

FREEDOM AND ORGANIZATION

Freedom and Organization

— 1814 - 1914 —

by

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Chaos umpire sits
And by decision more embroils the fray
By which he reigns: next him high arbiter
Chance governs all.

MILTON

LONDON

George Allen & Unwin Ltd

MUSEUM STREET

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1934
SECOND IMPRESSION 1935
THIRD IMPRESSION 1945

All rights reserved

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
UNWIN BROTHERS LTD., WOKING

PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to trace the main causes of political change during the hundred years from 1814 to 1914. These causes appear to me to have been of three kinds: economic technique, political theory, and important individuals. I do not believe that any one of these three can be ignored, or wholly explained away as an effect of causes of other kinds. Economic technique would not have changed as it did but for the existence of certain remarkable inventors. Belief in nationality, and advocacy of democracy by large sections of the governing classes, powerfully influenced the course of events, and cannot themselves be traced, in their entirety, to economic sources. Free competition, which was accepted whole-heartedly as the main incentive to progress by British and American Radicals, was, no doubt, recommended chiefly by economic considerations, but had also an obvious connection with Protestantism. While, therefore, economic technique must be regarded as the most important cause of change in the nineteenth century, it cannot be regarded as the sole cause; in particular, it does not account for the division of mankind into nations.

The part played in history by individuals, which was over-emphasized by Carlyle, and is still exaggerated in our day by his reactionary disciples, tends, on the other hand, to be unduly minimized by those who believe themselves to have discovered the laws of sociological change. I do not believe that, if Bismarck had died in infancy, the history of Europe during the past seventy years would have been at all closely similar to what it has been. And what is true in an eminent degree of Bismarck is true, in a somewhat lesser degree, of many of the prominent men of the nineteenth century.

Nor can we ignore the part played by what may be called chance, that is to say, by trivial occurrences which happened to have great effects. The Great War was made probable by large causes, but not inevitable. Down to the last moment, it might

8 *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*

have been postponed by minor events which did not take place, though nothing that we know of made them impossible; and if it had been postponed, the forces making for peace might have become predominant.

History, in short, is not yet a science, and can only be made to seem scientific by falsifications and omissions.

It is possible, however, to trace the effects of large causes without over-simplification, provided it is remembered that other causes have also been operative. The purpose of this book is to trace the opposition and interaction of two main causes of change in the nineteenth century: the belief in FREEDOM which was common to Liberals and Radicals, and the necessity for ORGANIZATION which arose through industrial and scientific technique.

Throughout the writing of this book, the work has been shared by my collaborator, Peter Spence, who has done half the research, a large part of the planning, and small portions of the actual writing, besides making innumerable valuable suggestions.

May 1934

CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Preface</i>	7
PART ONE: The Principle of Legitimacy	
CHAPTER	
I. NAPOLEON'S SUCCESSORS	13
II. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA	27
III. THE HOLY ALLIANCE	43
IV. THE TWILIGHT OF METTERNICH	56
PART TWO: The March of Mind	
<i>Section A: The Social Background</i>	
V. THE ARISTOCRACY	67
VI. COUNTRY LIFE	75
VII. INDUSTRIAL LIFE	82
<i>Section B: The Philosophical Radicals</i>	
VIII. MALTHUS	93
IX. BENTHAM	103
X. JAMES MILL	115
XI. RICARDO	124
XII. THE BENTHAMITE DOCTRINE	131
XIII. DEMOCRACY IN ENGLAND	141
XIV. FREE TRADE	148
<i>Section C: Socialism</i>	
XV. OWEN AND EARLY BRITISH SOCIALISM	173
XVI. EARLY TRADE UNIONISM	196
XVII. MARX AND ENGELS	204
XVIII. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM	217
XIX. THE THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE	231
XX. THE POLITICS OF MARXISM	242

10 *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*

PART THREE: Democracy and Plutocracy
in America

Section A: Democracy in America

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXI. JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY	259
XXII. THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST	274
XXIII. JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY	291
XXIV. SLAVERY AND DISUNION	306
XXV. LINCOLN AND NATIONAL UNITY	326

Section B: Competition and Monopoly in America

XXVI. COMPETITIVE CAPITALISM	341
XXVII. THE APPROACH TO MONOPOLY	357

PART FOUR: Nationalism and Imperialism

XXVIII. THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITY	389
XXIX. BISMARCK AND GERMAN UNITY	417
XXX. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE	434
XXXI. IMPERIALISM	448
XXXII. THE ARBITERS OF EUROPE	480

<i>Conclusion</i>	505
-------------------	-----

<i>Bibliography</i>	511
---------------------	-----

<i>Index</i>	517
--------------	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following is a list of those books which we have found particularly useful. The dates given are those of the editions used.

PART I

- Alexandre Ier et Napoléon d'après leur correspondance inédite.*
Serge Tatistcheff. Paris. 1891.
- Correspondance de l'Empereur Alexandre Ier avec sa Souveraine La Grande-Duchesse Catherine, 1805-1818.*
Edité par le Grand-Duc Nicolas Michaelovitch. St. Petersburg. 1910.
- L'Empereur Alexandre I^{er}.*
Par le Grand-Duc Nicolas Michaelovitch. St. Petersburg. 1912.
- Memoirs of the Emperor Alexander and the Court of Russia.*
Comtesse Choiseul-Gouffier. London. 1904.
- Modern Russian History.*
Kornilov. London. 1916.
- Life and Letters of Mme. de Krüdener.*
Clarence Ford. London. 1893.
- Memoirs of Prince Metternich.*
Edited by Prince Richard Metternich. London. 1880-82.
- Metternich.*
Sandeman. London. 1911.
- Mémoires de Talleyrand.*
Edités par le Duc de Broglie. Paris. 1891-92.
- Memoirs and Correspondence of Castlereagh.*
London. 1848-58.
- The Congress of Vienna.*
C. K. Webster. London. 1919.
- Les Dessous du Congrès de Vienne.*

PART II

- The Creevey Papers.*
Edited by Sir H. Maxwell. London. 1903-4.
- Leaves from the Greville Diary.*
Edited by Philip Morrell. London. 1929.
- Economic History of Modern Britain.*
Vol. I. The Early Railway Age. 1926.
Vol. II. Free Trade and Steel. 1932.
J. H. Clapham. Cambridge.

