

A MODERN HISTORY FOR SOUTH AFRICANS

BY
ERIC A. WALKER.



MASKELL MILLER, LIMITED
CAPE TOWN

**A MODERN HISTORY FOR
SOUTH AFRICANS**

By the same Author.

“Historical Atlas of South Africa.”

**“Lord de Villiers and His Times.
South Africa 1842-1914.”**

**“A History of England”
(*Williams and Walker.*)**

A MODERN HISTORY
FOR
SOUTH AFRICANS

BY

ERIC A. WALKER, M.A. (OXON.)

Professor of History in the University of Cape Town



MASKEW MILLER, LIMITED

CAPE TOWN

PREFACE.

THIS book is called A MODERN HISTORY FOR SOUTH AFRICANS because it is an attempt to show South African history in its proper setting as part of the history of Western Civilisation. Had I been asked to write a modern history, I should have had to content myself with a very much shorter account of the history of South Africa ; had I been writing a purely South African history, I should have merely referred to the history of the outer world in passing. As it is, considerably more than one-half of this book deals with Europe, the British Empire, the U.S.A., Japan, and so on, but throughout I have tried to keep all in touch with South Africa. At each stage I have given the general history first and have then written a chapter giving the South African history of that period in greater detail. In the chapters dealing with general history I have, wherever possible, used South African instances to illustrate general statements and, in the chapters on South African history, I have sought for parallels to South African events and movements in other parts of the world.

The book covers the ground marked out in the Matriculation syllabus. For the convenience of those who may wish to study any subject mentioned in that syllabus, I have drawn up a special table of references (*vide* p. 467). There are also subject-headings in the text and the usual general index.

At the end of each chapter I have given a short list of the books, portions of books and maps which I found most useful in writing that chapter. There are, however, a few books to which only general reference is made in those lists because, between them, they cover the whole period. These are, for general history, the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vi—xii and the volume of maps, and, for the South

African History, Theal's *History of South Africa* (from the beginning to 1872), Cory's *Rise of South Africa* (1820-46), and my own *Political History of South Africa* (from the beginning to 1924) which is due to appear early in 1927.

Dates have been banished as far as possible to the table at the end of the book. That table shows South African and general events in parallel columns so that the reader may see at a glance the connection between the two. The table includes only such events as are mentioned in the text. It is merely given for the sake of clearness and convenience. I trust that no one will try to memorise the whole of it.

I have drawn the maps specially to suit the book and, again, have shown only such names and other details as are mentioned in the text.

One last word. The great political and social ideas which men have sought to carry into effect from time to time since the middle of the eighteenth century play a large part in this book. Necessarily so, for it is these ideas which give meaning and unity to the details of the story. I have endeavoured to deal with Liberalism, Nationalism, Imperialism, Socialism, and the rest as historical facts without showing my preference for any one of them, still less with any intention of recommending any one of them as the cure for our "present discontents." To press forward a particular idea is the duty of a propagandist; meanwhile, I have tried to write a history.

ERIC A. WALKER.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

September, 1926.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE beginning any piece of work it is well to understand the nature of it. History is not a mere collection of dates and facts any more than a pile of bricks and timber is a house. Dates and facts are the raw material without which there can be no history, but they are nothing more. History is the result of the handling of that material just as a house is the result of arranging the bricks and beams in a certain way.

Take, for instance, a few of the chief facts connected with the life of the great Napoleon. In 1785 Napoleon was a lieutenant in the Royal French artillery. In 1795 he fired on a mob in the streets of Paris; in 1796 he led a Revolutionary army into Italy; in 1798 he led another army into Egypt; in 1799 he became First Consul; in 1804 he became Emperor, and so it goes to the appointed end at Waterloo in 1815, each fact with its appropriate date and all of it as enlightening as an out-of-date railway timetable. Luckily history is nothing so dull as that. History begins when you start with the fact that young Napoleon was a lieutenant, and then find out how he, a Corsican by birth, came to get a commission in the French army at all, why he fired on the mob, what the cannon were like with which he fired, what the results of the cannonade were, how Napoleon came to be a general and afterwards Emperor. When you have found all that out you will be writing history and learning its first great lesson, that every event has causes behind it and results which follow it; in other words, that one thing leads to another.

