise. All invitations to a Conference of Powers were ignored or else declined; and, while publicly professing their desire to stop the conflict, the German authorities were secretly engaged in egging Austria on. Such tactics could lead only to one end; and, though a state of war was not actually declared till the opening days of August, the mobilization of the German, Austrian, French, and Russian armies precluded all prospect of a bloodless settlement. Italy, maintaining that this at least was no "defensive" war, refused to be bound by the terms of her alliance and held sullenly aloof.

All eyes now turned to watch the attitude of England. Few men doubted in their hearts that she was bound to stand by France; yet the precise nature of her obligations remained a mystery. The Liberal Cabinet was resolved to keep the peace at almost any price; and Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister, though rebuffed in all his efforts at conciliation and himself by now convinced of Germany's bad faith, was still without such proof as might convince the doubters that England could not stand aside.[1] Then on a sudden, with that curious knack they have of completely misunderstanding the Englishman's psychology, the Germans themselves committed the one act which was certain to arouse the British. They called on the Belgian Government to give passage for their troops. Now about eighty years before, as the reader will remember, the various Powers of Europe had pledged their solemn word to observe and to preserve the neutrality of Belgium. In 1870 that pledge had again been ratified; yet to Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, considerations of strategy now bulked more large than the maintenance of honour; and, declaring that "necessity should know no law," he spurned the historic document which his countrymen had signed, as an obsolete, unmeaning "scrap of paper." That was enough; the wavering of England ended sharply; and from midnight of the 4th of August she also was at war. That England had entered the arena with clean hands and for the just vindication of an ancient pledge flattered not a little the sentimental side of her people's character. Belgium,

[1] Sir Edward Grey was in a difficult dilemma. He did not wish, of course, to desert France at her need; but he was conscious that a promise of support might make France and Russia more determined upon war and so might diminish the chances of peace.

it was felt, had deserved well of Europe in standing by her duty; and to champion her distress was no less a chivalrous than a legitimate undertaking. Yet, truth to tell, England could have had no choice. No hostile Power has ever held, nor could hold, the opposing Flanders coast without grave prejudice to her national security. Whether or no the majority of Englishmen were conscious of the fact, a challenge had been offered which something more than the obligations of England's honour compelled her to accept; and from the very first moment that she entered on the four years' struggle, nothing less than the Empire's existence was at stake. Yet, strange as it may seem, her act inspired in the Germans a wild ecstasy of hatred: they had counted on the benevolent neutrality of England, and—England (so they verily believed) had played them false!

CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT WAR

The German Advance.—The advantage of a preparation secretly conducted through none knows how many years, the immense superiority of their initial concentration, outnumbering the French by nearly three to two, above all, perhaps, the military tradition which had taught their generals to lay plans before all else for a swift and crushing blow—these were factors which made it well-nigh certain that the offensive would come from the enemy and that it would come in the west. Well knowing that many months must pass before Russia's millions could be brought into the field, and confident meanwhile of holding her easily in play, the German High Command had very naturally determined to throw the full weight of their attack on France. So much indeed might have been shrewdly guessed beforehand; yet secrecy in warfare is nine points of strategy; and until the last moment it remained in doubt at what precise point the main thrust would be delivered. It might, on the one hand, fall, as it had fallen in the 1870 campaign, somewhere along the true Franco-German frontier, between the Ardennes of Belgium and the southern limit of the Vosges. There, as was obvious, the German forces could be mobilized in the closest proximity to their objective; but there too, not wishing to be caught a second time, the French had prudently constructed a long line of powerful forts, heavily gunned and armoured in the modern fashion, from Verdun to Belfort. To force a way through these would be at best a perilous and lengthy business; and, if the Germans therefore should decline the task, there remained a second alternative, opened to them by their deliberate departure from their treaty pledge, of a flank attack through Belgium. There, in the north, where their frontier marched with Flanders, the French possessed no true defensive line. Such fortresses as they had built were feeble. Natural barrier, whether of river or of mountain, there was none. They had

therefore to decide between massing to meet the Germans in this quarter, while leaving the east frontier mainly to the protection of the forts, or the more risky alternative of making doubly sure of the east frontier and treating the threat through Belgium as mere bluff. Their decision, as the sequel proved, was wrong; and, while they were conducting two misconceived offensives among the Saar valleys[1] and in the lowlands of Alsace, which cost them heavy casualties without compensating gain, the Germans were gathering in overwhelming numbers upon the ill-protected frontier of the north. A slight check indeed they there encountered in the heroic resistance of the Belgians at Liège; but, though they failed to rush the fortress, a siege-artillery of unprecedented power soon battered it to pieces. Namur, a second stronghold, fell more quickly. The Belgian Army was driven back on Antwerp. The Belgian people were cowed into submission by a calculated policy of stern repressive measures; and, over the level plains where harvest was still gathering, the German host, like some monstrous piece of mechanism, accurate in movement, irresistible in numbers, swept southward upon France.

The Battle of the Marne.—This initial miscalculation on the Allies' part was worse than a disaster, it was almost fatal. To stem the onrush for more than a bare moment was wholly beyond the power of the inadequate contingents which the French had posted on the Sambre; and Joffre, their *generalissimo*, had little choice but to order a retreat of the whole northern line. The extreme left of that long line, at Mons, was held by the British Expeditionary Force of five[2] regular divisions under General Sir John French; and upon them, as was incidental to the post they occupied, fell the most arduous rôle in that memorable retirement. The German sweep drove down at a tremendous pace and in overpowering numbers; and to escape the instant threat of their envelopment the English army was compelled to show swift heels. Heroic feats of marching were accomplished. Under the scorching suns and steady moons of that high August the British raced grimly southward, staggering under their packs, blistered by the hard French *pavées*, blinded with the dust, without sleep for days together, often without food. Regiments lost touch; divisions were parted; and panic-stricken journalists wrote home that all was over. But they were wrong. The marvellous discipline of England's professional soldiers survived that most searching of all tests. The line was nowhere enveloped nor permanently severed. Rearguard actions were successfully maintained and more than once—notably at Le Cateau, where Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien took the hazard on his own responsibility—England turned on her pursuers and obtained some respite by the blows she struck. At length below the River Marne, some twenty miles east of Paris, the British halted, sorely shaken, exhausted, but intact. At the same moment the French line, which had fallen back along with the British, had equally

[1] This offensive did indeed aim at breaking in upon the German bases (such as Metz) and thus obstructing the enemy's liberty of attack.

[2] The Sixth Division joined them at Le Cateau during the retreat.

received Joffre's orders to stand fast; and at that same moment also the Germans committed the great blunder which saved the Allies and ruined them.

That horn of their wide sweep which was attempting to envelop the British was commanded by a capable commander named von Kluck. Hitherto he had been reaching continuously south-westwards in the effort at encirclement; but, confronted as he now was with the fortress works of Paris which afforded timely shelter to the British threatened flank, he desisted from the effort and with singular audacity changed the

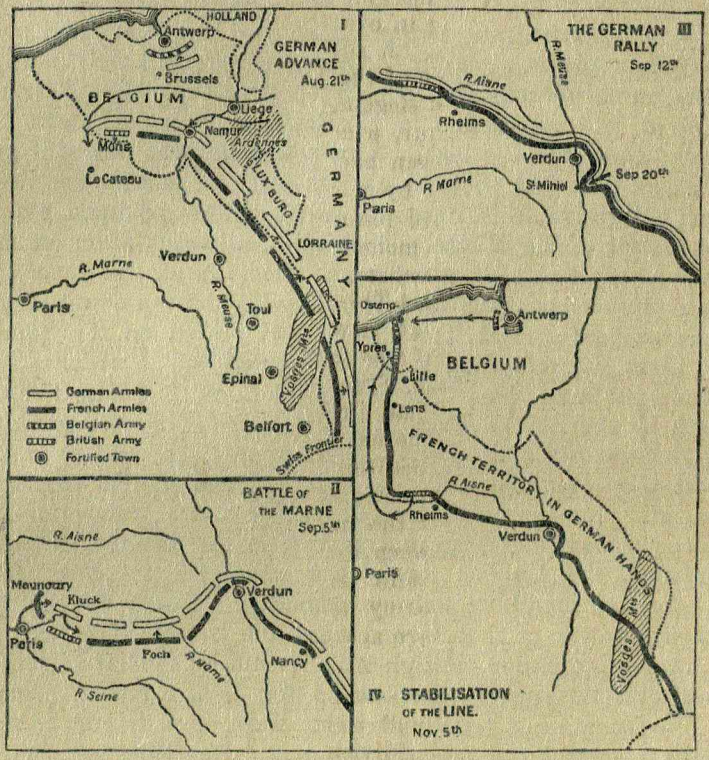


FIG. 55.—THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN OF 1914.

whole direction of his march. Assuming that in its demoralized condition the force he had pursued might be ignored, he swerved away from Paris and passing southeast along the British front struck down towards the French left flank, feeling for the gap between the French and British lines. But he was in double error. Not merely was there fight still left in the British contingent; but the French line was far more strong than he supposed.[1] By thinning his line at less vulnerable points, Joffre

[1] The Germans knew, of course, the approximate strength of the French armies; but they did not know their actual dispositions. In particular they were led astray by the magnificent defence of Nancy, which was held against a strong attack by a comparatively small French force.

had now been able to form a considerable reserve. This newly formed army was being kept against the moment for which his counter-stroke was timed; and that moment at last had come. The centre which to Kluck appeared so vulnerable was reinforced by Foch. Out of Paris, and so close upon Kluck's rear, issued Maunoury's new army, the very existence of which was till now quite unsuspected, and which was ably supported by General Gallieni, commander of the Paris defences. Kluck was caught in an awkward situation. Threatened in his turn by Maunoury's envelopment, he turned upon his tracks to beat it back. In this he was successful; but by his swift return he had in fact degarnished the German centre, leaving thin places where the French might penetrate. Foch, with rare instinct, divined the opportunity. Joffre had given the order to attack; and, after the long discouragement of their enforced retreat, the French hailed the chance with rapture. Not an inch of ground did they yield further, but grappled to the enemy like grim death.

Three days the battle swayed. On the fourth, Foch found his breach; and then with a final thrust the French were through. Pierced at this vital point, the German front collapsed; and they began to scuttle northward for dear life. After them pell-mell went the victorious allied line. Sir John French and his men recrossed the River Marne; and the pursuer now was in his turn pursued. At one moment it appeared as though von Kluck might be outflanked; but his men fighting cleverly and stoutly a series of rear-guard actions, escaped from Maunoury's clutches; and, although with great loss of men and guns, made good their passage of the River Aisne. On the north bank of that river they ensconced themselves in a strong entrenched position, which, neglecting no precaution even at the height of their success, their sappers had meanwhile been busily constructing. Against this the Allies' pursuit broke ineffectual, and, although they crossed the river, they were held. Hitherto, through three weeks of open warfare, the battle-line had been in a constant state of flux; now, however, as first the Germans, then the Allies went to ground, it crystallized into a permanent trench system. Passing along the heights which overlook the Aisne, it skirted the north of Rheims and ran east towards Verdun; then bending sharply round that fortress it set south along the Vosges and through Alsace, till the Swiss frontier brought it to an end. This line—two arms as one might say, of an inverted L—remained to all intents and purposes unaltered during the next four years of fighting; and thus, although at the Marne France had parried successfully the blow which would else have reached her vitals, the instrument which dealt it was left, as it were, still embedded deeply in her side. For behind the Germans' battle-line—hostage, so to speak, of their initial victory—lay a huge cantle of French soil. It was a cruel wound, not merely because so many thousand Frenchmen were thus left at the mercy of an inhuman conqueror, but also because within the captured area was comprised not the least important of the French industrial districts. The inevitable loss of many

mines and factories in the populous neighbourhoods of Lille and Lens severely crippled, though it did not incapacitate, the munitioning activities of France. That was the price she paid for early failure.

The Battle of Ypres.—The first phase—the phase of Open warfare—was now over; but, though the battle-front was stabilized when it reached the River Aisne, it was not complete until it should reach the sea. In the second phase this gap, a full hundred miles in breadth, was waiting to be bridged; and upon the outcome of this phase hung many vital issues, not least the fate of the precious Channel ports. From the first it was a race in reinforcements. Whichever side could anticipate the other in bringing fresh men into the field would inevitably outflank and so bend back the opposing battle-line. With the advantage of their shorter and (what perhaps mattered more) undamaged communications, the Allies had the better of the race, and were thus enabled to direct the lengthening line continuously northwards. As other sections of the front were duly trenched, it became possible to man them with inferior numbers, and the men thus spared were rapidly transported to the more critical scene of action in the north. The climax of this method of reinforcements was the wholesale transference of the entire British Army from its post in the Aisne Valley to the Franco-Belgian border. By the middle of October the British were setting foot for the second time on Belgian soil. It was not much of Belgium, however, that they were able to recover; and about this very moment, what was left of its own defenders stood in imminent peril of complete reduction.

The Belgian Army, as we saw above, had fallen back in August upon Antwerp. There they held on until after the Marne battle the Germans undertook to press the siege in earnest. Huge guns were brought to bear upon the outer forts and shattered them to ruins. The town itself was soon in flames; and only by swift retreat, while an exit still remained to them, did the surviving Belgian forces escape capture. Under the sheltering rear-guard of the British Seventh Division, transported from England expressly for the purpose, they were brought in safety to the Flemish coast; and with their coming the extension of the Allies' battle-front from the Aisne valley to the sea was finally completed. But, though complete, the British line had still to prove that it could hold. At points indeed it was perilously thin; and, when in late October the enemy determined to break through and win the Channel ports, the chances of repelling him seemed small. Round Ypres, to which the British clung for sentimental reasons, a three weeks' battle raged. More than once the Germans were within a touch of victory; but the English army hung grimly on—sheltered in water-logged, unwholesome trenches, deluged with shell-fire to which they could scarcely answer, seldom relieved for days and days together, and subjected all this while to massed assaults of increasing German numbers. It was a miracle they held; but hold they did; and at length the foe desisted. Winter drew on; and both sides settled down to endure

the miseries and improvise the tactics of a novel type of war. The trenches, often but a few score yards apart, were divided only by the wire entanglements set up by either side. Mortars and machine guns kept up short range bombardments. Howitzers and the rest played havoc from the rear; and meanwhile the wretched victims of this two-fold devilry stood up to their waists in water day and night, scanning the mists for a sign of creeping figures or piling sand-bags on the broken breastworks beneath which rotting corpses lay. Holding as they did the higher ground, the Germans enjoyed a physical advantage; and in every type of munition and equipment they outmatched the British completely. For three following winters the same terrible ordeal lay before the British soldiers; and, though to some extent England soon made good her mechanical deficiency, yet it was a long and weary while —infinitely weary to the impatient soldiers—before she drew level with the scientific thoroughness of her opponents. In one respect, indeed, they could boast of an advantage which we need not envy them. The Germans were prepared to be unscrupulous in their tactics, and even decided upon the use of poisoned gas. Had they realized its value to the full, they might have broken the British line. As it was, they crossed it on a small front north of Ypres. They failed, however, to push home their first success; and the sight of their tortured victims, livid from choking lungs, roused in the British such spirit as no failure or discouragement could quench. For now at least England came to realize, if she did not so before, with what manner of foe it was she had to deal.

II. Russia, Gallipoli, and Other Eastern Theatres

Russia's Weakness.—If in the West their hope of a swift decision had thus been falsified, the Germans' confidence in the safety of their eastern frontier was better founded. For, though the rapidity of Russia's early strokes upset their calculations, she was not able to maintain the pace; and their low estimate of her capacity proved substantially correct. To the uninstructed British public, on the other hand, "the Russian steam-roller" appeared a tower of strength; and they foolishly looked forward to seeing the Tsar's hosts advance slowly, but surely, on Berlin. It was a pure illusion. Russia's weakness had already been displayed ten years before in her war against Japan; and, although since then she had reorganized her army, its radical defects had not been changed. Her human resources, it is true, are almost limitless. Given time, she could well raise 10,000,000 men or more; and these, though inferior to the German in intelligence and training, were magnificent material, endowed with a courage unsurpassed by any people, half-fatalistic (for there is much of the Oriental in the Russian character), half-born of a childlike faith in their religion and their Tsar.

But wars in the twentieth century are not fought with men alone; and in every type of mechanical equipment the Russian Army was far

behind the times. There were not even rifles sufficient to go round, and often men were marched unarmed into a battle to await their turn with a rifle when some comrade should be killed. Their losses were appalling; for the German artillery mowed them down by thousands; and it was too seldom that their own could effectively reply. Munition factories of a sort they did indeed possess; but theirs is not by

FIG. 56.—MAP OF THE RUSSIAN FRONT.

nature an industrial country; and the supply of guns and shells fell lamentably short. Worse still, the intrigues of traitors and the corruption of officials were a constant hindrance to the commanders at the front. These, luckily, were men of sterling character; and the Grand Duke Nicholas, their *generalissimo*, was no mean strategist. His first blow, struck at the earliest possible moment to relieve the heavy pressure upon France, was an invasion of East Prussia. This province, which protrudes between Poland and the Baltic, was particularly

precious to the Germans for the grain supplies it furnished; and when into it burst Rennenkampf, the Cossack leader, driving before him the scared inhabitants and leaving behind him a trail of gutted villages and blazing stacks, there arose wild panic throughout Eastern Germany.

The German Drive.—The raid achieved its purpose in checking the flow of German reinforcements to the critical battle-ground in France; but its success was brief. In the marshy neighbourhood of the Masurian Lakes part of the Russian Army was waylaid by the veteran Hindenburg, who knew the district well and made a skilful use of its strategic railroads. They were enveloped at Tannenberg and perished almost to a man. For the moment Eastern Germany was saved; but this disaster notwithstanding, the Grand Duke continued his offensive strategy. Using Warsaw as his centre, he was soon pushing westwards in a far-flung sweep. By now, however, the enemy's resistance had begun to stiffen; and, as the campaign approached the German border and the important district of the Silesian mine-fields, the Russians were first held and then thrown back.

Meanwhile in the south, better fortune had attended their invasion of the Austrian province of Galicia. The Austrian Army, drawn as it largely was from the Empire's disaffected subject peoples, and officered by a callous, inefficient aristocracy, showed no great stomach for resisting them. They overran Galicia, captured after a siege the great fortress of Przemysl, and even topped the crest of the Carpathian mountains, beyond which lay the fertile granary of the Hungarian plains. Such a threat to the supplies of their confederate brought the Germans to her aid. They reorganized the Austrian Army, stiffened it with regiments of their own, and in the early summer of 1915 undertook a bold offensive in Galicia, not merely for the purpose of recovering that province, but in the hope of breaking Russia once for all. Secretly massing a huge park of field artillery and placing their own crack general, von Mackensen, in command, they sprang a great surprise. The deluge of their shells blotted out an entire sector of the front; and, driving through the gap, they turned the whole Russian line to north of them. Every foot of ground was stubbornly contested; but the German onslaught was not stayed. In August they entered Warsaw; then for mile after bleak mile pushed forward across Poland till by autumn the Russian frontier proper had been crossed. There is a limit, however, even to the most spectacular advances; and, though to reach Petrograd or Moscow seemed not impossible, yet the memory of Napoleon's fate was a warning against so ambitious an excursion; and eventually a halt was called on the line of Vilna-Rovno. The summer's campaign had been a marvellous triumph and the joy-bells were still ringing in Berlin. But, though the Russian Army had been beaten in perhaps a score of battles and driven back more than two hundred miles, its front was still continuous; and there was fight left in it yet. Thus, after all, what the Germans had set out to do they had not done. 1915 was drawing to a close; and the *decision* which

the War's first year denied them in the west, the second year had now denied them in the east as well.

Landings on Gallipoli.—To the Allies, however, this was a scanty comfort. The "steam-roller" had rolled, but, contrary to prediction, had rolled back; and it needed no great perspicacity to see the reason why. Lack of ammunition was the root cause of Russia's trouble—so much her friends had long since understood—but how to get it to her had been an awkward question, more difficult to solve. The Baltic was blocked by German battleships and minefields. Archangel on the northern coast was free from ice only in summer months. There remained the Dardanelles, and here most unhappily the Turks were across the way. Even before the War, as we have said, their sympathies had leant towards Germany; in the first days, and while still strictly neutrals, they had given shelter to her two men-of-war, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, which had eluded British pursuit. The presence of these battleships had applied the needful spur to their irresolution; and they had taken the fateful plunge. If, therefore, the Allies were to unlock the Dardanelles and get at Russia, it would have to be against the resistance of the Turk. Nor was this by any means an easy proposition. The Straits are by nature strong; and under the supervision of German officers, lent for the purpose several years before, their defences had been brought well up to date. There were those, however, among England's naval strategists who had been much impressed by the collapse of Belgian fortresses under the fire of modern guns; they believed that the broadsides of powerful battleships would have similar success; and, since no land forces were then available for a joint operation, they determined very early in 1915 to attempt to force the Straits with ships alone.

The result was a lamentable failure. The forts at the entrance were silenced, it is true, and the Franco-British fleet got some four miles up the Channel; but the fire of the concealed batteries on either side the Narrows, and the danger of floating mines which drifted down the current, compelled them to fall back with the loss of three large ships. In one sense it was worse than a failure; it was an unpardonable blunder; for it gave the Turks a warning of Allied plans. The Gallipoli peninsula was strengthened with wire entanglements, and its garrison largely increased under the command of German officers; and, when five weeks later Sir Ian Hamilton arrived at Lemnos with a fleet of transports and 120,000 men aboard, it was evident to all that the hazards of a landing had in the interval been multiplied tenfold. The enterprise which followed was among the most audacious and most tragic of all time. The Turks are magnificent defensive fighters; and that the British should ever have succeeded in setting foot upon Gallipoli remains a standing marvel. Many feint attacks were planned at various points to divert the Turks' attention; but at two points, in particular, England meant to seize the shore, and she succeeded. Australians and New Zealanders rushed a small bay or inlet on the southwest coast, which

came to be known from their corps' initial letters as the "Anzac" Cove. British regiments, meanwhile, were conveyed in boats and barges to Cape Helles at the tip of the peninsula. The Turks, who were perfectly prepared for their arrival, poured in a hail of shot. Despite of it, however, the boats were driven on the beaches, the British swarmed over, and a precarious footing was won. Yet they lost, perhaps, half their number in the doing of it, and the survivors, crouching under the shelter of low sandhills, seemed doomed to death or capture. Nevertheless, they not merely held their footing, but advanced inland in the teeth of Turkish fire. By dint of costly rushes, aided by the curtain fire of the battleships behind, they crept up the southern tip of the penin-

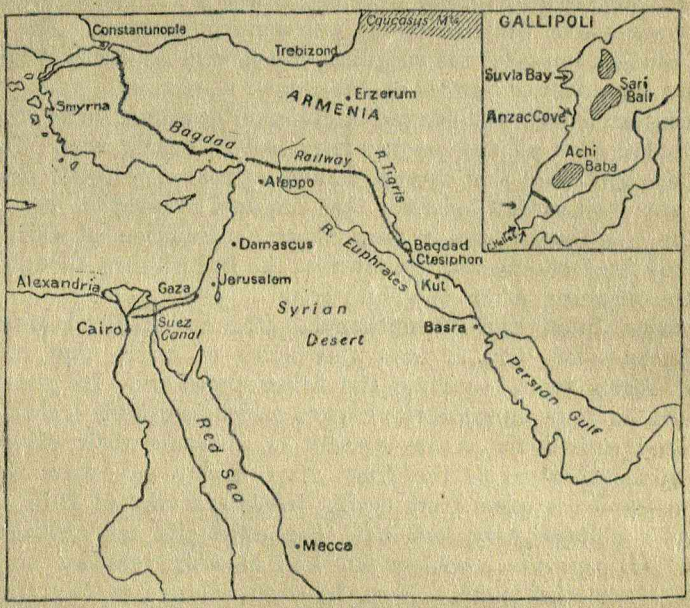


FIG. 57.—GALLIPOLI, PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA.

sula, until they had occupied a tongue of land over two miles in depth. But farther they could not go. The heights of Achi Baba, their immediate objective before the further heights could be won, defied every effort to advance; and for weeks a hopeless, though heroic struggle was maintained without result. The horror of the British sufferings—the heat, the thirst, the stench, and, perhaps worst of all, the flies—is enough to stagger thought. Fever and dysentery played havoc in the ranks; and the sick or wounded could not be got away except under cover of the night. Yet the effort of the British was never once relaxed; and in daring raids or skilful sniping the Turk soon found his match.

Suvla Landing and Evacuation.—In August the long-awaited reinforcements at length arrived from England; and Sir Ian Hamilton

essayed a second stroke. The fresh troops were put ashore at Anzac and somewhat higher up the western coast at Suvla Bay. Opposite the new landing stood a range of heights, and most conspicuous among them the scrub covered slopes of Sari Bair. If this were captured the British would be able from its crest to sweep the Turks down into the sea, or at the very least to win the observation ports vital to the successful bombardment of the fortresses which lined the Straits; and so completely did the landing take the enemy by surprise that at one moment its capture seemed accomplished. The forces engaged, however, were mostly untried troops, receiving here, upon this wild and open coast, their baptism of fire. Officers being killed, regiments lost their bearings. Clear orders were not issued or, if issued, went astray; and the success of the first stroke was scarcely grasped. The confusion on the beaches impeded the supplies, which were so sorely needed, from reaching the advance parties on the inland slopes; and, when the Turkish forces at length rallied and their counter-attack came, the British were hurled back off the heights they had so nearly won. To prolong the campaign after this second failure appeared without excuse; but it was not until after Christmas that the final evacuation was achieved.[1] Like the landing, it was a marvellous combination of efficiency and bluff; and the Turks were unaware that the British even thought of going until the morning after they had gone.

Salonica, Suez, and Mesopotamia.—The Gallipoli adventure, however unsuccessful, had at least this much of merit, that it kept the Turkish Army from troubling the Allies elsewhere. Its abandonment, therefore, let loose large enemy forces which had been hitherto pinned down, and caused the Allies equally to dissipate their efforts among many minor theatres of the East. One urgent call upon their sadly strained resources came from Serbia in the autumn of 1915. Hitherto England's gallant Ally had held her own with astonishing success; and on two separate occasions she had bloodily repulsed an Austrian invasion from the north. Now, however, upon her Eastern frontier also she was faced with the attack of a new foe. Since the defeat which he had suffered at her hands in 1913 Ferdinand of Bulgaria had been awaiting his revenge. With the Germans he already had a secret understanding; and, so soon as the Allied failure at Gallipoli seemed proven and he felt there was no danger of an attack upon his rear, he came out upon their side. Thus assailed upon two fronts, Serbia's case was hopeless. First Belgrade, then Nish had in turn to be abandoned, and the diminished army, unable to make much fight of it, retired southwest into the mountains and, after a terrible march among the snow-clad passes, succeeded in reaching the Adriatic coast. The Allies, as so often, were too late to avert the tragedy; and the best that Britain could do—though hesitating long before she did it—was to prevent the important town of Salonica from falling also into Austrian

[1] Suvla Bay and Anzac Cove were evacuated on 20 December; the tip of the Peninsula on 9 January.

hands. This port, from which enemy submarines could have swept the whole Ægean, belonged in reality to Greece. Hence arose a delicate and awkward situation. For Constantine, the King of Greece, had strong pro-German leanings; and he refused downright to give the British leave to land. By a recent treaty, however, Greece was pledged to render help to Serbia, if Serbia were attacked; on the score of this the Allies determined to ignore the protest of the King; and in October a mixed force of French and British went ashore. Its belated effort to assist the retreating Serbs bore no fruit; and the only genuine service which it continued to perform was to occupy the attention of the Bulgar Army and to keep a watch on the ambiguous attitude of Greece. The lines round Salonica were strengthened and enlarged; and, when the

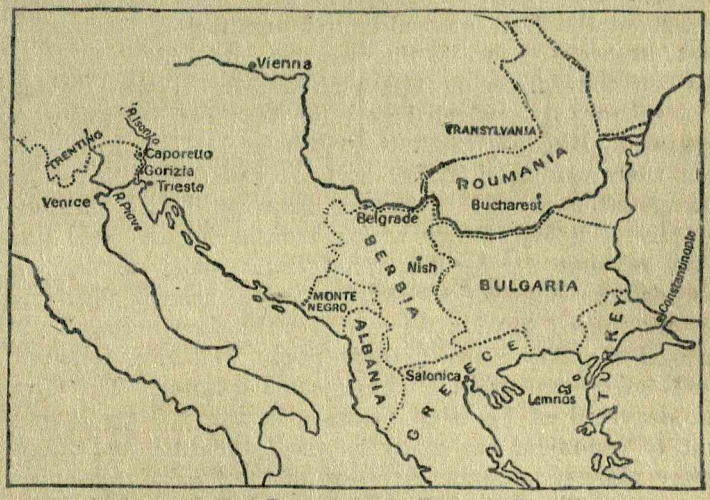


FIG. 58.—THE ITALIAN AND BALKAN FRONTS.

greater part of Allied Gallipoli divisions had been transported thither at the ending of the year, they began to form the nucleus of a formidable army, fit one day to square the reckoning with the foe.

Meantime, as we have said, if the evacuation of Gallipoli set Allied forces free, so equally did it set free large forces of the Turk. This was a serious matter; and to the holders of Egypt and the Canal at Suez—never perhaps more valuable than now—the prospect was a black one. Already in February of 1915 the Turks had made a bid at seizing the canal; and, though easily repulsed, they held the whole of the Sinai peninsula, a most disconcerting menace to England. Luckily, however, the Arabs were against them; and, even if such allies were a weak reed for England to lean on, she decided that an offensive was the best method of defence. Accordingly, in the first months of 1916 she began to push her forces across the trackless desert which divides the Suez isthmus from southern Palestine. A railway was constructed to facilitate supplies. The enemy's attacks were beaten off. The Shereef of

Mecca revolted from the Turks; and all for a time went well. But the pace of the British advance was inevitably slow; and, the threat to Palestine being somewhat in the air, the Turks had meanwhile felt free to concentrate their forces on more telling work elsewhere. At the head of the Persian Gulf England possessed before the War an important oil supply which served her fleet. To secure its safety she had lost no time in landing a small force—mainly of Indian regiments—at Basra. Once there the temptation of striking at the Turk had been too strong to be resisted; and General Townshend had marched up the Tigris, defeated a Turkish army in the neighbourhood of Kut, and pressed north towards Bagdad. By the middle of November, 1915, he had reached a point within five-and-twenty miles of the historic town itself. Its capture, which would greatly have enhanced England's prestige throughout the East, seemed hourly imminent; yet already, though as yet she scarcely knew it, she was too late. Part of the Turkish forces, which the failure at Gallipoli had freed, were being hurried east. The railway line, which before the War had been constructed by the Germans to Bagdad, facilitated their arrival; and, though Townshend beat their vanguard in fine style at Ctesiphon, he was compelled the moment after to fall back once more on Kut. Thither he was followed; and for five dreary winter months he was held under close siege. Forces sent up for his relief could make no headway. The Tigris' floods were out; and the Turks now had men in plenty for resistance. At the end of April, after terrible privations heroically borne, the garrison of Kut gave in. Still worse might well have followed but for a timely Russian exploit in an unexpected quarter. The Grand Duke Nicholas, deprived of his high position during the great retreat, had been sent to command the army of the Caucasus; and there he had straightway planned a daring invasion of the Turks' Armenian border. While Kut was still untaken, he had descended through deep snow upon the powerful fortress-town of Erzerum, captured it, and, before the Turks could rally, driven them back along the Black Sea coast as far as Trebizond. This threat to Asia Minor relieved to some extent the pressure on Allied forces in the south; and it showed that, notwithstanding their success in other theatres, the Turks were already feeling the heavy strain of war. They had no choice, indeed, but to fight on; for their German masters would not let them stop. But for them too, though still as yet far distant, the day of reckoning was to come at last.

III. Hopes Deffered 1915-16

Italy and the Allied Resources.—Throughout the War there were those (even in high places) who held that to strike at the weakest enemy was the wisest strategy, and that the Allies' best hopes of victory lay therefore in the East. Others held—and, as the issue proved, correctly—that to win the war the Allies must first beat Germany, and

that the road to victory lay therefore in the West. The controversy was to be decided only by events themselves; but among the high command this latter view upon the whole prevailed; and in the spring of 1915, despite the apparent deadlock on the Western front, they had some ground for confidence. To wear down the enemy's resistance would no doubt take time; but if a war of sheer exhaustion was what lay ahead, then the balance of manpower seemed to favour the Allies.

Russia, as has been said, was good for countless millions. France would continue the fight to her last man; and the Allies now had good promise also of a new Ally. Italy showed signs of joining them. Notwithstanding her old alliance with the enemy, she was at heart in sympathy with the democratic cause; all she asked was the assurance that a large share of the Adriatic seaboard should be hers; the Allies' pledge once given on this point, she decided to come in, and in May, 1915, her armies, already mobilized, were launched against the Austrian frontier, with the twofold purpose of capturing Trieste, and of regaining the long-coveted possession of "Italia Irredenta." Thus pressed, it was clear that Austria could spare no reinforcements for the German line in France; and, if Germany herself had men to hold the trenches, the Allies felt sure that, French and British put together, they had more. British reserves—the reserves of a world-empire—were slow no doubt in coming into play; but they were large. The Colonies were arming, ready and eager to take a part in England's war. Native troops had been trans-shipped from India, and were proud to fill the gaps in the hard-pressed line in France. Last, but not least, there were large new armies forming upon British soil itself. Lord Kitchener, when appointed at the outbreak of hostilities to be Secretary for War, had appealed for volunteers; and he had soon got more than the figure which he named. Hundreds of thousands, the pick of the nation's manhood, were under training in improvised camp quarters. After nine or ten months' exercise the raw recruits of the preceding autumn would be fit to take the field. With these welcome reinforcements England would be able during the summer to take over a fresh strip of the French line. Meanwhile with spring the horrors of winter were forgotten; and hopes very naturally ran high.