512 *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*

- The Town Labourer.* 1932.
The Village Labourer. 1932.
The Skilled Labourer. 1919.
Lord Shaftesbury. 1923.
The Age of the Chartists. 1930. } J. L. and Barbara Hammond.
London.
- Essay on Population.*
Malthus. London. 6th edition. 1826.
- Malthus and His Work.*
James Bonar. London. 1924.
- Works of Bentham.*
Edited by Dr. Bowring. London. 1843.
- The Education of Jeremy Bentham.*
C. W. Everatt. Columbia University Press. 1931.
- Jeremy Bentham: His Life and Work.*
C. M. Atkinson. London. 1905.
- Life of Francis Place.*
Graham Wallas. London. 1898.
- Autobiography.*
John Stuart Mill. London. 1873.
- Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.*
Ricardo. London. 1817.
- A Fable of the Bees.*
Bernard de Mandeville. London. 1724.
- History of the Chartist Movement.*
R. G. Gammage. London. 1894.
- Political Writings of Richard Cobden.*
2nd edition. London and New York. 1868.
- Life of Richard Cobden.*
John Morley. London and New York. 1908.
- Life of John Bright.*
G. M. Trevelyan. London. 1913.
- Robert Owen: a Biography.*
Frank Podmore. London. 1928.
- Life of Robert Owen.*
G. D. H. Cole. London.
- A New View of Society.*
Robert Owen. London. 1813.
- History of Trade Unionism.*
Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Revised edition. 1920.
- James Mill: A Biography.*
Alexander Bain. London. 1882.
- Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin.*
Paris. 1865-78.
- Le Nouveau Monde Industriel.*
François Fourier. Brussels. 1840.

- Revolution and Reaction in Modern France.*
G. Lowes Dickinson. London. 1892.
- The Growth of Philosophical Radicalism.*
Elie Halévy. London. 1928.
- Thomas Hodgskin.*
Elie Halévy. Paris. 1903.
- The Communist Manifesto.*
Karl Marx. London. 1888.
- The Condition of the English Working Class in 1844.*
Friedrich Engels. London. 1892.
- Karl Marx: His Life and Work.*
Otto Rühle. London. 1929.
- Socialism Utopian and Scientific.*
Engels. London. 1892.
- Über Historischen Materialismus.*
Marx and Engels. Berlin. 1930.
- Revolution and Counter Revolution.*
Marx. London. 1896.
- The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*
Marx. London. 1926.
- Misère de la Philosophie.*
Marx. Paris. 1922.
- Capital.*
Marx. London. 1928.
- Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.*
Lenin. London.

PART III

- The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth.*
Lewis H. Berens. London. 1906.
- Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson.*
F. W. Hirst. London. 1926.
- Life of Jefferson.*
George Tucker. 1836.
- Jefferson and Hamilton.*
Claude G. Bowers. New York. 1929.
- Works of Thomas Jefferson.*
Edited by W. C. Foord. 1904-5.
- Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy.*
Charles A. Beard. New York. 1927.
- An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.*
Charles A. Beard. New York. 1925.

514 *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*

Democracy in America.

Alexis de Tocqueville. London. 1875.

Chicago and the Old North-West, 1673-1835.

M. M. Quaife. Chicago. 1913.

The Frontier in American History.

Turner. New York. 1920.

Abraham Lincoln: A History.

Nicolay and Hay. New York. 1890.

The March of Democracy.

James Truslow Adams. New York and London. 1932-33.

A History of the People of the United States.

McMaster. New York and London. 1913.

A History of the United States.

Channing. New York. 1925.

The Rise of American Civilization.

Charles A. and Mary R. Beard. London. 1927.

An Economic History of the United States.

G. S. Callender. London. 1909.

An Economic History of the American People.

E. S. Bogart. New York. 1930.

The History of the Great American Fortunes.

Gustavus Myers. Chicago. 1908-10.

High Finance in the Sixties.

Edited by Frederick C. Hicks. Yale and Oxford. 1929.

God's Gold.

John T. Flynn. London and New York. 1933.

History of the Standard Oil Company.

Ida M. Tarbell. London and New York. 1904

Wealth Against Commonwealth.

H. D. Lloyd. London. 1894.

The Life of Andrew Carnegie.

Burton J. Hendrick. London. 1933.

The Life of Elbert H. Gary: A Story of Steel.

Ida M. Tarbell. New York and London. 1926.

The Life of J. Pierpont Morgan.

John Kennedy Winkler. London. 1931.

Life Story of J. Pierpont Morgan.

Carl Hovey. New York. 1912.

Trusts, Pools and Corporations.

Edited by William Z. Ripley. New York and London. 1905

Problems in Railway Regulation.

H. S. Haines. New York. 1911.

The Gospel of Wealth and Other Essays.

Andrew Carnegie. New York. 1900.

PART IV

- Addresses to the German Nation.*
Fichte. Chicago. 1922.
- Life and Writings of Mazzini.*
London. 1864-70.
- A History of Italian Unity.*
Bolton King. London. 1899.
- Life of Mazzini.*
Bolton King. London. 1902.
- The Rise of Louis Napoleon.*
F. A. Simpson. London. 1909.
- Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France.*
F. A. Simpson. London. 1923.
- Bismarck: The Story of a Fighter.*
Emil Ludwig. London. 1927.
- Bismarck.*
C. Grant Robertson. London. 1918.
- Bismarck. Some Secret Pages of His History.*
Dr. Moritz Busch. London. 1898.
- Life of Friedrich List and Selections from His Writings.*
M. E. Hirst. London. 1909.
- Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto Prince von Bismarck.*
London. 1898.
- Bismarck and State Socialism.* London. 1890.
- The Evolution of Modern Germany.* London. 1914.
- The German Empire.* London. 1919.
William Harbutt Dawson.
- The Economic Development of France and Germany.*
J. H. Clapham. Cambridge. 1921.
- Red Rubber.*
E. D. Morel. London. 1906.
- The Black Man's Burden.*
E. D. Morel. Manchester and London. 1920.
- History of the Colonization of Africa.*
Sir H. H. Johnston. Cambridge. 1913.
- Cecil Rhodes.*
Basil Williams. London. 1921.
- Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.*
Monypenny and Buckle. London. 1910-12.
- Life of Queen Victoria.* London. 1902.
- King Edward VII.* London. 1927.
Sir Sidney Lee.
- Imperialism: A Study.*
J. A. Hobson. London. 1902.