And the second lesson arises out of the first. Historical facts are important to us in so far as we can see that they have had far-reaching results. That is why history is continually being rewritten. Our ideas and interests are not quite the same as those of our fathers, just as theirs were different from those of our grandfathers. So men in each generation have taken the facts of history

and have tried to rearrange them, giving the central place to those facts which have a direct bearing on the problems of their own day and pushing others, to which their fathers had given the first place, into the background. Histories of South Africa used to be written mainly to explain the growth of self-government in the Cape Colony and the quarrels of the British government and colonies with the republics. Later, men made the movement towards Union or the development of the Afrikaner people the central fact and rewrote their histories accordingly. Perhaps tomorrow men will say that the dealings of Europeans here with the half-castes, natives and Asiatics are the really important things and will study our past from that point of view. It is all history as true as the knowledge and the honesty of the writers can make it, but the general impression made on the readers by one version will be different from that made by the others. But then you cannot expect four versions of the Reformation, one written by a Catholic, another by an Anglican, the third by a Presbyterian, and the fourth by an Atheist, to look exactly alike any more than you can expect three artists and a photographer to give you four precisely similar pictures of the same thing.

The Living Past.—The whole recorded mass of facts dealing with the thoughts, fears, hopes, prejudices, instincts and acts of men is so enormous that no one man can master them. Thousands upon thousands of events are happening every day, as a glance at this morning's newspaper sufficiently proves, and so it has been in the past, a past of which we have at least some record in countries like Egypt and Mesopotamia for fully 7,000 years. It is that which makes the writing and teaching of history so difficult. Writers and teachers have first to follow out one main thread of events, cause leading to result and so on, and then take up a second thread and a third; but all the time they have to make it clear to themselves and to those to whom they are speaking that these threads have run on side by side through time, interweaving with one another to make the storied pattern of our past. Of that pattern our own lives and times are the most recent section, to be continued, let us hope, in our next. Make no mistake. We cannot break away from our past history. The past is not dead. I.

lives in each one of us if only because our parents' blood runs in our veins and their ideas and ways of life make up the homes in which we have been brought up. And so it was with them and their ancestors as far back as we can go.

Look at it in another way. If a few Englishmen had not cut off a king's head three hundred years ago, the English Parliament might never have won the powers it did win and then our Parliament Houses might never have stood at the bottom of Government Avenue in Capetown. If Robert Clive had succeeded in blowing his brains out—and he tried twice—there might have been no British rule in India and then the British would have had no need to take the Cape. Suppose that Kruger had died as a boy on the Great Trek or Rhodes of consumption as a youth, would not the history of South Africa and, therefore, our own lives and surroundings here and now have been something different from what they are? Suppose that Germany had won the Great War—but we must stop supposing.

We are concerned with what has happened and with what is happening as a result. The policeman rides through your village for good and sufficient reasons in the past as well as in the present; our city councillors are chosen and carry on the business of the city in a certain way because city councillors began to be chosen and to conduct their affairs in that way in England a hundred years ago; many South Africans bear Huguenot names because a king of France, two-and-a-half centuries ago, revoked the Edict of Nantes. There was a Cape Colony to which the Huguenots could come because van Riebeeck had founded a settlement on Table Bay in the interests of the trade of the Dutch East India Company, which had arisen mainly because a king of Spain had closed the port of Lisbon to the shipping of the Dutch who were fighting him in defence of their religion, which was the outcome of the Reformation, and of their local liberties, which had grown up in the Middle Ages when Western Europe was emerging from the Dark Ages which had followed the breakdown of the Roman Empire. That is ancient history but it is none the less very much alive to us here, in South Africa, now.

4 We are, however, not asked to study the whole of that long story. We only have to consider the last chapter of

the story of Western or European civilisation, one of the great civilisations which have flourished or still flourish in this world of ours. We can still further lighten our task by looking at that chapter mainly with a view to noting how South Africa finds a place in it. If that history is to be made real and alive to us, we must link ourselves up with it and the only way we can do that is to take South Africa as our standing ground and then look round and ask ourselves how we came to be here and, possibly, whither we are going.

No man can see into the future for any distance but all men can look back and take their bearings. Unless we know whether the path we are travelling along runs straight or is trailing away to one side or the other, we are lost as completely as if we were in the mist of Table Mountain or in the dark on the Karoo, fairly safe if we stand still but in danger if we move. Even if we obstinately try to mark time, we are in danger of being run into from behind. For we have neighbours in a world which is daily becoming more crowded, all of them travelling at varying speeds along paths which do not run, like railway lines, exactly parallel to our own. Unless we can see something of our own past tracks and of their's too, we shall be in danger of losing touch with friends or of colliding with enemies.