Neuve Chapelle and Loos.—The campaign on the Western front in 1915 was a one-sided affair. The Germans expended all their energy on the great Russian drive; and, except for the gas attack in the neighbourhood of Ypres, they were content simply to hold their own. The initiative lay therefore, with the Allies; and Sir John French led off in early March with an attack at Neuve Chapelle. The British obliterated the enemy's defences with a lavish expenditure of shells, and entering the gap thus torn they made a mile of ground; then, while they were doubting how to follow up the stroke, the counter-attack came and they were firmly held. In May the French to south of the British were hammering hard towards Lens; but, though they too won some country, they equally were held. After these disappoint-

ments a breathing-space was taken to prepare for an offensive on a more elaborate scale; and on 25 September two great attacks were simultaneously begun, one by the French alone in the rolling Champagne country east of Rheims, the other by French and British armies in conjunction on the old battle-ground of May. The results, though more extensive as measured by mere miles, fell far below the Allies' hopes. For, dent it as they might, the German front held firm; and they were as far as ever from achieving a genuine "break-through." Even if such a thing were possible at all, the problems to be solved

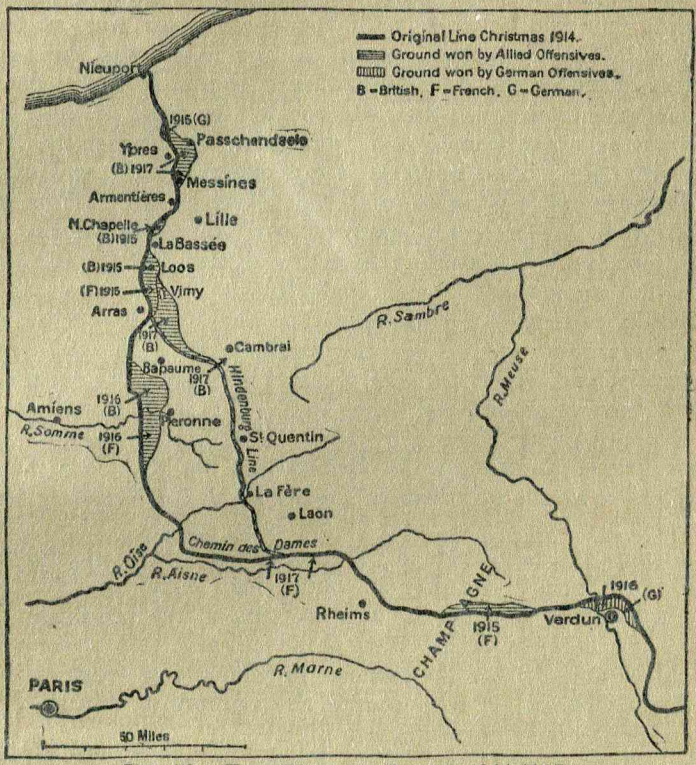


FIG. 59.—THE WESTERN FRONT, 1914-1917.

seemed overwhelming; and how many were the pitfalls few had realised till now. Thus Loos, which was the primary objective of the British attack, they had carried at one rush; but the front attacked was too narrow to admit of a real break through; and, even had the reserves not failed to appear at the right moment, little more could have been achieved. This strategical miscarriage was much criticized at home; and a few months later Sir John French was himself recalled, Sir Douglas Haig being promoted in his place.

But it was not faults of generalship alone which were revealed by this year's failure. After Neuve Chapelle England had come sud-

enly to realise that her supply of high explosive was utterly inadequate. A vigorous Press campaign set the blame upon the War Office; and the Government was urged to step in and set things right. As a result, a new "Ministry of Munitions" was established. Lloyd George, who from Socialist reformer had now become the chief protagonist of ruthless war, was appointed its first head; and soon shell factories were rising, as by magic, in every nook and corner of the land. England, in short, became a monster arsenal; yet she did not for all that intend to be regarded as a mere purveyor of supplies. More men were clearly needed on the Western front, before victory could be won; and to provide them was a duty which could not be burked. Conscription then appeared the obvious course; and, though Mr. Asquith's Cabinet had been hitherto averse to a method so opposed to the Liberal principles of individual freedom, yet without conscription it was difficult to see how more men were to be raised. Mr. Asquith's Cabinet, however, was now, in point of fact, no longer purely Liberal. During the crisis which arose about the lack of ammunition he had called on the Conservatives to join its ranks; the Coalition Ministry thus formed was in a strong position; and, when a few months later the necessity for conscription became so clear, it was able to appeal without prejudice of party to the loyal commonsense of Englishmen. Few voices in fact were raised in opposition when in the course of the winter of 1915-16 compulsory service for all under forty-two was made law by Act of Parliament. For now at any rate the task which lay ahead of England was beginning to be seen in true perspective; and the nation set its teeth.

Verdun and the Somme.—So, despite the discouragements of Kut and Serbia, the failure of Russia and of the Dardanelles campaign, England embarked upon the year 1916 in a new spirit of grim resolve. All her resources "to the last man and the last shilling" were now to be thrown in; and the winter months were devoted to a preparation more elaborate, more scientific, and more soundly planned than heretofore. Lord Kitchener, its director, was unhappily lost in June, the ship which was to carry him to Russia having foundered on a mine; but Sir William Robertson took up the reins and showed clearly from the start that the Army's organization lay in not less able hands.[1] Before this occurred, however, the year's campaign had opened; and this time the initiative was not with the Allies. The first blow came from the enemy. While February snows were still upon the ground, they launched an offensive of unprecedented force against Verdun. To achieve a real "break-through" at so defensible a point was probably beyond their calculation; but by capturing this angle of the French defence they hoped at least to daunt the nation's spirit, and even perhaps, when peace settlements were made, to secure it as a permanent possession. However that may be, they were determined to win Verdun.

[1] Sir W. Robertson was not, like Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, but Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Their preliminary bombardment was on a gigantic scale; and several of the forts which ringed the town were captured by assault. But the French under General Pétain rallied in good time; and, as corps after corps of their assailants swarmed up the battered slopes, they flung them strongly back. So it went on, till there was scarcely a regiment in either army but was brought up in its turn to be thrown into the furnace; and all through the critical weeks of April, May, and June the fortunes of battle swayed.

It was a question now whether the British Army could strike its blow in time to relieve the pressure on the French and save Verdun. It could. On 1 July England launched her grand offensive on the River Somme. For months she had planned and studied the details of its strategy. Nothing now was left to chance. Emplacements had been built for a whole host of powerful guns. These were first to concentrate on the enemy's defences and pound them into dust. Then, as the infantry went forward to occupy the débris, the guns' elevation lifted and a curtain fire preceded the advance. An accurate time-table had been prepared, and every unit knew precisely at what minute to leave cover and at what point to stop. Aeroplanes, fitted with wireless installations, were to give headquarters tidings of the progress at the front. Most wonderful of all in this battle of many wonders, huge, armoured monsters, known for secrecy as "tanks,"[1] crept ponderously forward over ditch and hedge and hillock, nosing out the machine-guns which the artillery had spared and enfilading nests of enemy sharpshooters. No battle in history had ever been conducted on so magnificent a scale; and first and last millions of men took part in it. The British attack was delivered on an enormous front measuring, with that of the adjacent French offensive, full five and twenty miles. The main objective was Bapaume, an important centre of communications in the rear of the enemy's line; but on this occasion there was to be no mad rush to carry all at a blow. Three separate lines of German trenches lay between the British and their goal; and each of these was methodically mastered along the entire front, before an advance was made against the next. At each successive stage, however, a pause for preparation was essential to success. The guns had to be brought up, emplacements built anew; and during the interval—two weeks or more in length—the Germans, who were from the first forewarned of British intentions by the nature of their bombardments, were free to bring up reinforcements and make fresh dispositions for defence. The result was that, by the time the British had pushed up the rolling downland and looked over the crest on to the plains around Bapaume, autumn had overtaken them. November rains still found them on the descending slopes. They had won many miles of country. The British troops had fought with a heroism beyond description and beyond praise. The

[1] Tanks, in point of fact, were first used upon the Somme on 15 September, but in insufficient numbers; and the value of this new arm was largely discounted by its premature disclosure.

continual strain placed upon the defenders of the position had told on their morale; and the English soldiers had taken heavy toll of German lives. Yet who shall say that they had won the battle? For to fail of victory at such a stage was little better than defeat; and, if after the close of it their disillusionment was bitter, there was a worse in store.

Some fifteen miles away behind Bapaume, and cutting across the threatened angle of their front, the Germans had been busy for months past constructing a new line—the "Hindenburg line" as the Allied soldiers christened it—and to this at the end of winter they suddenly withdrew, leaving behind them a broad tract of country which, as they went, they laid waste with a deliberate cunning to hamper and retard the Allied pursuit. Such a retirement appeared perhaps at first to be to the Allies' advantage; but in reality it was the enemy who scored. It enabled him by the shortening of his line to economize his men; while it imposed on the Allies the arduous necessity of constructing in a wilderness new trenches, new depots of supply, and new communications with the rear. It was a cruel consummation to early hopes; for nothing in warfare is more disconcerting than the sense of being tricked.

Rumania Overrun.—Truth to tell, the Allies were beginning reluctantly to recognize that, in strategy at least, the German was their master. To him the various fronts in east or west were but part of one vast battleground; and, while on the Allied side the operation of each separate army was confined to its own sphere, *his* troops were hurried to the point where they were needed, from France to Serbia or from Galicia to the Somme, with the masterly precision of a single directing mind. In other words, unity of command and the geographical advantage of interior lines enabled his troops, despite their dwindling numbers, still to do double work; and thanks to this they were to achieve in the autumn of 1916 a success which counterbalanced any losses of the year. . . .

That sooner or later the friendly State, Rumania, would range herself upon the Allied side had long been the hope and expectation of British diplomats. She was an old enemy of Austria; and, like Italy, she longed to redeem her fellow-countrymen of Transylvania from the Empire's alien yoke. For a while she had very naturally been daunted by the sad collapse of Russia; but in the course of this year's summer the situation on the Eastern front had taken a better turn. Brussiloff, the dashing Russian general, had struck strongly in the south, making great havoc of Austria's demoralized divisions and taking an enormous haul of willing prisoners. Rumania felt encouraged; and at the end of August she also took the plunge. Great was the satisfaction among Allied nations; but their satisfaction was destined to be brief. Shortly before, as it so happened, there had been drastic changes in the German High Command. Falkenhayn, discredited by the failure of his offensive at Verdun, was superseded by von Hindenburg, the new national favourite and the successful commander of the Eastern front; more important

still, his Chief of Staff and the real directing brain of future operations was a man of very great, if not of supreme genius—Ludendorff. Now to these two new commanders the entry of Rumania came as a golden opportunity of displaying German strength. Though the Somme battle was still raging, several enemy divisions were spared from the French front; and these assailed the new Ally of England and France on her western flank. Simultaneously, Bulgaria threatened her from the south; and, since the promised aid from Russia never came, her doom was quickly sealed. Bucharest, her capital, was in German hands by Christmas; and the battered remnant of the Rumanian Army was driven back and back, until nothing more remained to them than a narrow strip of country along the Russian border in the east. To the Allies, this rapid downfall of their latest friend was a terrible setback. Nothing could have been more damaging to their prestige; and a growing belief in the invincibility of German arms began to take a hold on doubting hearts. Happily, however, those that hoped were more than those that doubted. A German offer of peace was repelled with scornful pride; and, dark as the hour was, the British spirit hardened to the trial. It was a symptom not of despair, but of increasing resolution, that in December public opinion approved the overthrow of Mr. Asquith on the ground that he lacked energy, and hailed with genuine relief the promotion of Lloyd George as one who would fight to the death.

IV. War on the Seas

Importance of Sea Power.—At the end, then, of the war's third autumn the outlook was not promising; but pessimists were apt, as is their habit, to look too much upon the surface. Underlying the chequered fortune of the long-drawn struggle there was still one sure foundation for good hope; and, looking deeper, England should have known (what her wars with France had taught her long ago) that, when sea power and land power are confronted, sea power wins. It cannot be too often or too emphatically remembered how essential a foundation not merely of England's victory, but of her very existence as a nation and an empire, was the supremacy of her Navy and its command of the world's seas. From the declaration of war in August, 1914, until the signing of the Armistice just over four years later, this never for one hour or for one minute ceased to be true; and that during all those years, under circumstances far more difficult and trying than ever Hawke or Nelson knew, British admirals and sailors maintained and more than maintained the high tradition of the past—is a matter to thank God on. Their activities were manifold and ubiquitous; for, though France and Italy both helped to share it, the work was mainly England's. Broadly speaking, it fell under two heads. First, she had to defeat or at any rate to immobilize the enemy's North Sea Fleet, thereby securing her own coasts against invasion and gaining incidentally a stranglehold over all the German ports. She had, secondly, to

safeguard, in whatever sea or ocean, the Allied shipping both which carried and supplied her troops and which (equally important) fed the civil populations that would otherwise have starved. So successfully, so silently, and withal so unobtrusively was this twofold task performed that at times it is difficult to remember the magnitude of the burden it imposed.

German and British Raids.—The building up of the German Navy, as we have seen above, had been extraordinarily rapid, and, up to a point, extraordinarily efficient; so that in August, 1914, it was no contemptible rival to that of England. The margin of England's superi-

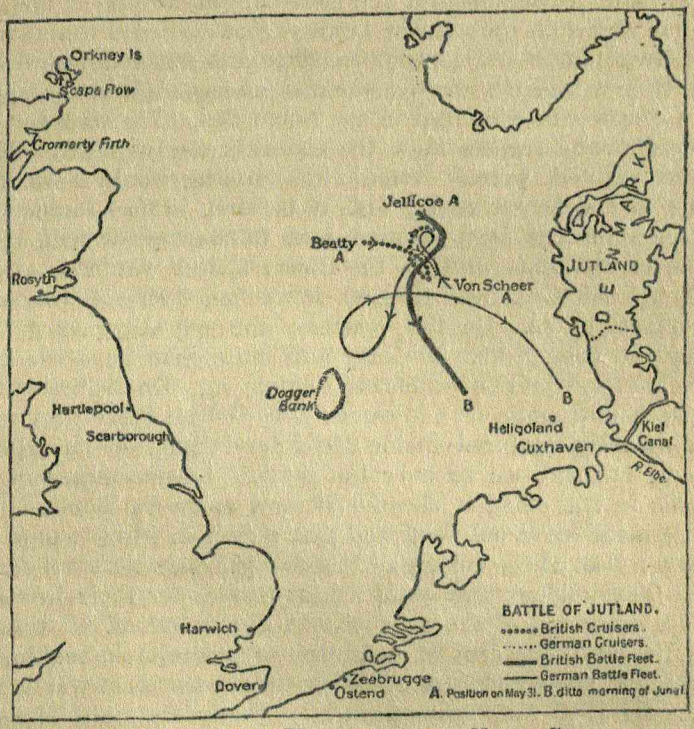


FIG. 60.—NAVAL WARFARE IN THE NORTH SEA.

ority was then, in fact, so narrow that the performance of all her many naval duties was the severest tax upon the Fleet's resources. In the first few months, if ever, the invasion of the east coast would have been a possibility; but it was never tried; and little by little the ceaseless activity of England's shipyards began to give her so decisive a superiority of numbers that she could count on dealing faithfully with any such attempt. Meantime, however, her coasts had not altogether escaped from hostile visitation. Impudent and vexatious, but for the most part harmless, raids, were made by fast enemy cruisers, which ran across under cover of night or mist, fired a few shells on Yarmouth,

Hartlepool, and Scarborough, and then fled back to Kiel with all possible dispatch.

In January, 1915, German cruisers tried to play this trick one time too often; Admiral Beatty's cruiser squadron got wind of their design, cut in upon the raiders as they ran for home, and sank one battleship, the *Blücher*, while severely damaging the rest. This engagement, fought off the Dogger Bank, was a warning to the enemy to discontinue such adventure; and, indeed, thanks to the increase of England's armaments, her defensive dispositions were growing more and more complete. Torpedo-boat flotillas were in readiness at Harwich and at Dover. Beatty's battle cruisers lay for the most part at Rosyth in the Firth of Forth; and at Scapa Flow in the Orkneys was stationed the main Battle Fleet of dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts under Admiral Jellicoe. Each of these squadrons was prepared at an instant's notice to descend on any German who appeared in the North Sea. The incessant labours of intrepid mine-sweepers kept the channels always clear. If enemy ships were sighted, patrols, fitted with wireless, would flash back the summons to the larger craft; and it became, in fact, impossible for any vessel to emerge from German ports unobserved or with impunity.

Battle of Jutland.—But, if the Kaiser's fleet was thus effectually "bottled up" in Cuxhaven or Kiel, it was no desire of England that it should remain so. On the contrary, she was eager to give battle whenever the enemy were willing; and more than once she ran considerable risks in trying to induce him to come out. On the first of August, for example, and again on Christmas Eve, British destroyers and light cruisers actually ventured inside Heligoland Bight in the attempt to draw him; but as soon as ever the pursuit became aware of British big vessels in the offing it sheered off and made for home. The fact is, the Germans knew only too well that a fleet in being was of greater value than a fleet at the bottom of the sea; and they were not for taking hazards. Nevertheless they paid a heavy price for their inaction; for England's command of the seas enabled her to cut off all their trade. Slow as England was (out of deference to neutrals) in making use of this advantage, she was driven at last by the necessities of war to use it to the full. In 1915 she began to exercise freely the right of search at sea. In the summer of next year she took a big step forward and declared as contraband, not food alone, but all materials, such as rubber and raw cotton, which might assist the enemy in making war. Difficulties arose, of course, with neutrals like the Dutch, who could import forbidden articles and then sell them to the Germans. But England kept a sharp look out for such-like practices; and by rationing the neutrals for their own consumption she eventually frustrated any leakage of this kind. The sowing of a mine field across the upper end of the North Sea enabled her to intercept all ships that sailed for Europe; and before the War was over the blockade she had so tardily begun came to exercise a painful pressure on the German Army and the German people.

Such pressure, one would think, might well have driven the German Navy to take courage and try conclusions with the British. Yet for that it lacked audacity; and the sole occasion on which the two fleets met was not sought by them at least. What game it was precisely which caused them to come out is of little consequence. Very probably they hoped to catch at unawares some isolated portion of England's scattered forces. But however that may be, the fact remains that about half-past two on the afternoon of 31 May, 1916, the British Battle Fleet, forewarned by intercepted wireless messages that the enemy were at sea, was cruising in search of them and learnt through scouts of their approach. Their cruisers were first sighted opposite the Jutland coast (which gave its name to the battle); and Beatty's cruisers were at once dispatched to intercept their escape south. Failing of that, and coming into contact with the enemy's main Fleet, he turned his squadron north again with intent to draw them after him towards Jellicoe's big ships. This manœuvre exposed him to the concentrated fire of the full German gun-power; and though he gave almost as much damage as he got, two of his ships were sunk. But the manœuvre so far succeeded that the Germans followed, and soon after six o'clock the two main fleets engaged. Jellicoe swerved eastwards towards the Jutland coast, and was just working down between the Germans and their base when they turned away and launched their torpedo flotilla in a grand attack against him. To follow them would have exposed his fleet to fearful risks in meeting this new danger; and, rightly or wrongly, Jellicoe played for caution, drawing away from the torpedo menace and thus losing touch with the main German Fleet. Under the gathering mists of twilight von Scheer, the German admiral, made good his escape south-westward; and though British destroyers followed close behind him, vanished into the night. . . . Till morning Jellicoe kept cruising outside the German base waiting for him to come; but von Scheer never came. He had made a ring round north again and, eluding observation, had crept into port by an unguarded channel. So the great victory England hoped for, and except for fickle weather might have had, was not vouchsafed to her. For all that she had done well; for despite her grievous losses, which were as large or even larger than the Germans', England had decided once and for all the command of the North Sea. The Germans had fought well and their initial salvoes were more accurate than the British. But their gunners were unequal when the real test came, to the superior gun-power of England's super-dreadnoughts; and from first to last their strategy had been the strategy of flight. Morale, when all is said, is of more account than mere mechanical efficiency; and the confinement to harbour which the Germans had accepted was no preparation for a stand-up fight. They might claim Jutland as a victory and welcome; but they knew it in their hearts for a defeat; and never again did they venture to leave harbour until they left it to surrender—vanquished, yet without a fight. Some ground for confidence England therefore had in the autumn of 1916. Hencefor-

ward the supreme risk could be discounted, seeing that her Navy had made good; yet in the approaching winter there was another risk to follow—a risk more subtle and, if anything, more perilous; for this time the attack was aimed no longer at her battle-fleet, but at her defenceless mercantile marine.

When first war broke out, Germany, expecting it, had commerce-raiders ready in every quarter of the globe. Of these the greater part were captured with little or no trouble; but a few remained for some while at large, avoiding detection by ingenious *ruses de guerre* and inflicting terrible havoc on British shipping. All were at length tracked down; and even the elusive and adventurous *Emden* could not escape her fate. In the Pacific, however, there was a cruiser squadron not to be disposed of till it had dealt England a painful blow. Its Admiral, von Spee, caught the British much weaker squadron under Cradock off the western coast of Chile; and Cradock, manfully refusing the alternative of flight, was sunk with all his ships but one small cruiser. The disaster awoke the English Admiralty to instant action. Unknown to the Germans and to Englishmen alike, they sent out Admiral Sturdee with a force sufficient to make short work of von Spee. Guessing the enemy's intention, he made for the Falkland Islands; and sure enough, within twenty-four hours of his arrival the German squadron came steaming towards the port. The issue of the engagement which ensued was a foregone conclusion; the Germans were hopelessly out-gunned; and though they fought pluckily enough, Sturdee's bombardment swiftly sent them to the bottom. Thus the high seas were safe once more to Allied shipping; the blockade of England's Grand Fleet was not easily eluded, occasional raiders which broke out from the North Sea were for the most part soon detected; and there was little left to fear upon this score, had it not been for the unexpected and illegal use which was made of submarines.

The Submarine Menace.—Now the code of naval warfare lays it down that a prize taken at sea must not be scuttled, but be towed into a port or at the very least arrangements made for the safety of its crew. As the submarine, however, could not easily comply with either of these conditions the Germans soon made up their minds to disregard them. At first their depredations were not particularly serious. But gradually their submarines increased in size and number; the range of their operations lengthened out, so that one succeeded in crossing the Atlantic and visiting the United States; more disastrous still, fresh bases were organized in distant seas from which submarines could issue or take in supplies; and in 1915 the Mediterranean became the pirates' favourite hunting-ground. Over a thousand vessels were there sunk within the year; and if the outlook seemed alarming there was worse to come. Hitherto the Germans had never quite made up their minds how far it was wise to carry their illegal practices. Sometimes indeed, as in the notorious instance of the *Lusitania*, they had shown no regard whatever for the lives of those aboard. But more often they

had given fair warning to their victims, allowing time, before they sank a vessel, for the crew's re-embarkation in the boats. When British merchantmen, however, took to mounting guns on deck and retaliated hotly on the submarines, such tactics ceased to pay; and the enemy grew reckless.

Early in 1916 they horrified the world by announcing that in future no warning would be given, but that every vessel would be sunk at sight. The protests of America obtained a short respite; and in point of fact the German preparations were not as yet complete. But though for that year at least they stayed their hand, the prospect was sufficiently alarming; and Jellicoe was in autumn brought back from the main fleet to supervise the improvement of British counter measures. Before many months were out, all England's skill was sorely needed; for in the spring of 1917, and this time in deadly earnest, the great submarine offensive was begun. "Unrestricted Warfare" was declared on all ships that sailed the sea. Without warning, without regard for rights of neutrals or the dictates of humanity, they were to be "sunk without a trace." The crisis was appalling. During that spring one quarter of the vessels which put out from English ports were never seen again. Within a year 6,000,000 tons of British shipping had been lost outright. Food supplies ran perilously short; and despite a stringent rationing England came nearer to starvation than she had ever done before. There were two things alone which saved her; first, the heroism of her merchant sailors, who, for all the risks they ran, never once refused a voyage; and second, the ingenuity and the invincible resolve of her naval officers and men. There was no end to their activities. Destroyers were told off to convey vessels through the danger zone, and woe betide the submarine which dared to show its nose. Other craft of various types undertook the dangerous duty of hunting down the pest. Instruments were invented whereby the sound of a submarine's propeller could be detected from afar; balloons and aeroplanes hovered above the surface to spy out its whereabouts; and swift launches were in readiness to drop a depth-charge of explosives on the spot where it lay. All manner of clever ruses were adopted. "Mystery ships," disguised as harmless tramps, unmasked their hidden batteries on U-boats which had thought them easy prey. But all these various methods notwithstanding, it was long before the situation was got well in hand.

Zeebrugge and German Privations.—The Channel and its approaches were naturally the main field of the enemy's campaign; and their possession of the adjacent Flanders coastline gave them the great advantage of a convenient base. Zeebrugge and Ostend were the two favourite ports of call; and England's determination to put these two ports out of action led to what was perhaps the finest exploit of the War. The harbour of Zeebrugge, it should be explained, is half enclosed by a great pier or mole, which projected far out to sea; and shortly after midnight on 23 April, 1918, two British steamers were

ran in and laid beside it.[1] The crews then clambered out over the parapet and engaged in a wild struggle with the German batteries which swept the surface of the mole at point-blank range. At the same time a submarine, fully loaded with explosives, was driven under the bridge which joined the mole to the mainland; and sending it sky-high, cut off the passage for all German reinforcements from the shore. But all this was a mere feint. Under cover of a smoke-screen three other British vessels were stealthily piloted inside the harbour, driven straight for the canal which had served the German submarines for exit, and there deliberately sunk across the fairway. The crews took to their boats and were all picked up outside. The other ships sheered off and left the mole; and the whole flotilla put back to Dover harbour without the loss of a single ship. A few nights later a similar manœuvre was repeated at Ostend; and such was the success of this amazing enterprise that the Germans had not cleared out either channel when the War itself came to a close. Though their submarines still continued to prey upon British shipping, they were no longer able to find shelter in Flemish ports; and so great was the destruction that England wrought among them that it became no easy matter for the Germans to find men prepared to face the terrors of a cruise. Thus, once again the British Navy had triumphed over perils perhaps the greatest it was ever called to meet; and it remained until the end what at the beginning the King called it, the "sure shield" both of England's and of her Allies' cause.

V. Russia, America, and the Campaigns of 191.

So, after all, there was a silver lining to the clouds which gathered round England in the early months of 1917; and if it was true she had her troubles, the Germans too had theirs. For had the truth been known, the strain of war was more severely felt beyond the Rhine than in England. The blockade was making itself felt. Food rations were short; and Germany was hungry. Imperceptibly too her energies were beginning to be sapped. For two and a half years now she had been working at highest pressure, intent to put every ounce of human energy into the manufacture of munitions and every man or boy fit to march or bear a musket into the field. Such things cannot continue; and now Germany herself was like some great machine which to the outward eye still works as well as ever, but within are heard those ominous creaks and premonitory groanings which are the prelude of ultimate collapse. Though she would not admit it even to herself, her case was well-nigh desperate; and a sure measure of her desperation was the resolve which she took, as we have seen above, to declare war upon the shipping (and at the same time on the conscience) of the world. It was a fatal and unnecessary step; for had she known

[1] The chief credit of this particular exploit belongs to Captain Carpenter's ship, the *Vindictive;* but the whole operation was under the command of Sir Roger Keyes.

it, an event was now at hand which was to transform in a breath the whole military position and was to bring her much more nearly than we care to think within touch of victory.

The Russian Revolution.—In a backward country such as Russia, the government is bound to be despotic. The Tsar himself might have the best intentions; but a policy of repression was sure to be forced on him at times; and truth to tell, the recent acts of Nicholas' Ministers had been peculiarly and needlessly repressive. Nor, on the other hand, was it a new thing in Russia to find widespread discontent; agitators were invariably at work among the people; and the miseries which followed in the train of war had but increased their chance. In the March of 1917 a shortage of food in the great cities provoked a sudden crisis. A spontaneous rising took place in Petrograd. The Army went over to the people's cause; and within a week the most powerful monarchy which then existed in the world, had crumbled and was gone. The Tsar with his own hand signed a deed of abdication; and his place was taken by the Parliament or Duma, a constitutional experiment extorted from him but a few years previously, but an assembly most unhappily which lacked as yet either experience or authority. The truth was that the Duma represented the bourgeois or middle-classes alone, no more than a tiny fraction of the whole community; and its leaders, though shouldering the task of government with courage, soon found the situation far beyond their own control. For side by side with the usurpation of the Duma, there had been another movement more truly popular, more revolutionary in aim, and yet in a sense more highly organized.

If the peasants of the country-side were slow at first to grasp their opportunity, not so the industrial workers of the towns. Already there were among them leaders of violent, Socialistic views who believed in the gospel of Karl Marx and in the necessity of destroying the capitalist class. Such men had their plans ready; and on the outbreak of revolution working folk throughout the country had formed Councils or "Soviets" which claimed for themselves the right of electing and controlling the future government. Thus Russia found herself torn between rival factions. For a while the issue of the struggle seemed uncertain; but as the months passed, the extremist party triumphed and the moderates went to the wall. In May the old Duma leaders were ousted by Kerensky, who, though more advanced than they, was at least as honestly determined to keep things together. In November he in turn was overthrown by the out-and-out reformers; and Lenin and Trotsky, calling themselves "Bolsheviks" or (as we should say) "whole-hoggers," took up the reins of power. Their gospel, based on Marx, was thorough-going; it aimed at nothing short of the elimination of the capitalist class (which they effected by massacre or slow starvation) and the complete supremacy of the workers' representatives (whom long after the workers had ceased to acquiesce in it, they persisted in asserting to be no one but themselves). They won at the

outset an easy popularity by establishing the peasants in the possession of the land; and the ruffianly assassins whom they bribed by food or money to support them secured their authority by force of arms. A reign of terror, which it was death to disobey, became the settled policy of Russia.

Meanwhile among the first effects of the Revolution had been the disintegration of the Army. "Soviets" were established even at the front; and the soldiers claimed the right to select their officers. The death penalty for cowardice or desertion was abolished; and regiments began to melt away. Though the Duma leaders who first took on the government, had remained loyal to the Allies; and though even Kerensky had ordered an offensive which at one time promised well, yet the spirit was gone out of the Russian soldier and a discipline once weakened could never be restored. The collapse was final when in autumn Lenin entered on the scene and began the civil conflict with his fellow-countrymen by arranging for peace parleys with his country's foe. The terms, which were largely dictated by the Germans, were not finally concluded until March, 1918; but almost from the outset of the Revolution the end was not in doubt. As a military factor, Russia might henceforward be discounted; and the whole weight of German man-power could be employed against the West. To the Allies this seemed equivalent to a sentence of defeat, or at best to an indefinite postponement of their hopes of victory. Yet fate was merciful; and German fatuity itself supplied the counterblast to this unkindly blow.

America's Entry.—Hitherto throughout the war the attitude of the United States had been one of strict and even cold neutrality. Though, of course, there was an element among their citizens who were sympathetic to the Allied cause, there were as many more perhaps who, owning no tie of British origin or unwilling to forget old grudges of past history, refused to recognise their obligation to take part in Europe's battle, and who saw nothing in the war but a golden opportunity to make a mint of money out of both belligerents. President Wilson, as in duty bound to reflect his countrymen's opinions, strove to steer a middle course. Not indeed that he was himself without strong views. On the contrary from the outset of his Presidency he had set himself to lift diplomacy onto a high moral plane. He had struck this note already when in 1913 he had ended the dispute over the Panama Canal. His predecessor in office, though in clear violation of a previous pledge, had exempted American coast-wise traffic from the tolls levied upon other shipping, and by his reversal of this decision Wilson had won the applause of all the world. But the problem now confronting him was infinitely more difficult. Himself an idealist of idealists, he regarded war as the summit of human madness, and patient reason as the only true solvent of human misunderstandings. In 1916 he even came forward with an appeal for a peace conference and invited both belligerents for a plain statement of their terms. Yet pressure was not wanting to cause him to take sides. Page, his am-

bassador in London, was urgent with his warnings that the cause of democracy and freedom might yet fail, if succour tarried. Colonel House, his confidential emissary, brought him very near to pledging the United States to war, should the Allies prove unable to gain justice at a peace-parley. Yet, whatever might go on behind the scenes, Wilson leant openly to neither side. His neutrality was so complete that both suspected him of animus if not hostility. He censured the sinking of the *Lusitania*, but he had also objected strongly to the hampering restrictions imposed on neutral commerce by the Allied blockade. In other words, he upheld the rights and interests of America no less against the Allies than against their foe; and he was not prepared to embark upon hostilities for any other purpose than the defence of those same rights.

As time went on, however, his protests against German inhumanity became more vehement. When American passengers were drowned at sea through the act of submarines, he issued sterner warnings; but words without acts made little impression on the German mind; and they soothed themselves with the comfortable fancy that the President's bark was more serious than his bite. There they were wrong; and when their "unrestricted warfare" against shipping was declared in the spring of 1917, they discovered their mistake. The United States were on their mettle; they had said that they would fight and now they meant to show that they could do it. Utterly unprepared as they were for making war, they proposed to swell their tiny army into millions; and they set about the task with a stupendous energy. To the Allies, put in jeopardy by the paralysis of Russia, the Americans' adhesion came like tidings of reprieve. They knew now that if they themselves could hold the ramparts long enough, victory was sure.

Nivelle's Failure.—Nevertheless, it was an uphill fight which the Allies still had to face. During the campaigning season of 1917 they had still a superiority of numbers on the Western front; and while that was so, a vigorous offensive was considered the best policy. Offensives were planned on at least as large a scale as in the previous year; and their failure, which was certainly as great, was the more discouraging. The year's main effort was to be a French attack on the great German angle on the River Aisne. This was conceived and organized by Nivelle, the new French "wonder-man" who had supplanted Joffre in winter, and whom his countrymen fondly imagined to be the heaven-born general that would give them victory at last. What inspired them with such confidence is hard to say; but Nivelle was sanguine of a huge success and counted upon carrying the heights above the Aisne at a single hammer blow. He was rudely disappointed. The details of his plan were captured on the field; the German High Command knew what was coming; they had made their dispositions and the grand coup failed. It is said that the French lost one hundred thousand men on the first day of the attack. Nivelle was then removed; and Pétain took his place with Foch as chief of staff.

Meanwhile it was more than ever imperative for the Allies to strike. Serious mutinies occurred in the French army; and seeking by a swift diversion to relieve the situation, British troops won a more substantial, if limited, success. Attacking in April a few days before Nivelle, they struck hard north of Arras and in a few hours of fighting had captured the long-contested and important Vimy Ridge. The British organization this time was practically perfect; but by now the reinforcements from the Russian front were coming to the Germans, and any further advance was stayed. In June England struck again with the same careful preparation and the same limited success, carrying the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, which lies southeast of Ypres. This stroke, however, was in reality the prelude to a subsequent operation further north. In the hope of turning the whole German line in Flanders, or even if that failed, of rolling it away from the submarine harbours of the Flemish coast, the British undertook from August onwards a prolonged and obstinate offensive which was chiefly aimed at the Ridge of Passchendaele northeast of the Ypres salient. Unhappily the weather broke; and they made but little headway. The autumn rains turned the low-lying country into a quagmire, and the English were brought to a standstill, in part by the enemy's new system of armoured "pill-box" forts, but even more by the atrocious Flanders mud. One more blow, which came within an ace of startling triumph, was aimed in November at the Hindenburg line itself. Tanks, stealthily brought forward, were here used to break the wire in the place of the normal preparation of artillery. Thus, for once, the enemy were taken by surprise; cavalry were actually sent through the breach; and the British had almost rushed the important town of Cambrai, when German reinforcements were once more hurried to the scene and the English line rolled back again. Thus, from the start to finish of 1917, failure and the dark shadow of Russia's slow defection dogged the Allies at every step. Yet their cup of misfortune was even yet not full. It was not for nothing that during the whole year the enemy had been so strangely quiet. Their blow was still to fall; and this time it fell on Italy.

Collapse of Italy.—In their campaign against the Austrians, the Italians had been fighting on a two-faced front. To the north of Venice they were pressing up through the mountain passes which lead to the Trentino, the province which the war of Italian liberation had left still "unredeemed." East of Venice they were endeavouring to force a passage across the Isonzo valley towards the great Adriatic harbour of Trieste. The rocky plateau, called the Carso, which overlooks this valley, was a position of enormous natural strength; but Cadorna, the Italian *generalissimo*, was not to be put off; and throughout the campaigning seasons of 1916 and 1917 a great battle had been fought and substantial progress made in this direction. The Italians, however, were still far distant from their goal; and their spirits flagged at this deferment of their hope. Signs of their discouragement were quickly noted by the German High Command; and a campaign of

insidious propaganda was begun among their troops. Leaflets dropped by aeroplanes, and rumours spread by spies assured them that Italian lives were being sacrificed to the selfish machinations of perfidious England; and in part the wearied soldiery believed it. In any case they were seriously demoralized when, in the late October of 1917 and shortly before the British offensive at Cambrai, a German general, commanding German troops as well as Austrian, fell suddenly upon the north-east corner of their Isonzo battle-line. The thrust was delivered at Caporetto on a misty day.