516 *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*

- Life of Joseph Chamberlain.*
J. L. Garvin. London. 1932-33.
- The War of Steel and Gold.*
H. N. Brailsford. London. 1914.
- Joseph Chamberlain: An Honest Biography.*
A. Mackintosh. London. 1914.
- Nicholas I: the Last of the Tsars.*
Princess Catherine Radziwill. London. 1931
- The History of the Russian Revolution.*
Leon Trotsky. London. 1932.
- The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar.*
London. 1921.
- Memoirs of Prince von Bülow.*
London. 1931-32.
- Records.*
Lord Fisher. London. 1919.
- Memories.*
Lord Fisher. London. 1919.
- The Origins of the World War.*
Sidney B. Fay. New York. 1932.
- Fifty Years of Europe.*
J. A. Spender. London. 1933.
- Bismarck and the World War.*
Brandenburg. London. 1933.
- Kaiser William II.*
Emil Ludwig. London. 1926.
- His Excellency the Spectre: the Life of Fritz von Holstein.*
Joachim von Kurenborg. London. 1933.

GENERAL WORKS

- History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century.*
Treitschke. London. 1919.
- Histoire Générale de IVe Siècle à Nos Jours.*
Lavissee et Rambaud. Paris.
- History of Modern Europe.*
C. A. Fyffe. London. 1892.
- British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901.*
G. M. Trevelyan. London. 1922.

INDEX

- Abyssinia, 450
 Adams, C. F., 349 (n)-50
 Adams, J. T., 277
 Adams, J. Q., 291, 300, 306
 Africa, partition of, 448 *seq.*; Congo Free State, 450-56; Berlin Conference (1884), 451; German participation in, 456-59; British South-Africa, 464-75
 Agrarian democrats, 389
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of (1818), 48
 Alexander I, emperor of Russia, and European leadership, 13; intrigues with Talleyrand, 21; childhood, 22-23; and Catherine the Great, 22-23; marriage, 23; assassination of Tsar Paul, 24; his sister Catherine, 24, 51; character of, 24, 54-55; and Napoleon, 25-26; and Queen Louise, 25; and conquest of Finland, 26; at Congress of Vienna, 27 *seq.*; and the constitution of Poland, 31; his liberalism, 31-32, 47; interview with Talleyrand, 32-33; attitude to religion, 43 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*, 55; and Baroness Krüdener, 44, 47; and the Holy Alliance, 45 *seq.*; Metternich's ascendancy over, 47; reactionary policy of, 47, 49 *seq.*; cruelty of, 49; opposes Greek independence, 52; and Arakcheev, 53-54; admiration for Bentham, 107; 188, 483, 491
 Algenciras, conference of, 503
 Alsace-Lorraine, 430, 436, 443, 483, 490
 America, United States of, railways in, 157, 341, 344-55, 379-82, 440; Cobdenism in, 163; democracy in, 259 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*, 355; constitution of, 268-69, 285, 301, 306; Federalism in, 271, 306, 337; Western expansion in, 274-90; North-west of, 277-78, 307, 325 *seq.*; Indian warfare in, 277-80; education in, 286-88; Civil Service in, 299-300; banking in, 301-3; slavery in, 306 *seq.*, 342; Republican party, 314-15, 342-43; Democratic party, 314-15, 332, 334; "South" v. "North," 308 *seq.*; Civil War in, 320, 323, 336 *seq.*; oil in, 357 *seq.*; steel in, 370 *seq.*, 435, 438; Japanese relations with, 477; 141-43, 156, 166, 448, 483, 507, 509
American Notes, 311
 Angra Pequena, 458
 Anti-Corn Law agitation, 150
 Anti-Corn Law League, 147
Anti-Dühring, 217
 Arakcheev, Russian minister, 53
 Armaments, 439, 480, 487
 Arnim, Count, 487
 Arnold, Matthew, 375
 Association of ideas, 110-11
 Augustenburg, duke of, 425-26
 Austen, Jane, 75
 Austerlitz, battle of, 25
 Austria, and German unity, 425-27; and Francis Joseph, 499; favoured by Q. Victoria, 500; 483, 502. *See also* Francis I
 Bain, *James Mill*, 200 (n)
 Bakunin, and Marx, 214-16; 396
 Baring-Gould, S., 139 (n)
 Barnard, U.S. judge, 349-50
 Bassett, 283 (n), 291 (n)
 Beard, C. A., 267 (n), 268, 341 (n)
 Bebel, 443

518 *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*

- Beccaria, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 106; 263
 Behaviourism, 111-12
 Bellers, J., *Proposals for raising a College of Industry etc.* (1696), 186
 Bentham, J., and R. Owen, 104; and Alexander I, 107, 110; "Panopticon," 109; "greatest happiness" principle, 112-13; friendship with James Mill, 115; conversion to democracy, 120-21; doctrine of Benthamism, 131-40; 103 *seq.*, 180, 393, 408, 449, 507
 Benthamites, *see* Philosophical Radicalism
 Bentinck, Lord W., supports democracy in Genoa, 30, 397
 Berens, L. H., 261 (n)
 Berkeley, 224
 Berlin Conference (1884), 451
 Berlin-Bagdad Railway, 440, 476
 Bernstein, 445
 Bethmann-Hollweg, 493
 Birth-control, 194
 Birth-rate, in Germany, 443; 101-2
 Bismarck, O., admiration for Byron, 392, 432; and German unity, 417-33, 457; youth of, 418-21; marriage, 422; religious attitude, 422-23; 163, 229, 357, 403, 409, 415-16, 436-37, 443-44, 446, 456-58, 483-84, 486-88, 500, 506
 Björkö, Treaty of, 491
 Blücher, General, hero of German nationalism, 37; suppresses Saxon mutiny, 37-38; letter to King Frederick Augustus, 38; desires Napoleon's death, 39
 Boers, 467, 471
 Boer War, 467, 472-74
 Bogart, E. S., 341 (n), 354, 370 (n)
 Bowers, C. G., 270 (n)
 Boxers (in China), 478
 Bright, 141, 147, 150-51, 159
 British Empire, *see* Imperialism
 Brougham, Lord 136, 199, 203
 Bryan, W. J., 267, 290
 Buchanan, 314-15, 318, 341
 Buffon, 264
 Bülow, 446, 485, 488, 490-91, 493, 499, 503
 Bull, G. S., 146
 Burdett, Sir F., 73, 123
 Burr, Aaron, 108, 295
 Busch, M., 432 (n)
 Butler, Bishop, 114
 Byron, Lord, and Whig society, 73-74; and Europe, 391-93
 Campbell-Bannerman, 474-75
 Canning, G., opposition to Metternich, 57; leader of Tory party, 68; 391
 Capitalism, and exploitation of proletariat, 218; and nationalism, 229; and surplus value, 231-32, 237; idle and working capitalist, 237-38; and monopoly, 239-41; concentration of capital, 242-43; multiplication of capitalists, 247-49, 252
 Caprivi, 437, 446
 Carlyle, T., 152-53, 399-400, 408, 415
 Carnegie, A., and steel in U.S.A., 371 *seq.*; and J. P. Morgan, 378-80; 354, 440
 Cartels, 439-41
 Cartwright, Dr., 82
 Castlereagh, character of, 18-19; and Lord Bathurst, 19; Greville's opinion of, 19; and Congress of Vienna, 27, 32; and Lord W. Bentinck, 30; urges abolition of slavery, 41; and the Holy Alliance, 47; supports Austrian reactionism, 57; 13, 89, 391
 Catherine the Great, and Tsar Alexander, 22-23; 106-7
 Cattier, Prof., 453
 Cavour, 403
 Cecil, Lord H., and British imperialism, 460-61