We of all people must grasp that fact for our land with its 1,600,000 white inhabitants lies at the southern end of a huge continent, 5,000 miles long, at one of the four corners of the earth round which much of the world's traffic, men, goods and ideas, must pass. In the Union itself we are surrounded by non-Europeans four times as numerous as ourselves: by Cape coloured men, partly European in blood and almost wholly European in ideas and way of life, by Bantu (Kaffirs) who, with few exceptions, are either still in the tribal stage or only just coming out of it, by Indians in the south-east who come from a country with a high and ancient civilisation different from our own, and in the south-west by Malays who represent the great Moslem civilisation of western Asia and north Africa. Twenty years ago there were also thousands of Chinese on the Transvaal goldmines, children of yet another rich and long-lived civilisation different from that of India or the West. Here are risks of collision in plenty if we still go on fumbling

in the dark, as we must do if we listen to those who tell us that history has no "practical" value. That is what men said of electricity in the beginning.

Western Civilisation.—But, you may say, what is a civilisation? All men have a certain way of life, a culture, some barbaric, some semi-civilised, others again civilised. Civilised cultures arise in that kind of society where great numbers of people live year in and year out on land which has to be farmed in order to give them a living. If they tried to live by hunting or grubbing for roots like Bushmen, most of them would have to trek or die and in either case their civilisation would perish. That is what has happened when civilisations have broken down. The centres of the life of these peoples have always been cities—the root meaning of our word civilisation is the same as the Latin word for city or state (*civitas*)—and those cities have always depended for their food either on the farms in their own country or on imports from abroad. That is the material or bread-and-butter definition of civilisation. But the material is only one side of the story. There must be a strong government to keep order among such masses of people, a widely held belief in the value of law and order, writing so that records may be kept and multiplied, some knowledge at least of road-building, of irrigation and of measurement. There must be something else, more important in the long run than even all these things, and that is the same general ideas of right and wrong held by the mass of the people, the same general ideas of man's relations to God or to the gods and to each other.

Our Western civilisation has all these marks. It is based on corn-farming for we are a bread-eating people unlike those Indians and Chinese who depend mainly on rice. It centres round cities, big or little, as much as did the civilisation of the ancient Greeks and Romans of which it is the descendant. Western civilisation is soaked in Christian ideas which spring mainly from the beliefs of the Jews and Greeks and have reached us through the organising power of Rome. Its notions of law and order are Roman, for it was Rome that taught western Europe what law and government were. It owes its conception of citizenship to the Greeks.

The ancient Greeks came to the conclusion that men did not live simply to make the state, still less the government of the state, rich and strong, but that the state existed to enable the citizens to live "the good life." What is more, the city (the state) was not a mere collection of buildings but the whole body of citizens. Whether the citizens were all the free men of the state, a democracy, or only a small part of them, an oligarchy, the fact remained that they were responsible to each other for the defence and the well-being of the state. All must take a share in making the law which all must then obey because they had agreed that the law was reasonable and just. Of course the Greeks did not live up to their ideals any more than we live up to ours, but the ideal at which they aimed marked a great revolution in politics. For outside their little cities men had to obey the law simply because it *was* the custom of the tribe into which they happened to have been born or adopted, or else they obeyed a divinely-appointed king who interpreted a code dictated by their god whose mouthpiece he was, "the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."¹

Lastly, our idea of personal freedom, the idea that a man's house is his castle, comes to us in great part from the Germanic peoples who came into the Roman Empire in the days of its decay either as slaves, mercenary troops or conquerors.

Importance of Political History.—It is above all this way of looking at things which makes Western or European Civilisation one thing, distinct from other civilisations, past and present. Men have tried and are still trying to express that point of view, more or less consciously, in their business arrangements, their law and machinery of government, and in their working of the government. Hence, in looking at the facts which record those various attempts, we can study them either as Economic or as Constitutional or as Political history.

The economic historian tells us, essentially, how men have made their livings, why taxes have sometimes been levied on land, or on imported or exported goods, or

¹ Tribal law holds good to-day in most parts of Africa and the Pacific Islands; divine monarchy is still the rule in Moslem North Africa and large parts of Asia.

on incomes, why some nations have tried to protect home industries and others have relied on free trade, how and why trade unions and trusts have grown up, what the effects of inventions have been on trade and manufacture and, therefore, on the general life of the community concerned.