The shock of the surprise and the terror and prestige of German arms combined with the low condition of the Italians' own morale, to produce a catastrophe unequalled in the war. The whole of Cadorna's Eastern front collapsed like a sand castle; and, as it fell back in utter rout towards Venice and the plains of Padua, much of the northern army was exposed to the danger of an attack upon its rear and was compelled to follow suit. It was not, in fact, until the line of the Piave River had been reached that Cadorna's forces rallied and a stand was made. Meanwhile, at Italy's appeal, French and British reinforcements had been hurried south to help her. The moral effect of this support put fresh heart into the defenders of her soil; and the Piave line was held. This call on Allied resources was in one sense most unfortunate; for it greatly weakened the British offensive at Cambrai. Yet, if they had not gone, Italy's fidelity would at least have been sorely strained; and indeed this timely co-operation of the Allied armies was the sole source of comfort in an outlook of unmitigated gloom. For a third year in succession autumn had found their fortunes at their lowest ebb. In 1915 Serbia and Russia had collapsed. In 1916 Rumania; and now in 1917 it was the turn of Italy. Yet the disaster brought one benefit. Under the stress of stern necessity the Allies had begun to learn the lesson, so fruitful in its consequence before a year was out, that the Allies' many fronts were essentially one whole, and that in the co-ordination of strategy lay the sole prospect of success. Unity of command was still slow—too slow—in coming; but the principle of the united front was then first reluctantly admitted when the Allies went to the reinforcement of the Piave line.

VI. The Last Year

Last German Offensive.—Seeking to forecast the chances which the fourth year of war would bring, few could have reckoned the prospect as inspiring. Disillusionment had done its work; and there was a new spirit of bitterness abroad in England. Her heavy losses in the field had broken many hearts. The enemy's aeroplane bombardment of London and the coast had set people's nerves on edge; and, if the nation faced the ordeal of the coming spring with resolution to endure, there was also something in its temper, which had not been seen before —a craving for reprisals and revenge. France, whose ordeal had been

more prolonged and more searching than England's, was equally saddened; but she too was bracing herself to a fresh effort. After a period of doubt and hesitation, Clemenceau, the sturdy patriot of seventy-six, had taken up the reins from the faltering hands of other politicians; and he would not hear of peace. Nor was his confidence unreasoning; for to the Germans, too, this was no less an anxious moment. They knew well enough that their time was short. By autumn at latest America's new army would be fit to take the field; and it was now or never if they were to win the War.

Yet the opportunity was favourable. The peace just made with Russia gave them such an advantage on the Western front as they

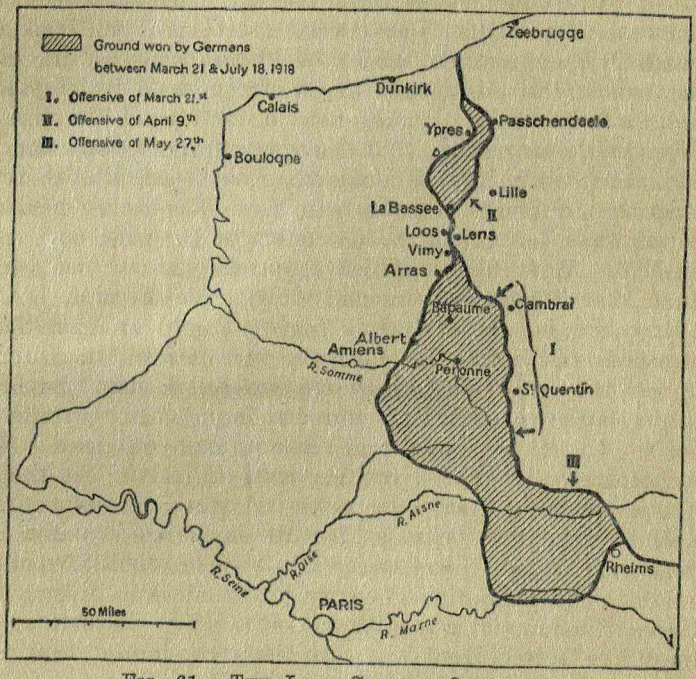


FIG. 61.—THE LAST GERMAN OFFENSIVE.

had not enjoyed since the battle of the Marne. Ludendorff was convinced that he could break the Allies' battle-line, and he was determined to stake all on a last desperate throw. The point selected for the grand attack was on the Hindenburg line sector between Arras and St. Quentin; and the choice was good. For the frontage here held by the British Fifth Army under Gough was perilously extended. One bayonet to a yard was the inadequate allowance. The trench system they had dug was still very far from perfect. There were no reserves. And, when on that fatal Thursday the 21st of March, the fierce onslaught was delivered through the mists of dawn, the British line was broken in a yawning gap. Forty German divisions against

fourteen were odds beyond the resistance of even British pluck; and Gough's army fell back westwards in terrible disorder. Past Bapaume and Peronne they went, and over the old battle-fields of the River Somme till the town of Amiens itself was threatened; and, if that fell, then all indeed was over; for the whole system of rear communications would in such a case be cut. But in the nick of time the rout was stayed. The British Third Army, pivoting on Arras, held firm on the north flank. The speed of the Germans faltered, as they drew farther from their base. French troops arrived; and powerful reinforcements were hurried out from England; and soon within sight of the very towers of Amiens the enemy was held. Yet he still possessed the initiative of battle; and by swift movement of his forces could strike fresh blows where the Allies were weak. On the 9th of April a second drive began in the neighbourhood of Lille; and it was the same tale as in the south, though on a lesser scale; ground which had taken three years to win was lost in as many days. Neuve Chapelle passed back again to German hands; Wytschaete went, and Messines and Mount Kemmel in their rear. Ypres alone was held; and even there, before British troops had stemmed the onrush, they were forced to draw back from the low hills of Passchendaele. It was the turn of the French next. Another swift movement of Ludendorff's reserves and on 27 May their Aisne divisions were taken by surprise; and, before they could recover, the enemy was racing south along the road to Paris. In three days they reached the Marne. But the point of their thrust was narrow; and they were compelled to pause till it could be broadened out. The respite was enough. The French resistance stiffened; the vigour of the enemy's impetus was spent; for the moment at any rate he had shot his bolt. And meantime the plans were forming in the brain of one who knew that the German Army could be beaten and who meant to beat it. At the crisis of the March retreat, a step was taken which was nearly four years overdue. Foch had been appointed to command, not the French forces only, but the whole Allied Army of the Western front. "You give me a lost battle," he had said, "and you expect me to be grateful." On few men, indeed was a heavier burden ever laid; for on his decisions now hung the fate of the whole world.

Foch's Counter-Blow.—For the Allies the worst was over; and by midsummer it was possible to breathe again. The enemy's three blows, aimed first at Amiens, then at the Channel Ports, and, last of all, at Paris, had each in turn been parried; and the lull which followed in the month of June betokened his temporary exhaustion. To the Allies, on the other hand, every day and week that passed was now clear gain. Crowded transports were rushing troops across the Atlantic; already over a million Americans had landed on French soil, and a few, whose training was sufficiently complete, had been put into the line. But, when all is said, not even the most extravagant of optimists could then have dared to prophesy that by autumn the War would have been won.

We did not yet know Foch. . . . The last of the three great German inroads upon the Allied line had formed a gigantic triangle with its apex pointing towards Paris and its south side resting on the Marne. Their next effort was directed against this southern side;[1] and on 15 July they were actually advancing on the river's lower bank. Foch had foreseen the move, had foreseen, too, that their concentration in this southerly direction would leave the triangle's west side ill guarded, and he was ready. Among the woods of Villers-Cotterets he had an army of reserve in hiding; and, at the moment when the enemy were fully committed to their new offensive, this army was let loose. On 18 July—a date ever to be remembered as the turning of the tide—it crashed through into the salient, threatening Soissons and, more important still, taking the whole southern line of Germans in the rear. Back they had to come almost as quickly as they had first descended. There was no such actual rout as in 1914; but by the beginning of August they were once more upon the Aisne. Foch's blow, however, had done more than relieve the threat to Paris. It had restored to the Allies the initiative of battle; and from that time forward the enemy were not allowed a moment's rest. The last phase was now at hand.

The Allied Advance.—The masterpiece of strategy which in three short months was to drive the German army out of France is not to be unfolded in a few brief lines. It is enough to say that Foch was like a boxer whose opponent's parries come always just too late; and, while the feeble defence goes fumbling towards the point last threatened, a fresh and deadly blow is driven home elsewhere. So it was that, before the Germans had recovered from the shock of the first surprise, Haig had followed it with such another. On 8 August he broke through east of Amiens; and, while the Germans struggled to patch this gap in turn, he hammered them back to the outskirts of Bapaume. So the blows rained down—right, left, and right again—till by the first week in September the British had made an actual breach in the Hindenburg defences between Arras and Cambrai. The German soldiers were still fighting with a dour and dogged courage; but they knew themselves outplayed. They could no longer cope with Allied resources. Hundreds of tanks were travelling forward with the infantry's advance. There were now more shells in Allied depôts than they could usefully employ. Above all, the men were buoyant with the flush of their success. Nothing could stop them now. Covering Cambrai and St. Quentin there was a deep canal, which, properly defended, would have been a far worse obstacle than any trench; but, even this was not enough. With rafts and life-belts British troops plunged in and, swimming or floating over, occupied the further bank. Where the canal was dry, large tanks, descending to the miry bottom, formed of themselves a bridge whereby smaller tanks could cross. Such tactics and such a

[1] East of Rheims also the Germans were attacking; but there, after making a little ground, they were definitely held.

spirit were irresistible; and early in September, while the French entered St. Quentin, Cambrai fell to the British. The Germans were now fairly on the run; and east of this town at the beginning of November Haig played his final stroke. A crushing victory, won on a front of thirty miles, broke the enemy's resistance once for all. Foch's net was closing in, and the end was near; for meanwhile the other Allied armies had been moving forward too. A Franco-Belgian combination had rolled back the Germans from the Flemish coast, past Lille, past Tournai, and a good half-way to Brussels.

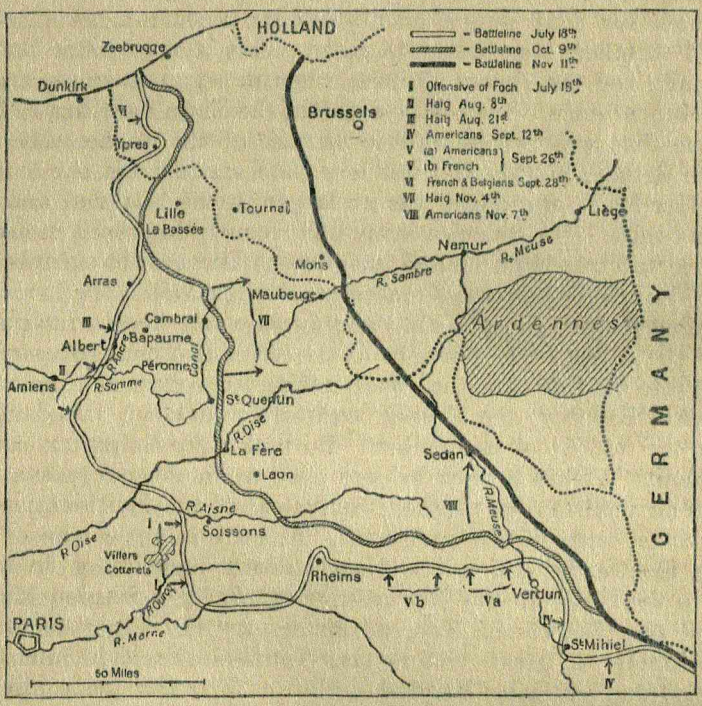


FIG. 62.—FOCH'S OFFENSIVE, JULY-NOVEMBER, 1918.

In the south the Americans also were now upon the move; they had first tried their novice hand at flattening out the enemy's salient at St. Mihiel, south of Verdun. Then, turning to the north of the great fortress and working in close co-operation with the French upon their left, they had struck up towards Sedan. The spurt of their early progress, when a single day's advance made seven miles, was too impetuous to last; but they struggled on; and at the beginning of November they, too, gave a fresh leap forward, this time to the capture of Sedan. Fate showed a grim irony in these last moments; and, within three days of Sedan's fall, the Allied troops had entered Mons. For the German army, weakened by its losses and distracted by continuous defeat, the game was now played out. It was in an impossible position,

pinned with its back against the rugged barrier of the Ardennes hills. Such roads as gave an exit through that broken country eastwards were choked with the confusion of columns in retreat. To escape *as an army* was beyond the Germans' power. One other blow from Foch, and the world would have witnessed a catastrophe, beside which Sedan or Waterloo or Leipsic must have seemed mere bagatelles.

Collapse of Bulgar, Turk and Austrian.—It by no means detracts from the credit due to Foch, or from the decisive nature of his triumphs, that events which occurred elsewhere than the French battle-front contributed to the enemy's ultimate collapse. The great combination, which for four and a half years the master hand of Germany had held together, was bound to go to pieces if the master hand itself should fail; and the enemy alliance, when it began to crack, cracked at many points at once. The weakest link in the chain went first. Bulgaria was at no time a very enthusiastic member of the league. Her quarrel was with Serbia; but she did not love the Germans and she loathed the Turk. Her heart, therefore, was no longer in the business; and her collapse was swift. The Salonica army had recently improved in health and confidence and numbers. It had lately been reinforced by volunteers from Greece, Venizelos, the patriot statesman, having raised the banner of revolt against the pro-German king and thereby won his countrymen to the cause of the Allies. The remnant of the Serbs had been reorganized and brought into the line; and they were itching for a chance of their revenge. Franchet d'Esperey, the French commander-in-chief, timed his offensive for the middle of September. He broke the Bulgarian army at a single blow. Within a week he was close upon their frontier. Within ten days an armistice was signed, equivalent to unconditional surrender.

It was the turn of the Turk next. Already in the course of the last eighteen months he had received some severe hammering from British armies in the East. In the first months of 1917 Sir Stanley Maude had retrieved the tragedy of Kut, advancing up the Tigris in a dashing style, winning a great victory on Townshend's old battle-field at Ctesiphon, and entering Bagdad within a fortnight from the start of his great drive. Mesopotamia being thus disposed of, it remained for England to conquer Palestine. There failure had dogged her till in June of 1917 Sir Edmund Allenby took over the command. In the following winter he had turned the Turks' position by the capture of Gaza on the coast, swept north towards Jerusalem, and a fortnight before Christmas entered it. His best troops were then recalled to France to meet the great March offensive; but Indian regiments were drafted in, and in September Allenby, too, was ready to deal the knockout blow. On the 19th he fell upon the Turks among the Samarian hills and broke them utterly. The cavalry, bursting through, crossed the plain of Esdraelon and cut in upon their rear. Soon there was no Turkish army left to block British progress; they overran Damascus and pushed on into Aleppo when on the last day of October the Turk, too, cried out for peace.

Even more dramatic was the collapse of Austria. The loyalty of her peoples to the Hapsburg Emperor had scarcely ever proceeded from anything but fear; but a tradition of obedience is not quickly broken off, and the success of German arms throughout the War had cowed the spirit of the malcontents. In 1916, however, the death of the aged Francis Joseph had removed a figure-head whom all at least respected; and disaffection was now rife throughout the country, not least among the regiments on the Piave battle-front. Such was the state of things when suddenly in the middle of October the victorious Austrian army of the preceding autumn broke and ran like rabbits before the attack of the British and Italian troops. Simultaneously a rising was effected at Trieste and the Italians occupied the city from the sea. Austria, too, was out of the War.

Collapse of Civilian Germany.—Thus Germany was left alone to face the music; and, for all her seeming strength, she was in no condition for a single-handed fight. A bluff which has come as near to triumph as had hers fails but the more disastrously when the bitter truth of failure is revealed. For four years Germany had lived upon a lie, pretending that her cause was just and that God was on her side. The skilful manipulation of military news had hypnotized the civil population into a belief in certain victory. But continuous advertisement of German prowess had brought the end no nearer; and the hungry, disheartened people grew weary of the War. The Allies lost no chance of playing on such feelings; and skilful use of propaganda turned the enemy's favourite weapon to his own undoing. Leaflets were scattered from the air or smuggled in through Holland, exhorting the Kaiser's subjects to shake off a tyranny which had brought them to this pass; and, despite the frantic denunciations of Hindenburg himself, the working classes of the Fatherland began to feel a doubt whether they were not after all the Emperor's dupes. Their conversion was completed by the idealistic and disinterested diplomacy of the President of the United States.

In language of lofty sentiment Wilson paved the way towards peace. He announced that, in the first place, no parley could be held with the Kaiser or his ministers, but only with the elected representatives of the German folk itself. Provided, however, that a new Government were formed upon democratic lines, he undertook to use his offices to promote an honest peace; and the general principles which should govern such a peace he defined in his famous document, the Fourteen Points. The effect of this pronouncement was to raise the flagging hopes of the weary populace. Disloyal murmurs, hitherto but barely whispered, now rose in swelling chorus. At the beginning of November, quickly as Foch's grapple closed on the beaten foe, events behind the front moved quicker still. The naval crews at Kiel and other seaports broke out in mutiny; and even among the long-suffering, obedient masses the taint of revolution spread apace. The worm had turned at last; and it was clear that the Kaiser now must yield or perish. Broken

by the knowledge that his country was in ruins and that its ruin was the outcome of his own misguided rule, the wretched man lost nerve, signed a deed of abdication on the ninth day of November, and escaped across the frontier into Holland. A new government was formed by the Socialistic leaders in the Reichstag; and on the 11th of November an Armistice, dictated in the main by Foch, was accepted and declared. The Allied troops went forward to the occupation of the Rhineland towns; huge quantities of guns and other military material were surrendered in due course; and the German Fleet—worst of all humiliations—made rendezvous with the British for the first time and the last. Whatever should have happened when the Armistice was over, the War itself could never be renewed. The Germans had been beaten, and beaten because, in the words of the man who beat them, they "forgot that above men there is a moral law, and above warfare Peace."[1]

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PEACE

I

Allied and Enemy Ideals.—War is a disease from which the process of recovery must needs be slow and painful; and even the fruits of victory, which in prospect seem so golden, are apt to turn to ashes in the hand. Peace indeed returns; but the settlement which brings it is nearly always in the nature of a compromise, satisfying no one. To some its terms seem harsh, to others unwarrantably tender; so that the authors of the contract earn little but abuse. And to all this the Treaty signed at Versailles in 1919 was no exception. The Great War had been a clash between two rival theories, two opposite ideals for the future of the world. On the one hand was the ideal of the Central Empires, standing for an obsolete tradition of the past and the irresponsible ambition of the old-world kings—monarchical authority, diplomatic insincerity, the power of the sword to decide the course of history, and the right of the strong to dominate the weak. It was an ideal which Europe had long since learnt to loathe and which it had already defeated in many a hard-fought struggle; and the Kaiser himself was no more than a bad copy of his own forebear the Great Frederick or of Frederick's prototype, Louis XIV. The Allies, upon the other hand, whose task it had been once more to overcome this evil thing, professed a creed of politics which was precisely its reverse. They stood for democracy and the peoples' right to manage their own affairs, for nationality and the freedom of small states, and, above all, for an international relationship of mutual toleration and goodwill. But ideals are brittle things and difficult to square with the rude angularities of solid fact. The con-

[1] Foch writing about Napoleon.

clusion of the War brought forward problems which neither of the combatants, while combatants, had faced; and so it was that, when peace arrived at last, not one of them was sure of his own mind, and there was a strange confusion of ideas in either camp. The Germans hovered uneasily between an obstinate allegiance to the outworn creed which ruined them and the unfamiliar doctrines of republican self-government which they had so recently embraced to save their skin. The aristocratic Junkers, upon their part, deplored their own lost supremacy and would have dearly loved to see the Kaiser back. The masses showed more balance; and, while they declined to imitate the wild experiments of Bolshevist Russia, they equally resisted a return to the old régime. When a harebrained attempt was made by the Kaiser's partisans to tamper with the troops and upset the People's Government, the whole German nation went spontaneously on strike: the coup collapsed for want of any to support it, and the spell of Kaiserdom was seen to have lost its hold. But the terms of the Versailles Treaty were not, after all, for Germany to formulate.

Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George.—The representatives of the four leading Powers—France, Italy, America, and England—were the true arbiters of that great settlement; and among them, too, there was now a wide divergence of ideals. According as the nation which each stood for had suffered much or little from the War, it was difficult or easy to shake free from the ingrained prejudice of old-world politics, and prefer the enlightened arguments of reason to the selfish exploitation of triumphant force. President Wilson, still riding the high horse of his magnanimous philosophy, ignorant of the niceties of European problems, and divorced from all direct interest in the territorial settlement, was desirous above all things to establish the world's peace upon those abstract principles of generosity and justice which he had long been preaching to a world at war. But the prophet, in his rapture over the imminent millennium, had neglected to take count of the jealousies of nations. Those jealousies persisted none the less; and for all the President's preaching the millennium he had pictured was not realised in fact. The ox unaccountably refused to be friendly with the lion. The wolf was still eager as ever to devour the lamb. Thus Italy, for example, had been promised a large strip of the Adriatic seaboard; and, although its Slav inhabitants should by rights have had the choice of it, she insisted on her claim. Poland, too, had "national aspirations" of a most flamboyant character.

But the worst offender against the President's philanthropy was France. For her, realities bulked larger than ideals. During more than forty years she had been living under the instant terror of the German bully; for four years and over his grip had been upon her very throat; and now she was determined, since the chance was offered, to disable him for ever of his power to harm. There was even talk in Paris of annexing the whole country west of Rhine; and, if that should not prove feasible, there was still the plan of exacting an indemnity sufficient to cripple

Germany for half a century to come. Between this view, of which Clemenceau was sponsor, and the view of the President of the United States, England's representative at the Conference stood midway. Lloyd George was still by sympathy a Liberal, and, as a Liberal, anxious to forget the ugly past and build the world anew upon the broader basis of international goodwill. A natural tenderness for France, however, bound him to give generous recognition to her claims; and a rash undertaking to exact an impossible indemnity, put forward at the General Election of December and intended to catch votes for the continuance of the Coalition Government, had tied his hands yet further at the Council Board. Yet Lloyd George can trim his sails adroitly on occasion; and more than most among the delegates his mind was open to the appeal of commonsense. Of Germany's crime against the world and of the justice of requiring due recompense at her hands there was no question or dispute; the only point of difference between the Allied delegates was how much should be required; Clemenceau, like Shylock, was for having his "pound of flesh." Wilson wished to preserve the German people from political extinction, taking his stand on the forgotten Fourteen Points. Lloyd George held the scales; and in the issue his weight was thrown rather upon the side of France.

Indemnity and Annexations.—Such then was the attitude of the three leading figures of the Conference which early in 1919 assembled for the discussion of the Peace in the great Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles. It was a lordly gathering. Almost every nation under heaven was represented there; for, by the time the War was over, there was scarcely a neutral left. Germany's smaller neighbours, it is true—the Swiss, the Danes, the Dutch, the Scandinavians—had not ventured to attack her. But, outside the bounds of Europe, she had now not a single friend. Japan, by a previous treaty of Alliance, had been with England from the start. Portugal had soon joined the Allies, proud to repay England's services of a century ago. Then in the closing year, when the German's gross brutality in his submarine campaign had proved him to be the enemy of humanity at large, the rest came tumbling in to share the Allied victory. China had declared war, though she clearly could not fight. The South American republics did the same. Even obscure chieftains of equatorial kingdoms made pompous proclamation of their adhesion to the cause. So now all the world was gathered to the great Tribunal. Only the representatives of defeated foes were left outside the door.

As at the Congress of Vienna which concluded the Napoleonic wars, so here the work performed may be classed under three heads—the punishment of the enemy, the redistribution of the map, and (once again) an effort more earnest and more hopeful to bind the nations of the world together in a league of lasting peace.

Germany's punishment was terrible—though not more terrible than the crime which brought it on her head. The chief penalty imposed by the unanimous opinion of her judges was that she should make good,

so far as possible, the havoc of the War. But how far it was possible proved more difficult to say. Wilson in his Fourteen Points had limited the claim of reparation to the damage inflicted on civilian property alone. The French went further, demanding that Germany should shoulder the whole burden of the cost; and Lloyd George had already assured the British public that she should pay to the last mite. Sums were named running to the unimaginable total of fifteen or twenty thousand million pounds; and, though the amount was left unsettled when the peace was signed, it has since been fixed at six and a half thousand million pounds.

But it has yet to be discovered in what form it can be paid—whether in exports or in labour or in worthless German notes;—still less does it seem easy to exact the payment, should Germany refuse it. Some say she cannot pay; others that she can; but in any case her task has not been rendered easier by the enormous territorial losses to which the Versailles settlement condemned her. In the West, Alsace-Lorraine, with its valuable minefields, went back, of course, to France. In the East, a large portion of East Prussia was made over to the Poles, so that the remnant which Germany retains is actually severed from her frontier. Silesia, however, which also the Poles claimed, was left to decide its own destiny by vote and elected to stay German.[1] The northern half of Schleswig was given a like option and voted itself back under the Danish rule. Germany's chief losses, however, lay beyond the seas. In the course of the War, all her colonies had one by one been captured —her Chinese station at Kiao-chow by the Japanese, her Pacific islands by the Australians, the Cameroons by Franco-British troops. The South African army under General Smuts had fought two strenuous and difficult campaigns to win German Southwest and German East Africa. None of the captors was ready to relinquish the spoils to Germany; nor, in the interest of the native populations, did it seem desirable to do so. Accordingly, by a stroke of the pen, the whole Colonial Empire, built up with so much industry and effort, was unconditionally cancelled; and Germany was left without an inch of territory beyond the seas.

Settlement of the Near East.—Such transference of territory in various continents involved, of course, considerable alteration of the map. But an even more important and far-reaching transformation occurred in the near East. The principle of settlement to which the Allies had here been pledged was based on the democratic doctrine of "self-determination"; they held, in other words, that for all peoples great or small there is an inherent right to determine under what flag they wish to live. Now the Austrian Empire had for centuries held sway over subject populations of non-German blood—Rumanians, Czecko-Slovaks, Poles, Jugo-Slavs, Italians. These were now free upon the Allies' principle to determine their own destiny; and not the least outcome of the Versailles settlement was to break the Austrian Empire

[1] The Poles protesting, however, it was subsequently repartitioned.

into fragments. Italy regained her Trentino and Trieste; across the Adriatic she obtained a small strip of coast; but not half of what she wanted. For there a new and powerful kingdom was established embracing, along with the main Dalmatian coast, Montenegro, Serbia, Herzegovina, and Bosnia—a solid Jugo-Slav reunion. Hungary, stripped of Transylvania, which Rumania now recovered, became a separate and independent State; and Austria, thus reduced to an insignificant Repub-

FIG. 63.—THE NEW EUROPE, 1921.

lic, saw established on her north a new and virile power—the Czecho-Slovaks of Bohemia, while beyond the Carpathians the Poles absorbed Galicia and threatened in the heyday of their new-found strength to prove a thorough nuisance to their neighbours.

The disadvantages of such a settlement have shown themselves already. For, unhappily, among these youthful nationalities, thus suddenly set free, there was a dangerous element of selfish rivalry and crude ambition. The sufferings of war had not availed to damp their martial ardour. Within two years Rumania marched on Hungary and

Poles invaded Russia; and the fertile seeds of many future wars lie in petty jealousies of these heterongeneous States. A more immediate peril was the check which the break-up of the Empire set on the resumption of the normal activities of life. The artificial bond of Hapsburg tyranny had at least made all these peoples commercially one whole. Now, however, the old lines of trade were broken by the new-drawn frontiers. Traditional dissensions prevented the free interchange of produce; and Austria was soon starving, because her former subjects took the mean revenge of refusing her supplies. Whatever else the Versailles settlement has done, it has not bestowed upon the lands of Eastern Europe the promised blessings of prosperity and peace. The problem of Turkey was less difficult. There were indeed discussions over Constantinople's fate; but it was not considered feasible to evict the Turk from Europe, and he remains on sufferance. The bulk of Asia Minor, too, was left him; but Greece, which had joined the Allies, thanks to Venizelos' foresight, was rewarded with a strip of the West coast. North Syria went to France; Palestine, to England; and Mesopotamia, which the Germans so much coveted, fell also into British hands. It is, however, to be noted that in assigning protectorates over these and similar half-civilized communities a new system was evolved. Actual possession was not granted; but the protecting Power is to administer the lands as a trustee to the League of Nations. This in itself is a significant advance upon the old-fashioned notions of the rights of conquest; and, though doubtless there is great advantage to be gained from the commercial exploitation of these backward countries, yet other responsibilities are recognized as binding. Duties, as well as profits, are now to be considered; and, in germ at least, a new code of international morality has been born into the world.

League of Nations and Bolshevism.—It had been frequently asserted during the four preceding years that this was a war which would end war; and the "League of Nations" was perhaps the only part of the Versailles settlement which gave promise of fulfilling that prediction. If Wilson was compelled to yield over the remainder of his programme, he was allowed his way at any rate in this; and the winding-up of the prolonged negotiations was actually delayed for many months in order that the details of the "Covenant" might be properly completed and form an integral part of the Treaty to be signed. Of the multitudinous problems which arise from such a project there is here no room to speak. It is enough to say that many statesmen and communities still doubt the practicability of the whole scheme, and that, unless the League's decisions are backed, not by statesmen only, but by the public opinion which these represent, then clearly means will lack of compelling their acceptance; and the nations must inevitably resort once more to the suicidal alternative of war. Still the experiment seemed worthy of a trial. Some signed in hope that good would come of it; some with the more cynical assurance that at least it could do no harm. The machinery of the League was in due course set in motion; the delegates

appointed to sit upon its Council; its Council established at Geneva, its solid work begun; and, before many months were out, its decisions flouted by the irresponsible antics of an elderly Italian poet![1] It is to be feared that as yet this Parliament of the nations has but little more title to command obedience than the smallest armed State among them; and how slight a hold the idea has won upon the imagination of mankind was proved by the humiliating failure which awaited its author, the President, at home.

On recrossing the Atlantic, Wilson invited his countrymen to ratify the Covenant; and they refused. The United States is still outside the League, so deep-seated even now are the suspicion and mistrust which keep the nations from uniting for the salvation of the world. Yet never did the world stand in sorer need of unity. The fabric of modern civilization has been built up on mutual confidence and a closely woven system of international finance. No country now can afford to stand in commercial isolation. Few can even supply for themselves the necessaries of life. Trade at this present moment is not restored because nearly every country hesitates to sell goods to its neighbour, doubting its neighbour's ability to pay. Enormous loans of money, too, advanced during the War, have left the continental Governments the debtors of Great Britain and Great Britain the debtor of the United States. The liquidation of these liabilities and the restoration of the world's prosperity can be accomplished only in a fraternal spirit of forbearance and goodwill. It is, in fact, happy omen, not a reason for despair, that the world is now poor and hungry and that trade languishes. For our very need will force us in the end to compose our differences; and, if a League of Nations did not actually exist, economic necessities would oblige us sooner or later to invent one. However bitter may be the learning of the lesson, hard facts force home on us the sober truth, that through hatred man must perish and through love only may he thrive.

Thus, not without false steps and frequent hesitations the great Conference of Versailles brought tardily to an end its self-appointed task of rebuilding the new world on the foundations of the old. Whether its building was of the best or wisest, the future will determine; but at any rate it was not without a rival in the work of Reconstruction, whose ideals were of a wholly different type. For elsewhere, meanwhile, other builders had been busy; and the foundation on which these built was wholly new. The Bolshevists of Russia, first among the revolutionaries of history, had essayed to tear up society by the very roots, and were now, so to speak, replanting it head-downwards. Even Robespierre and his colleagues had attempted no such thing. All they did was to sweep away an obsolete political machinery; and the outcome of their handiwork was to give their countrymen a new code of laws and a parliamentary vote. For the normal citizen of revolutionary France life itself was not radically changed. There had been no genuine break

[1] D'Annunzio, who, indignant that the Adriatic port of Fiume should not have been ceded to Italy, raised a band of volunteers and occupied the town.

the evolution of civilized society. But the great upheaval of 1917 was very much more than a break; it was a yawning gulf. Russia before Lenin and Russia after Lenin were two utterly different things. Bolshevism had swept over the country like a hurricane and blotted out the past. It interchanged the whole position of the classes. It allowed to no one but the manual workers the right to participate in government or business, or even, if it came to that, to exist at all. The well-to-do classes who had hitherto lived in comfort on the interest of their capital were stripped bare of all they had. Archdukes and duchesses were reduced to selling matches. Millionaires begged in the street. For in the most literal sense the Bolshevists applied the old commandment —"By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread"; and the "idle bourgeois," as the middle class were called, were simply left to starve.

Meanwhile the workers, entering eagerly upon their stolen heritage, proposed to put in practice their own beautiful dreams of socialistic theory and to have "all things in common," like the early Christian saints. Nothing, according to the formula of Lenin, was to belong to individuals; the railways, the factories, even the peasants' grain, all was henceforward the property of the State. Yet the experiment was doomed to inevitable failure, because, even among Russian working men, the human instinct for amassing wealth is stronger than the instinct for sharing it with others. The peasant, despite Lenin's exhortations, has insisted on regarding his grain crops as his own. The industrial workers have deliberately idled at the State's expense; and the production of the factories has shrunk beyond belief. The population of the towns was perishing by slow starvation; misery, destitution, and despair seemed to have supplanted the bright vision of a Workers' Paradise. Nevertheless, contrary to the confident prediction of its enemies, Bolshevism has retained its hold on Russia, and this notwithstanding every effort to unseat it. Lenin indeed had provoked the hostility of neighbouring States by declaring that he would carry the workers' revolution into every land where the Capitalist still holds sway. At this—and not unnaturally—Western Governments felt anxious. They were none too certain how their own workers might behave; and somewhat half-heartedly, as though doubtful of their cause, they took up the challenge. No grand scale operation was, in fact, attempted; but the reckoning was that, if outside help were given them, the Russian people would themselves arise and throw off the monstrous tyranny. So in 1918 a British expedition was sent out by way of the White Sea, and a tentative offensive was begun from Archangel. It was an utter failure. The Russian people, oddly enough, showed no signs of wanting it, and the British army had to be brought back. But England was not to be discouraged; and when the Russian general, Koltchak, raised the anti-Bolshevist standard in Siberia, she sent out men and munitions to assist him. It was equally in vain; his troops were tempted to desertion by Lenin's propaganda, and before the attack of Trotsky's Red contingents he was put to utter rout. Like fate befell Denikin, who attempted the same

tactics in the south. The French might send him officers and England lend him tanks; but from the Russian folk itself he got no backing. Half fearful, it would seem, of a return of Tsardom, half cowed by the terror of the Reds' ferocity, they were either unwilling or unable to shake off their Bolshevist masters. The fact is that their semi-civilized society, so long accustomed to the iron control of monarchical authority, is not yet ripe for true self-government. It needs a strong-handed discipline to hold the unwieldy, helpless, and distracted realm together; and that, pending the arrival of a better, the Bolshevist Government supplies.