- Chamberlain, Joseph, 162, 472-75, 490, 501
- Channing, E., 286 (n), 298 (n)-99, 319, 323 (n), 334 (n)
- Charles X, 58
- Chartered Company (in S. Africa), 468-70
- Chartists, 134, 141-43, 144-47, 206, 207, 371, 391
- Chaumont, treaty of (1814), 48
- Child-labour, Sadler's Committee on, 88; Employment Committee (1742), 89; and Owen's bill, 182-83; advocated by Hamilton, 270; in U.S.A., 354; 85 *seq.*, 133, 160-61, 307
- China, war with England, 477; and Korea, 478; Boxer rebellion in, 478
- Chinese labour (in S. Africa), 474
- Clapham, J. H., 101 (n), 133 (n), 160, 193 (n), 200 (n), 436-37, 439
- Clark, J., and Congo rubber traffic, 454
- Cobbett, W., 187
- Cobden, R., and free trade, 149-69; 141, 147-48, 229, 389-90, 400, 413, 434
- Colé, G. D. H., *Life of Owen*, 174 (n), 184 (n)
- Coleridge, S. T., 152-53
- Combination acts, 198
- Communications, 480. *See also* Railways
- Communism, *see* Dialectical Materialism, Marx, Marxism
- Communism, "Anarchist Communism," 214, 216
- Communist Manifesto, 204, 209-10, 244
- Competition, as incentive to industry, 194; among capitalists, 196, 231-32; among wage-earners, 196, 232; in America, 339 *seq.*, 357, 380, 383, 385; and monopoly, 357 *seq.*; 128-29, 155, 158, 166, 168, 256, 508
- Congo Free State, rubber trade in, 453-56; and E. D. Morel, 454-56; 450 *seq.*
- Congo river, 450-51
- Congress of Vienna, described by Gentz, 28; slavery discussed at, 41; 18, 19, 27-42, 397, 481
- Co-operative Magazine, The*, 200
- Co-operative movement, 200-1
- Corn laws, 125, 133, 147, 160
- Corporations, 356, 357
- Credit, 302
- Crevey, on Buckingham Palace, 69; on Lord Holland, 69, 71-72; on Lady Holland, 72
- Crimean War, 150-52, 160, 400 428
- Dalton, J., 178
- Darwin, C., 167; Darwinism, 395
- Dawson, W. H., 441 (n)-43 (n), 458 (n)
- Debs, E. V., 367
- De Beers, 467, 469
- Declaration of Independence, in U.S.A., 262, 265, 267
- Delbrück, 437
- Delcassé, 483, 503
- Denmark, 425-26, 500
- Democracy, conversion of Bentham to, 120-21; and the Benthamites, 133-35; in England, 141-47; in America, 259 *seq.*
- Deutsche Bank, 440
- Dewey, 221
- Dialectical Materialism, meaning of, 217; economics and history, 217-18; inevitability of Socialism, 218; objectivity of historical conflicts, 219; the theory examined, 220-30; pragmatic character of Marx's materialism, 220-24; and nineteenth century optimism, 224-26; revolution and state immobility, 226; and metaphysics, 226-27; "economic causation," 227-30

- Diamonds, 465-66
 Dickens, C., 140, 310-11
 Disraeli, B., and colonial expansion, 449; 61, 145, 147, 152-53, 415, 431
 Division of labour, 165
 Dogger Bank incident, 491, 493
 Dorchester labourers, 191
 Doubleday, 142
 Douglas, U.S. senator, and slavery-debates with Lincoln, 331-35; 316, 320
 Dred Scott case, 315-17, 333, 383
 Drew, 347-49, 352, 464
 Dreyfus case, 503
 Dumont, disciple of Bentham, 107

 Ebert, first President of German Republic, 408
 Economics, and politics, 207; economic causation in history, 217-18; 219, 227-28
Economist, 133
 Education, and the Benthamites, 135-36; in America, 286-88; 100, 480
 Edward VII, anti-German sentiment of, 500-1; 452, 485, 499
 Egypt, 449
Emancipate your Colonies, etc. (1793), 136
 Enclosures, 77-78
 Engels, F., his knowledge of British industrialism, 205; friendship with Marx, 207-8, 211-13; and the Communist Manifesto, 209; and Dialectical Materialism, 217-19, 222
 England, favours "principle of legitimacy," 32; opposes slave trade, 41, 307; industrialism in, 65; influence of aristocracy, 65, 67 *seq.*; political parties, 67 *seq.*; enemy of France, 68; country life in, 75 *seq.*; classes in, 76, 82; rural wage-earners in, 76-81; *laissez-faire* in, 132; democracy in, 141 *seq.*; free-trade in, 148-
- England (*continued*)
 69, 343; Commercial treaty with Napoleon III, 162; and U.S. cotton trade, 323; nationalism in, 395-96; and imperialism, 449, 460-64; expansion in Africa, 458, 464-75; foreign policy of, 481, 502-3; and Modern Europe, 480 *seq.*; entente with France (1904), 484, 501; entente with Russia (1907), 479, 501
 Erfurt, meeting of Napoleon and Alexander I at, 21, 25
 Erie railroad scandal, 347-52, 379, 464
 Eugenics, 169
 Eulenburg, Count P., 486, 488-89
 Everatt, 107 (n)
 Exeter, Bishop of, 192