The constitutional historian first and foremost sets out to tell us why we, for instance, have a Governor-General, a cabinet, two Houses of Parliament, municipal and divisional councils and so on, how they have grown up, what their powers are, what their relations are to one another, why it is that you may say or write anything you like provided you do not libel anybody, why, if you do, you cannot be kept in prison indefinitely without a trial, and what are the legal and moral principles on which all these liberties and restrictions are founded.

The political historian makes it his main business to show what civilised men have done in their public capacities either as rulers or ruled, that is, as members of states.¹ He looks at communities acting through their governments and ambassadors or, when the ambassadors fail, through their armies and navies; he shows how far the government tried to control bodies within the state like the church or the schools and universities or its business men and labour organisations, and how these bodies have reacted against these attempts. Charters and treaties, Acts of Parliament and royal proclamations, general elections and rebellions, battle, murder and sudden death must play a large part in political history, for these are the ways in which men show themselves for all the outer world to see. Political history is the history of the state as such, of the polis (which is merely the Greek for the Latin *civitas*), the body of citizens acting as a body of citizens and not in their private capacities as lawyers or men in search of their daily bread.

¹ A "State" is a number of people divided into two groups, the ruler or rulers and the ruled, who live upon a definite territory (a captain and crew of a ship are not a state). That territory need not all be in one piece (Robben Island and the Guano Islands are still parts of the state of the Union, and before 1866, the state of Prussia was scattered in seventy pieces across Germany) but it must be under one sovereign government, that is, a government which owes no obedience to any earthly superior and which has an unlimited right to the lives and goods of all its subjects in case of need. That is the theory but, in practice, many states have been recognised as sovereign which have been legally limited as, for instance, Belgium, which was a neutral-state up to 1914 bound not to make war unless it were attacked. In theory again, the British Dominions are not sovereign but practically they are.

Political history supplies the framework into which economic and constitutional history can most conveniently be fitted. It is therefore well to study it first.

At the same time, political history is unintelligible unless we take note of the economic and constitutional facts which underlie it. The political historian need not fall in with the wishes of young Peterkin to "tell us all about the war." That is a matter for the military historian. But if he is to tell us "what they fought each other for," he will soon find himself asking questions about constitutional matters. What sort of constitutional control had anyone over Bismarck? How was it that he was free to make the wars which he judged to be necessary to secure the union of the German states in the German Empire? Still more certainly will he find himself asking economic questions. How far did the Anglo-Bourbon wars of the eighteenth century, how far did the war of 1914, arise out of commercial and financial rivalries? Similarly, how far did the troubles of Charles I with his Parliament arise out of the fact that he was in real need of money wherewith to carry on the government of the state because, for a variety of causes, the purchasing power of money was falling? The three main kinds of history cannot be kept separately in watertight compartments but, for our purpose, the political kind is the most important and we must only turn to the others when we have to do so.

ERRATA.

Page 86. Line 5 from bottom. For 1770 read 1774, and
for Commandant-general read field-commandant.

Page 94. Line 8. For High Court read High Court and
Council of Policy.

Page 97. Line 30. For declared read virtually declare

Page 295. Line 17. After expenditure insert full stop
Delete and and insert Finally he decided.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
INTRODUCTION	v
SECTION I.	
CHAPTER	
I. REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS	1
II. REVOLUTIONS WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1763-1800	24
III. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789-1802	46
IV. THE CAPE COLONY, 1775 (<i>circa</i>)-1796	69
V. THE EMPEROR AND THE KINGS, 1802-23 (<i>circa</i>)	100
VI. THE END OF THE OLD ORDER IN THE CAPE COLONY, 1795-1825	120
SECTION II.	
VII. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION	144
VIII. LIBERALISM, NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM	162
XI. LIBERALISM OUTSIDE EUROPE, 1830-60 (<i>circa</i>)	184
X. LIBERALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1825-56	215
XI. NATIONAL STATES, 1852-72	260
XII. BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1854-72	288
SECTION III.	
XIII. IMPERIALISM, 1872-1905	308
XIV. GOLD AND RAILWAYS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1872- 1902	345
XV. THE COMING OF THE GREAT WAR	373
XVI. THE UNION CONSTITUTION	405
XVII. POST-WAR PROBLEMS	433
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	457
TABLE OF REFERENCES COVERING MATRICU- LATION SYLLABUS	467
INDEX	469

LIST OF MAPS.