II

India, Egypt and Ireland.—On the 28th of June, 1919, more than six months after the declaration of the Armistice and five years to the very day from the fateful crime committed in the Serajevo streets, the Treaty of Versailles was duly signed by the unwilling representatives of Germany. Austria accepted her fate a little later; and Turkey last of all. Peace had returned; and with it, not the good things we had expected, but disorder, rancour, suspicion, and bitter disillusionment. From whatever point of view it be regarded, this is a sick and sorry world; nor has England, as is but too sadly evident, escaped the infection of its maladies. The ordeal, under which great empires had gone down in utter ruin, could scarcely fail to shake the foundations of her own. For England, who holds dominion over a dozen different countries, this was a testing moment. For the cry of liberty takes on new meanings in the mouth of those that use it; and the very gospel of self-determination is now seen to be double-edged.

There are peoples within the British Empire who, with some show of justice, can claim its application to themselves; and, if the answer be that they are not yet fit for liberty, such an answer is no medicine for their discontent. India, for example, seethes with a deep unrest; and, though generous concessions have latterly been granted, and the natives admitted to a larger share in the country's government, the fundamental grievance still remains. England rules; and, however mild or beneficent her yoke, it stinks in the nostrils of the Nationalists. Fanatical, unbalanced, and embittered, but often versatile and deeply read, these men have learnt the catchwords of the Western world's ideals; and democratic doctrines are now preached throughout a country in which nine-tenths of the inhabitants can neither read nor write. Agitators play upon the ugly passions of the fickle populace; and there have been moments when a repetition of the Mutiny seemed imminent. White men have been murdered; and at Amritsar and elsewhere the British garrison has taken bloody toll of threatening mobs. The future is still dark; the clouds are low; but of one thing we may be certain. Only the cool hand and the unswerving justice which in the past have availed to keep India can guide it safely through the shoals which lie ahead;

and, if the task seems difficult, we should do well to recollect that it was England who sought it at the first. Nor does the trouble in India stand alone. What agitators there are urging and will urge for years to come has already been accomplished in a neighbouring land. Egypt was never British in the same sense that India is; and England had pledged herself to leave it in due course. The call which took her there was undeniable. The justice of her rule is beyond dispute; but the demand for liberty, stirred to more vigorous life by the upheaval of the War and still more by the conditions of the democratic peace, has now become so loud and so insistent that she must bow to it. As advisers the British went to Egypt, and, as advisers, they will remain; but the real authority of government goes back to native hands, and, whatever benefits of prosperity and peace the brief British occupation has bestowed upon the country, it lies henceforward with the Egyptian folk itself to develop them or let them slip away.

In one other dependency—and that more vital still than India or than Egypt—the right of British hegemony had yet again been vigorously arraigned. As an educated and civilized community, Ireland possessed claims to self-determination which those more backward countries cannot boast. Her proximity to England, on the other hand, made the problem of releasing her a hundredfold more difficult; nor did the treacherous blow which she dealt England at the crisis of the War give ground for putting trust in her good faith. The Dublin insurrection of 1916 was easily suppressed, but not easily forgotten. The memory rankles still; but among the rebels its failure was no signal to relax. Sir Roger Casement, whom the Germans sent across to lead the crazy venture, paid forfeit with his life; but there were other daring spirits to carry on the battle, and Irishmen by thousands to obey their call. In part by an elaborate propaganda which evoked the Celt's inherent love of liberty and passion for a fight, in part by a campaign of ruthless terror, which cowed loyal citizens into silence or support, the Sinn Fein organization won such hold on Ireland as not Wolfe Tone nor O'Connell nor Parnell himself can ever have enjoyed.

The British Government was thus brought face to face with an unprecedented crisis. Such offer of Home Rule as it could contemplate was now scorned as valueless; complete independence and a self-contained Republic was the least that would satisfy Sinn Fein. Anarchy reigned throughout the island. Policemen were assaulted and left dead in the public streets; law-abiding civilians, suspected by the rebels of hostility to the cause, were dragged from their beds and shot. Protests were unavailing; and it was clear that some sterner policy was overdue. Lord French went out as Viceroy; and presently the forces of the Crown began to turn the tables. Sinn Feiners were opposed by armed detachments. Fierce skirmishes ensued among the hedgerows. Machine-guns swept the streets; and (what did England little credit) reprisals were inflicted on the township or the village where outrage had occurred. Yet there were still reserves of British statesmanship to draw on; and,

when in 1921 a truce was called and negotiations opened with the Sinn Fein leaders, a generous compromise was soon effected. While Ulster was left free to join in or stand aloof, the rest of Ireland was accorded the full status of a Dominion Colony, self-governing in nearly all respects save allegiance to the Crown. Her recognition of that tie, perhaps, is more verbal than sincerely felt; yet, once the old grievance against England is removed, there is good hope that material interests will bind her to England more closely than ever in the past. For, sentimentalist though he be in the sphere of politics, the Irishman has also his commercial side; and he will learn quickly enough where his real interests lie.

Labour Troubles at Home.—It is a heavy load of cares without that England carries—the constant fear for Ireland, anxieties for India, administrative problems in a dozen new protectorates, and wide responsibilities in Europe too—yet who shall say but that her worst perils lie within? When hostilities were over, and her fighting men came home, Lloyd George assured them that they were returning to a new and better England, "a land fit for heroes to dwell in." The sequel has been a mocking comment on that prophecy. For there, too, as in the larger world, the times seem out of joint. The "reconstruction," so ardently discussed by politicians, has been a still-born project; and rhetoric is ill able to repair the wastage of the War. The fact is, that during four long years the nation's wealth had been consumed without replacement. Human energies which should have gone to supply the needs of life had been spent on the manufacture of munitions. Millions and millions of money had been blown, so to speak, into space; and by just so much England was the poorer when peace at last returned. For a while indeed trade boomed; but such appearance of prosperity was deceptive. Foreign markets, so eager at first for goods, had now begun to fail. Her merchants could not sell; so factories stood idle; and the roll of unemployment, bringing want and suffering to millions, grew apace.

Yet economic factors are not alone responsible for the unrest and discontent which prevailed. For the cause goes deeper. The stream of life, once broken, will not readily flow back into accustomed channels; and men's minds were profoundly unsettled by the unfamiliar experience of the War. Above all, among the workers there was an intense dissatisfaction with the existing inequalities of wealth and at the same time a growing consciousness of their own strength and importance. During the past few years they had seen in more ways than one that the country's safety depended on themselves. Not merely at the Front, but in the workshop, they had held the keys of victory; and the Government, fearful of any stoppage which might interrupt supplies, had weakly pandered to their most extreme demands. So Labour had now come to fancy itself all-powerful and to imagine that the hour of its triumph was at hand. That other classes and other parties existed in the State was momentarily forgotten; but soon came a sharp reminder.

When at the close of 1918 Lloyd George appealed to the country for a renewed lease of power, he was enthusiastically hailed by the electorate as the man who won the War, and his Coalition was returned by an immense majority. It was soon evident, however, that, whatever its pretences, his ministry was strongly Conservative at heart. It stood for the preservation of the established order of society and showed but little sympathy for Labour's more extravagant demands. Thus cheated of their hope, the working class grew restive. An ugly temper of impatience was displayed; and, seeing how successfully the Bolshevists in Russia had overthrown their capitalist oppressors, there was secret talk of copying their tactics at home. Even short of actual revolution, Labour had powerful weapons for overriding Parliament and enforcing its own will. A general strike, so the extremists argued, would win by "Direct Action" what indirect or constitutional action had so far failed to win. By such a method they proposed to dictate the country's policy, to force on the nationalization of the coal-mines, to secure more friendly treatment of Bolshevist Russia, and who shall say what else? It was a tempting project; but it went too far. For it threatened to undermine not merely Lloyd George's ministry, but the fundamental principles of representative government; and the mass of Englishmen are too good Democrats for that. Just when the extremists felt confident of victory, they found their followers deserting them; and, before the efficacy of "Direct Action" could be put to a practical test, it had been voted out of court.

Moderation Prevails.—But, if, as a political weapon, the strike was thus wisely eschewed, this was not to deny its legitimate use for the improvement of wages. On one point at least all sections of the workers were whole-heartedly agreed, that the profits of industry had gone in the past too much to the capitalist's pocket. A larger share henceforward they were determined should be theirs; and during the course of the War they had gone a long way towards attaining it. Wages had risen, because at such a time employers were naturally able to charge more for goods. So, while the cost of living doubled, wages had more than doubled; but, when in course of time the cost of living fell and the workers' wage was threatened with a like reduction, then indeed the trouble began. Labour was determined to retain the war-time increase and refused to be satisfied with a pre-war standard of life. Strikes followed thick and fast; and the resistance came to a head in the great coal miners' struggle of 1921. Plans were laid for marshalling Labour's forces in full strength. Railwaymen and transport workers were to come out in sympathy with the miners, and the "Triple Alliance" thus show a united front. But once again more moderate counsels triumphed and the grand coup failed. For the British working-man is not a fool. He demands a fair share in the national prosperity; but he knows well enough at the bottom of his heart that all the world alike is the poorer for the War, and that even his own wages cannot go unaffected, when the national prosperity declines. Treated as a

reasonable being, he will behave as such; and it is well sometimes to remember that he has not invariably been treated so. The bitterness and prejudice of present times spring from the injustice and repression of the past. The striker of to-day is but having his revenge upon the profiteer of yesterday; and the legitimate successes which Trades Unionism has achieved could never have been won by patient waiting. If the men have much to learn, so also have the masters; and, as it takes two to make a quarrel, it takes two equally to make a peace.

EPILOGUE

1921–27

I

Foreign Affairs.—Europe after three years of so-called peace was still a very distressful and distracted continent. Her problems were due in part to the dislocations and havoc of four years of war, but also in a large measure to those illusions and passions bred of the war, which only an increasingly bitter experience could avail to correct. The heart of the trouble lay in the mentality of France. Actually the most prosperous of European countries, she was nevertheless nervous, ill at ease and financially unstable. She refused to face a taxation adequate to her needs, balancing her yearly budgets on fantastic anticipations of the endless millions to be wrung from Germany. As a result her credit suffered. Months passed. Still reparation payment dallied; and doubts and fears began to rise. Though the Germans were industriously at work and began to seem even relatively prosperous, a rapid depreciation of their paper currency bade fair to produce financial chaos, and placed adequate reparation payments still further off than ever.

At length the French, exasperated by the deferment of their hopes, determined to put on the screw. In January of 1923 M. Poincaré, their ultra-conservative premier, marched an army into the great German coal-mining district of the Ruhr, and there proposed to take reparations in kind. The German miners, in other words, were to be made to work for France. French soldiers occupied the railways; French engineers supervised the mines; yet strange to say, the Germans did not work with a will. They went on strike, they idled, they even played tricks with machinery and railroad points. The culprits when caught were arrested; others on mere suspicion were evicted from their homes; the towns were terrorized; but still the output of coal was not what it should have been; and it soon became apparent that the actual gain to France would little more than cover the heavy expenses of the military occupation. In England meanwhile the whole adventure was being watched with sceptical anxiety. Since the Treaty of Versailles patient forbearance had been the keynote of the government's policy towards France; and

even now, though a strong protest was entered against the folly of the Ruhr, an open breach between the two allies was avoided. Such patience met its reward. By the end of spring, 1924, the French began to realize their mistake. There was a sharp fall in the franc, ominous enough when seen in the light of the German mark's recent collapse. M. Poincaré was thrown from office; and an administration of advanced radical views was formed under M. Herriot to clear up the mess. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Labour ministry, recently risen to power in England, was prepared to assist.

Both governments gladly availed themselves of the United States' offer to lend expert advisers for the final adjustment of the reparations problem and Germany's capacity to pay was now for the first time discussed in a truly practical manner; methods of payment were devised; and the scheme known after the name of the American representative, General Dawes, guaranteed not merely the future payment of fixed annual sums to France, but also the immediate stabilization of Germany's own insecure finances. Its acceptance, therefore, formed a solid foundation for the economic reconstruction of Europe. For hitherto, while the period of uncertainty and tension lasted, no one upon either side of the Rhine could know for certain how he stood.

To the French, however, the settlement meant much more than this. For them it marked the beginning of a far saner political outlook. Naturally nervous of an enemy who even after defeat appeared impenitent, and who, though now systematically disarmed, still decisively outnumbered her in man-power, France had been thinking at least as much of the future security of her frontiers as of the present solvency of her finance; and the means to that security she had set out to seek through armaments and military alliances. She herself had kept up an army far beyond her immediate peace needs; and beyond her frontiers she had cultivated the friendship of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, thus striving to encompass Germany on the east as well as on the west with a ring of formidable enemies. Meanwhile to cover the vast sums expended not merely on her own, but on her new friends' armament, she had been compelled to borrow largely, professing herself the while incapable of meeting her former debts. The result of such reckless finance had been the franc's ominous fall; and the truth was slowly being brought home to French minds that armed force is the worst possible remedy for economic troubles. The practical object-lesson of the Ruhr failure was decisive; and henceforth France turned to seek other and more hopeful means of securing her frontiers against future German aggression. She bethought her of the League of Nations.

British Finances.—To England this change in the French attitude was doubly welcome. She had never enjoyed the task of preaching an abatement of reparation claims which was bound to hit her ally far worse than herself. Honest and business-like finance, however, she had consistently held to be the true key to economic recovery; nor, when sacrifices of her own were demanded, had she shrunk from them. It was

in this spirit that her government had met the claim of the American debt. In the early years of the war, and while the United States were still neutral, she had borrowed from them enormous sums, not so much for her own needs as to make loans in turn to her continental allies. When the United States entered the war at her side, it had been reasonable to hope that such past transactions would be written off; and now Britain proposed a general cancellation of all inter-allied indebtedness. The Americans, especially since their withdrawal from European entanglements, viewed the matter in a rather different light. They argued with some reason that a continent which could afford to maintain huge peace-time armaments, could at least afford to honour its obligations. The British Government, though not as yet receiving a penny from their continental creditors, resolved to set the example and pay up.

In 1923, Mr. Baldwin, their Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent over to New York where he settled the terms for the gradual repayment of the debt, and so established beyond cavil the soundness of his country's financial position. The liabilities incurred during the war were slowly but surely being met. Alone among European countries, England was balancing her budgets year by year out of current taxation; her credit abroad stood high; and her reward was that in 1925 the pound sterling recovered its pre-war value of exchange. Of no other European currency can the same be even predicted. France, Italy, and others have indeed come to arrangements with Great Britain for the refunding of their debts; but, what she receives from them, is by no means equal to the annual sum which she sends over to America, and some hold that in her generosity to her allies she has gone beyond what she herself can afford. Nevertheless the economic rehabilitation of other countries is the surest means of return to universal prosperity; and for this, if for no other reason, British statesmanship was bound to keep close touch with the continent rather than repeat the policy of withdrawal adopted soon after the close of the Napoleonic wars. But other reasons and other responsibilities were far from being lost to sight; and not least of these was membership of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations.—Of the League's growing value successive British Governments have maintained a consistently high sense. Definite proofs of that value came quickly—the settlement of the Silesian frontier problem, arbitration in a territorial dispute between Finland and Sweden, the salving of Austria from financial bankruptcy, and perhaps most striking of all, the preservation of peace in more than one ugly crisis between the young states of east Europe. To such activities Britain lent full support; her Foreign Secretaries have, whenever possible, attended in person the Assembly of the League; and her Parliament has loyally backed them up. But she has also shown a wise caution in remembering that the League is still in its infancy and in desiring to put upon it no greater burdens than it can reasonably be expected to bear. The Greco-Italian crisis of 1923 affords a case in point. An Italian general was murdered on an Albanian frontier

investigation. Mussolini at once served an ultimatum to Athens, bombarded Corfu, and boastfully defied all protests from Geneva. Here, if ever, it seemed that the League's authority was about to be put to the test. But the matter was taken out of its hands. The leading powers' ambassadors, sitting in council at Paris, undertook the decision and without any adequate investigation of the facts inflicted a severe fine upon Greece. In this apparent blow to the League's prestige Great Britain was undoubtedly a leading partner; but a greater and more serious blow was probably averted by preventing Italy's threatened secession from the League. In any case Britain's caution made her unpopular with the smaller states of Europe; and presently it was to earn the disapproval also of the greater.

The Protocol and Locarno.—When on her withdrawal from the Ruhr adventure France turned her thoughts from the idea of securing her frontiers by a militarist supremacy, she directed them as we have said, towards the League. It needed at this moment no special acuteness of perception to realize that Europe was heading straight for a competition in armaments similar to that which just ten years earlier had led to the outbreak of the Great War. Some scheme of gradual or partial disarmament seemed imperative; but this could only be instituted on the basis of universal agreement and under the bond of some powerful guarantee. The suggestion was accordingly put forward at Geneva and embodied in a rough draft or Protocol that all members of the League should pledge themselves to maintain the existing frontiers of Europe, and, if any state's integrity were threatened, to come to its assistance. The Protocol had many friends, the French representative amongst them; but it found one implacable opponent in Great Britain. Among the grounds of her objection which were various, two stand out: first, that to maintain the existing frontiers in perpetuity may be neither just nor desirable; and second, that a pledge of intervention in distant parts of Europe is too much to expect of a country already loaded with the world-wide responsibilities of Great Britain; and still more is it too much to expect of those other members of the League whose opinion she is bound to consider, her Dominions. For this last reason, if for no other, she was forced to oppose her resistance to a formula, which however well sounding, seemed almost certain to fail, because it attempted too much. To the principle of a mutual guarantee, however, provided it were planned on less comprehensive lines, Great Britain held no such objection; and in the autumn of 1925 Sir Austen Chamberlain,[1] as Foreign Secretary, advanced a modified scheme. Meeting together at Locarno the representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium agreed to the acceptance of a common pledge to maintain the existing frontiers between Germany and France on the one hand and between Germany and Belgium on the other. The importance of this diplomatic achievement is hard to overestimate. It seemed indeed to mark the final exorcism of the war

[1] Mr. Chamberlain was in point of fact knighted in honour of this event.

spirit; and, as a further token that old animosities were now to be forgotten, the operation of the Pact was made conditional on the admission of Germany into the League of Nations. That last act of reconciliation was unhappily delayed by the opposition of Brazil, who, piqued at her own exclusion from the League Council, refused to join in the unanimous vote essential to the new member's admission. But this rift was not lasting, and in due course Germany has been admitted once more into the great comity of nations.

France was now satisfied; a new sense of security was in the air; and it remained to press forward measures for a systematic disarmament. So far as land forces are concerned, serious difficulties still stand in the way; and discussions proceed slowly. But the limitation of navies had already made some progress. In 1921 on President Coolidge's initiative a conference had been held at Washington; and there the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan had agreed to a limitation of tonnage in respect of capital ships. The problem of cruisers and other craft had still to be threshed out; and in 1927 fresh discussions were opened at Geneva. Unhappily they proved fruitless. The American representatives failed to appreciate how widespread and how vital are the naval needs of the Imperial trade routes. The British Government, while accepting the United States' demand for naval equality, made perhaps too high an estimate of the extent of those needs. The only immediate result was that the British shipbuilding programme was soon after curtailed, the American enormously increased. But there is no need to despair or to suppose that the misunderstanding need last. Once the nations have agreed that war is an unmitigated disaster, bringing even to the victors far more harm than good, it must follow that the sole hope for the future lies in the spirit of mutual cooperation, in methods of friendly give and take rather than of hostile rivalry. It remains therefore to hammer out the details of the compromise, to devise the machinery of arbitration, and finally to learn in the practical school of experience that self-interest is in the long run better served by seeking international justice than by the old-fashioned methods of diplomatic overreaching and bluff.

II

Home Politics.—It has long been an accepted tradition of British politics that continuity of foreign policy should be independent of the alternations of party government; and to this rule the history of the last six years affords no serious exception. Each in their turn, the Foreign Secretaries of successive ministries have played their part and earned their share of credit in the hopeful developments above described. Thus it was Lord Curzon's steadfast dignity that averted at many a crisis the threatened breach with France; Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's unaffected friendliness of manner did much to smooth the path towards Franco-German reconciliation and the acceptance of the Dawes' repara-

tion scheme. Sir Austen Chamberlain, as we have shown, was mainly responsible for the triumph of Locarno. Nor, when we come in turn to consider the course of home politics, is the divergence between party programmes so wide as might be fancied. The Conservative Party, who have held office for five years out of the six, have taken an increasingly broadminded view of their responsibilities and have embraced policies which their predecessors would have denounced as rank Socialism. They have controlled rents, regulated prices, maintained an unemployment dole upon an unprecedented scale, vastly extended the scope of Old Age and other pensions, and finally by state support of building schemes have done at least as much as their opponents ever could, for the solution of the Housing Shortage problem. The Labour Party, on the other hand, though often wild enough in opposition, proved comparatively mild when in office. The attitude of their ministers was for the most part cautiously correct. Mr. MacDonald showed a high sense of his responsibilities abroad. Mr. Snowden's budget was more Liberal than Socialist in tone. Mr. Thomas at the Colonial office became quickly a thorough-going Imperialist. Even the rank and file of Labour members have grown steadier with time; and the Communist Extremists, when seeking admission to the Party, have met with polite, but continuous rebuff.

In one tragic and conspicuous respect there has equally been little to choose between the two parties; and for the country's acutest trouble neither Conservatives nor Labour have proved able to do much. The number of unemployed in receipt of a weekly dole still continues well above a million; and, though trade has shown at times some sign of an improvement, yet national enterprise must remain at least partially crippled, so long as the profits of the more successful industries are bled for the support of the employees of the less. The Labour Party, it is true, had no great opportunity for introducing socialist schemes of state organization; for their tenure of office was limited to a twelve-month; and during all that time they were dependent for a majority vote on the support and good-will of the Liberals. No heroic or comprehensive remedies have figured in the Conservatives' programme; their aim was twofold—first, in order that industry might, so far as possible, recover of itself, they endeavoured to hasten the return to normal conditions both at home and abroad, by tranquillizing the economic unsettlement of Europe, by restoring British credit on foreign exchange, by checking the extravagance of State expenditure and so lowering taxation, by curtailing (though this proved more difficult) the ruinous interruption of strikes. Secondly, they looked for a more positive solution to the problem in the sphere of Imperial relationships. At no time in British history has the Empire attracted more interest or attention. The Prince of Wales has made a tour of the Dominions. The Prime Minister has for the first time visited Canada. In 1924 a vast exhibition of Colonial products was held outside London at Wembley. Millions of folk visited it. School children received special instruction and were taken in hordes to its sights. From these and

many other signs it is clear that the responsibilities and opportunities of the Empire are being more and more widely realized. Positive and practical results, however, are less easy to see. Emigration of the surplus unemployed population appears impossible on any large scale. For the British working man accustomed to the conditions of industrial home-life, is not very eager nor perhaps very competent to work on the land; and the Dominions themselves cannot readily absorb indefinite numbers. There remains one other possibility. It was an old idea of the Conservative Party, as we saw some time back, by establishing a tariff of duties on imports to give special encouragement to colonial trade through a preferential scale of exemptions. Since the electorate's rejection of the scheme in 1905, it had been left more or less in abeyance; but there were still many of the Conservative members who were ardent Protectionists and who saw in "Imperial Preference" the key to the restoration of British trade. Approval however would be needed on both sides of the ocean; much therefore turned on the views of colonial statesmen and how they regarded the question we must now consider.

The events of the war had exercised a two-fold influence upon the relations between the colonies and the home country. On the one hand, the part played by the Dominions both in the conduct of campaigns and in the negotiations of the Peace Treaty had greatly enhanced their sense of political independence. They had secured for themselves separate representation in the League of Nations; and at the Imperial Conferences held in London in 1923 and 1926 they asserted quite definitely the right to decide for themselves how far they should be bound by the foreign policy of the British Parliament. Thus while still acknowledging an allegiance, they declared their virtual autonomy. The children, in other words, were come to man's estate. This did not mean, however, that they wished to repudiate their parent. On the contrary, the second effect of wartime experience had been to strengthen the ties of sentiment which already helped to bind the Empire together; and further to develop those ties by economic links of commercial independence now appeared an advantageous and obvious step. So it came about that at the Imperial Conference of 1923 Mr. Bruce, the Australian premier, advocated the institution of a Preferential tariff, favouring the importation of colonial produce to England. Here then was the Conservative Party's old remedy receiving fresh stimulus from an important quarter. Better trade would mean less unemployment; and the policy was at once adopted as part of the Conservatives' immediate programme. Its possible effect, however, remains an unknown quantity; for the history of 1905 was now to repeat itself and the Electorate would have none of the scheme. To understand how this came about, it will be necessary to review briefly the history of the successive governments of the period; and to this we must now turn.

Lloyd George and Bonar Law.—Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition government, elected with an enormous majority soon after the Armistice, was not to survive very long. England has never much loved coalitions;

and this one proved no exception to the rule. It had been formed with the idea that as it had best organized war, so it could also best organize peace; but the results had proved disappointing. Promises of speedy reconstruction were not justified by three years of office. The personal ascendancy, too, of Mr. Lloyd George began to lose some of its glamour. His enthusiasm and energy remained, it is true, unabated; but his political judgment seemed often at fault. Thus, when the Greeks invaded Asia Minor, and drove back the Turks on the interior, he was loud in admiration of their prowess. Then shortly after, when the Turks returned the attack with interest, and it seemed as though Constantinople, still under occupation of allied garrisons, might fall into the hands of their troops, he came within an ace of plunging into war with them. The time had come, so the Conservative members of the coalition felt, to shake free from the domination of a leader whom they no longer trusted. In the autumn of 1922 the split came. Mr. Lloyd George resigned; and Mr. Bonar Law took office with a Conservative majority which, after a general election, numbered eighty over both other parties. Next spring when failing health compelled his retirement, he was succeeded in the Premiership by Mr. Baldwin, lately sprung into prominence through his successful negotiation of the American debt, but otherwise little known to the country. Though lacking the constructive imagination of a Lloyd George, Mr. Baldwin commanded respect by his cultured benevolence and singular honesty of purpose. Himself an industrial employer, he knew something at first hand of the urgency and difficulty of industrial problems; and, what was more, he had a real sympathy with the troubles of the men as well as of the master. The revival of trade he rightly saw to be the only true remedy for unemployment; and at the Imperial Conference of the autumn he was converted in the way above mentioned to the views of his Protectionist colleagues. At the recent election, however, Mr. Bonar Law had given a pledge that, if elected to office, the Conservative Party would not tamper with the existing Free Trade; and Mr. Baldwin's conscience compelled him, before taking further action, to submit the question to a fresh test of the Electorate. The result, as we have foreshadowed, was a complete débâcle for his party, though neither Labour nor Liberals taken apart had anything near a majority, yet together they outnumbered the Conservatives by just ninety votes. So Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, counting on the support of Mr. Asquith and the Liberals, formed for the first time a ministry of what was now coming to be called the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Administration.—The members of the new government, raw for the most part to administrative responsibility, and some of them men of indifferent education, were quite sufficiently occupied in finding their feet without indulging in any wild experiments. Their dependence on the Liberal vote indeed gave them small latitude; and on the whole they acquitted themselves of a difficult task with success. Of Mr. MacDonald's activities as Foreign Secretary—an office which he combined with the Premiership—we have already spoken, and Mr. Snowden as

Chancellor of the Exchequer showed a sane and moderate outlook on the country's financial problems. The real trouble came not from any incapacity of the Socialist leaders, but from the impetuosity and lack of discipline among the rank and file of members. One definite plank in the new government's programme had been the recognition of the Soviet Republic and they had opened negotiations in London for a commercial agreement whereby it was hoped to revive trade with Russia through the granting of a loan to that impoverished country. The Bolshevist delegates proved, however, obstinate bargainers and towards autumn the conference broke down. Private Labour members thoughtlessly rushed to the rescue, and without official authority engineered the resumption of parleys. To have gone to work thus behind the government's back was a grave breach of parliamentary procedure, and the Liberals no less than the Conservatives were at once up in arms. Neither of them liked the Russian treaty; and the Socialists' overthrow seemed imminent. It actually came over another and more trifling issue —the government's alleged unconstitutional action in withdrawing the prosecution of a Socialist editor. But in the general election which followed it was the Russian question which bulked most large. The Anti-Bolshevik cry, raised by the Conservative candidates, was reinforced in a singular manner. There found its way somehow into the government's hands and still more mysteriously into the Press, a secret dispatch from Moscow, known as the "Zinovieff letter," which instructed Russian agents to foment sedition among English workers and soldiers. Though the letter was denounced as a forgery by the Russians themselves, its audacious interference in the country's affairs shocked the electorate greatly and the upshot was that the Socialists were thrown from office and the Conservatives returned with an overwhelming majority of two hundred and more. The Liberals, with a bare membership of forty, suffered virtual extinction.

This was a surprising reversal of the verdict given only twelve months before and many explanations have been given. For one thing, the women's vote—introduced by the new franchise bill of 1917—was still an altogether unknown and uncertain quantity. There can be little doubt that the growing activity of women in public life is one of the most notable features of the age. Female members of Parliament, female county councillors, and female workers of every sort have aroused among their sex a new interest in politics. All parties would naturally like to think that the women's vote favours themselves; and the Conservatives have recently been contemplating a bill for lowering the age limit of female franchise from thirty to twenty-one.[1] It was further a significant but not uncommon feature of the poll that the total number of votes given to the Conservatives bore no real relation to the enormous majority with which they were returned to power, and in point of fact their members could only claim to represent considerably less than half of the electorate. Nevertheless the verdict given probably reflected in a broad way the opinion of the country. There was no desire either

1 Such a bill was introduced and passed in the Spring of 1928.

or the rash experiment in Socialist legislation which a true Labour majority would have threatened nor yet for conciliatory dealings with foreign revolutionary theorists who had already brought their own country to the verge of ruin. When, therefore, Mr. Baldwin at the opening of 1925 promised a period of tranquillity, he was striking the desired note. By a curious irony of fate however tranquillity was precisely what Mr. Baldwin could not give.

The General Strike.—The gradual economic recovery of the continent should by now have been reflected also in a renewal of English prosperity; and there were signs indeed that trade was improving. But one industry in particular was hard hit. The reparation deliveries of German coal to France seriously affected the market of British coal exporters; for this and other causes the mines of South Wales and elsewhere were in great difficulties; and in the summer of 1925 the owners gave warning of an impending reduction of wages. The men answered this by threat of strike; and the government, intervening in the public interest, was only able to avert this catastrophe by the appointment of a Royal Commission of enquiry and the promise of a subsidy to maintain the old level of wages until the Commission's Report was complete. Next March the Report appeared. It ruled out any continuance of the subsidy as economically unsound. It enjoined on the owners certain reconstruction of their somewhat haphazard industry, and finally it demanded of the men a necessary reduction of wages. This last recommendation roused the fierce denunciation of the entire Labour world, which felt with justice that the miners' wages were already low enough. A General Strike was threatened; and despite the Government's persistent efforts, they were unable to effect a compromise. The owners declared themselves unable to pay the old wages; the men refused to accept a penny less. At the beginning of May the General Strike was called; and the Labour leaders confidently counted on bringing the Government swiftly to its knees. They had reckoned however without two things—the Government's careful organization for the maintenance of supplies and the cool imperturbability of the British Public. Even in the great towns there was no serious rioting. Motor lorries, driven by volunteers, carried food supplies; a government newspaper was printed and distributed likewise by volunteer labour; and within a few days an adequate train service was running. The grand coup had in fact failed; and with commendable sense the Labour Leaders recognized the failure, and called off the strike at the end of nine days. The miners held on alone; and finally in autumn returned piecemeal to work on local agreements, often far less favourable than had been offered in spring. From the serious dislocation caused by the coal stoppage, British industry and trade took long to recover; but the General Strike itself had at least the one good effect of clearing the air. For years the country had suffered under the threat of its occurrence, uneasily ignorant of what the results might be. Now by calling Labour's bluff, the government had once and for all laid the bogey, and had

proved that the social stability of Britain was not to be undermined by the agitations, however well organized, of a minority. A Bill passed through Parliament in the following year declared such general conspiracy to withhold Labour to be in principle illegal; and, though the Socialists in Parliament blustered with indignation, it was clear that Labour, as a whole, had also learnt its lesson from the strike. A calmer and saner temper prevails. Agitators are less in evidence; and with the close of 1927 an invitation to confer with leading industrial magnates for the better organization of national production has been accepted by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The prospects of peace in industry have never been so bright since the century began.

The Baldwin Administration.—The truth is that Mr. Baldwin's administration, though lacking perhaps in great constructive ability, has probably interpreted aright the country's chief need at the moment. It has aimed at governing with a firm hand, not as in Italy through the domination of a narrow political clique, but by methods of enlightened and evenhanded justice. Throughout the spheres of foreign and imperial policy, the beneficial results are markedly to be seen. The dishonest intrigues of the Bolshevik government of Russia have been wisely rewarded by a severance of diplomatic relations. The threatened destruction of British settlements in China where the welter of civil war has already done grave injury to trade, has been averted by the timely dispatch of a defensive garrison. The demands of an inefficient Egyptian government for the control of the Sudan have been successfully rebutted. The endless and dangerous quarrel between Ulster and the Irish Free State over the delimitation of their frontiers has been brought to an amicable settlement by a generous financial sacrifice on the part of the British Exchequer. In South Africa the national aspirations of a strong Dutch secessionist party have been watched with patient tolerance; and such patience has at least been rewarded in the recent decision whereby the factious agitation against the use of the British Flag has ended in a reasonable compromise. In India, despite endless discouragement and difficulty, the government has been carried forward strongly along the lines of the "Dyarchical Constitution." Indian members of the administration have sometimes obstructed business, sometimes deliberately withdrawn their attendance and washed their hands of all responsibility; and now, when a Commission has been duly appointed to investigate the workings of the present system and pronounce upon the further extension of Indian self-government, many Indians threaten to boycott its enquiries. Nevertheless, if one thing is certain, it is that the Commission will proceed.

Last, but by no means least, at a time when the great Dominions are ceasing to lean upon the mother country and striking out on independent lines of their own, Great Britain is discovering and undertaking new and heavy responsibilities in other quarters. The vast tracts of tropical Africa which have come under her control either by right of

occupation or, more recently, under mandate from the League of Nations, present problems of organization and administration equal perhaps, if India be excepted, to any she has shouldered in the past. Millions of coloured peoples are now looking to British culture and British justice to bring them the benefits of civilization, while excluding, if possible, its evils; and, as the deliberations of recent colonial conferences have shown, they will not be allowed to look in vain. The load is heavy for a country already burdened with numerous and critical problems of her own. But, though critics may croak of coming ruin, Great Britain has still within her vast reserves of vitality and strength. The mood of war weariness is passing; all classes are awaking to a fuller sense of the perils and the opportunities ahead of them; and the democratic basis of a society which, without refusing due honour to merit, admits of a continuous recruitment of strength from below to its upper ranks, is a sure guarantee against that staleness or degeneracy of fibre which has so often proved fatal to great empires of the past. He would be a rash prophet who at the outset of the year 1928 would assert that England's mission in the world is ended.