 Factories, child-labour in, 85-89, 148; and the Factory Acts, 148, 159-60; Fielden's test, 87
 Fashoda, 473
 Ferdinand I, suppresses rebellion in Naples, 49
 Feuerbach, 206, 220
 Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, 404, 408; and German nationalism, 404-14, 415
 Fielden's factory test, 87
 Finance, in U.S.A., 379 *seq.*
 Fisher, English admiral, 494
 Fisk, 347-49, 352, 380-81
 Flagler, 360, 362-63
 Flynn, J. T., 357 (n), 362 (n), 366 (n)
 Follitt, Dr., 136
 Food riots, 79
 Fort Dearborn (Chicago), 279-80
 Fourier, 204, 207, 242
 France, nationalism in, 396; war with Prussia, 429-30; and the partition of Africa, 450, 455-56, 473; in China, 478-79, 481; hostility to Germany, 483-84, 503; entente with Russia (1891), 487, 490; entente with England, 492, 484, 501,

France (*continued*)

- 503; Dreyfus case in, 503; 504. *See also* Napoleon I and III, Talleyrand
 Francia, Dr., 153
 Francis I, of Austria, and Napoleon I, 1; character of, 1-2; and the Holy Alliance, 45; support of Metternich, 56
 Francis Ferdinand, Archduke, 499
 Francis Joseph, of Austria, 499
 Frederick, Empress, 484, 486, 500
 Frederick the Great, 409, 457
 Frederick William III, king of Prussia, and Napoleon, 14; and the Holy Alliance, 45; 13, 418
 Free-trade, 148 *seq.*; 449
 Freedom, attitude of Liberals toward, 393-94; attitude of Philosophical Radicals toward, 393, 395
 Frere, Sir B., 465
 Frick, 376-77
 Friedland, battle of, 25

- Gammage, 142 (n), 143
 Garibaldi, 396, 403, 432
 Garrison, W. L., *The Liberator*, 312-13
 Gary, E. H., 379-80, 384
 Gates, John W., 377
 Gaulden, W. B., defends slavery, 322
 Genoa, 29, 397
 Gentz, Austrian minister, and Congress of Vienna, 28, 54; opposes popular sovereignty, 36; 19
 George III, 14, 289
 George, Henry, 239
German Ideology (1845-46), 219
 Germany, nationalist movement in, 35-40, 59, 396, 404-43; and "Jacobinism," 35; romantic movement in, 37; Zollverein, 162-64, 166; Liberalism in, 403 *seq.*, 443; Bismarck and German unity, 417-33; war with Austria, 426-27; war with France, 429-30; economic development of,

Germany (*continued*)

- 434 *seq.*; railways in, 436-37; iron and steel in, 438-39; electrical industry, 439-40; banks in, 440; population in, 443; Socialism in, 443-47, 502; trade-unions in, 445; and partition of Africa, 456 *seq.*, 472-74; colonial party in, 457; colonial policy of, 459; Eastern imperialism, 476-78; and Modern Europe, 483 *seq.*; Re-insurance treaty with Russia, 486-87; relations of William II with Tsar Nicholas, 489-93; navy, 485, 491-95; 155, 261. *See also* Bismarck and William II
 Gibraltar, 493
 Gladstone, W. E., and British imperialism, 460, 465; 141, 143, 147, 150, 449
 Goethe, and German nationalism, 39; 390
 Gold mines, in S. Africa, 467-71, 473
 Golitzin, Prince, 49, 51
 Gordon, 460
 Gould, J., 347-52, 361, 363, 380-81
 Great Britain, *see* England
 Great War, the, 475, 502, 504-5, 509-10
 Greece, revolt against Turkey, 52; 391
 Green, T. H., 408
 Greville, his opinion of Castlereagh, 19; at Holland House, 70, 72-73; 69, 457
 Grey, Sir E., 144, 468, 475, 483, 501-2
 Grimm, J., 411
 Halévy, E., *Thomas Hodgskin*, 236 (n); 106, 109, 137
 Hansa Towns, 415
 Hamilton, A., and Federalism in U.S.A., 271; and Jefferson, 271; 269-73, 300-1, 347, 385, 435

- Hammond, J. L. and Barbara, *The Village Labourer*, 76-79, 80; *The Town Labourer*, 87-88, 135
- Handley Page, Ltd., 248
- Harden, 489
- Hardenburg, Prussian Chancellor, 34
- Hartley, 93, 110, 111, 115, 123
- Hazlitt, W., on Bentham, 108-9
- Hegel, influence on Marx, 204-6; and Dialectical Materialism, 217, 224, 226; 402
- Heine, H., 208, 390, 410
- Helvetius, 106, 115, 123, 167
- Hendrick, B. J., 372(n), 377(n)-78(n)
- Henri, E., 441 (n)
- Heros, 459
- Herodotus, 259
- Hess, Moses, 208
- Hirst, F. W., 262 (n)
- Hitler, A., 168, 409, 441
- Hobson, J. A., 464 (n)
- Hodgskin, T., 129, 199, 236 (n)
- Holland, Lady, 72-73
- Holland, Lord, and Whig society, 60 seq.
- Holstein, Baron F. von, 487-89, 501
- Holy Alliance, text of, 45-46; part played by Alexander I, 45 seq.; 43 seq., 391
- Homestead Act (1862), 341, 372
- Hook, S., *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, 222 (n)
- House of Commons, in England, 141, 143-44
- Hülse-Haessler, Count, 486
- Hume, D., 111, 123, 198
- Hutcheson, *Inquiry concerning moral good and evil*, 106
- Hyndman, 203
- Imperialism, opposed by Benthamites, 136-37; and the partition of Africa, 448 seq.; growth of British, 460-75; in Asia, 475-79; 153, 158
- India, 137, 153, 158-59, 416, 471, 475
- Indians (in America), 277 ff., 341
- Industrialism, in England, 65, 82 seq., 132; in U.S.A., 341 seq.; in Germany, 434 seq.; 229, 256
- Inquisition, 401
- International Working Men's Association, 213-14
- Interstate Commerce Act (1887), 366
- Ireland, 79, 94, 161, 394, 398, 460; Northern *do.*, 292, 394
- Iron and steel, in U.S.A., 370 seq.; and Carnegie, 371 seq.; Bessemer process, 373-74, 438; "integration," 376; U.S. Steel Corporation, 378-79; in Germany, 438-39; Thomas-Gilchrist process, 438; 482, 509
- Italy, and nationalism, 396-403. *See also* Mazzini
- Jackson, Andrew, boyhood of, 292; legal career, 293-94; marriage, 294; military career, 295-97; U.S. President, 298-99; attack on U.S. bank, 301-3; nationalist, 303-5; and slavery, 290, 313-14, 318; 283, 290 seq., 328, 341
- James, William, 158
- Jameson, S. Afr. statesman, raid of, 472; 467, 470-72
- Japan, and trade with Europe, 477-79; and Korea, 478; Russo-Japanese war, 478, 490; and imperialist policy towards China, 478-79
- Jefferson, T., and American democracy, 259 seq., 355; *Notes on Virginia* (1782), 264; and the Declaration of Independence, 262, 265, 267, 307; and Hamilton, 271; 256, 259 seq., 291, 297, 300-1, 306-8, 323, 330, 336-38, 385
- Jevons, 129
- Jews, and German nationalism, 414; 216
- Jingoism, 154
- Johnston, Sir H. H., 451, 453-54, 459