PART V

SUMMARIES

AND

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES

External.	Kings.	A.D.	Internal.
	Claudius	50	
		100	
	Hadrian	150	
		200	Roman Occupation.
		250	
		300	
		350	
		400	
Barbarians overrun Roman Empire		450	
		500	Anglo-Saxon Conquest.
		550	
		600	Christianity arrives.
	Edwin	650	Northumbrian Supremacy.
		700	
		750	
	Offa		Mercian Supremacy.
Charlemagne, Emperor of Western Europe		800	
	Egbert	850	
	Alfred		Wessex Supreme.
		900	
	Edward		
	Athelstan	950	Wessex and Danes Divide England.
	Edgar		
	Ethelred	1000	
	Cnut		Danish Kings.
	Confessor	1050	
Crusades: Normandy ruled jointly with England	William I		
	William II	1100	
	Henry I		
Western France inherited by Henry II	Stephen	1150	Normans Suppress English.
	Henry II		
Western France lost by John	Richard	1200	
	John		Magna Charta.
	Henry III	1250	Rise of English Nation.
	Edward I		
		1300	Birth of Parliament.
	Edward II		
100 Years' War: Partial victory of Edward III	Edward III	1350	Rise of Lower Classes.
	Richard II		Black Death.
	Henry IV	1400	Wycliffe.
Northern France won by Henry V	Henry V		Lancastrian Usurpation.
Northern France lost by Henry VI	Henry VI	1450	
	Edward IV		
	Richard III		Wars of Roses. Rise and fall of Yorkists.
	Henry VII	1500	

SUMMARIES

NOTE.—The more important dates are given in black-faced type

PART I

I. [1000 B.C.–A.D. 60]

I. Early Inhabitants

(*a*) From 1000 B.C. onwards the island was invaded by successive waves of Celtic tribes, *fair*, *tall*, and akin in speech and customs to the Celtic Gauls.

(*b*) Mingling with a *short*, *dark* race of earlier inhabitants, these formed the British type: and gave its name to Britain.

(*c*) They lived by agriculture and trade in tin, etc.: were taught by Druids to worship the sun at *Stonehenge* and elsewhere: lived in scattered villages under tribal chiefs.

II. Caesar's Invasion

55 B.C. (i) *Julius Caesar*, after conquering Gaul, makes a brief reconnaissance of Britain.

54 B.C. (ii) Lands a larger army at *Deal:* defeats Britons at *River Stour:* opposed on Thames by *Caswallon* (Cassivellaunus), King of *Catuvelauni:* but forces passage at *Brentford.*

(iii) Imposes light terms (tribute, etc.) and returns to Gaul.

[Interval of nearly a century.]

III. Permanent Occupation

(i) **Conquest.**

A.D. **43** Under Emperor *Claudius*, *Aulus Plautius* defeats Britons in Essex. and drives *Caractacus*, King of Catuvelauni, into Wales.

(ii) **Occupation.**

Caractacus captured: Western frontier line formed by forts at *Isca*, *Uriconium*, and *Deva:* roads begun: colony of discharged soldiers founded at *Camulodunum:* trade centre at *Verulamium.*

(iii) **Revolt and Subjection.**

A.D. **61** *Suetonius Paulinus* attacks Mona as being Druids' centre. Meanwhile *Iceni* under *Boadicea* rise and sack Verulamium, etc.: but are defeated by Paulinus.

Britain thus finally subdued.

II. [A.D. 80–600]

I. ROME'S DOUBLE TASK: (A) To secure northern frontier, (B) To civilise inhabitants.

A. Northern Frontier

78 (i) *Agricola*, as governor, subdues *Brigantes:* pushes into Scotland: defeats *Caledonii* near *Firth of Tay:* but withdraws to line of *Solway Firth* and *River Tyne.*

120 (ii) Emperor *Hadrian* builds turf wall from *Tyne* to *Solway*, nearly 80 miles long, garrisoned by legions.

140 (iii) Under *Antoninus* attempt made to hold line of *Firth of Forth* and *Clyde:* but again a withdrawal follows to Hadrian's line: wall rebuilt in stone.

B. Civilisation

(*a*) Towns: schools: Roman dress and speech: and (later) Christianity.
(*b*) Roads to military bases (see Map).
(*c*) Britons lose vigour and power of self-defence.

II. FALL OF ROME AND COMING OF ANGLO-SAXONS

407 (i) Last Roman legion called elsewhere to meet attacks of *Visigoths.*

449 (ii) *Picts* from Scotland and *Scots* from Ireland plunder and return home.

(iii) *Jutes* under *Hengist* and *Horsa* settle in *Kent.*

450–550 (iv) *Angles* and *Saxons* settle in Sus-sex: Wes-sex: Es-sex: East Anglia: and last, Northumbria. [*N.B.*—More fertile country occupied first.]

(v) Britons driven into *Wales, Cornwall,* and *Strathclyde:* and by battles of *Deorham* (577) and *Chester* (613) these remnants are cut off from each other.

N.B.—The Anglo-Saxons take few prisoners: destroy towns: and blot out Roman civilisation and Christianity.

III. [A.D. 600–850]

THE THREE GREAT KINGDOMS: Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex. [*N.B.*—*Political* unity based on supremacy of one kingdom is aided by *Religious* Unity.]

A. Northumbrian Supremacy
[c. 620 onwards]

597

c. 620 (i) *Edwin* founds Edinburgh: takes Anglesey and becomes Bretwalda over most of Britain.

(ii) Edwin beaten and killed by *Penda* of *Mercia.*

(iii) But Edwin's successors regain supremacy and hold it till 685.

A. Conversion from Rome

(i) Pope *Gregory* sends *St. Augustine* who converts Aethelbert of Kent.

(ii) *Paulinus* converts *Edwin* of Northumbria.

(iii) But Northumbria, overrun by heathen *Mercia,* gives up Christianity.

B. Conversion from Irish Celts

(i) Celts turn to Scotland in preference to barbarous Saxons and found monastery at *Iona.*

(ii) From here, at invitation of Edwin's successor, *Aidan* founds *Lindisfarne* monastery. Northumbria reconverted and Mercia follows.

Quarrel and Union of the Churches

(i) Jealousy between "Roman" Church in South and "Celtic" Church in North.

B. Mercian Supremacy

[c. 720 onwards]

(i) Under Christian kings Mercia rises and overcomes Wessex.

c. 780 (ii) Greatest king is *Offa*, contemporary of Charlemagne, and builder of dyke against Welsh.

(ii) At Conference of *Whitby* King *Oswy* of Northumbria decides for Rome, and union is attained.

(iii) *Theodore of Tarsus*, appointed Archbishop, organizes the Sees, etc.

C. Supremacy of Wessex

[c. 820 onwards]

825 (i) *Egbert* of Wessex defeats Mercia at *Ellandun*.

(ii) Becoming Bretwalda gives whole country name of Angle-land or England.

IV. [850–900]

ALFRED AND THE DANISH INVASIONS

A. Before Alfred

c. 800 (i) Danes or "Northmen," aroused by Charlemagne's attack, begin to scour the seas.

(ii) Make descents on England, Mediterranean countries, and Normandy where they later settle.

c. 870 (iii) They overrun Northumbria, E. Anglia, and even cross Thames into Wessex.

B. Alfred's Reign (871–900)

871 (i) On his accession Alfred buys Danes out of Wessex.

876 (ii) Danes by surprise attack seize *Wareham*, but escape by treachery.

878 (iii) Breaking truce again, Danes fortify camp at *Chippenham* and scour Wessex.

878 (iv) Alfred flees to *Athelney:* rallies forces and defeats Danes at *Ethandun*.

" (v) *Guthrum* accepts baptism and by Treaty of *Wedmore* divides England with Alfred.

892 (vi) Fresh host under *Hastings*, invading from France, caught at River *Lea* and fleet captured.

C. Alfred's Reforms

(i) *Military* forces in towns: builds fleet: improves army by increasing number of Thegns (body-guard) and working Fyrd (militia) in relays.

(ii) *Civil* and *Religious*.

(*a*) Organizes royal expenditure.

(*b*) Collects and encourages advisers, scholars, and craftsmen.

(*c*) Stimulates education by founding schools and translating Latin books into Anglo-Saxon (begins Anglo-Saxon Chronicle).

(*d*) Issues Code of Laws, fixing fines, etc.

(*e*) Plans monasteries at Winchester and Athelney for monks under strict Benedictine rule.

V. SAXONS, DANES AND NORMANS [900–1065]

A. Period of Saxon Ascendancy [100 years]

925 (i) Alfred's son, *Edward the Elder*, recovers Danelaw.
937 (ii) *Athelstan* defeats rebellious Danes, aided by Scots and Irish Vikings, at *Brunanburgh*.
959–975 (iii) *Edgar*, guided by Archbishop *Dunstan*, unites Danes and Saxons and becomes overlord of whole country.
(iv) *Ethelred*, attacked by *Olaf Trygvasson* and *Sweyn*, King of Denmark, buys them off with "Danegeld": but provokes fresh
1002 invasion by massacring Danish settlers on *St. Brice's Day*.
1011 (v) *Sweyn* is offered the crown and Ethelred flees.

B. Period of Danish Kings [40 years]

1016 to 1035 (i) On Sweyn's death crown given to his son *Cnut* in preference to Ethelred's son *Edmund Ironside*.
(ii) Cnut rules Denmark and England strongly, uniting Danes and Saxons by fair treatment.
1042 (iii) His two sons proving feeble, Witan offers crown to Ethelred's son, *Edward the Confessor*.

C. Period of Saxon Recovery and Norman Intrigue [25 years]

(i) The *Confessor*, thanks to his Norman mother and long sojourn abroad, encourages Norman favourites.
(ii) *William, Duke of Normandy*, plans to be accepted as the Confessor's heir.
(iii) Norman intrigues opposed by *Godwin, Earl of Wessex*, who controls East Anglia and S.W. Midlands through his sons and marries his daughter to the Confessor.
1051 (iv) Godwin exiled for refusing to punish murder of Norman knights at Dover.
1052 (v) Godwin returns: on his death all chief earldoms (except *Mercia*, which is under *Edwin* and *Morcar*) go to his sons: *Wessex* to *Harold: E. Anglia* to *Leofwine* and *Gurth: Northumbria* to *Tostig*.

VI. HASTINGS

A. Possible Claimants to Confessor's Throne

(i) *Edgar the Atheling*, best legal claim as member of Edmund Ironside's family: but a boy.
(ii) *Harold Godwinson*, brother-in-law of Confessor—foremost man in England: but *not* of royal blood.
(iii) *William of Normandy*, first cousin to Confessor (through Confessor's Norman mother).

N.B.—The Confessor's promise of crown and Harold's oath of fealty gave him a show of right which was recognised by the Pope.

B. Events of 1066

5th Jan., 1066 (i) Confessor dies: Harold, though accepted by Witan and crowned is not sure of support for his "usurpation".
(ii) William prepares invasion.
(iii) Meanwhile Tostig, Harold's brother, being driven out of his earldom by Northumbrians, is returning with fleet and army of Hardrada, King of Norway.

C. Harold's Marches

21st September, *Thursday:* Tostig and Hardrada, having beaten northern levies, occupy York; on following *Monday* Harold, coming up from south, annihilates them at *Stamford Bridge*.

28th September, *Thursday:* William lands at *Pevensey*. On following *Monday* news reaches Harold at *York*.
5th October, *Thursday:* Harold on eve of reaching London (200 miles covered between Monday and Friday), where he refits, but does not await levies of *Edwin* and *Morcar*.
12th October, *Thursday:* Harold leaves London and covers sixty miles to Senlac by Friday night.
1066 14th October, *Saturday:* William, marching from coastal base at Hastings, attacks Saxons at *Senlac*.

D. The Battle

[*N.B.*—Saxons = old style **Infantry**: mailed House Carles and raw ill-armed Fyrd. Norman's chief arm **Cavalry** of mailed knights.]

I. *Unsuccessful Norman Attacks.*
(*a*) Though preceded by archers and infantry, Norman knights fail to break Saxon line (behind *palisade*).
(*b*) Fyrd on Saxon right pursue downhill and are badly mauled.
(*c*) Normans renew attack, but by mid-afternoon make no impression.

II. *William's two ruses.*
(*a*) By feigning flight Normans draw out Fyrd and destroy them.
(*b*) Archers shake House Carles by aiming arrows high.
(*c*) On Harold's death, House Carles round standard dispersed in utter rout.

1066 Christmas day, William crowned at Westminster.

VII. THE CONQUEROR AND HIS SUBJECTS

A. Saxons

[*N.B.*—All landowners deprived of lands: but some (e.g., those absent from Hastings) reinstated.]

Revolts.

1067 (i) *Southwest* revolts during William's absence in Normandy: *Exeter* surrenders on his return.
1068 (ii) *Midlands* revolt, but soon collapse: Edwin and Morcar made prisoner.
1069 (iii) *Northumberland* rises (with aid of King of Denmark) under Saxon Earl *Waltheof:* all country north of Humber laid waste by William.
1071 (iv) *Hereward the Wake* holds out in Ely fens: but is betrayed by monks.

B. Normans

[*N.B.*—Normans, etc., who have come over as volunteers with William, rewarded with lands: but they are strictly controlled by various measures.]

(i) Each man's *estates* scattered through various counties (except Earldoms on Welsh border and Durham on Scots border).
(ii) *Castles* not to be built without leave: strongest castles (e.g. Tower of London) kept in William's hands.
(iii) New *feudal oath* exacted (first at Salisbury in 1086) whereby every man in England owes fealty *directly* to the King.
(iv) *Domesday* survey made to give details of every man's property for purposes of taxation, etc.
(v) Speedy but merciful suppression of revolt; when Earls of Hereford and Norfolk combined with Saxon Waltheof, the Normans were not executed, the Saxon was.

1087 William dies.

VIII. THE CONQUEROR'S SONS:
Robert; William Rufus (1087-1100); Henry I (1100-1135)

	Normandy	England	Church
1087	Robert inherits Dukedom.	Rufus succeeds and crushes revolt of *Odo*, Earl of Kent, by calling out Saxons.	Death of Pope *Gregory VII* (Hildebrand).
1089			Archbishopric of Canterbury falls vacant.
1091	Robert, after selling Côtentin to Henry, is forced to cede part of Normandy to Rufus.	Rufus defeats Scots and fixes frontier at Solway.	
1093			Anselm appointed Archbishop: quarrels with Rufus about lands and feudal homage.
1096	Robert sells rest of lands to Rufus and goes on First Crusade.		
1100		**Death of William Rufus.**	Anselm at Rome consulting Pope.
1100	Robert returning makes bid for English throne, but is bought off by Henry.	**Henry I** seizes throne: issues Charter and conciliates Saxons by wedding Saxon princess.	Henry crowned in Anselm's absence: Anselm on his return denounces coronation and refuses homage.
1102		Henry crushes *Robert of Bellême* with aid of Saxons.	Anselm leaves country again.
1106	Henry defeats Robert at *Tenchebrai* and takes over Normany.	[Henry reforms Law: stricter penalties. King's court as model for local courts.]	**Compromise of Bec.** (i) Bishops to do homage to King for lands; (ii) but to receive spiritual authority from Rome.
1120		Henry's only son drowned on *White Ship*.	
1135		**Henry dies, leaving the crown to his daughter Matilda.**	

IX. FROM ANARCHY TO ORDER

I. CLAIMANTS TO THRONE ON DEATH OF HENRY I

(i) Matilda, daughter of Henry I, now married to *Geoffrey, Count of Anjou*, and mother of an infant son (afterwards Henry II).
(ii) Stephen of Blois, son of the Conqueror's daughter, accepted as an easy-going king.

II. THE ANARCHY [1135 to 1154]

1135 **A. Stephen Crowned, Matilda Plots his Overthrow**

Revolts.

1137 (i) On Matilda's behalf *David, King of Scotland*, invades North: but defeated by Archibishop of York at *Northallerton* (Battle of the Standard).
(ii) *Robert, Earl of Gloucester*, Matilda's half-brother, raises the West in revolt.
1139 (iii) By imprisoning two bishops Stephen alienates the Church and his brother *Henry, Bishop of Winchester*.
1141 Soon after Matilda's landing Stephen defeated and captured at *Lincoln*.

B. Matilda's Misuse of Victory

1141 (i) Matilda accepted as ruler, though not given title of queen.
(ii) Matilda arouses Londoners by high-handed measures.
(iii) Robert of Gloucester captured and only freed by *Stephen's* liberation.

C. The Coming of Henry

1153 Henry, Matilda's son, now of age, comes to England: and by *Treaty of Wallingford* receives share of Stephen's power and promise of succession.

III. HENRY II [1154]

A. His Domains

As Stephen's heir inherits **England.**
As grandson of Henry I (Matilda's father): **Normandy and Maine.**
As son of Geoffrey (Matilda's husband): **Anjou and Touraine.**
As husband of Eleanor of Aquitaine: **Aquitaine.**
1166 Also acquires **Brittany** by marrying his son to heiress.

B. His Reforms

[Keynote = one law for all and all power centred on king.]
(i) *Taxation:* merchants and town-dwellers to pay as well as landowners.
(ii) *Military Service* to King demanded of all free men (Assize of Arms, 1181).
(iii) *Local Law Courts* standardized by
(*a*) Model of King's Court.
(*b*) Travelling Judges of Assize.
(*c*) *Juries* to decide whether case should come before judges [Ordeal and Compurgation still linger].

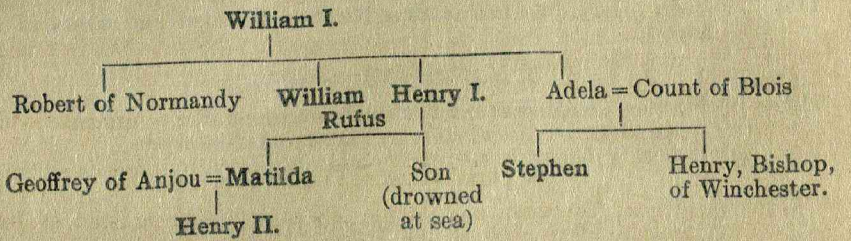
C. His Quarrel with Becket

1162 (i) Wishing to bring "clerics" under civil law, appoints his Chancellor Becket to Canterbury.

1164 (ii) By *Constitutions of Clarendon*, a "cleric" convicted in church courts is afterwards to be tried and punished in lay courts.
(iii) Becket denounces Constitutions at Northampton and departs to Pope.
(iv) In Becket's absence Henry has his son crowned in advance by other Bishops.
1170 (v) Becket on his return angers Henry by excommunication of offending Bishops and is murdered.
(vi) Outcry of public causes Henry to withdraw Constitutions of Clarendon.

D. Troubles of Last Years

1171 (i) *Irish wars* to back up Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow): Henry crosses to Ireland and receives homage of chiefs.
(ii) *His sons' Revolt in France.*
1173 (*a*) His sons Henry and Richard, egged on by Queen Eleanor, rebel, but are suppressed.
1187 (*b*) Richard, backed by **Philip Augustus** of France, forces Henry to humiliating peace. John also implicated. Henry dies, 1189.



X. RICHARD COEUR DE LION (1189–1199)

CRUSADES

A. Seizure and Loss of Jerusalem by Turks

(i) Since 635 Jerusalem in hands of Arabs, who encourage Christian pilgrims.
1076 (ii) Turks capture Jerusalem, obstructing and maltreating pilgrims.
(iii) *Peter the Hermit* raises volunteers in France.
(iv) *Pope Urban* holds Council at *Clermont* and declares Holy War.
1096-9 (v) **First Crusade.** Jerusalem retaken and *Godfrey de Bouillon* made king.

B. Recapture of Jerusalem by Turks

(i) Kingdom of Jerusalem passes to *Princes of Anjou* (kinsmen of Henry II).
1147 (ii) Encroachment of Turks barely checked by **Second Crusade.**
1187 (iii) Turks under *Saladin* defeat Angevin king near *Tiberias* and retake Jerusalem.

C. Failure of Christians to Win Jerusalem Back

1189 (i) **Third Crusade** organized by *Richard* of England, *Philip Augustus* of France, *Frederic Barbarossa*, Emperor of Germany.
(ii) Emperor drowned on march: Richard and Philip Augustus quarrel *en route*.
(iii) Campaign.
(*a*) *Acre*, already besieged by Christians, taken on Richard's arrival.
(*b*) Philip Augustus goes home to plot against Richard.

1191 (c) Richard, marching down coast to *Jaffa*, dogged by Saladin, whom he defeats at *Arsouf*.
(d) From Jaffa, Richard marches via *Askalon* on Jerusalem, but is forced to turn back and winter at Jaffa.
1192 (e) In spring, comes again within sight of Jerusalem, but unable to advance.
(iv) Treats with Saladin for truce: on voyage home is driven on to Adriatic coast: caught by Leopold, Duke of Austria; and held to ransom by Emperor of Germany.

D. Subsequent Crusades

1249 and 1270 (i) Many attempts at recapture of Jerusalem fail: the most famous (1249 and 1270) made by *Louis IX of France* (St. Louis).
(ii) Jerusalem remains in Turkish hands till 1917.

XI. LOSS OF FRANCE AND MAGNA CHARTA

A. Richard's Rule in England (1189–1199)

1189 (i) On departure leaves England in charge of the Chancellor, *William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely*.
(ii) Prince *John* drives out Longchamp and plots with Philip Augustus to filch Richard's territory.
1194 (iii) Richard on return crushes John's rebellion.
1199 (iv) After four years of frontier warfare against Philip Augustus is killed at *Chalu*.

B. John's Loss of French Provinces

1199 (i) **Anjou, Touraine,** and **Maine** fall away: all disgusted at John's murder of his rival, young *Arthur*.
1204 (ii) *Château Gaillard*, key-fortress of Seine, captured by French and so **Normandy** lost.
1214 (iii) Alliance between John and German Emperor ruined by Emperor's defeat at *Bouvines*.
N.B.—**Aquitaine** alone remains to England.

C. Quarrel with the Pope

1205 (i) Quarrel about appointment of Archbishop: Pope nominates *Langton*.
1208 (ii) John refusing Langton, Pope lays *Interdict* on England.
1213 (iii) Pope prompts Philip Augustus to reduce John to submission.
(iv) John submits, paying tribute to Pope and accepting Langton.

D. Barons' Revolt

(i) Barons, exasperated by taxation to finance French wars, find a leader in *Langton*.
1214 (ii) Meeting at *Bury St. Edmunds:* barons propose to bind John to Charter of Henry I.
1215 (iii) Barons raise army and force John to sign Magna Charta at *Runnymede*.
1215 (iv) Committee of twenty-five barons to supervise John, and, when he resists, crown offered to Prince Louis of France, who lands in south.
1216 John dies at Newark.

XII. HENRY III (1216–1272)

A. Henry's Boyhood

(i) Henry III, aged nine; William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, acts as Regent.

(ii) Prince Louis of France expelled from London by:
(*a*) Defeat of French knights by Earl Marshall at *Lincoln*.
(*b*) *Hubert de Burgh's* defeat of reinforcing fleet off Thames.
1227 (iii) Henry assumes government and after five years disgraces de Burgh, Earl Marshall's successor.

B. Thirty Years of Misrule (1227–1257)

(i) Foreign favourites of Henry:
(*a*) Henry marries *Eleanor of Provence* and gives English posts to her uncles.
(*b*) To please Pope introduces foreign priests.
(ii) Rise of national feeling:
(*a*) Anti-alien riots at Oxford and elsewhere.
(*b*) *Grosseteste*, Bishop of Lincoln, denounces Henry's subservience to Pope.
(*c*) His friend, *Simon de Montfort*, becomes champion of "England for the English."
(iii) Revolt against the foreigners:
1257 (*a*) Henry promises money to help Pope in winning *Sicily* from German Emperor.
(*b*) Barons, exasperated, demand dismissal of foreign favourites.
1258 (*c*) By *Provisions of Oxford* fifteen barons, including Simon, to supervise Henry's government.

C. De Montfort's National Policy

[*N.B.*—Backed by townsmen, but only by part of baronage.]
(i) Simon, wishful to remedy wrongs of lower classes, quarrels with selfish colleagues and leaves England.
1261 (ii) Henry goes back on promises: raises army against barons: Simon returns.
1263 (iii) Arbitration of French King (*Mise of Amiens*) rejected by Simon.
1264 (iv) Simon defeats and captures Henry and Prince Edward at *Lewes*.
1265 (v) Simon virtual King for one year: attempts (*a*) to form a constitutional government limiting King's authority, (*b*) to form a parliament representing all classes.

D. De Montfort's Fall

(i) Prince Edward escapes from captivity and joins *Gloucester*, who has deserted Simon.
(ii) Simon caught west of Severn and finds passage at *Worcester* barred.
(iii) While prince makes diversion against Simon's son at *Kenilworth*, Simon crosses Severn to Evesham.
1265 (iv) Three armies, converging on him, defeat and kill him at *Evesham*.
1272 Henry dies.

XIII. EDWARD I (1272–1307) AND EDWARD II (1307–1327)

A. Edward I and Parliament

(i) Edward adopts De Montfort's principle of consulting people through Parliament *when he needs taxes*.
1295 (ii) After various experiments summons **Model Parliament**, consisting of (*a*) *Lords*, viz., leading Barons and Bishops; (*b*) *Church*, viz., representatives of lesser clergy; (*c*) *Commons*, viz., men *chosen by sheriffs*, two per borough and two per shire.
(iii) These three estates deliberate and vote taxes *separately*.
[*N.B.*—The clergy presently desert Parliament and hold *Convocation* independently.]

(iv) Parliaments bargain for *redress of grievances* (e.g., of Forest Laws, 1301) as a condition of voting taxes.

(v) After Edward's time Parliament, instead of leaving redress of grievances to King's legislation, frames *Bill* which it presents for King's approval.

B. Edward I and Wales

Conquest.

(i) Welsh (=descendants of Ancient Britons), though subdued in south by Marcher earls, maintain independence in northwest.

1277 (ii) Chieftain *Llewellyn*, leagued with de Montfort faction, blockaded and surrenders.

(iii) Edward tries to hold Wales by (*a*) Castles at *Conway*, *Carnavon*, etc., (*b*) establishing English Laws and customs.

Revolt.

1282–3 (i) Tactless government rouses revolt: Llewellyn and his brother David captured and executed.

(ii) Wales held down despite fresh revolt in 1284.

(iii) As sop to Welsh pride Edward presents infant son as *Prince of Wales*.

C. Edward I and Scotland

Diplomacy.

1290 (i) Edward tries to unite crowns of Scotland and England by marrying his young son to girl queen of Scotland (*Maid of Norway*).

1290 (ii) On girl queen's death, nine candidates for throne: Edward nominates *John Balliol*.

1296 (iii) Edward treats his nominee as vassal king; forces Scots into resistance: deposes Balliol and annexes throne.

National Resistance

A. William Wallace

1297 (i) Cuts up English army at *Stirling Bridge*.

1298 (ii) Is defeated at *Falkirk* and executed. Edward appoints regents.

B. Robert Bruce, grandson of one of nine candidates.

1306 (i) Murders Edward's regent, *Red Comyn;* crowned, but is driven into hills.

1307 (ii) Edward I dies and Bruce begins to recover ground.

D. Edward II and Scotland

(i) Bruce with French aid retakes *Edinburgh*, *Roxburgh*, etc.

1314 (ii) Defeats English at *Bannockburn*.

(iii) Ravages English border and keeps crown till death, 1324.

E. Misgovernment of Edward II

Edward so weak that he is overridden by Barons, who

(i) Appoint Lords Ordainers to control government.

(ii) Thrice exile and finally execute his favourite, *Piers Gaveston*.

1327 (iii) Arrest and murder Edward himself.

XIV. EDWARD III (1327–1377)

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR with France (1339–1458) begun by Edward III, continued by Henry V and Henry VI.

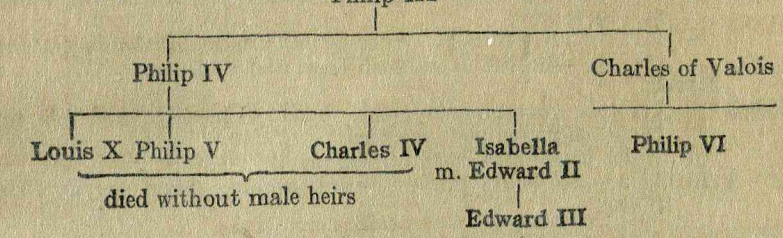
A. Causes which brought natural rivalry between two growing countries to a head.

(i) Desire of *Philip VI* to recover English *Aquitaine*.

(ii) Philip's encroachment on *Flanders* threatens to check English wool trade with *Ghent, Bruges*, etc.

(iii) Philip helps *Bruce's son* to recover Scotland from Balliol's son whom Edward III set on throne after victory of *Halidon Hill*, 1333).

(iv) Edward III *claims French throne* as being nephew (through his mother) to late King Charles IV, to whom Philip was only cousin.
[*N.B.*—French object that by *Salic Law* inheritance through a woman is barred.]



B. English Victories (1338–1360)

1338–1345 (i) Preliminaries: English fleet beats French off *Sluys*. Fighting in Flanders and Aquitaine.

1346 (ii) Campaign of **Creçy** [object—to strike at Paris and draw off French from Aquitaine.]

July 22 (*a*) Edward lands at *La Hogue* in Normandy.
(*b*) Loiters in Normandy: fails to take *Rouen:* sends fleet home.
(*c*) Finding large French army guarding *Paris*, turns north to Channel coast.
(*d*) Headed off at *River Somme:* escapes across tidal ford: turns on pursuers at Creçy.

Aug. 26 (*e*) Battle of *Creçy* won by long-bow against disunited charges of French cavalry.
(*f*) Edward marches on to *Calais* and takes it after eleven months' siege.

(iii) Nine years' lull. *Black Death* ravages England: Philip of France succeeded by John.

1356 (iv) Campaign of **Poitiers**, by Black Prince quartered at *Bordeaux*.
(*a*) Returning from *raid through Poitou*, Black Prince is overtaken near Poitiers.
(*b*) French knights (dismounted) attack English when they try to retire.
(*c*) French routed and *King John* made prisoner.

1360 (v) Treaty of **Bretigny**.
(*a*) Edward abandons claim to French throne.
(*b*) But receives **Ponthieu** and **Poitou**.

C. English Decline (1360–1377)

(i) Unauthorised war between *free companies*.

(ii) Black Prince and *John of Gaunt* invade Spain and put Don Pedro on throne of Castile.

(iii) War renewed: French under *du Guescelin* avoid battle behind town walls.

(iv) English strength ebbing. Black Prince dies.

1376 **Result:** *All English territory in France lost except* **Calais** *and strip round* **Bordeaux.**

XV. PEASANTS' REVOLT (1381)

Causes.

(i) During fourteenth century villeins were beginning to pay *rent* instead of *work* to landlords, and a large class of *free* labourers thus arose.

1349 (ii) *Black Death* causes scarcity of labourers: hence wages rise and villeins get out of hand.

1351 (iii) Parliament in interest of landlords try to fix wages at level previous to Black Death (*Statute of Labourers*).

(iv) Agitation of socialistic priest, *John Ball*, and others. [1377, Ed. III dies.]

1381 (v) *Poll Tax* (to pay for French wars) levied on all: second visitation of collectors causes rising.

The Rising.

(i) The men of *Kent* and *Essex* rise and murder landlords, etc.

(ii) Enter London, sack *Savoy Palace*, etc., June 13.

(iii) Richard (aged fourteen) leaves Tower to parley; massacre of *Chancellor*, etc., June 14.

(iv) Richard meets rebels in *Smithfield Market:* Wat Tyler murdered, but Richard's coolness pacifies mob, June 15.

(v) Peasants go home trusting in Richard's promises of lower rents, etc.

(vi) Richard takes vengence on rebels by brutal executions, etc.

Result.

Despite failure of rising, Statute of Labourers altered in 1390: and landlords gradually allow villeins their liberty: growth of yeoman class.

Wycliffe and the Lollards

State of Church.

(i) Church controls education and hampers free thinking.

(ii) Priests, monks, and even friars degenerating fast.

1378–1418 (iii) "*Great Schism*" between Pope at Rome and rival Pope at *Avignon* discredits Church.

(iv) Despite Edward III's Statutes (*Praemunire*, forbidding English clergy to appeal to Rome, and *Provisors*, preventing Papal appointments to English benefices), English Church is too much under Pope's thumb.

Wycliffe's Protest.

(i) Wycliffe, Master of *Balliol College, Oxford*, denounces Pope's supremacy.

1377 (ii) Wycliffe tried in St. Paul's: rescued through riot of citizens against *John of Gaunt*.

(iii) Council, which attempts to denounce Wycliffe as heretic, discredited by earthquake.

(iv) Wycliffe founds order of poor priests, "Lollards": and translates Bible into English.

1384 (v) After Wycliffe's death Lollards continue.

1401 (vi) Many (e.g., John Oldcastle) burnt under Statute "de heretico comburendo".

Result.

Though partially suppressed, Lollardry paves way for Reformation.

XVI. HOUSE OF LANCASTER

Fall of Richard II

(i) *John of Gaunt*, King Richard's uncle, by marriage with heiress, becomes *Duke of Lancaster*.

1388 (ii) His son, *Henry Bolingbroke*, assists *Lords Appellant* to humiliate youthful Richard.

1389 (iii) Richard recovers power and simulates forgiveness.
1397 (iv) Richard takes vengence on Lords Appellant: but promotes *Bolingbroke* to be Duke of Hereford, and *Mowbray* to be Duke of Norfolk.
1398 (v) Exiles Bolingbroke and Mowbray.
1399 (vi) John of Gaunt dies. Bolingbroke returns to claim Duchy of Lancaster.
(vii) Captures Richard, has him murdered at Pontefract, and takes crown as Henry IV.

Reign of Henry IV

(i) *Owen Glendower* in Wales and *Earl Douglas* in Scotland rise in Richard's cause.
(ii) The *Percies*, who defeat Earl Douglas at *Homildon Hill*, alienated by Henry's claim of prisoners.
1403 (iii) Percies and the Scotch in alliance defeated by Henry at *Shrewsbury*.
1413 (iv) Henry IV dies.

Henry V Renews Hundred Years' War

(i) France (under mad King Charles VI) divided between faction of Jean Sans Peur, Duke of *Burgundy*, and aristocrat party of Duke of *Orleans*, whom Jean murders.
(ii) Henry undertakes war to divert English minds from domestic quarrels.
1415 (iii) Campaign of Agincourt.
(*a*) Loses one-third of force in capture of *Harfleur*.
(*b*) Marches towards Calais dogged by *Constable*.
(*c*) After detour at River *Somme* cut off at Agincourt.
(*d*) English win through long-bow and capture Duke of Orleans.
1419 (iv) Jean Sans Peur murdered by Dauphin and Orleanists: his son joins English.
1420 (v) With Burgundian aid Henry extorts promise of crown on mad king's death. [*Treaty of Troyes.*]
(vi) Northern France in English hands. Dauphin retreats south of Loire.
1422 (vii) Henry V dies.

The Turn of the Tide

A. Jeanne d'Arc

1428 (i) *Duke of Bedford* (Regent for infant Henry VI) besieges *Orleans* (key to Loire valley).
1429 (ii) Jeanne persuades Dauphin to send her to relief of Orleans.
1429 (iii) Jeanne raises siege; pursues and defeats English at *Patay*.
1429 (iv) With her encouragement Dauphin crowned at *Rheims*.
1431 (v) Jeanne captured by Burgundians and burnt at *Rouen*.

B. Desertion of Burgundy.

1431 (i) Henry VI crowned at Paris: but English lose ground.
1435 (ii) Duke of Burgundy offended by Bedford's marriage with princess of *St. Pol*, which he himself covets.
1437 (iii) Burgundy deserts English: Dauphin recovers north France.
1449 (iv) Despite Richard Duke of York's defence, Normandy slowly lost.
1453 (v) All French soil lost except Calais.
(vi) The Dauphin, now Charles VII, and his son, *Louis XI*, restore prosperity to France.

XVII. HOUSE OF YORK

Rise of Yorkists

(i) Henry VI half mad and discredited by failure in France.
1453 (ii) *Richard, Duke of York*, also a descendant of Edward III (see Genealogy), becomes Regent and hopes for crown.
(iii) On birth of a son to Henry, York plans usurpation.
(iv) Receives powerful backing from *Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick*.

Lancastrians Thrice Victorious and Thrice Misuse Their Victory

1459 A. (i) York and Warwick rebel and are driven out of England.
(ii) Henry's queen, Margaret, alienates south by cruel revenges.
1460 (iii) Warwick returning defeats Lancastrians at *Northampton* and restores York to regency.
1460 B. (i) Queen Margaret, gathering new army in north, defeats and kills York at *Wakefield.*
(ii) Defeats Warwick at *St. Albans:* but is forestalled in occupation of London by *York's son, Edward.*
1461 (iii) Gathering support (thanks to retreating Lancastrian's excesses). Edward follows and defeats them at *Towton.*
(iv) Edward crowned King: Henry and Margaret escape to Scotland.
1465 C. (i) Edward alienates "King-maker" Warwick by idleness and marriage into another family.
1469 (ii) Being joined by Warwick, Lancastrians drive Edward out.
(iii) Edward gathers support in France and returns.
1471 (iv) Defeats Lancastrians at *Barnet* (where Warwick falls) and *Tewksbury.*
(v) Gets his brother *Richard of Gloucester* to murder old King Henry.

The Two Yorkist Kings

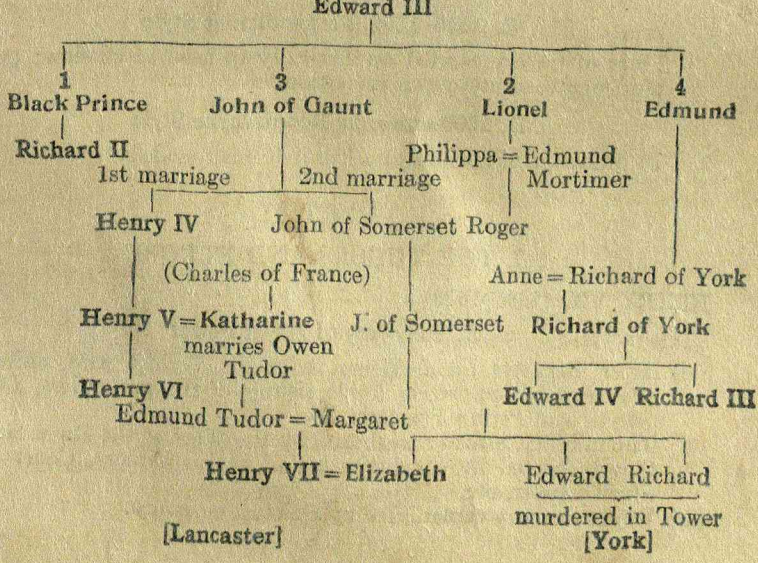
A. Edward IV

(i) Self-indulgent and unscrupulous: murders brother, *Duke of Clarence.*
[1471–1483] (ii) At death leaves two young boys as heirs, under charge of queen.

B. Richard III

(i) Accuses Edward's queen of witchcraft: and puts two nephews into Tower.
[1483–1485] (ii) On plea of Edward's illegal marriage, gets Parliament to make him King.
1483 (iii) Murders his two nephews in the Tower.
(iv) Richard's unpopular and harsh government alienates supporters.
1485 (v) *Henry Tudor* (a Lancastrian, see Genealogy) lands in Wales and defeats and kills Richard at *Bosworth Field.*

Henry Tudor by Marriage with Elizabeth, Edward's Daughter, Unites Lancaster and York.



XVIII. ARTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

LITERATURE.

Jean Froissart, born in France, 1337; died 1410. Serves under a French noble; travels in England, Scotland, Italy, etc.; writes a **Chronicle** in French describing the events of The Hundred Years' War, etc., from 1326–1400.

Geoffrey Chaucer, born about 1335; died 1400. Serves in France under Edward III; Member of Parliament for Kent; Valet of Royal Chamber and receives a pension from the King; writes in rhymed couplets the **Canterbury Tales**, consisting of a Prologue (which describes the pilgrims who met at Southwark en route for Canterbury) and the stories which the pilgrims told on their journey.

Sir Thomas Malory, born about 1400; died 1471. Probably served under Earl of Warwick, who had charge of Joan of Arc at Rouen; taking as his subject the story of King Arthur and his knights (already told by Geoffrey of Monmouth and others), he wrote in prose the **Morte d'Arthur**, which Tennyson retold in verse in his "Idylls of the King".

ARCHITECTURE.

N.B.—Dates are approximate; the different styles overlap each other.

A. 1050–1200, Norman Style

(i) *Round* arches and thick pillars.
(ii) Patterns of zigzag type.
(iii) Roofs usually of timber, rarely of stone.
(iv) Square squat towers like fortress.

B. 1200–1350, Early English developing into Decorated Style

(i) *Pointed* arches and slender pillars.
(ii) Delicate carving in imitation of foliage, etc.
(iii) Stone vaulted roofs.
(iv) Windows at first narrow "lancets," but developing gradually into decorated tracery of geometrical or flowing pattern.

C. 1350–1500, Perpendicular Style

Lines of tracery carried up vertically to head of window; general tendency to monotonous repetition.

D. 1500 onwards, Renaissance Style

In imitation of ancient Greek and Roman models.

PART II

I. THE TUDORS AND EUROPE

HENRY VII. (1485–1509)

A. Recovery of Royal Power

(i) After *Bosworth Field*, Henry, with his Yorkist wife, unites the country and suppresses feeble risings of the pretenders, *Lambert Simnel* and *Perkin Warbeck*.
(ii) The nobility, already weakened by the Wars of the Roses, are further restricted by the limitation of their retainers, Court of the *Star Chamber*, etc.
(iii) Royal treasury replenished by strictest economy.

D. James's Foreign Policy

(i) Renewal of Religious Wars on Continent:

1618 (*a*) Lutheran nobles of *Bohemia* choose Protestant (*Elector of Palatinate*) as King in preference to Emperor.

1618–48 (*b*) Emperor's attack on them begins the Thirty Years' War between German Catholics (chiefly south) and German Protestants (chiefly north).

(*c*) Emperor defeats Bohemians outside their capital, *Prague*, and King of Spain, eager to help Emperor, invades *Palatinate*.

(ii) English anxious to help Frederic—

(*a*) as being a Protestant.

(*b*) as being husband of James I's daughter.

(iii) James, however, inclines towards friendship with Spain.

(*a*) Under influence of *Gondomar*, Spanish Ambassador, and the *Duke of Buckingham*, his favourite, James contemplates marrying his son *Charles* to the *Infanta*.

1621 (*b*) Though resummoning Parliament and feigning himself willing to help Frederic against Spain, James sends Charles and Buckingham to Madrid.

(iv) After return from this futile journey, Buckingham gets James to change his tack, marrying Charles to *French* princess, *Henrietta Maria*; and sending unsuccessful expedition to Netherlands to support Protestants and Frederic against Spain.

James dies, 1625.

VIII. CHARLES I. (1625–1649)

A. Buckingham and Europe

(i) *War against Spain:*

1625 (*a*) Following new anti-Spanish policy, Buckingham plans expedition against *Cadiz*.

(*b*) Its disastrous failure quenches his anti-Spanish zeal.

(ii) *Alliance with France against Huguenots:*

(*a*) French king appeals to Charles (as being his sister Henrietta Maria's husband) for help against Huguenots at *La Rochelle*.

1626 (*b*) English fleet lent, much against its will, to French king.

(iii) *Alliance with Huguenots against France:*

(*a*) Outburst of Protestant indignation in England compels change of policy.

(*b*) Two expeditions sent to relief of La Rochelle.

1627 1*st expedition*, to seize Island of Rhé, opposite Rochelle, ends in defeat and capture of English flags.

1628 2*nd expedition* planned, but on eve of departure Buckingham is murdered at Portsmouth, and on its arrival La Rochelle surrenders to French.

Result: Charles ceases to meddle in continental politics, and France rises under Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV to predominant place in Europe.

B. Rise of France

(i) As Spain declines, France becomes more powerful under ambitious Cardinal *Richelieu* (1624–42).

(ii) France takes no part in Thirty Years' War so long as German Protestants, aided by *Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden*, maintain themselves against the Emperor.

1632 (iii) When, however, Gustavus is killed at *Lutzen* and Protestants are hard pressed, Richelieu, fearing supremacy of Emperor, assists them.

(iv) After Richelieu's death Cardinal *Mazarin* continues enmity to Austria; and at final settlement (*Treaty of Westphalia*) obtains *Alsace* for France.
(v) Louis XIV, coming of age to rule, aims at mastery of Europe.

C. Charles and Parliament

1*st Phase* (1625–28): Grievances leading to "Petition of Right."
(i) The Commons' distrust of Charles shown by refusal to grand him *Tunnage and Poundage* for life.
(ii) Charles, desperate for money, takes it *without leave*.
(iii) Charles further imposes *Forced Loans* and punishes refusal by *imprisonment*.
(iv) Soldiers from La Rochelle Expedition *billeted* on civilians, causing great commotion by riotous behaviour.
(v) Introduction of *Martial Law* to curb soldiers inspires fear of military despotism.

Result: Parliament, being called to vote money for second expedition
1628 to relieve La Rochelle, extorts Charles's assent to Petition of Right.
(*a*) No *Loan or Tax* without Parliament's leave.
(*b*) No *imprisonment* without legal cause.
(*c*) No *billeting* of soldiers on civilians.
(*d*) *Martial Law* to be withdrawn.

2*nd Phase:*
(i) Parliament, emboldened by this success, seeks to impeach Buckingham; Charles forbids it.
1628 (ii) Buckingham's murder hailed with universal joy; an insult Charles never forgives.
1629 (iii) Charles dismisses Parliament for good; but, before dissolving, members pass resolution against any who shall advise "illegal innovations."
(iv) Charles imprisons their leader, *Sir John Eliot*, in Tower, where he dies of consumption.

Result: Pym and other Parliamentary leaders driven to contemplate rebellion.

IX. CHARLES AS AUTOCRAT (1629–1641)

A. Eleven Years without Parliament

(i) Charles attempts to ignore long growth of constitutional methods; rakes up old-fashioned privileges of Crown and uses *Star Chamber* court freely.
1634 (ii) To raise funds he adopts obsolete mediæval tax of *Ship-money*, which he levies on inland counties as well as on coast.
1636 (iii) Amongst others, *John Hampden* of Buckinghamshire refuses to pay and is heavily fined.

B. Charles's Assistants

I. Thomas Wentworth, later made Earl of Strafford.
(i) Deserts Parliamentarians, thinking strong government of Crown essential.
1632 (ii) Is sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy.
(iii) Encourages Protestant settlers recently planted in Ulster by James I by introducing linen trade.
(iv) Keeps Irish Catholics down by rigorous, but just, rule.
(v) Forms a serviceable army, ostensibly for use against the Catholics.

II. William Laud, made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633.
(i) Screws up lax discipline of English Church; *e.g.*, stops use of St. Paul's as market.

(ii) Insists on High Church ritual and punishes Protestant d.
(iii) Issues *Book of Sports* for compulsory Sunday games and p. *Prynne* for attack on theatre.
(iv) Many Puritans emigrate to America, and public begin to sus. that Laud and Charles (led by his Catholic Queen) are tendin. back towards Rome.

C. Charles's Quarrel with the Scots

(i) Three-quarters of Scotland now belongs to Presbyterian Kirk, based on democratic election of ministers by congregation, and ruled by elected synods in place of bishops (though James I had reinstated bishops recently).
1637 (ii) Laud and Charles impose English Prayer-Book on Scots, who dislike all forms of ritual intensely.
(iii) Revolt against new Prayer-Book: riot in St. Giles', Edinburgh, and *Solemn League and Covenant* formed to resist it.
(iv) Having no standing army, Charles calls out militia against Scots;
1639 but the first "*Bishops' War*" blows over without a fight.

D. Scottish Rising leads to Summons of English Parliament

1640 April (i) Strafford brought over from Ireland to train army against Scots, and Parliament summoned to vote funds for war, but demands redress of grievances and is dismissed (Short Parliament).
1640 Sept. (ii) By marching across border to *Newcastle*, Scots make it inevitable for Charles to summon Parliament and ask for money to buy them out.
(iii) Strafford advises Charles to employ Irish Army "against this kingdom," and plots arrest of Parliamentary leaders.
1640 Nov. (iv) Charles nevertheless forced to summon Parliament ("Long" Parliament), who immediately impeach Strafford for treason.
(v) Failing to prove treason, Commons pass Bill of Attainder, assuming Strafford a traitor.
1641 May (vi) For fear of mob, Charles allows Strafford's execution and Laud's imprisonment (executed in 1645).
(vii) Scots persuaded not to advance south of Newcastle by payment of £850 a day.

E. The Last Straw

(i) Charles, instead of playing fair, intrigues with Catholics under influence of Queen, and makes dishonest promises.
1641 Oct. (ii) Irish Catholics rise and massacre Protestant settlers; and English public set it down unreasonably to Charles's agency.
(iii) Pym and other Parliamentarians, driven to despair, draw up Grand Remonstrance, setting forth all Charles's illegal deeds and necessary reforms.
1641 Nov. (iv) *Grand Remonstrance* having passed by 11 votes, Commons proceed to pass bill vesting all military authority in their own hands.
1642 Jan. (v) Charles goes down with soldiers to arrest five leading members at Westminster, but finds them gone.
(vi) London up in arms against this attack on Parliament's privilege; train-bands called out. Charles flees to the north.

X. FIRST THREE YEARS OF CIVIL WAR
[1642, 1643, 1644]

A. Royalist and Parliamentarian Resources

(i) *Socially:* Though some of Commons join King and some of Lords join Parliament, struggle is mainly aristocracy *versus* middle-class (shopkeepers, merchants, yeomen); lower class of town or country pressed into service of either side.

(iv) (a) *Geographically:* North and West (where nobles hold their estates) *versus* East and South (where chief towns and industries lie); but towns in North and West are Parliamentarian (*e.g.*, Hull, Gloucester, Plymouth).

1648 (iii) *Tactically:* Infantry of either side similar (=musketeers and pike-men acting in co-operation). Cavalry the decisive arm. Royalist horse, trained by Prince Rupert on model of Gustavus Adolphus' Swedish troops, superior at start.

(iv) *Strategically:* London the Parliamentarian Base, against which Royalist campaigns are directed. Parliamentary towns in North and West hamper Royalist plans.

B. 1642. Campaign of Edgehill

(i) Spring and summer pass in preparation.

Aug. (ii) Charles, having raised standard at *Nottingham*, moves to Severn to gather more forces. *Lord Essex*, with Parliamentary Army, moves west from *Northampton* to head him off.

Oct. (iii) Charles cuts in between Essex's army and London and waylays it at *Edgehill*.

23 (iv) In battle Rupert's cavalry go off in pursuit of Parliamentary cavalry and fail to use their advantage.

Nov. (v) Charles advances so slowly upon London that train-bands entrench at *Turnham Green* and turn him back.

(vi) Charles makes his headquarters at *Oxford*.

C. 1643. The Projected Triple Advance of Royalists on London

(i) *Lord Newcastle* from north and *Hopton* from south-west are to march on London in conjunction with Charles's midland force from Oxford.

(ii) Newcastle detained by failure against *Hull* (held by Fairfax); Hopton by failure to take *Plymouth*, their followers refusing to leave homes exposed to enemy raids.

(iii) *Gloucester* also holds out against Royalist midland army. To relieve it Londoners under *Essex* march across Cotswolds.

(iv) Though relieving Gloucester, Essex's army is waylaid at *Newbury* on return journey and severely punished.

D. 1644. Campaign of Marston Moor

(i) Two new factors in Roundheads' favour:

1643 Autumn (*a*) Through *Pym's* diplomacy, Parliament gains promise of Scottish help by undertaking to establish Presbyterian Kirk in England.

(*b*) *Lord Manchester*, with *Cromwell* and others, raises fresh and superior troops in East Anglia.

(ii) Preliminaries of Battle:

(*a*) Scots advance south, and get in touch with *Fairfax*, who comes out of Hull.

(*b*) East Anglian troops, under *Manchester* and *Cromwell*, join them and besiege *Newcastle's* Royalist force at *York*.

(*c*) Rupert's arrival drives off besiegers to *Marston Moor*.

1644 July 2 (iii) Battle of Marston Moor (on larger scale than previous battles).

(*a*) Newcastle and Rupert find Roundheads posted in strong position and pass the day watching them.

(*b*) Towards evening Roundheads suddenly charge.

(*c*) Cromwell's cavalry (left) rout Rupert's; then, returning upon field, defeat victorious Royalist left wing; and close in on Royalist infantry in centre.

Result: The North recovered for Parliament.

XI. THE DECISIVE YEAR, 1645

A. Parliament reorganises

(i) While the King's resources (from Royalists' estates, timber, plate, etc.) are nearly exhausted, Parliament can still draw on the wealth of London and other towns.

(ii) Despite Marston Moor, disasters continue: Essex's blundering march to relieve Plymouth leads to surrender at *Lostwithiel*, and
1644 Oct. Lord Manchester fails to secure decisive victory at *Newbury*.

(iii) During winter of 1644–45 Cromwell insists on two sweeping reforms:
(*a*) By *Self-Denying Ordinance* all old Parliamentarian leaders resign and are replaced by Fairfax and Cromwell.
(*b*) *New Model Army* formed as permanent force on lines of Cromwell's East Anglian troop.

B. Campaign of Naseby

(i) Marquis of *Montrose* raises Royalist army in Scotland in opposition to Presbyterian Covenanters.

1645 (ii) Leaving Oxford, Charles marches north with vague idea of co-
June 14 operating with Montrose.

(iii) As Fairfax and Cromwell pursue him, Charles turns and fights at *Naseby*.

(iv) While Rupert on Royalist right routs and pursues his opponents, Cromwell on Parliamentary right returns from *his* pursuit and, after dispersing Royalist centre, destroys Rupert's horse on their return.

1646 (v) Charles, after some wandering, gives himself up to Scottish army
May near Nottingham.

1647, Jan. (vi) Scots sell him to Parliament for £200,000.

Result: Though a few strongholds (*e.g.*, *Basing House*) remain to be reduced, the whole of England falls into Parliamentarian hands.

C. The Split among Parliamentarians and the Second Civil War

(i) The Politicians who had pledged themselves to accept Presbyterianism are violently opposed by Army, who are mainly "*Independents*" and adverse to all forms of religious control.

(ii) Threatened with disbandment, the Army takes possession of
1647 Charles at *Holmby House*, and marching on London assumes
June control of situation.

(iii) Cromwell works hard for reconciliation with the King; but Charles plays with promises and finally intrigues with Scots to rise on his behalf.

(iv) While Charles, having escaped to Isle of Wight, is there detained
1648 by Governor of *Carisbrooke*, the Scots invade England, but are
Summer routed at *Preston*.

1648 *Result:* Army triumphs decisively over "Presbyterian" politicians,
Dec. and Cromwell, by *Pride's Purge*, clears out antagonistic members from Parliament, leaving a small servile "*Rump*."

D. Charles's Execution

1648 (i) The Army leaders decide to try Charles for his life; and Cromwell,
Autumn forced by soldiers' strong feeling and Charles's dishonest evasions, acquiesces.

1649 (ii) Charles tried at Westminster and convicted by a small minority of
Jan. the 135 judges.

(iii) Charles's execution shocks public and begins to pave the way for
Jan. 30 "Restoration."

XII. CROMWELL SUPREME

A. Campaign in Ireland, 1649

(i) Rupert with Royalist fleet rouses Irish Catholics in support of Prince Charles (= Charles II).
Aug. (ii) Cromwell goes to Ireland intent on bloody revenge for massacre of '41.
Sept. (iii) Marches from Dublin *north* against *Drogheda*, where he massacres garrison and part of townsfolk.
(iv) Turning *south*, he does the same at *Wexford*.
1651 (v) Leaves *Ireton* to reduce *Limerick* and west; and returns against
Spring revolted Scots.
1652 (vi) Cromwell's policy of dispossessing Irish landowners and settling English landlords in their place sows seeds of future discontent.

B. Campaign in Scotland, 1650

June (i) Prince Charles (= Charles II) lands in Scotland and pledges himself to Presbyterian Covenant.
(ii) Lowlanders, enthusiastic for forcing Presbyterian Kirk on England, hang *Montrose* and prepare to march south.
(iii) Cromwell advances on Edinburgh, but is forced to fall back to *Dunbar* on coast.
(iv) *Leslie's* army, hitherto inactive, cuts in between him and the border, blocking the road to England.
Sept. 3 (v) Leslie persuaded by Kirk ministers to give battle and is defeated at Dunbar.

C. Campaign of Worcester, 1651

(i) Cromwell, failing to draw Charles out of Stirling, marches north into *Perth*.
(ii) Charles slips out of Stirling and down the western road to England.
Sept. 3 (iii) Cromwell pursues by a more easterly route and catches Scots at *Worcester*.
(iv) After severe struggle, Cromwell inflicts final defeat on Royalist cause.
(v) After various adventures, Prince Charles escapes to France.

Result: Cromwell now supreme in State, though not actually named Protector till 1655.

XIII. THE COMMONWEALTH

A. Foreign Policy

[*N.B.*—Cromwell found English prestige abroad at its lowest ebb and raised it very high.

(i) *First Phase:* Defeat of Rupert.
1650 (*a*) Blake sweeps Rupert from base in Channel Isles, etc.
(*b*) Pursues him to Mediterranean and there scatters his fleet.
(*c*) Rupert retires to West Indies for piratical adventure.

Result: English fleet considerably improved.

(ii) *Second Phase:* War against the Dutch.
(*a*) Dutch States, now independent of Spain, develop considerable trade.
1651 (*b*) English Parliament passes *Navigation Act* to rob Dutch of carrying trade.
(*c*) In war, which follows, Blake and Van Tromp fight many inconclusive engagements.

1654 (*d*) English blockade and capture of Dutch vessels strangle Dutch trade and compel capitulation.

Result: England begins to assume carrying trade of the world.

(iii) *Third Phase:* War against Spain.

1655 (*a*) Quarrel picked by demand of English merchants for free access to Spanish ports.

1657 (*b*) *Dunkirk* attacked and captured with French aid (but sold to France by Charles II).

(*c*) Blake operates against Mediterranean pirates at *Tunis*.

1655 (*d*) *Penn* and *Venables* go to West Indies, and, though failing at *San Domingo*, capture Jamaica.

(*e*) Cromwell's far-sighted scheme for populating Jamaica and for absorbing Dutch Colonies on mainland of North America.

Result: Cromwell's prestige abroad enormously raised, and Louis XIV
1655 is forced by Cromwell's protest to protect *Piedmontese* Protestants against persecutions of their ruler.

B. Cromwell at Home

[*N.B.*—Though aiming at freedom and much wider religious toleration than heretofore, he is gradually driven into position of military dictator.

(i) Dismissal of the Rump (=remnant of Long Parliament left by Pride's Purge).

(*a*) Rump, led by *Sir H. Vane*, cling to power, fearing either Cromwell's dictatorship or election of a less Puritan Parliament, if they abandon it.

(*b*) Though promising to dissolve, they proceed with a Bill to secure their own re-election.

1653, April (*c*) Cromwell comes down to House and turns them out.

(ii) Cromwell's First Experiment: a Parliament of "godly men."

(*a*) Members nominated by various religious bodies.

1653, Autumn (*b*) This ("*Barebones*") Parliament meets and foolishly proposes to abolish the Universities and reform legal code on lines of Mosaic Law.

(*c*) Persuaded to dissolve and commit power into Cromwell's hands.

(iii) Cromwell's Second (constitutional) Experiment: the Protectorate.

1653, Dec. (*a*) The "*Instrument of Government*," a new written constitution, is drawn up, viz., Protector; permanent Council of State; occasional Parliaments.

(*b*) *First* Parliament quarrels with Cromwell and is dissolved.

(iv) Cromwell as Military Dictator without Parliament.

1655 (*a*) Fearing insurrection, Cromwell appoints *Major-Generals* over eleven districts.

(*b*) By attempting to enforce "godly life" (*e.g.*, by prohibiting bear-baiting, closing taverns, etc.), Major-Generals become intensely unpopular.

(*c*) Major-Generals withdrawn on re-summoning of Parliament.

(v) Offer of the crown refused.

1656, Sept. (*a*) *Second* Parliament, having been purged of hostile members, offers Cromwell crown, which he refuses.

1658, Feb. (*b*) Excluded members being re-admitted, this Parliament also quarrels with Cromwell and is dismissed.

(*c*) Cromwell rules alone until his death, September 3, 1658.

Result: The mass of nation, becoming hostile to Puritan minority, are anxious for a freely-elected Parliament and ready for return of Stuart King.

XIV. THE INTERREGNUM
(September 1658–May 1660)

(i) On Cromwell's death, his son Richard assumes office for six months.
(ii) General chaos: Rump return of their own accord to Westminster.
(iii) Various generals (especially *Lambert* in England) try to assert themselves: quarrelling and some fighting.
(iv) *George Monk*, left by Cromwell to govern Scotland after Dunbar, determines to set things straight.
(v) Monk marches slowly south, giving General Lambert's army time to melt away, and occupies London.
(vi) Monk insists on election of a free Parliament and recall of Prince Charles.

Result: Charles II returns to London from Continent amid general rejoicing.

XV. RESTORATION ENGLAND

A. Restoration of Landowners and Established Church

(i) Royalist squires reinstated as a "governing class."
  (*a*) As landlords and employers they dominate the peasantry.
  (*b*) As Justices of the Peace they control local administration.
  (*c*) As patrons of livings they gain support of parish clergy.
  (*d*) As members of Parliament (or having power to nominate members) they control country's policy fairly continuously till Reform Bill of 1832.
(ii) The Church of England re-established.
  (*a*) Anglican clergy recover their livings and work hand in hand with squire-aristocracy; while Puritans and Non-conformist sects of all sorts are rigorously persecuted.
  (*b*) Thus Established Church becomes an upper-class concern; while middle classes tend towards Nonconformist sects.
  (*c*) Dissenters increase considerably: *e.g.*, *Quakers*, started by *George Fox* (*c.* 1640), and, later, *Methodists*, started by *Wesley brothers* (*c.* 1730–90).
  (*d*) Principle of toleration not established till William III.

B. Art and Science

(i) Restoration writers: witty and immoral, especially dramatists, of whom the most conspicuous is *John Dryden*, author of political satire, "*Absalom and Achitophel.*"
(ii) Puritan writers:
  (*a*) *John Milton* (1608–74). Born in London: educated at St. Paul's School and Christ's College, Cambridge; (1628–38) writes shorter poems, *e.g.*, *Lycidas*, *Comus*, *Il Penseroso*; (1638–48) writes prose pamphlets, *e.g.*, Areopagitica; (1649–59) works as Secretary of State under Puritan Government, though losing his sight in 1652. After Restoration writes *Paradise Lost* (published 1665), *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*.
  (*b*) *John Bunyan* (1628–88). A Bedfordshire tinker; becomes Puritan preacher; imprisoned in Bedford Jail (1660–72); writes religious allegory, *Pilgrim's Progress*.
(iii) Science:
  (*a*) Scientific experiment, begun by Galileo and Kepler in sixteenth century, becomes popular in England during seventeenth century.

(*b*) *Harvey* discovers circulation of the blood, 1616.
(*c*) *Royal Society* founded, 1662.
(*d*) *Sir Isaac Newton* discovers law of gravitation and composition of light.
(*e*) Astronomy encouraged by work of *Halley* and erection of Greenwich Observatory (1675).
(*f*) Scientific methods begin to be applied to agriculture, business, banking, etc.

(iv) Architecture:
(*a*) Much building done in Renaissance style.
(*b*) *Inigo Jones* builds Banqueting Hall at Whitehall.
(*c*) *Sir Christopher Wren* (1632–1723), an expert in mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry; after Fire of '66 commissioned to make a design for reconstruction; his grand plan for a new London rejected; but he rebuilds St. Paul's and many city churches; knighted in '72; buried at St. Paul's with epitaph, "Si monumentum requiras, circumspice."

XVI. CHARLES II

A. Period of Charles's Ascendency

[*N.B.*—Supported by Royalist Parliament, which lasts from 1661–79.

First Phase: Charles's apprenticeship to English politics, guided by Earl of *Clarendon*, who returns from exile with him.

(i) Clarendon suppresses Dissenting Sects by four Acts (*Clarendon Code*).

1662 (*a*) *Act of Uniformity*, excluding from livings all clergy who do not conform.

1664 (*b*) *Conventicle Act*, prohibiting all Nonconformist gatherings.

1665 (*c*) *Five Mile Act*, forbidding Nonconformist preachers to come within five miles of a town.

1661 (*d*) *Corporation Act*, excluding all Nonconformists from municipal offices.

(ii) Clarendon unwillingly forced into war against Dutch, who desire revenge for *Navigation Act*.

1665–67 (*a*) *Rupert*, *Monk*, and *Prince James*, though not equal to *de Ruyter* and *van Tromp* in seamanship, fight at least one successful battle off *Lowestoft*.
(*b*) *Plague* and *Fire* predispose English for peace.
(*c*) While parleys are in progress and English fleet is laid up, Dutch make a surprise attack on *Thames*.

1667 *Result:* Earl of Clarendon made a scapegoat and dismissed.

Second Phase: Charles, now master, plans a Catholic Despotism.

(i) Charles chooses "*Cabal*" Ministry: *Clifford* and *Arlington* 1670–73 (Roman Catholics), *Buckingham*, *Ashley* (*Shaftesbury*), and *Lauderdale* (Protestants).

(ii) Hopes to emulate Catholic despotism of his cousin *Louis XIV*, now at height of his power.

1670 (iii) With cognisance of Clifford and Arlington only, Charles signs *Secret Treaty of Dover:*
(*a*) to establish Popery in England with aid of French troops;
(*b*) to help Louis to conquer the Netherlands.

1672 (iv) Parliament refuses to back Charles's promise of assistance to Louis, who meets with fierce resistance from Dutch under *William of Orange*.

(v) To pave the way for establishment of Popery, Charles issues

1672 *Declaration of Indulgence* to Dissenters as well as to Catholics.
(vi) General outcry: even Royalist Parliament compels Charles to withdraw the Declaration, and retorts with *Test Act*, excluding all Catholics from public office.
1674 *Result:* Break-up of Cabal Ministry, which is succeeded by *Danby*.

B. Period of Charles's Humiliation and Recovery

Third Phase: Charles's Catholic schemes lead to Whig revenge.
(i) Ashley, now Lord Shaftesbury, guesses Charles's Catholic schemes and forms *Whig Party*, relying on Nonconformist support, to oppose them.
(ii) Meeting of Jesuits at house of Prince James, Duke of York, himself a Catholic.
1678 (iii) *Titus Oates* reveals bogus version of Catholic plot to murder Charles and (unless he acquiesces) James.
(iv) Great public alarm, increased (*a*) by discovery of treasonable correspondence of James's secretary; (*b*) mysterious murder of *Godfrey* the magistrate, with whom Oates's disclosure is deposited.
1679 Jan. *Result:* Shaftesbury seizes opportunity and forces dissolution of Royalist Parliament, now eighteen years old.
Fourth Phase: Charles outwits the Whigs.
1679 (i) In new election Shaftesbury and Whigs returned with large majority.
(ii) Whigs seek to exclude Charles's Catholic brother Prince James from succession, and nominate as heir Charles's Protestant (but illegitimate) son, the *Duke of Monmouth*; but this *Exclusion Bill* is thrown out by the Lords.
(iii) Charles humours Whigs by allowing execution of Catholics on Oates's evidence and by banishing James as well as Monmouth.
1680 (iv) A Second Whig Parliament fails to get Exclusion Bill passed.
1681 (v) A Third Whig Parliament summoned by Charles to *Oxford* (away from anti-Royalist capital) and there immediately dissolved.
(vi) Though Whigs talk of revolution, nothing happens, and by plotting against Charles's life (*Rye House Plot*) they discredit their cause; Shaftesbury flees abroad.
1683
Result: Charles, now once more popular, rules six years without Parliament, supported
(*a*) by doles of money from Louis XIV;
(*b*) by loyalism of Anglicans against violence of Nonconformist Whigs.

XVII. JAMES II. [1685–1688]

A. Monmouth's Rebellion

(i) The Duke of Monmouth, Charles's illegitimate son, poses as Protestant claimant against Catholic James.
1685 (ii) Lands at *Lyme Regis* in Dorset with small following, but is soon joined by thousands of Somerset and Devon peasants.
(iii) *John Churchill* (future *Duke of Marlborough*), sent by James, easily defeats them at Sedgemoor.
(iv) Monmouth captured and executed; Lord Justice *Jeffreys* metes out cruel vengeance on Bloody Assize.

B. James's Catholic Schemes

(i) His instrument is the *standing army* left him by Charles II, which he increases to 30,000 and stations in permanent camp on Hounslow Heath.

(ii) He promotes Catholics to office, by overriding the Test Act, (*a*) in army, (*b*) in government (*e.g.*, Sunderland), (*c*) posts in Church
1687 given to doubtful Anglicans, (*d*) Fellows of Magdalen College turned out to make way for Papists.

(iii) He makes a bid for popularity with Nonconformists as well as Catholics:

(*a*) After persecuting them for two years, he suddenly adopts Quaker Penn's advice and offers them toleration.

1688 (*b*) Extends similar liberty to Catholics by new *Declaration of Indulgence*.

(iv) Great public outcry:

(*a*) General refusal to read Declaration.

June 30 (*b*) Protest of Seven Bishops against it.

(v) Seven Bishops tried for seditious libel and acquitted amid wild rejoicings.

June 10 (vi) Shortly before, a son born to James (though some doubt the parentage), becoming later the Old Pretender.

Result: English people decide that, if James's son is to succeed to throne, Stuart rule can be tolerated no longer.

C. The Summons of William of Orange

(i) William of Orange, the chief Protestant champion of Europe,

(*a*) as Stadtholder of Holland, has defeated Louis XIV's attacks.

(*b*) When in 1685 Louis revokes *Edict of Nantes* and persecutes Huguenots, William forms league of Protestant States against France.

(ii) Having married James's daughter *Mary*, he has already been approached about taking English crown.

(iii) On birth of rival heir to James, Whig leaders invite him to come over.

(iv) Too late James attempts to pacify nation by withdrawing obnoxious measures.

1688 (v) William lands at *Torbay*: James at first irresolute, but, being
Nov. 5 decided by desertion of Marlborough and others, flees the
Dec. country.

PART III

I. WILLIAM III. Stadtholder of Holland, 1672–1702; King of England, 1689–1702.

A. William's Position as King

(i) Limitations of his power laid down by Parliament in *Declaration of Rights:* (*a*) Regular Parliaments; (*b*) Crown not to " dispense " laws; (*c*) no standing-army without Parliament's leave; (*d*) no unauthorised taxes.

(ii) William's authority nevertheless great, (*a*) thanks to strong character and long experience as ruler of Dutch; (*b*) because he was able to play off rival Whigs and Tories against each other.

B. William and Scotland

(i) Though Presbyterian Lowlands side with William, *John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, raises Highland army for James.