- Jowett, Rev. B., 397
 Junkers, 437, 442, 445-46, 457
- Kathedersozialismus*, 444
 Kaunitz, 16, 18 (n)
 Kinglake, *Eothen*, 83-84
 Kipling, R., and British imperialism, 461-63; *Song of the English*, 462; *Recessional*, 462; *Voortrekker*, 463; 395
 Korea, 478
 Kossuth, and Hungarian nationalism, 60
 Kotzebue, A. F., assassination of, 56
 Kropotkin, 185, 216
 Krüdener, Baroness, becomes a Moravian, 44; her influence on Alexander I, 44-45; and the Holy Alliance, 45; 43-44, 47, 51
 Kruger, President, 471-72, 488
- Labour, 129
 Labouring classes, 135
 La Harpe, tutor to Alexander I, 23; dismissed by Catherine, 23; recalled by Alexander, 25; 29
Laisser-faire, 113, 115, 132-33, 173, 267, 403, 434, 437
 Lamsdorf, Russian minister, 491
 Landowners, 77, 81, 82, 126, 132, 142-43, 146, 148, 157, 413
 Lansdowne, Lord, 136, 501
 Lassalle, 214, 443
 Lee, Sir A., 494
 Lee, Sir S., 452 (n), 500
 Legitimacy, principle of, invented by Talleyrand, 28; definition of, 29; disowned by Genoese, 29; British attitude to, 32; Russian attitude to, 32-34; Prussian attitude to, 34; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 48; 417, 428, 505
 Lenin, 119, 223, 228, 390
 Leopold II, King of Belgium, and the Congo Free State, 451-56, 473; 451
- Liberals and Liberalism, in Europe, 390-415, 417 *seq.*; attitude to freedom, 393-94; and nationalism, 394; 504, 506; summary of Liberal doctrine, 505-6; 389-96, 491-92, 495, 509
 Liberia, 450
 Liebknecht, (senior), 410, 443
 Liebknecht, (junior), 439
 Lincoln, Abraham, and national unity, 326 *seq.*; opposition to slavery, 329 *seq.*; debates with Douglas, 331-33; Emancipation Proclamation, 336-37; 259, 278, 282, 284-85, 291, 299, 300, 310, 316-17, 325
 List, F., *National System of Political Economy* (1841), 411-12, 435-36, 457; 165
 Liverpool, Lord R. B., 27
 Livingstone, 451
 Lloyd, H. D., 366 (n)
 Lloyd George, D., 444, 474
 Lobengula, Matabele chief, 467-70
 Locke, *Essay on Human Understanding*, 139; 260, 262
 London Working Men's Association, 145; "Six points" of, 145-46
 Louis XVIII, character of, 15, 28; 13
 Lovett, W., 201
 Lovejoy, Elijah P., 313
 Lüderitz, 458
 Ludwig, E., 392 (n)
 Luther, and private judgment, 261
- Macaulay, Lord, at Holland House, 70-71; and the Indian penal code, 137
 Machinery, problems of, 183-85; and trade-unionism, 197. *See also* Mechanization
 Majijijig, 373-74
 Malthus, *Essay on Principle of Population* (1798), 94 *seq.*; neo-Malthusianism, 122, 138, 194; and Darwin, 167-68; 93, 103, 121, 123, 131, 138, 145, 150, 187, 231

- Manchester School, 158, 165-66, 168
- Mandeville, B., *Fable of the Bees*, 113
- Marie Louise, Empress, 13
- Marx, K., influences on, 204; youth of, 205-6; Paris and Socialism, 206-7; friendship with Engels, 207-9; Brussels and the Communist Manifesto, 209-10; England and poverty, 210-13; *Critique of Political Economy and Capital*, 213; the First International, 214; quarrels with Bakunin, 214-16; champion of proletariat, 216; attitude to Philosophical Radicalism, 507-8; 124, 129, 145, 154, 402, 403, 410, 443. *See also* Marxism
- Marxism, v. early Socialism, 242; politics as class conflicts, 242-44; underrates nationalism and overrates class segregation, 244-50; its appeal to class antagonism, 250-52; four important truths of, 252-53
- Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, 223
- Mazzini, G., 397-403, 407, 409
- McClellan, G. B., 361, 363
- McCulloch, 129, 150, 198
- McMaster, 286 (n)-88 (n), 320 (n)-21 (n), 334 (n)
- Mechanization, 132
- Melbourne, Lord, at Holland House, 71; 89, 191-92, 202
- Methodists, 75, 139, 152
- Metternich, birth, 15; political ideas of, 15-16; marriage, 16; attitude to religion, 16; conceit of, 16-17, 57; character of, 17-18; and Caroline Murat, 18; and Alexander I, 22; upholds "principle of legitimacy," 31; opposes German nationalism, 40, 56, 59, 409; and the Holy Alliance, 47; influence on Alex-
- Metternich (*continued*)
 ander I, 47, 52; supremacy in Europe, 57 *seq.*; opposed by Canning, 57; fall of, 60-62; meeting with Cobden, 164; 13, 391-92, 491, 506
- Mexico, 108, 275, 308, 329
- Michelet, 85
- Middle class, 148, 154
- Mill, James, described by J. S. Mill, 118-19; anti-Christian attitude of, 118, 122; and neo-Malthusianism, 121-22; and Radicalism, 123; and Darwinism, 167; 110, 115 *seq.*, 129, 133-38, 140, 150, 181, 199, 204
- Mill, J. S., 93, 116 *seq.*, 121, 124, 138, 140, 167
- Milton, J., 5, 388, 395
- Minimum wage, Whitbread's bill for, 79
- Mirabeau, 107, 144
- Missionaries, in Africa, 454, 458; 460-61
- Missouri Compromise, 308, 314
- Moldavia and Wallachia, 25, 26
- Moltke, 427, 429
- Monopoly, and combination, 196; and the source of economic power, 240-41; 128-29, 357 *seq.*, 438-39, 441, 509
- Morals, of the Benthamites, 137-39
- Morel, E. D., and Congo reform, 454-56; 451 (n), 453 (n)-55, 468 (n)
- Morgan, J. P., and A. Carnegie, 376-79; and U.S. Steel Corporation, 378-79, 383-84; as a financier, 379 *seq.*; and U.S. railway development, 380-82; European connection of, 379-82, 483; 341-42, 352, 505
- Morgan, J. S., 379
- Morley, J., 141, 164 (n), 371
- Morocco, 492, 498, 503
- Motley, 419
- Murat, Caroline, 18
- Murat, King of Naples, 31

- Mussolini, 401
 Myers G., 342
- Napoleon I, and Alexander I, 25-26; Whig support for, 68; and *laissez-faire*, 132; 13 *seq.*, 27, 182, 390, 396
- Napoleon III, negotiates commercial treaty with England, 162; 428, 430
- Nationality (and nationalism), principle of, 35; Prussian support of, 35; rise in Germany, 56, 59, 404-33; development in Europe, 59-60, 394 *seq.*, 481; Hungarian support of, 59-60; and the Great War, 504; and Marxism, 229, 244-47; 153-54, 392, 506
- Nazis, 153
- Negroes, legal position of, in U.S.A., 315-17, 329
- Neo-Malthusianism, 122, 138, 187
- Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, 58, 181
- Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia, and William II, 489-93; and Russian despotism, 495-96; Tsarina's influence upon, 495, 497-98
- Nicolay and Hay, 278, 282-83 (n), 286 (n), 300 (n), 304 (n), 309, 312-13 (n), 327, 329 (n), 336 (n)-37 (n)
- Niekerk, S. van, 465-66
- Nietzsche, 153
- Norris, *The Octopus*, 355
- Oil, in U.S.A., 357, 360 *seq.*; in Persia, 476
- Orange River, 449
- Organization, and the factory, 173; necessity for, 185; and scientific experts, 250; 385, 480, 508-9, 510
- Origin of Species* (1859), 167
- Ostend Manifesto, 318
- Owen, R., pioneer of Socialism, 173-74; rise to wealth, 174-78; employer at New Lanark, 179-
- Owen, R. (*continued*)
 82; *New View of Society*, 181; and social reform, 182-90; New Harmony experiment, 189-90 and trade unionism, 200-203 idealism of, 190-93; importance of, 193-95; religious attitude, 174-75, 176, 187; his self-confidence, 179; views on education, 181, 189; views on marriage, 191; views on agriculture, 174, 185; 104, 129, 145-46, 389, 507
- Owen, R. D., 104, 286, 342
- Palmerston, Lord, 137, 147, 150, 153-54, 156, 425, 500
- Panics, 374
- Panopticon, 109-10, 120
- Paris, treaty of, 27
- Parish relief, 78-80, 85
- Patents, 128
- Patriotism Ltd.*, 244 (n)
- Paul, Emperor of Russia, 22-24; assassination of, 24; 25
- Pavlov, 111
- Peacock, T. L., *Melincourt*, 63, 97, 185
- Peasants' Revolt, 261
- Peel, Sir R. (senior), 86, 182
- Peel, Sir R. (junior), 160
- Perry, Commodore, 477
- Persia, partition of, 476
- Philosophical Radicalism, and Bentham, 103 *seq.*; its economic principles, 131-32; political creed, 132-33; and *laissez-faire*, 132-33; attitude to morality, 137-38; and Darwinism, 167-69; and the Civil Service, 299; and freedom, 393, 395; and Mazzini, 400; and Treitschke, 411-12; summary of, 506-7; 93 *seq.*, 103, 121, 123, 141-43, 148, 198, 204, 256, 260, 389-90, 400, 403, 435, 450
- Philosophy, and politics, 206-7; and social change, 219

526 *Freedom and Organization, 1814-1914*

- Photius, Archimandrite, 52, 54
 Pierce, 318
 Pitt, W., 197
 Pius IX, 164
 Place, F., 105, 122-23, 132, 138, 166, 185, 198-99
 Plomer, W., 468
 Podmore, *Robert Owen, a Biography*, 174 (n), 190
 Poincaré, 483, 503
 Poland, government by Alexander I, 31
 Poor Law, 78-81, 86, 96, 131, 142, 145-46
 Population, Malthusian theory of, 95 *seq.*; in Germany, 443; 101, 122, 131
 Priestley, J., 110, 112
 Prince Regent, 13-14
 Production and exchange, and historical development, 217-18; changes unexplained by Marx, 230
 Property, Locke's doctrine of, 236; 133
 Proudhon, 207
 Prussia, *see* Germany
 Public Health Act (1848), 133
 Public ownership, of railways in Germany, 436; 356, 366, 386

 Quaife, M. M., 378 (n)-79 (n)

 Radicalism, *see* Philosophical Radicalism
 Radicals, middle-class, 194, 198, 200, 203
 Railways, in U.S.A., 157, 341, 344-56, 361, 367, 369, 379-82, 440; in Germany, 436-37
 Rapp, G., and Rappites, 186, 189-90
 Rasputin, 497-98
 Reform Act (1832), 133, 144-45
 Rent, Ricardo's theory of, 124 *seq.*
Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848, 245
 Revolution, Marxist theory of, 209-10, 218, 243-44, 252
 Revolution in Russia, 228
 Revolution, of 1848, 210, 243
 Rhodes, C., and South Africa, 465-75; at Oxford, 466; religious belief of, 466-67; mining interests, 467; Chartered Co. of S. Africa, 468-70, 472; 395, 461
 Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817), 124 *seq.*; theory of rent, 124-26, 132, 149; theory of value, 126-30; 114, 115, 124 *seq.*, 131, 187, 199, 204, 231, 235
 Rochdale Pioneers, 202
 Rockefeller, F., 362
 Rockefeller, J. D., and Standard Oil Co. of America, 360 *seq.*; 357 *seq.*, 376, 379, 440
 Rockefeller, W. A., 358
 Roosevelt, T., 360, 383-85
 Rotten boroughs, 143-44
 Rousseau, J. J., 390-91
 Rubber, in Congo Free State, 452-55
 Rudd, 468-9
 Rühle, O., *Karl Marx*, 205 (n), 214
 Ruskin, J., 461
 Russell, B., 476 (n), 478 (n)
 Russell, Lord J., 68, 69, 136, 144, 500
 Russia, Eastern imperialism of, 478-79; Russo-Japanese war, 478, 490; entente with England, 479; Re-insurance treaty with Germany, 486-87; entente with France, 487; revolution of 1905, 502; revolution of 1917, 228; 107, 156, 300, 437, 475-76, 483, 502. *See also* Alexander I, Catherine the Great, Nicholas II