1689 (ii) They rout General *Mackay's* force in pass of *Killiecrankie*, but Dundee being killed in battle, revolt dies out.

(iii) Pardon offered to all Scots who take oath to William before end of 1689.

(iv) *Macdonald of Glencoe* failing to take the oath, his enemies, the *Duke of Argyll* and the *Master of Stair* (Secretary of State for Scotland), plot revenge.

(v) In pursuance of an order signed by William, troops billeted on Macdonalds slaughter them in cold blood.

C. William and Ireland

1689 (i) James appears in *Dublin* with troops lent by Louis XIV.

(ii) Protestants of Ulster driven into towns; and in *Londonderry* besieged for 105 days, till relieved by convoy of food ships.

1690 June (iii) William lands at *Carrickfergus* with mixed army of Dutch, Swedes, Germans, and English; occupies Belfast; and marches south on Dublin.

July 1 (iv) Forcing passage of river *Boyne*, he defeats James decisively.

(v) By cruel Penal Laws, Catholic Irish forbidden to hold public office or intermarry with Protestants.

(vi) Jealous English Parliament cripples Ireland's trade (even Ulster cloth trade) by forbidding importation.

D. Whigs and Tories

N.B.—Tories = Chiefly landed aristocracy reinstated at Restoration of Charles II, standing for (*a*) strong monarchy (Stuart for preference); (*b*) supremacy of Established Church; (*c*) sympathy with France.

Whigs = Commercial party first organised by Shaftesbury against Charles II, standing for (*a*) Supremacy of Parliament over King; (*b*) liberty for Non-conformist sects; (*c*) enmity to Catholic despotism of Louis XIV.

(i) Though called to throne by Whigs, William restrains their desire for revenge on political enemies; and with Tories' aid passes *Act of Grace* to all past offenders.

(ii) With Whigs' aid passes *Act of Toleration* to all sects (though Test Act and Corporation Act remain in force).

(iii) William, gaining general support from country's fear of James's return, institutes freer public life, by liberty of speech and of the press.

II. WILLIAM AND FRANCE

A. Power of Louis XIV

(i) *Richelieu* (1624–42) humbled Austria by backing German Protestants in Thirty Years' War.

(ii) *Mazarin* (1643–61) acquired *Alsace* for France (Treaty of Westphalia, 1648).

(iii) With aid of *Colbert*, Louis (1643–1715) builds up fleet and army, employing Marshals *Turenne*, *Condé*, and fortress-builder *Vauban*.

1681 (iv) Seizes *Strasburg* from Austria and plans attack on Spanish Netherlands.

(v) After partial success in 1668 his renewal of attack is countered by

1672 resistance of Dutch under William.

(vi) William forms League of Protestant States against France, and for this purpose welcomes his accession to English throne.

B. War with France (1692–95)

(i) Louis having sent French troops to help James in Ireland, William forms fresh league of Holland, Brandenburg, Hanover, Savoy, and England. Even Spain and Austria (though Catholic) are ready to join against old enemy.

1690 (ii) By Sea — (*a*) *Torrington*, near *Beachy Head*, is forced to retire before superior French fleet of *de Tourville*.

1692 (*b*) *Lord Russell* wins brilliant victory off *Cape La Hogue*, thus securing Channel for transport of troops to Flanders.

(iii) By Land—(*a*) Louis captures frontier forts of Spanish Netherlands: *Mons* in '91, *Namur* in '92.

1695 (*b*) William, though losing battles, recaptures Namur.

(*c*) Louis exhausted by wars on other fronts as well.

1697 (iv) Louis agrees by *Treaty of Ryswick* to abandon *Lorraine* and *Luxembourg* (though retaining Alsace and Strasburg) and to acknowledge William as King of England.

C. The Problem of the Spanish Succession

(i) William, fearing lest Spanish lands should pass, on death of childless *Carlos II*, to one of Louis' family, arranges with Louis in advance:

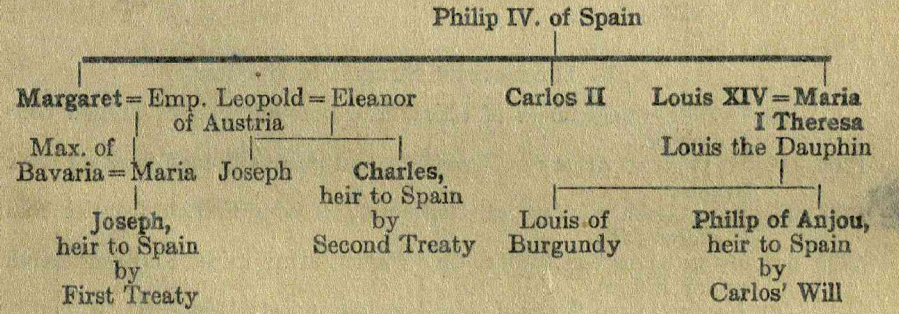
(*a*) By *First Partition Treaty* bulk of Spanish lands to go (through Carlos' sister, Margaret, wife of *Austrian* Emperor) to her grandson *Joseph*, child-heir of *Bavaria*.

(*b*) On death of Joseph, by *Second Partition Treaty*, bulk of lands to go to younger son of Austrian Emperor (by another wife), the *Archduke Charles: Naples* and *Milan* to go (through Carlos' sister, Maria Theresa, wife of Louis XIV) to her grandson, *Philip of Anjou*.

1700 (ii) Carlos II dies and leaves will bequeathing all his dominions to *Philip of Anjou* on condition that France and Spain should never be merged.

(iii) Breaking all previous promises to William, Louis seizes chance of getting Spain into his power, occupies Spanish Netherlands with French troops, and upon death of James II recognises his son, the "Old Pretender," as English King.

1702 (iv) William, while preparing for fresh war on Louis, dies of fall from his horse.



III. ANNE (1702–1714)

Second daughter of James II, married to a nonentity, Prince George of Denmark: herself a weak character, mainly influenced by *Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough*.

A. War of Spanish Succession in Four Theatres

N.B.—Though attacked by ring of enemies, Louis XIV possesses great advantage of interior lines (cp. Germany in 1914) and is thus able to take offensive in all theatres.

(i) In Spain, which is occupied in accordance with Carlos' will by Philip of Anjou.

(*a*) Spanish, for the most part, welcome the French King.

1705 (b) *Lord Peterborough*, with small British force, captures *Barcelona*, thereby securing *Catalonia* and *Valencia*.
1706 (c) Another British army from allied Portugal drives Philip from *Madrid*.
(d) Spaniards rally against English, and Peterborough leaves Spain.
(e) British fleet gains command of Mediterranean, and Admiral
1704 *Rooke* captures *Gibraltar* by surprise assault.

(ii) In **Spanish Netherlands**, which Louis at first overruns: Marl-
1702–04 borough appearing with small force pushes French back slowly on line *Antwerp–Namur*.

(iii) In **Italy**, where Louis attempts to seize Milan under Carlos' will—
(a) Austrian troops under *Prince Eugene* offer considerable resistance.
(b) Eugene recalled to watch French Rhine army of *Tallard*.
(c) Louis' army, though intended to assist in attack on *Vienna*, is detained by *Savoy's* defection to allied side.

(iv) In **Central Europe**, where *Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria*, supports him:
1703 (a) Louis plans that Franco–Bavarian army under *Marcin*, with other army from Italy, should march against Austrian capital, *Vienna*.
1704 (b) Without disclosing his intention, Marlborough leaves small
May force to cover *Villeroi* in Flanders; marches up Rhine across *Tallard's* front and, joining *Prince of Baden's* German force, strikes southeast against Bavaria.
(c) Reaching Danube, Marlborough seizes bridge-town of *Donauwörth* and ravages Bavaria almost to gates of *Munich*, so that the Elector meditates peace.
(d) *Tallard* joins *Marcin's* Franco–Bavarian army and threatens Marlborough's line of communications across Danube.
(e) Marlborough hurries north; recrosses Danube; is joined by Eugene and, meeting enemy at *Blenheim*, inflicts crushing defeat.

B. The Decisive Struggle in Flanders

(i) Despite sluggishness of allies, Marlborough presses French continuously.
1706 (ii) Wins great victory at *Ramillies*, and pushes French back on their frontier.
1708 (iii) After fresh victory at *Oudenarde*, crosses French frontier and captures *Lille*.
1709 (iv) By great national effort new French army raised and sent north under *Villars*.
(v) Having taken *Tournai*, Marlborough invests *Mons*.
(vi) Villars, coming up to its relief, entrenches in woods of *Malplaquet*: Marlborough attacks and routs him, but his own losses (20,000 men) prevent further advance into France.

C. Fall of Marlborough and Peace of Utrecht

(i) *Mrs. Masham* (tool of pro-French Tories) supplants Duchess of Marlborough in confidence of Anne.
(ii) By their arrest of High Church Tory preacher, *Sacheverell*, Whigs alienate public opinion and lose office.
(iii) New Tory Ministers, *Harley* (Earl of Oxford) and *St. John* (Viscount Bolingbroke) begin secret negotiations with France.
1712 (iv) Army recalled from Flanders; Marlborough disgraced.

(v) *Treaty of Utrecht* signed:
(*a*) **Philip** to be king of *Spain* and *New World* on condition of renouncing all claim to French throne.
(*b*) **Charles**, now Emperor of Austria, receives as compensation *Milan, Naples, Sardinia*, and *Spanish Netherlands*.
(*c*) **England** receives *Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia*.

Main Result: By acquiring Mediterranean bases, and by her building activity during the war, England attains a definite supremacy at sea, eclipsing both France and her old rival and recent ally, the Dutch.

IV. THE HANOVERIANS AND THE STUARTS

[*N.B.*—As grandson of Charles I's sister and the Elector Palatine, George, Elector, of Hanover, is invited over in preference to James II's "warming-pan" son, the "Old Pretender".]

A. The Fifteen

1707 (i) Scotland deprived of separate Parliament and "united" with England, though retaining separate Law Courts and Church, and some exemption from English taxes.
1715 (ii) Under this grievance Scots rise for Old Pretender in Highlands and Lowlands.
(iii) *Earl of Mar* fights inconclusively with *Argyll* at *Sheriffmuir*.
(iv) Owing to Pretender's lack of spirit, revolt collapses.

B. The Forty-five

1745 (i) During war of Austrian Succession Old Pretender's Son, *Charles Edward* (Young Pretender), on coming of age, lands in West Scotland.
(ii) Highland clans under *Lochiel* and others drive back English garrison, occupy *Edinburgh*, and defeat *Cope* at *Prestonpans*.
(iii) Pretender marches through England; but, though Government is in a panic, retreats on reaching *Derby*.
1746 (iv) Retires into Highlands and is crushed by *Cumberland* at *Culloden*.
(v) By aid of *Flora Macdonald* escapes in disguise to France.

Result: Though Scots long retain their national grievance, they settle down; Highland regiments enrolled in British army; Trade and Industry flourish; Scotsmen take increasing part in political and intellectual life of England.

V. GEORGE I (1715–1727); GEORGE II (1727–1760)

A. Whig Supremacy

(i) The rebellion of 1715 having discredited pro-Stuart Tories, the Whigs enjoy uninterrupted power for 45 years.
(ii) Whig magnates, though often merchants by origin, turn landowners, and by controlling nomination and election of members, become complete masters of Parliament.
(iii) A system is developed whereby all posts, high or low, in administration are filled by Whig nominees, and corruption becomes general.

B. Cabinet System

(i) George I and George II, both being ignorant of English ways, cease to attend meetings of Cabinet.
(ii) Cabinet, which hitherto had been chosen by King, irrespective of party, is now chosen by Prime Minister from his own party only.
(iii) Sir Robert Walpole develops this double system of Whig supremacy and Cabinet government.

C. Financial Situation

(i) Growth of trade had produced a new class of " capitalist " merchants, who often united in " companies " for large-scale enterprise.

(ii) Banks to assist such ventures begun in seventeenth century (*Bank of England*, 1694).

(iii) By borrowing money for war purposes from private persons the State had contracted huge *National Debt* (£52,000,000 in 1715).

(iv) *South Sea Company* founded to trade with South America under Terms of Utrecht Treaty.

(*a*) Company's directors arrange, with approval of Ministers, to take over National Debt Stock from its holders in exchange for South Sea Shares.

(*b*) Wild speculation leads, on discovery of poorness of South Sea prospects, to a big financial smash, ruining thousands.

1721 (*c*) Whig Ministers, *Stanhope* and *Sunderland*, disgraced for their connivance in the deal.

(v) *Walpole* called to office to reorganise national finance.

D. Walpole's Ministry (1721–1742)

(i) Maintains peace at all costs, and cuts down military forces.

(ii) Reduces rate of interest given on National Debt and forms a " sinking fund " to pay off the Debt itself.

(iii) Abandoning old idea of excluding foreign imports for protection of home industries, he adopts a policy of freer trade and removes many export and import taxes.

1733 (iv) Hoping to increase volume of trade, he proposes to substitute for *customs duty* on importation of tea, sugar, wines, tobacco, an *excise duty* on their consumption.

(v) Great outcry from nation (who largely evade customs duties by smuggling), but, though forced to withdraw his proposal for wine and tobacco, he succeeds with tea and sugar.

Result: Enormous increase in British trade; exports double in 25 years; thus increased wealth provides funds which enable Britain to win subsequent wars.

E. Literature from 1700 to 1750

(i) Greater political liberty opens way for freer discussion in coffee-houses and clubs and for newspapers and pamphleteers.

(ii) Prose authors (mostly pamphleteers and essay-writers).

(*a*) *Sir Richard Steele* (1672–1729) writes for Whigs and publishes many essays in the "Tatler" and "Spectator".

(*b*) *Joseph Addison* (1672–1719) wins reputation by poem on Blenheim ("the "Campaign"); taken up and given preferment by Whigs; joins with Steele in editing papers and in writing essays (e.g. about *Sir Roger de Coverley*).

(*c*) *Daniel Defoe* (1661–1731) writes pamphlets for Whigs; also the "Journal of the Plague" and "Robinson Crusoe".

(*d*) *Jonathan Swift* (1667–1745), Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, supports Tories; writes bitter satires upon contemporary society, e.g., " Gulliver's Travels ".

(iii) Poetry suffers from excessive imitation of classical models, under influence of *Alexander Pope* (1688–1744) who translates the "Iliad" and writes numerous poems in Heroic Couplets, e.g., "Rape of the Lock".

(iv) Tendency towards this excessive classicism fostered especially by *Dr. Samuel Johnson* (1709–1784).
(*a*) Made specially famous by *Boswell's Biography.*
(*b*) Author of "English Dictionary," "Rasselas," etc.
(*c*) Great talker, much loved by brilliant circle (Reynolds, Goldsmith, Burke, Gibbon, Garrick, etc.)
(*d*) A Tory and a great enemy of Whig hypocrisy.

VI. HISTORY OF COLONIAL EXPANSION

N.B.—General character of Colonies.
(i) Government encourages, but seldom initiates, leaving all to private enterprise.
(ii) Spain and Portugal anticipate British in discovery, and so exclude them from Africa and S. America.
(iii) Overpopulated India offers opportunity for trade-depôts only; under-populated America for large-scale emigration.

A. Age of Exploration and Piracy (1500–1600)

1492 (i) After Columbus's discovery of West Indies and S. America, *Cabot*
1497 *of Bristol* discovers N. American coast.
(ii) North-East passage to India sought by *Chancellor* (1553) and *Willoughby* (1553); North-West by *Frobisher* (1576).
(iii) *Drake* and *Hawkins* brothers prey on Spanish trade, but no attempt made to colonise until in 1583 *Sir Humphrey Gilbert* claims *Newfoundland* for British Crown.

B. Age of Colonisation—North America

I. Royalist "Plantation" settlements on southern coasts (1600-1750).

(i) **Virginia** (named after Elizabeth).
1585 (*a*) Expedition sent by *Raleigh* fails.
1607 (*b*) *London Company* renews enterprise; but too much gold hunting instead of agriculture.
(*c*) *John Smith* reorganises settlers; land parcelled out; women introduced; tobacco planted.
(*d*) By 1660 population rises to 40,000, despite hostile Indians.
(ii) **Maryland** (named after Queen Henrietta Maria).
1634 Under *Lord Baltimore*, this extension made north to Virginia.
(iii) **Carolina** (named after Charles II).
1663 Extension south of Virginia made by Royalist Proprietors.
(iv) **Georgia** (named after George II).
1732 *Oglethorpe* extends south again, partly to provide for poor emigrants, partly as outpost against Spanish *Florida.*
[*N.B.*—General character: worked by aristocratic proprietors by use of negroes imported from Africa.]

II. Puritan Settlements on northern coasts (1600-1700).

(i) **New Plymouth.**
1620 (*a*) Puritan exiles in *Mayflower* land near *Cape Cod.*
(*b*) Settlement at first organised on socialistic basis.
(*c*) But flourishes only when private ownership allowed.
(ii) **Massachusetts.**
1630 (*a*) Founded by fresh wave of emigrants driven out by *Laud's* persecutions.
(*b*) 20,000 in all crossed before Civil War in 1641.
(iii) **Connecticut and New Haven.**
1633 Formed into separate states by settlers pushing inland.

(iv) **Rhode Island.**
Founded off coast west of Cape Cod by *Roger Williams*, a minister desiring fuller religious liberty than other colonies allowed.
[*N.B.*—General character: pertinacious settlers; trade in fur and salt fish; eventually united in Confederacy for Central Parliament and for defence against Indians.]

III. Deliberate National Aggression (1650-1750).

(i) **Jamaica.**
1655 (*a*) Cromwell, during war against *Spain*, sends *Penn* and *Venables*, who, failing against *San Domingo*, capture unoccupied *Jamaica*.
(*b*) Buccaneers (e.g., *Henry Morgan*) use it to prey on Spanish trade.
(*c*) Rich products make its trade very valuable.

(ii) **New York and New Jersey.**
1664 Taken from *Dutch* during war of Charles II, renamed, and serve to link up Northern (Puritan) with Southern (Royalist) groups.

(iii) **Pennsylvania.**
1683 Quaker *Penn* encouraged by Charles II to push inland from New York, and founds new state with capital *Philadelphia*.

IV. French Rivalry.

1535 (i) *Acadia* (Nova Scotia) colonised via St. Lawrence River.
1608 (ii) *Champlain* founds *Quebec* and *Montreal*.
(iii) Large schemes initiated by Louis XIV's Minister, *Colbert* (1661–72).
1682 (iv) *La Salle* travels from Great Lakes via Ohio River to mouth of *Mississippi*, and claims river basin for France (*Louisiana*).
c. 1740 (v) Soldiers sent out and forts built to encircle English settlements from inland.
General Character: Enterprise proceeds from Home Government; French nation apathetic; aggressive policy of officials and alliance with Indians (cp. Dupleix).

C. Trade Settlements in India

I. Native History.

(i) Bulk of inhabitants are Hindoos, greatly oppressed by caste-system and Brahmin priest-aristocracy.
1050-1500 (ii) Mohammedans from North invade in successive waves.
1526 (iii) The last of these, *Babar the Mongol*, becomes overlord of North India, which his successors, the great Moguls, rule from *Delhi*.
1707 (iv) The Mogul *Aurungzebe* dies and the Empire begins to split up, its Viceroys or Nabobs becoming independent; Mahratta hordes spread terror.

II. Early Trade Settlements.

1505 (i) *Vasco da Gama* being first in the field, Portugal gains initial monopoly, but, being merged with Spain at end of sixteenth century, shares in her decline.
1600 (ii) English *East India Company* obtains a footing and founds depôts at *Bombay*, *Madras* (Fort St. David), *Calcutta* (Fort St. William).
(iii) England's chief rivals are (*a*) the Dutch at *Java*, *Ceylon*, and other islands; (*b*) the French at *Chandernagore* and *Pondicherry*.

III. The French activity.

(i) On break-up of Mogul Empire, French Government extends influence by alliance with independent Nabobs (e.g., against Mahrattas).

1741 (ii) *Dupleix* goes out as Governor and drills native soldiers under French officers.

(iii) British Government inactive; East India Company maintains only small bodyguard.

VII. WAR OF AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

A. Quarrel between England and Spain

(i) The two kinsmen Louis XV of France and Philip of Anjou, now King of Spain, secretly leaguing against England.

1739 (ii) British traders molested by Spanish in S. America (e.g., Jenkins' ear); nation demands revenge.

(iii) Walpole, despite his love of peace, is forced into war; *Portobello* taken from Spain.

1742 (iv) After ensuing failures Walpole retires: succeeded by *Carteret*, who reverses Walpole's policy of British isolation.

B. Quarrel between Prussia and Austria

(i) **Rise of Prussia.**

1713–1740 (*a*) *Frederic William I* builds up strong army.

(*b*) His son, *Frederic II* (the "Great"), succeeds to Brandenburg and Prussia.

(*c*) Ambitious and unscrupulous, he prepares to turn army to use.

(ii) Weakness of Austria.

Emperor *Charles*, before dying, bequeaths Austria to his daughter, *Maria Theresa*, and gets European powers to guarantee her throne by *Pragmatic Sanction*.

1740 (iii) Frederic attacks Maria Theresa and seizes *Silesia*.

C. Policy of Carteret

Combination of England with a united Germany (i.e., Austria and Prussia, etc.) against French aggression.

(i) He reconciles Frederic and Maria Theresa at cost of leaving Silesia in Frederic's possession.

(ii) Anglo-Austro-Hanoverian army collected to defend *Austrian* (since 1715) *Netherlands* against French: marches towards Danube,

1743 and narrowly escapes defeat at *Dettingen*.

1744 (iii) British dislike of these foreign entanglements leads to Carteret's fall.

D. Drawn War with France

1744 (i) Frederic again quarrels with Maria Theresa.

(ii) Incompetent *Pelham* brothers (Henry, and Thomas, Duke of Newcastle) fail to support Austria.

1745 (iii) After defeat at *Fontenoy*, British army brought home from Netherlands owing to menace of Young Pretender: Netherlands overrun by French.

(iv) In India Dupleix captures *Madras;* but British-American settlers capture *Louisburg* from French.

1748 (v) France accepts peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

(*a*) Madras and Louisburg exchanged.

(*b*) Frederic gets Silesia.

(*c*) Netherlands go back to Austria.

Results: France suffers badly in trade, etc., but, owing to fear of Prussia, Austria is preparing to join France; and *England thus loses her most valuable ally in Europe.*

VIII. SEVEN YEARS' WAR [1756–1763].

	Political	Naval	Continental	America	India
1751	*Henry Pelham* is Prime Minister.				To draw French from attacking British ally at *Trichinopoly*, Clive takes and holds *Arcot*. French lose influence in CARNATIC.
1754	On his death his brother (*Newcastle*) succeeds him.			*Fort Duquesne* built by French.	Dupleix recalled.
1755			(Autumn) France and Austria, etc., combine against Prussia.	*Braddock* marches against it: but is ambushed and routed (June).	*Clive* made Governor of Madras.
1756	(May) **War Declared.** (Nov.) Newcastle succeeded by Devonshire and Pitt.	(June) *Byng* fails to save *Minorca*.	(Aug.) Frederic overruns Saxony.		(June) *Surajah* seizes Calcutta. *Black Hole*. (Dec.) Clive retakes Calcutta.
1757	(April) Pitt dismissed. (June) Pitt returns.	Raid on Rochefort.	(i) (July) *Cumberland*, beaten at *Hastenbeck*, capitulates at *Klosterseven*. (ii) Frederic invades Bohemia; but soon exhausted. (iii) Frederic defeats French at *Rossbach* (Nov.) and Austrians at *Leuthen* (Dec.).	English and Scottish regiments sent out by Pitt.	(June) Clive defeats Surajah at *Plassey*; and BENGAL under *Mir Jaffar* becomes British dependancy.
1758		(i) Raids on St. Malo, Havre, Cherbourg. (ii) French plan to invade England.	(i) *Ferdinand of Brunswick* drives French back from Hanover to Rhine. (ii) Frederic recovering, though hard pressed.	(i) *Abercromby's* overland advance fails at *Ticonderoga*. (ii) *Amherst* and *Wolfe* (by sea) take *Louisburg*.	*Clive* sends force which captures *Masulipatam*, thus bringing over the DECCAN to English side.
1759		(i) *Boscawen* pursues and beats Toulon fleet at *Lagos Bay* (Aug.). (ii) Brest fleet gets out: but beaten by *Hawke* at *Quiberon Bay* (Nov.).	(i) Frederic beaten by Russians at *Kunersdorf* (Aug.). (ii) Ferdinand restores position by defeating French at *Minden* (Aug.).	(i) *Wolfe* arrives at *Quebec* (June): captures it (Sept.). (ii) Amherst fails to come through by overland route.	Clive returns to England.
1760	(Oct.) George II dies. George III hostile to Pitt.			Amherst takes *Montreal*. Canada conquered.	(Jan.) *Coote* beats French under Lally at *Wandewash*.
1761	(Oct.) Fall of Pitt: succeeded by Bute.				*Pondicherry* captured: French power in India permanently broken.
1762	(Jan.) War against Spain.			*Havana* (in Cuba) taken from Spain, and *Martinique* from French.	Expedition sent against Spanish *Philippines* and takes *Manila*.
1763	(Feb.) **Peace signed at Paris.**		Frederic left in lurch; but makes separate peace with Austria.		

Summaries

TERMS OF TREATIES

A. In Europe

(i) *Minorca* returned to England.
(ii) *Silesia* retained by Frederic.

B. In America

(i) *Canada*, part of *Louisiana*, *Florida* (from Spain) go to England.
(ii) *Martinique* and *Havana* given back to France and Spain.

C. In East

(i) *Indian* possessions secured to England; French allowed depots only and no forts.
(ii) *Manila* returned to Spain.

CAREER OF PITT (CHATHAM)

A. Early Life

(i) Born 1708; takes a commission as cornet in Dragoons.
(ii) M.P. for *Old Sarum* (1735); attacks Walpole.
(iii) Paymaster of Forces under Pelham, but refuses all bribes.

B. Period of Power

First Ministry: Nov., 1756–April, 1757.
Second Ministry: June, 1757–Oct., 1761.
Third Ministry: 1766–1768, *see* below.

C. Policy in War

(i) Use of British sea power:
  (*a*) To stop French reinforcements to Canada or India.
  (*b*) To strangle French trade.
  (*c*) To detain French forces on coast by naval raids.
(ii) British money given freely to support Prussia and Hanover.
(iii) British force used to defend Hanover, covering Frederic's flank.
(iv) French settlements in India and America to be captured and a *British Empire to be built up overseas.*

IX. SECESSION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

A. Break-up of Whig Supremacy

(i) Though still supreme in Parliament, Whigs are split into numerous factions.
(ii) Consequently their ministries are short-lived:
1762–63 (*a*) *Bute:* driven out of office by unpopularity of the Peace of Paris.
1763–65 (*b*) *Grenville:* loses public favour by his prosecution of *Wilkes* for a journalistic attack on the King.
1765–66 (*c*) *Rockingham:* offends George III by supporting Wilkes.
1766–68 (*d*) *Pitt:* (now Earl of Chatham) retires, from ill health.
1768–70 (*e*) His colleague, *Grafton*, is the last of Whig premiers.
(iii) George III, having built up a party of his own supporters (King's
1770 Friends "), brings in a Tory Government under *Lord North.*

B. Attitude of England towards Colonies

[*N.B.*—Though mother country's interest considered paramount, British policy was not so selfish as that of other nations towards their colonies.]

(i) Colonies mainly self-governing, but with a Crown Deputy sent out from England.

(ii) Taxes in which colonials have no say imposed by England for upkeep of army and fleet.
(iii) Trade to be conducted with England alone (by *Navigation Act of* 1651) and all imports likely to compete with British industries ruthlessly discouraged.

C. Beginnings of the Quarrel

(i) **The Stamp Tax:**
1765 (*a*) To pay for cost of recent war *Grenville* takes measures against smuggling in America and imposes new *Stamp Tax*.
(*b*) Colonies refuse to buy the stamps on principle.
(*c*) *Rockingham* withdraws Stamp Tax, but reasserts the right to tax.
(ii) **The Tea Tax.**
(*a*) Under Pitt, *Townshend* taxes paper, glass, and tea.
(*b*) Colonials retaliate by boycotting British goods.
1770 (*c*) Dispatch of troops by *Grafton* leads to *Boston Massacre*.
(iii) **Boston's lead.**
(*a*) Though other taxes withdrawn, Tea Tax retained.
(*b*) Arrangement made by Grafton to cheapen tea for colonies.
1773 (*c*) Colonials refuse "cheap" tea and *Boston* youths throw it overboard.
(iv) **Boston's Punishment.**
(*a*) Boston port closed; Massachusetts deprived of self-government.
1774 (*b*) Other colonies supply Boston with food and, sending delegates to *Congress at Philadelphia*, issue *Declaration of Rights*.
(*c*) *North* essays a compromise too late; *Gage's* troops attacked
1775 and defeated by colonial militia at Lexington.

Result:
1776 *Declaration of Independence* of the American Colonies, 4th July.

D. The War

I. First Phase before France's entry (1775–1778).

1775 (i) Lord Howe captures *Bunker Hill* at unnecessary cost.
1776 (ii) Enters *New York* and drives *Washington* back into interior.
(iii) Junction between Howe and *Burgoyne* (from Canada) planned via Hudson River, but, Howe having diverted his forces against Philadelphia,
1777 Burgoyne is surrounded and capitulates at *Saratoga*.

Result: First France, then Spain and Holland enter the war against England.

II. Second Phase. (1778–1782.)

(i) On the seas:
(*a*) Though French attempt capture of British West Indian islands,
1782 *Rodney* holds his own and defeats enemy at *Battle of the Saints* by "breaking the line".
(*b*) *Gibraltar* held by *Elliott* against tremendous odds from 1779 to 1782.
(ii) On the American mainland.
1780 (*a*) *Cornwallis* lands in *Georgia* and, overrunning southern colonies, works up to Chesapeake Bay.
(*b*) While French fleet under Comte de Grasse cuts off Cornwallis
1781 from support by sea, Washington evades *Clinton* at New York and marching south overwhelms Cornwallis at *Yorktown*.

1783 **Result**: Treaty of Versailles.
(*a*) *Florida* and *Minorca* ceded to Spain; some lesser West Indies to France.
(*b*) *Independence of the United States* of America recognised; Washington elected first President.

X. INDIA

A. Clive's Governorship (1765–1767)

(i) Clive regularises the administration of *Bengal*, taking over collection of taxes from the native ruler.
(ii) Improves pay of E. I. Company's servants and tries to suppress corruption.
(iii) On his return is attacked by Company shareholders (who think their profits affected), and, though acquitted, commits suicide from disappointment.

[*N.B.—In* 1773 *a Regulating Act passed providing*
(i) Appointments made by E. I. Company Directors to be submitted for approval of the Crown.
(ii) Constitution to consist of (*a*) a *Governor-General* for all Indian possessions, with (*b*) a *Council of Four*, which has power to override him; (*c*) a *Supreme Court of Justice* independent of the Council.

B. Warren Hastings' Governorship (1774–1785)

(i) His difficulties:
(*a*) Though thoroughly versed in Eastern politics, Hastings is opposed from start by *Francis* and two other members of Council.
(*b*) These support charge of corruption brought against Hastings
1775 by a native, *Nuncomar;* but *Impey*, as President of Supreme Court, removes Nuncomar by execution on old charge of felony.
1780 (*c*) Francis and another of his opponents having departed, Hastings becomes master of the situation.

(ii) His wars:
(*a*) *Mahrattas* plot with *Rohilla* tribe against British ally the *Vizier*
1774 *of Oude;* Hastings suppresses Rohillas ruthlessly, thereby securing peace in north for many years.
(*b*) British officials at *Bombay* support candidate for throne of
1775 *Poona*, and when Mahrattas attack, Hastings sends troops from Calcutta, who retrieve situation.
(*c*) In south Mahrattas league with French and *Hyder Ali of*
1780 *Mysore* Coote defeats Ali at *Porto Novo*, and, the French being worsted at sea, the danger is removed.

(iii) His reforms:
(*a*) Reorganises finance, dividing Bengal into districts.
(*b*) Appoints British tax collectors in place of natives.
(*c*) Sets up native court in Calcutta and organises police.

(iv) His impeachment.
(*a*) On his return, *Francis* and other enemies secure his impeachment.
1787 (*b*) *Burke* eloquently urges numerous charges, e.g., the hanging of Nuncomar, treatment of Rohillas, etc.
(*c*) Acquittal after seven years; subsequently honoured in Parliament.

N.B.—India Bill of 1784 (*younger Pitt*) *institutes a system of dual control which lasts until Mutiny:*
(*a*) Governor-General to be supreme over Council.

(*b*) *Board of Control* appointed by Parliament to direct main policy from London; while the E. I. Company's officials administer details on the spot.

D. Era of Conquest

(i) *Lord Cornwallis* (1786–93) humbles *Tippo of Mysore.*

1793 (ii) Revolutionary France being now again at war with Britain, French agents stir up native princes against her and drill native troops.

1798–1805 (iii) *Marquis Wellesley* thereby finds opportunity for fresh annexations.

1799 (*a*) In south, *Tippoo* defeated by Baird and Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) at *Serinyapatam.*

1802 (*b*) In north, Wellesley gets *Vizier of Oude* to cede *Rohilcund* and other territory to England.

1803 (*c*) In centre, *Scindia,* the Mahratta chief, is defeated by Wellesley at *Assaye.*

(iv) The *Marquis of Hastings* finally overcomes Mahrattas and places all India at England's feet (1814–23).

XI. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

A. The Advent of Machinery

(i) Before 1760 manufacture mainly carried on by manual processes, though water and wind-power used for grain-mills, etc.

(ii) From 1700 onwards scientific methods (e.g., rotation of crops, breeding of stock) applied to farming.

(iii) Inventors begin about 1760 to devise machinery.

1766 (*a*) In Spinning: Automatic spindles in *Hargreaves'* "Spinning Jenny".

1769 1779 Methods of drawing thread fine improved by *Arkwright:* both devices combined in *Crompton's* "Mule".

1785 (*b*) In Weaving: Automatic loom invented by *Cartwright.*

1769 (*c*) Steam-engine: Perfected by *James Watt* for use at mine-heads and for driving looms, etc.

(*d*) Locomotives: Marine engine made before 1800; railway engine, the "Rocket," built by *George Stephenson* (1829).

(iv) Hand-workers, fearing loss of work, frequently break up machines.

B. Effect on Trade

(i) Enormous increase in production of all sorts of fabrics.

(ii) Cotton (previously excluded to protect wool-trade) admitted and manufactured in large quantities from 1770 onwards.

(iii) Need of steel for machinery leads to exploitation of iron mines and of coal for smelting.

(iv) This leads to increased manufacture of hardware, pins, nails, etc.

C. Effect on Industrial Conditions

(i) The Factory.

(*a*) Until about 1700 men worked in *small workshops* under a master.

(*b*) After 1700 need for large-scale production introduces "*Domestic System,*" whereby wholesale dealers give out material to employees to work up *at home.*

(*c*) After 1760 advent of machinery necessitated the grouping of employees in *large factories.*

(ii) Shifting of Population.

(*a*) Ill-built mushroom towns spring up near factories.

(*b*) Difficulties of transport cause factories to be built near the mines.

(*c*) Since coal and iron are found mostly in north and west, the population shifts thither from south and east.