 Saint Simon, 204, 207, 242
 Salisbury, Lord, 473, 500
 Sandeman, 59 (n)
 Schleswig-Holstein, 425, 427, 500
 Schools, Whitbread's Bill for elementary, 135
 Scott, President of Pennsylvania Railroad, 368-69, 372-73

- Schwab, 377
Secret International, the, 244 (n)
 Seeley, *Expansion of England*, 461
 Servants' Ordinance, in Germany, 442
 Shaftesbury, Lord, 148, 160
 Shelley, *Ode to Liberty*, 48; disowned by Whigs, 74; 12, 255, 391
 Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890), 366, 383
 Siberian Railway, 478
 Simpson, F. A., 410 (n)
 Slave trade, 41, 307, 450
 Slavery, in United States, 282-83, 306 *seq.*; and the Missouri Compromise, 308-10, 314-15, 317, 330-31, 334; fugitive slaves, 310-13, 335; abolition movement, 312 *seq.*, 329; slave law, 314-17, 335; and the Nebraska policy, 317, 330, 332; and Lincoln, 329 *seq.*; and the Dred Scott case, 315-17, 333, 383; 41, 263, 450
 Slavs, and nationalism, 245-46, 490, 499, 502, 505
 Sleeping sickness, 451, 453
 Smith, Adam, and free-trade, 165; *Wealth of Nations* (1776), 93, 435; 93-94, 100, 125, 412, 435
 Smith, J. E., 202
 Socialism, and Ricardo's theory of value, 127; in France, 204, 207, 503; in Germany, 443-47; in England, *see* Owen; 129, 145, 153, 436, 507-8. For Marxist Socialism *see* Marx and Dialectical Materialism. *See also* State Socialism.
 Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 136
 South-Africa, *see* Africa
 South Improvement Co., 361-62, 364, 367
 Southey, R., 187
 "Speenhamland," 78-80
 Spence, T., and land nationalization, 186-87
 Spencer, Herbert, 167, 239, 371
 Spoils system, 298-99
 Stanley, 451
 State Socialism, 444, 451
 Steam Intellect Society, 136
 Stein, Prussian minister, 34, 409
 Stephens, Vice-Pres. U.S.A., defends slavery, 322
 Suez Canal, 394, 449
 Suffrage, 134, 142, 146-47, 443; in America, 285
 Sumner, U.S. senator, 319-20
 Surplus value, theory of, 231-33; and Marxian theory of economics, 233-35; arithmetical illustration of, 236-37; effects of, 238-39; and monopoly of land and credit, 239-40
 Sydney, Algernon, 262
 Syndicates, 441
 Taft, U.S. president, 384
 Talleyrand, birth, 20; early life, 20; Bishop of Autun, 20; in England, 20; in America, 20; French foreign minister, 20-21; and Congress of Vienna, 27; and "principle of legitimacy," 28-29; supports Neapolitan monarchy, 31; interviews Alexander I, 32-33; views on German nationalism, 35; 13, 18, 136
 Tammany, 347
 Tangier, 485
 Technique, in industry, 356, 357, 448, 505, 508-9
 Tecumseh, 280
 Ten Hours Bill, 161
 Tennyson, Lord, and the Crimean War, 151-53
 Thompson, W., 129
 Thyssen, 441
 Tilsit, Peace of, 14, 25
Times, The, 186, 188, 198
 Tirpitz, Admiral von, 493-95
 Tocqueville, A. de, 276, 281
 Tories, in nineteenth century, 67, 146

- Tractarians, 152-53
 Trade-Unions, opposed by Cobden, 161; early history of, 196-203; persecution of, 197; and machinery, 197; and the Philosophical Radicals, 198; influenced by Owen and Socialism, 199-202; cyclical growth and decay, 202-3; in America, 354; in Germany, 445; 145, 166, 480
 Treaty ports, 477
 Treitschke, *History of Germany*, 410; 40, 164, 410 ff., 457-58
 Triple Alliance, the, 489, 501
 Trollope, Mrs. F., 284
 Troppau and Laibach, Congress of (1820), 48
 Trotha, Gen. von, 459
 Tucker, 263, 300 (n)
 Turkey, Greek revolt against, 52; defeated at Navarino, 58; and British imperialism, 449; 25, 440, 475
 Tweed ring, 347
 United States of America, *see* America
 Utilitarianism, 114, 119, 139-40, 400
 Value, Ricardo's theory of, 126-30; labour theory of, 189, 231; and price, 233; Marx's ethical conception of, 233-35. *See also* Surplus value
 Vanderbilt, C., 344-53, 381
 Vanderbilt, W. H., 361, 369, 370, 381
 Verona, Congress of (1822), 56
 Versailles, Treaty of, 504
 Victor Emmanuel, 417, 430
 Victoria, Queen of England, and William II, 484-85; 16, 68, 191-92, 449, 460, 469, 500
 Vienna, Congress of, 58, 506
 Wages, rate of at New Lanark, 180; and markets, 189; Malthus "Iron law" of, 196, 231-32; in U.S.A., Wages (*continued*)
 354-55, 376; 79-80, 90, 131-32, 152, 160, 442. *See also* Minimum wage
 Walfish Bay, 458
 Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, 198 (n), 199 (n)
 Walpole, Horace, 260
 Washington, George, 344, 391
 Webb, Mr. and Mrs. S., *History of Trade Unionism*, 197 (n); 196, 202
 Weber, E. von, 457
 Wellington, Duke of, opposes execution of Napoleon, 39; leader of Tory party, 68; 143
 Wheat, tariffs on, 76, 132, 161; price in U.S.A., 342; tariff in Germany, 446
 Whigs, in nineteenth century, 68 *seq.*; and Lord Holland, 69 *seq.*; and Lord Byron, 73; and Shelley, 74; 144
 Whitbread, 135
 Whitman, Walt, 259
 Whitney, 307
 Wilberforce, W., and child-labour, 42
 William I, German Emperor, 423 ff.
 William II, German Emperor, and Kruger telegram, 472; hatred of England, 484, 490, 492-93, 501; vanity of, 484-86; influence on Nicholas II, 489-93; attitude to France, 491-93; and German navy, 485, 492-95, 501; 444, 483 *seq.*, 498-99, 505
 Williams, B., 467 (n), 473 (n)
 Winkler, J. K., 382 (n)
 Winstanley, 261
 Women, votes for, 121, 134, 285; their civilizing influence in U.S.A., 284-85, 287; rights of married women, 285
 Working class, the, and the Reform Bill, 145
 Zaharoff, Sir B., 482
 Zollverein, 162-63, 415, 428, 437