(iii) Hence, whereas hitherto the towns of south and east had led the way, the new industrial centres of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and West Midlands become the most restless and progressive part of the community.

XII. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A. The States General, the Paris Mob and the Peasants (1789)

1789 (i) The national finance being bankrupt, Louis XVI summons the
May obsolete "States-General" (Nobles, Clergy, and Commons) to *Versailles*; there, finding themselves thwarted, the Commons repre-
June sentatives vote themselves into a permanent "*National Assembly*."
July 14 (ii) Hearing of dismissal of Necker, the popular finance minister, the Paris mob rises and captures the *Bastille*.

(iii) The peasants rise, sack landowners' châteaux, and make land their own.

Oct. (iv) Hunger-stricken Paris women march to Versailles and bring back King and Queen to *Tuileries*.

B. Constitutional Reconstruction thwarted by Louis' Folly (1790–1792)

(i) The "National Assembly," being given a clear field by flight of nobles, works to establish a limited monarchy and humble power of the Church.

1791 (ii) Led astray by his Austrian Queen, Louis attempts flight to German
June frontier, but is caught at *Varennes* and taken back a prisoner.

1792 (iii) Intrigues of royal party with Austria and Prussia force Revolution-
Spring aries to declare war.

(iv) Mob, fearing King's escape, sack Tuileries (Aug.) and massacre prisoners in jails (Sept.).

Sept. (v) German army advances on Paris, but is turned back at *Valmy*.

C. The Convention (1792–1795) succeeds in place of Legislative Assembly appointed in '91 by National Assembly

[*N.B.*—More moderate *Girondists* (standing for France as a whole) are gradually outweighed by party of the "*Mountain*" (standing for supremacy of Paris) led by *Danton*, *Marat*, and *Robespierre*.]

1793 (i) The "Terror" begins under desperation at military crisis.

(*a*) Louis XVI executed (Jan.), Marie Antoinette (Oct.).

(*b*) Convention appoints small *Committee of Public Safety* to meet dangers.

(*c*) Girondist leaders executed (June).

(ii) The *First Coalition* of European powers against France.

(*a*) In England Revolution at first meets with much sympathy (e.g. from Whigs, Fox, etc.).

1793 (*b*) Shocked by Louis' death, opinion changes; England declares war in conjunction with Austria, Prussia, Holland, and Spain.

(iii) *Robespierre* becomes virtual dictator, *Marat* being murdered (July, '93) and *Danton* executed (March, '94).

(*a*) Reorganises calendar, renaming months, etc.

(*b*) Abolishes Christianity, substituting worship of "Reason."

(*c*) Meanwhile, thousands of suspects are sent to guillotine.

(*d*) Robespierre himself falls (July, '94).

(iv) More moderate "Directory" supersedes the Convention, and turns from civil bloodshed to a crusade for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

D. The Revolutionary Wars (from Feb. '93 onward)

(i) Gigantic military effort of France; conscription organised by *Carnot*.

(ii) Her enemies dissipate their strength by attacking without unity of plan, e.g. England makes descents on Britanny, Flanders, and Toulon (though *Howe* defeats French Navy, 1st June, '93).

(iii) One by one the members of *First Coalition* make separate peace:
(*a*) In '94, *Holland*.
(*b*) In '95, *Spain* and *Prussia*.
(*c*) In '96, *Austria*, when Napoleon, driving Austrians out of Italy by victory at *Rivoli*, marches on Vienna.

1797 (iv) Napoleon, having handed over Venice to Austria and formed *North Italian* (*Cisalpine*) *Republic* under French influence, returns to Paris with plans for the defeat of *England, which is now left to face France alone*.

XIII. NAPOLEON IN THE EAST

A. Egypt and the Nile

1797 (i) On his return from Italy, the Revolutionary Government, wishing to keep him out of mischief, propose invasion of England.

(ii) Napoleon, however, prefers to attack England viâ the East, by overrunning Egypt, and perhaps striking thence at India, where *Tippoo of Mysore* is induced to rise against England.

(iii) England, much embarrassed by desertion of her allies and mutiny in her fleet, is taken at a disadvantage.

1798 Spring (iv) Napoleon, starting from *Toulon*, eludes *Nelson's* blockade, captures *Malta*, and reaches Egypt.

1798 Aug. 1 (v) After lengthy search, Nelson discovers French fleet at *Aboukir Bay* and, sailing straight in, destroys it.

Result: Napoleon is cut off from Europe, and unable to aid *Tippoo*, who is crushed and killed, *Arthur Wellesley* (*Duke of Wellington* to be) taking part in campaign.

B. Napoleon's March through Syria

(i) Napoleon overruns Egypt, defeating military rulers, *the Mamelukes*, near *Pyramids*.

1799 (ii) Posing as champion of Mohammedanism, he proposes to make himself master of Turkey, and to return to Europe via *Constantinople*.

(iii) Marching across desert and north through Palestine, Napoleon turns aside to capture *Acre*.

(iv) Small Turco-British garrison under *Sidney Smith* holds out there until Turkish fleet arrives with reinforcements.

(v) Napoleon abandons siege and returns to Egypt.

1799 Autumn (vi) Leaving his army in Egypt, where it is captured by *Abercromby* a year later, Napoleon escapes in frigate to France, when he turns out *Directory* and becomes dictator with title of "*First Consul*."

Result: Napoleon resolves to restore French prestige in Europe by force of arms.

C. Napoleon and Europe

(i) The *Second Coalition* is formed by Pitt of *Austria, Russia, England*.

1800 (*a*) Marching against Austrians, who had recovered North Italy, Napoleon overwhelms them at *Marengo*.

1801 (*b*) Beaten also on the Rhine, Austria makes peace.

(*c*) The erratic *Tsar Paul* of Russia goes over to Napoleon.

XVII. THE PEACE, 1918–19

A. Conference of Versailles (Treaty Signed 28 June, 1919)

I. Punishment of Germany.

(i) Under Armistice Terms surrender of war material and temporary occupation of Rhineland towns.
(ii) Indemnity, ultimately fixed at £6,500,000,000.
(iii) Loss of *Alsace-Lorraine*, part of *E. Prussia* and *Schleswig*, all her *Colonies*.

II. Redrawing of Map.

(i) Self-determination of **Austria's** subject peoples.
  (*a*) *Trieste, Trentino*, and part of *Albania* to **Italy.**
  (*b*) *Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina* to form with Serbia and Montenegro a new **Jugo-Slave** State.
  (*c*) *Transylvania* to **Rumania**: *Galicia* to **Poland.**
  (*d*) *Bohemia* becomes independent **Czecko-Slovak** State.
  (*e*) *Hungary* independent.
(ii) **Turks** left in *Constantinople*; but cede W. Coast of *Asia-Minor* to Greece: *Syria* to France: *Palestine* and *Mesopotamia* to England under "Mandate" to League of Nations.

III. League of Nations.

(i) Covenant incorporated in Treaty at wish of President Wilson.
(ii) Rejected by United States.
(iii) Flouted by Poles and others; but does much solid work.

B. Bolshevist Russia

(i) *Lenin* and *Trotsky* gain control November, 1917: make peace with Germany, March, 1918.
(ii) Give land to peasants: kill off bourgeoisie.
(iii) Allies make war on Bolshevists:
  (*a*) British expedition to *Archangel;*
  (*b*) British and French aid to *Koltchak* in *Siberia;*
  (*c*) to *Denikin* in S. Russia.
(iv) Though Bolshevist socialistic schemes miscarry, they maintain hold on Russia.

C. England's Troubles

I. Imperial.

(i) In India, despite concessions, Nationalists agitate for complete independence: violence at *Amritsar.*
(ii) In Egypt England extends self-government to natives.
(iii) In Ireland
  (*a*) Dublin rising under *Sir Roger Casement* suppressed Easter, 1916;
  (*b*) *Sinn Fein* demands complete independence and organizes reign of terror;
  (*c*) Viscount French as Viceroy: stern suppression, but reprisals prove useless;
  (*d*) "Dominion" status granted, 1921 (Autumn).

II. Domestic.

(i) Disappointed by Conservative tendencies of Coalition Government (re-elected, Dec., 1918), extremists claim to control country's
1920 policy by "Direct Action," but get little backing from masses.
(ii) Though country impoverished by war expenditure, workers claim wage above pre-war standard.
(iii) Trade "slump" causes unemployment and reduction of wages: hence strikes.
1921 (iv) Coal miners strike; but, getting no support from railway and transport workers ("Triple Alliance"), are beaten.

	Foreign	Home	Imperial
1921	(1) Disarmament conference at Washington. (2) League of Nations reconciles Finland and Sweden.		
1922	(1) French disappointed of reparation payment. (2) Fall of German mark begins. (3) Turks after defeat by Greeks threaten Dardanelles.	(1) Lloyd George resigns—End of coalition. (2) Election (Nov.) conservative government under Bonar Law.	
1923	(1) French occupy Ruhr (Jan.). (2) Mussolini threatens war on Greece.	(1) Baldwin funds U. S. A. debt. (2) Bonar Law retires; succeeded by Baldwin (May). (3) Election on Tariff issue (Dec.) Conservative defeat.	Imperial conference meets: Preferential Tariff mooted.
1924	(1) Poincaré displaced by Herriot in France. (2) Dawes Reparation scheme accepted. (3) Protocol of mutual assistance mooted.	(1) Labour government under MacDonald. (2) Treaty planned with Russia—Fall of Labour government. (3) Election (Nov.) conservative majority of 200 under Baldwin.	Imperial exhibition at Wembley.
1925	(1) Locarno Pact (Oct.). (2) League of Nations reconciles Greece and Bulgaria.	(1) Gold standard restored. (2) Miners' strike threatened: averted by commission and subsidy.	Control of Sudan refused to Egyptian government.
1926	Germany after obstruction by Brazil admitted to League of Nations.	(1) Report of coal commission (Ap.). (2) General Strike (May).	Imperial conference: Dominion autonomy asserted.
1927	Naval disarmament discussed at Geneva.	(1) Act illegalizing General Strike. (2) Industrial conference of men and masters planned (Dec.).	(1) Troops sent to defend Shanghai. (2) Commission on Indian constitution appointed.

PART VI

APPENDIX I

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

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PRIME MINISTERS

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APPENDIX I

THE MACHINERY OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

THE British Constitution is not a written document. Many written laws or statutes have of course at various stages influenced or altered its form (thus the Parliament Act of 1911 determines the present powers of the House of Lords); but among such written laws many are long since out of date; and though the Constitution is in a sense the outcome of such measures as the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights or the Reform Bill of 1832, the bearing of these upon the practical situation of to-day is scarcely evident. No modern king would dream of raising illegal taxes; and the franchise of 1832 has been widened beyond recognition.

The fact is that custom, precedent and etiquette play the chief part in the smooth working of political machinery. Everyone, for instance, recognizes the proper function of the Cabinet and the meaning of Cabinet responsibility, though these are nowhere stated in any legal measure or even in any parliamentary resolution. Ambiguous and difficult points are solved, when they arise, not before; and then only, as a rule, by tacit agreement between parties or by the verdict of public opinion. Thus recently much controversy arose over the question whether a Prime Minister is himself bound to make reply to a vote of censure moved by the Opposition; and Mr. Baldwin's refusal to speak will presumably have decided the point for the future.

The result is that the British Constitution is wholly unsystematized, at points even illogical; and if any attempt were made to carry out to the letter every law on the statute book, a deadlock would immediately follow. But owing to the innate sense of political propriety characteristic of the British race, acute controversy seldom occurs. The very flexibility of the Constitution is its chief merit. Prime ministers, and private members alike are really governed more by a regard for tradition and good form than by any reference to written phrase or formula. It may be said indeed with truth that from year to year, almost from day to day, the British Constitution is under a process of continual change; and this way it suits itself to the needs of the hour better than if it were one modelled on a cast-iron system.

Under the monarch—now in practice little more than a constitutional figure-head—Great Britain (and in theory at least the entire British Empire) is governed by the two Houses of Parliament, the Lords or Upper House and the Commons or Lower House.

The House of Lords comprises upwards of 700 peers. The bulk of these sit there by hereditary title; but to such must be added a certain number of "life" peers, a selection from the peers of Scotland and Ireland chosen by fellow-nobles, and a selection from the bishops of the Established English Church, chosen by virtue of their seniority of appointment. It will thus be seen, that, while reflecting in a measure the more solid and conservative body of national opinion, the Peers in fact represent nobody except themselves. Though in former centuries the predominant voice in the country's government, they have recently been reduced, as will be shewn, to the function of a mere brake on over-hasty legislation. Their debates are dignified, but as a rule ill-attended; and dissatisfaction both with their composition and with the recent limitation of their powers has given rise to much discussion of reform.

Members of the House of Commons, just over 600 in number, owe their position to direct election by the people. For election purposes the country is divided into constituencies of varying size, some covering large country districts, others the crowded areas of great towns. The latter are normally allowed several members in proportion to their size, but no exact system of numerical equality exists.

When an election takes place in a constituency candidates are usually nominated by each of the three great parties, Conservative, Liberal and Labour. The choice of a candidate is a matter of arrangement between the local party committee and the party headquarters. Independent candidates often stand, but with no such organisation behind them they stand but little chance. Each candidate issues at the outset of the campaign a statement of the policy he intends, if elected, to support. Canvassing is keen, but the law against corruption strict. The franchise is wide—almost every man or woman over twenty-one can now exercise a vote.[1]

After a general election the King's invitation to form a Cabinet goes normally to the recognised leader of the party most successful at the polls. If he cannot command a majority of votes in the House of Commons, he must secure himself a majority by coalition with some other party; and from among his adherents[2] he selects the ministers who shall take charge of the various executive departments, the Home Office, Foreign Office, Board of Education, Admiralty, War Office and so forth. Responsibility for policy is shared by the whole Cabinet, but each minister is individually responsible for the workings of his own department and must be prepared to answer questions thereon at the daily sittings of the House. When Parliament meets, the King opens the year's session in person and his speech which is drawn up by the new government foreshadows whatever legislation is in contemplation. Private members are, it is true, allowed some opportunity of introducing "bills" (for so a measure is called until it becomes a full-fledged law); but the bulk of legislation is initiated by the Cabinet who can usually count on the well-disciplined support of their adherents. In the passing of a "bill" through the Commons there are three stages: the first "reading" is a pure formality and simply announces the scope and names of the new measure; before the second "reading" there is a debate upon the whole principle involved. If it then gains a majority of votes, the third or "Committee" stage is reached, during which the details of the bill are discussed and, if necessary, amended clause by clause. Emerging in its final form at the third "reading," the bill then goes to the Lords, who have the power either to reject it altogether or to send it back in an amended form to the Commons. If passed by the Lords, the bill goes to the King for royal assent—an assent which nowadays is invariably given; for Queen Victoria was the last sovereign to exercise the right of veto. If, however, the Lords reject the bill, their rejection is not final. Under the Parliament Act of 1911 it is enacted that, should the Commons present it in three successive sessions, it automatically receives the royal assent at the third time of asking, that is, after the lapse of some two years from its first presentation.[3] It will thus be seen that the Commons have the ultimate voice in legislation, provided, of course, that nothing occurs in this two-year interval to upset the existing government.

The life of a government is at most of five years' duration, for after that period a general election is compulsory. If before that time an adverse vote in the Commons shows that the government have lost the confidence of the House over a matter of real importance, it is customary for the Premier to tender his resignation to the King. His Majesty may then either invite the leader of another party to form a government in the hope of commanding a sufficient majority in

[1] The bill reducing the age for women from thirty to twenty-one was passed in the spring of 1928.

[2] In time past it was usual for a large number of the cabinet to be drawn from the House of Lords; but the predominant importance of the Commons has tended recently to confine the choice not only of the Premier, but of Ministers to its ranks.

[3] An exception to this rule occurs in the case of finance bills. The voting of taxes being by long historical tradition the special prerogative of the Commons, the Lords are not now permitted in any way to delay a financial measure.

the House, or he may dissolve the existing Parliament, and cause a general election to be held.

We said at the outset that the Parliament at Westminster is in theory the sovereign body of the entire British Empire. In practice, however, the great Dominions are to all intents and purposes self-governing. Even a declaration of war made by the British Government can hardly be said to be inevitably binding on Dominion governments; and with their internal legislation and administration no interference is attempted. No financial payments are made to the British Exchequer; and whatever part the Dominions choose to bear in the maintenance of warships or armed forces is left entirely to their own discretion. This loose and easy-going connection between colonies and mother country has hitherto worked surprisingly well; but the need for a concerted policy has brought into being the Imperial Conference, attended by Dominion Premiers or their representatives and henceforth to be annually convened. Similarly a conference has been instituted for the representatives of the "Crown" colonies which are still governed by men appointed by the King on the Prime Minister's advice and therefore responsible to the British Parliament.

There is here no space to deal at length with judicial institutions; but one thing is perhaps worth noting. Judges are appointed by the King on the advice of the Lord Chancellor. But though the Lord Chancellor is himself the nominee of the Prime Minister and holds office only so long as the Cabinet of which he is a member remains in power, yet his own party sentiments are in no way reflected by the judges whom he appoints. They become judges for life; and their decisions are recognised as utterly free from party bias. It is their business to administer and interpret the law by whatever party majority it may be made; and the honorable tradition of judicial impartiality is very notably sustained.

APPENDIX II

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following is a list of books suitable for the use of students who wish to enlarge or to deepen their knowledge of any particular branch or period of English history. As the list is intended for students rather than for their teachers, I have tried to select such books as are not only within the grasp of youthful readers but also calculated to arouse their interest. Among them, therefore, I have included many novels which, while illustrative of some phase or other of English life, have no claim to rank as authentic history.

I have marked with an asterisk (*) books specially to be recommended to younger readers and with a dagger (†) those likely to be of special interest to their seniors.

A. GENERAL

I. HISTORIES PROPER.

Oman. *England before the Conquest.*
† Davis. *England under the Normans and Angevins.*
Vickers. *England in the Later Middle Ages.*
Innes. *England under the Tudors.*
† Trevelyan. *England under the Stuarts.*
Grant Robertson. *England under the Hanoverians.*
Marriott. *England since Waterloo.*

Other useful histories are:

Ramsay Muir. *Short History of the British Commonwealth.* 2 vols.
* G. M. Trevelyan. *History of England.*
Political History of England. 12 vols., published by Longmans.
* Fletcher. *Introductory History of England.* 5 vols. A very lively narrative.
Mackinder. *Britain and the British Seas.* An historical geography.

II. SPECIAL ASPECTS.

(*a*) Social life.

* † M. and C. Quennell's series depicting everyday life through the ages: profusely illustrated with line-drawings by the authors, and most attractive.

Everyday Life in Roman Britain.
Everyday Life in Saxon, Viking and Norman Times.
Everyday Things in England. 2 vols.

* † H. D. Traill. *Social England.* Excellently and fully illustrated.
Stanley Leathes. *The People in the Making, The People in Adventure,* and *The People on its Trial.* A history of the English people viewed mainly from the social and economic side, written specially for young readers, and illustrated.

Gardiner. *Cromwell's Place in History.* Short essay.
† J. Drinkwater. *Oliver Cromwell.* Prose drama.
Traill. *Strafford.* Biography.
Browning. *Strafford.* Drama.
Defoe. *Memoirs of a Cavalier.*
Macaulay. *Essay on Milton.* A study of the Puritans.
Buchan. *Marquis of Montrose.* Biography.
Penney. *Journal of George Fox.*
Dumas. *Twenty Years After.* Novel.
Shorthouse. *John Inglesant.* Novel.
Scott. *Legend of Montrose.* Novel.

IV. Reign of Charles II.

O. Airy. *Charles II.*
J. Drinkwater. *Mr. Charles.* Biographical sketch.
* † Defoe. *Journal of the Plague.*
† Dryden. *Absalom and Achitophel.* Political satire in verse.
Scott. *Woodstock* and *Old Mortality.* Novels.
Conan Doyle. *The Refugees.* Novel.
Ainsworth. *Old St. Pauls.* Novel.
Crockett. *Men of the Moss Hags.* Novel.
Anthony Hope. *Simon Dale.* Novel.

V. Reign of James II.

Blackmore. *Lorna Doone.* Novel touching on Sedgemoor.
Conan Doyle. *Micah Clarke.* Novel touching on Sedgemoor.

VI. Reign of William III.

Traill. *William III.* Biography.

VII. Miscellaneous.

Milton's *Poems.*
Bunyan. *Pilgrim's Progress.*
Evelyn's *Diary.*
† Pepys. *Everybody's Pepys.* Abridged edition by Morshead Bell.
* † Aytoun. *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers.*
Dumas. *Three Musketeers.* Illustrating France of first half of century.
Stanley Weyman. *Under the Red Robe.* Illustrating France of second half of century.
Masefield. *Captain Margaret.* Novel of sea adventure.

E. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO WATERLOO

I. Books of General Reference.

Lecky. *History of England in the Eighteenth Century.*
† Turbeville. *English Men and Manners of the 18th Century.* Fully illustrated.
Thackeray. *Four Georges.* A chatty chronicle.
Seeley. *Expansion of England.* Dealing with colonial problems.
Whibley. *Political Studies of 18th and 19th Centuries.*

II. Reign of Anne.

Atkinson. *Marlborough.*
† Macaulay. *Essay on Addison.*
* † Thackeray. *Esmond.* Historical novel of Marlborough's wars, etc.
Weyman. *Wild Geese.* Novel of Irish life during early 18th century.

III. Reigns of George I and George II.

Morley. *Walpole.* Biography.
† Macaulay. *Essay on Frederic the Great.*
† F. Harrison. *Chatham.* Biography.
Basil Williams. *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.*
Wilson. *Clive.* Biography.
* † Macaulay. *Essay on Clive.*
† Bradley. *The Fight with France for North America.*
† Bradley. *Wolfe.* Biography.
Buchan. *Midwinter.* Novel touching on the Forty-five.
Scott. *Tales of a Grandfather.*
Broster. *The Flight of the Heron.* Novel of time after the Forty-five.
Broster. *The Gleam in the North.*
Scott. *Heart of Midlothian.* Novel of Scotland in Walpole's time.
Scott. *Rob Roy.* The rebellion of Fifteen.
Ainsworth. *St. James.* The rebellion of Fifteen.
Scott. *Waverley.* Novel of time of the Forty-five.

IV. Reign of George III.

Rosebery. *William Pitt.* Biography.
† Macaulay. *Essay on Warren Hastings.*
Lyall. *Warren Hastings.* Biography.
G. O. Trevelyan. *Early History of Charles James Fox.*
Stirling. *Coke of Norfolk and His Friends.*
Coupland. *Wilberforce.*
† Fortescue. *British Statesmen of the Great War.*
Southey. *Life of Wesley. Also Wesley's Journal.*
Woodforde. *Diary of a Country Parson.*

V. Military.

Oman. *Wellington's Army.*
H. Fisher. *Napoleon.* A brief biographical study.
Rose. *Napoleon.* Biography.
† Fortescue. *Wellington.* Biography.
† Southey. *Nelson.* Biography.
Ludwig. *Napoleon.*
Napier. *Peninsular War.* A contemporary account.
* † Fitchett. *Deeds that Won the Empire.* Picturesque narrative of episodes such as the taking of Quebec, etc.
* † Fitchett. *How England Saved Europe.* 4 vols. A picturesque narrative of the Napoleonic wars.
Masefield. *Sea Life in Nelson's Time.*
† H. Newbolt. *The Year of Trafalgar.*
† H. Belloc. *Blenheim, Malplaquet* and *Waterloo.* Three short monographs.

VI. The French Revolution.

† L. Madelin. *The French Revolution.* Translated from the French and probably the best account extant in one volume.
Carlyle. *French Revolution.* Picturesque, but somewhat rhetorical in style.
Bradby. *French Revolution.*
Belloc. *French Revolution.* A short account.
† Belloc. *Marie Antoinette.* The story of the Revolution dramatically told from the standpoint of the queen. Also *Danton* and *Robespierre.*
Dickens. *Tale of Two Cities.* Novel.

Belloc. *The Girondin.* Novel.
Weyman. *The Red Cockade.* Novel.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

Boswell. *Life of Johnson.*
Macaulay. *Essay on Boswell's Life of Johnson.*
† J. Bailey. *Dr. Johnson and His Circle.* Short and attractive study.
Thackeray. *The Virginians.* Novel of colonial life.
Thackeray. *Vanity Fair.* Novel of time of Waterloo.
T. Hardy. *Trumpet Major.* Novel of time of Waterloo.
O. Goldsmith. *Vicar of Wakefield.* Novel of country life.
G. Eliot. *Adam Bede.* Novel of country life, dealing specially with the Methodists.
J. Austen's novels.
Sheridan. *Rivals* and *School for Scandal.* Prose comedies dealing with end of the 18th century.
Dickens. *Barnaby Rudge.* Novel dealing with Lord George Gordon riots.
T. Hardy. *The Dynasts.* A sort of dramatic epic dealing with episodes of the Napoleonic wars.
Olivant. *The Gentleman.* Tale of sea adventure in the Napoleonic wars.
Marryat. *Masterman Ready.* Sea adventure in this era.
Conan Doyle. *Rodney Stone.* Novel of prize fighting, etc., about the beginning of the 19th century.
Thackeray. *The Virginians.* Novel of colonial life in Seven Years' War.
Cooper. *The Last of the Mohicans.* Novel of colonial life in Seven Years' War.
Stevenson. *Master of Ballantrae, Kidnapped,* and *Catriona.*
Churchill. *Richard Carvel.* Novel of American War of Independence.
Merriman. *Boulash of the Guard.* Novel of the retreat from Moscow.
Lever. *Charles O'Malley.* Novel of Peninsular War.
V. Hugo. *Les Misérables.* Novel of the Hundred Days' epoch.

F. NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I. BOOKS OF GENERAL REFERENCE.

† Trevelyan. *British History in the 19th Century.*
Fyffe. *Modern Europe.* A fairly full record of European history, continued 1878–1920 by G. P. Gooch.
Hearnshaw. *Main Currents of European History, 1815–1915.* A good outline of movements and events.

II. BIOGRAPHICAL.

† Lytton Strachey. *Queen Victoria.*
† Lytton Strachey. *Eminent Victorians.* Studies of Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, and General Gordon.
† Trevelyan. *Lord Grey and the Reform Bill.*
Trevelyan. *Life of John Bright.*
Thursfield. *Peel.*
† A. Maurois. *Disraeli.* A study.
D. Somerville. *Disraeli and Gladstone.*
Morley. *Life of Gladstone.*
Cook. *Delane of the Times.*
Cecil. *British Foreign Ministers.*
† L. Housman. *Angels and Ministers.* Short prose plays depicting Disraeli and Gladstone and Queen Victoria.

† Drinkwater. *Abraham Lincoln.* Prose drama.
† G. H. Blore. *Victorian Worthies.* Studies of Victorians great in politics, philanthropy, art, letters, etc.
Butler. *Gordon.*
B. Williams. *Cecil Rhodes.*

III. Military, etc.

Kinglake. *Crimean War.* A full account very finely written.
† Trevelyan. *Garibaldi and the Defence of the Roman Republic.*
† Trevelyan. *Garibaldi and the Thousand.*
† Trevelyan. *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy.*
Temple. *Life of Lord Lawrence.*
* Fitchett. *Tales of the Mutiny.*
G. O. Trevelyan. *Cawnpore.*
Lumsden. *Story of the Guides.*
Conan Doyle. *The Boer War.*
† Winston Churchill. *The World Crisis.* 3 vols. An account of the Great War, told by one of its leading statesmen in very attractive style.
* † Masefield. *Gallipoli.*
† T. E. Lawrence. *The Revolt in the Desert.* Story of the rising of the Arab against the Turks during the Great War, told by the man who helped to lead it.

IV. Social and Industrial, etc.

Cobbett. *Rural Rider.* A picture of rural England at the beginning of the century.
Hovell. *Chartist Movement.*
† Hammond. *Town Labourer, Village Labourer, Skilled Labourer,* and *Rise of Modern Industry.* Interesting studies in the early effects of the Industrial Revolution.
Church. *Oxford Movement.*
† Ruskin. *Unto this Last.* A protest against the economic theories of the Manchester school.
Weyman. *Chippinge.* Novel of time of Reform Bill.
Kingsley. *Yeast* and *Two Years Ago.* Novels depicting the misery and unrest of the working classes.
Trollope. *Castle Richmond.* Novel of time of Corn Law's repeal.
Disraeli. *Coningsby.* Political novel. Also *Sibyl.*
Dickens. *Pickwick Papers.*
Dickens. *Little Dorrit.* Life in a debtor's prison.
Dickens. *Oliver Twist.* Life in a workhouse.
Dickens. *Nicholas Nickleby.* Life in a private school.
Hughes. *Tom Brown's School Days.* Life in a public school.
Gaskell. *North and South.* Novel.
Thackeray. *The Newcomes.* Early Victorian society.
Trollope. *Barchester Towers.* Mid-Victorian society.
Galsworthy. *The Forsyte Saga.* Late Victorian society.
George Eliot. *Middlemarch.* Victorian country life.
T. Hardy. *The Mayor of Casterbridge.* Rural life.
T. Hardy. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles.* Rural life.
Fortescue. *My Native Devon.*
Kingsley. *Ravenshoe.* A novel of time of Crimea.
Tolstoy. *Sebastopol.* Story of the siege.
† W. H. Page. *Letters.* Depicting English society during the Great War.
† G. K. Chesterton. *The Victorian Age in Literature.* A brief but stimulating study.

THE RULERS OF ENGLAND[1]

SINCE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

NAME		Accession	Died	Age	Reigned
	THE HOUSE OF NORMANDY				
William I.	Obtained Crown by conquest	1066	1087	60	21
William II.	Third son of William I.	1087	1100	40	13
Henry I.	Youngest son of William I.	1100	1135	67	35
Stephen	Third son of Stephen, Count of Blois, by Adela, fourth daughter of William I.	1135	1154	60	19
	THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET				
Henry II.	Son of Geoffery Plantagenet, by Matilda, only daughter of Henry I.	1154	1189	56	35
Richard I.	Eldest surviving son of Henry II.	1189	1199	42	10
John	Sixth and youngest son of Henry II.	1199	1216	49	17
Henry III.	Eldest son of John	1216	1272	65	56
Edward I.	Eldest son of Henry III.	1272	1307	68	35
Edward II.	Eldest surviving son of Edward I.	1307	1327	43	20
Edward III.	Eldest son of Edward II.	1327	1377	65	50
Richard II.	Son of the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward III. (Deposed 1399)	1377	1400	34	22
	THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER				
Henry IV	Son of John of Gaunt, 4th son of Edward III.	1399	1413	47	14
Henry V.	Eldest son of Henry IV.	1413	1422	34	9
Henry VI.	Only son of Henry V. (Deposed 1461)	1422	1471	49	39
	THE HOUSE OF YORK				
Edward IV.	His grandfather was Richard, son of Edmund, 5th son of Edward III, and his grandmother, Anne, was great-granddaughter of Lionel, third son of Edward III.	1461	1483	41	22
Edward V.	Eldest son of Edward IV.	1483	1483	13	0
Richard III.	Younger brother of Edward IV.	1483	1485	35	2
	THE HOUSE OF TUDOR				
Henry VII.	Son of Edmund, eldest son of Owen Tudor, by Katherine, widow of Henry V; his mother, Margaret Beaufort, was great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt.	1485	1509	53	24
Henry VIII	Only surviving son of Henry VII.	1509	1547	56	38
Edward VI.	Son of Henry VIII, by Jane Seymour	1547	1553	16	6
Mary I.	Daughter of Henry VIII, by Catharine of Aragon	1553	1558	42	5
Elizabeth	Daughter of Henry VIII, by Anne Boleyn	1558	1603	70	45
	THE HOUSE OF STUART				
James I.	Son of Mary Queen of Scots, granddaughter of James IV and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.	1603	1625	59	22
Charles I.	Only surviving son of James I.	1625	1649	48	24
	COMMONWEALTH DECLARED MAY 19, 1649				
Cromwells	Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector	1653	1658	59	
	Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, resigned May 25, 1659.	1658	1712	86	
	THE HOUSE OF STUART (Restored)				
Charles II.	Eldest son of Charles I.	1660	1685	55	25
James II.	Second son of Charles I. (Deposed 1688. Interregnum Dec. 11, 1688, to Feb. 13, 1689)	1685	1701	68	3
William III. and Mary II.	Son of William Prince of Orange, by Mary, daughter of Charles I. / Eldest daughter of James II, and wife of William III	1689	1702	51	13
Anne	Second daughter of James II.	1702	1694	32	6
			1714	49	12
	THE HOUSE OF HANOVER				
George I.	Son of Elector of Hanover, by Sophia, daughter of Elizabeth, daughter of James I.	1714	1727	67	13
George II.	Only son of George I.	1727	1760	77	33
George III.	Grandson of George II.	1760	1820	82	60
George IV.	Eldest son of George III.	1820	1830	68	10
William IV.	Third son of George III.	1830	1837	72	7
Victoria	Daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, 4th son of George III.	1837	1901	81	63
	THE HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG				
Edward VII.	Eldest son of Victoria	1901	1910	68	9
	THE HOUSE OF WINDSOR				
George V.	Second and surviving son of Edward VII.	1910			

[1] From *The World Almanac*, by permission.

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF ENGLAND

Sir Robert Walpole, 1721–1742
Lord John Carteret, 1742–1744
Henry Pelham, 1744–1754
Duke of Newcastle, 1754–1756
Duke of Devonshire and William Pitt, 1756–1757
William Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, 1757–1762
Earl of Bute, 1762–1763
George Grenville, 1763–1765
Marquis of Rockingham, 1765–1766
William Pitt (Earl of Chatham), 1766–1768
Duke of Grafton, 1768–1770
Lord North, 1770–1782
Marquis of Rockingham, 1782
Earl of Shelburne, 1782–1783
Duke of Portland, Lord North, and Charles Fox (Coalition Ministry), 1783.
William Pitt (the Younger), 1783–1801
Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth), 1801–1804
William Pitt, 1804–1806
Lord William Grenville (Ministry of All the Talents), 1806–1807
Duke of Portland, 1807–1809
Spencer Perceval, 1809–1812
Earl of Liverpool, 1812–1827
George Canning, 1827
Viscount Goderich, 1827–1828
Duke of Wellington, 1828–1830
Earl Grey, 1830–1834
Viscount Melbourne, 1834
Sir Robert Peel, 1834–1835
Viscount Melbourne, 1835–1841
Sir Robert Peel, 1841–1846
Lord John Russell, 1846–1852
Earl of Derby, 1852
Earl of Aberdeen, 1852–1855
Viscount Palmerston, 1855–1858
Earl of Derby, 1858–1859
Viscount Palmerston, 1859–1865
Earl Russell, 1865–1866
Earl of Derby, 1866–1868
Benjamin Disraeli, 1868
William Ewart Gladstone, 1868–1874
Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield), 1874–1880
William Ewart Gladstone, 1880–1885
Marquis of Salisbury, 1885–1886
William Ewart Gladstone, 1886
Marquis of Salisbury, 1886–1892
William Ewart Gladstone, 1892–1894
Earl of Rosebery, 1894–1895
Marquis of Salisbury, 1895–1902
Arthur James Balfour, 1902–1905
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 1905–1908
Herbert Henry Asquith, 1908–1916
David Lloyd George, 1916–1922
Bonar Law, 1922–1923
Stanley Baldwin, 1923–1924
Ramsay J. MacDonald, 1924
Stanley Baldwin, 1924–

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