NO.	PAGE
1. EUROPE <i>circa</i> 1763	6
2. NORTH AMERICA <i>circa</i> 1791	41
3. FRANCE AND HER DEPENDENT STATES <i>circa</i> 1799	64
4. CAPE COLONY, 1775-1825	76
5. NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE <i>circa</i> 1810	104
6. LATIN AMERICA, 1825	118
7. INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN .	155
8. THE WORLD <i>circa</i> 1815	189
9. AUSTRALASIA, 1850-84	203
10. CENTRAL EUROPE, 1859-71	265
11. NORTH AMERICA, 1861-73	278
12. SOUTH AFRICA, 1854-72	291
13. THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA	325
14. THE SCRAMBLE FOR CHINA AND THE PACIFIC, 1895-1905	335
15. SOUTHERN AFRICA <i>circa</i> 1895	360
16. THE BERLIN-BAGHDAD RAILWAY SCHEME . .	394
17. BALKAN PENINSULA, 1878-1914	399
18. BRITISH INDIA	450

SECTION I.

CHAPTER I.

REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS.

Plan of the Period, 1763–1823.—Politically, the Peace of Paris (1763) marks the end of one period of European history and the beginning of the next. Treaties which are something more than mere truces serve very well as such dividing lines. They settle issues which have agitated states up to that point and if, as they often do, they raise other issues, those issues are at least new and mark out the period that follows as different from that which has gone before. The Peace of Paris was such a treaty. It fixed the balance of power which held good in Europe till the outbreak of the French Revolution a quarter of a century later; it gave Great Britain control of all that really counted in North America and on the high seas, and left her the only strong European power in India. It also recognised that two new Powers from the north-east had henceforward to be reckoned with: the military monarchies of Prussia and Russia.

But politics is not all. At about this time French political and economic philosophy was gathering strength and, in England, the Industrial Revolution was stirring. It is those two forces more than any others which have transformed the world of 1763 into the world that we know. 1763 or thereabouts (for we cannot divide history precisely into periods) marks the beginning of really modern or contemporary history.

Both those great forces are still at work—discussions on the Indian Question or the Colour Bar and the arrival of aeroplanes from London tell you that—but it was the French Philosophy which at first had more effect than the British Industrial Revolution. That Philosophy went far

to seat enlightened despots on the thrones of Europe, to produce the War of American Independence (1775-83) which called the United States into being as a sovereign power, and the great French Revolution (1789-1815) which turned all Europe upside down so thoroughly that, after the fall of Napoleon, all the Kings' horses and all the Kings' men and not even the Emperor of All the Russias could put it together again quite as it had been before. Much political and social rubbish was swept away by the French Revolutionists and by Napoleon, and a great idea was launched upon the Western world: the idea of Liberalism. It was repressed as far as might be by the restored governments but, by the end of our first period, it was struggling to the surface. Meanwhile, the Spanish and the Portuguese colonies in Central and South America had broken away from the parent states. The Holy Alliance of the absolute monarchs of Europe proposed to reconquer them in 1823. Thereupon Great Britain threatened to put her fleet in their way and Monroe, President of the U.S.A., published his famous "Doctrine" warning off the Powers of Old Europe from the New World.

At the same time, the Industrial Revolution was passing out of its experimental stage in Great Britain and spreading to Western Europe and even to North America. It was entering upon its second great stage and had mounted itself upon wheels. Civilised men had had to be content to move at ten miles an hour since first the horse was put at their disposal in the eighteenth century B.C. Now they began to hurtle over the earth's surface at thirty miles an hour easily. By 1823 the locomotive already promised to reduce the size of the world by two-thirds and, conversely, to make it possible to rule states three times the size of the largest in 1763. It was into this Western world-about-to-shrink that the Cape Colony was drawn.

Main Movements in Modern European History.— There have been two main movements in the political history of Western civilisation during the past five hundred years: first, the growing control of the world by Europeans and, secondly, a struggle within this expanding European society between two rival forms of government, rule by officials (bureaucracy) and rule by popular representative

assemblies. Both these movements began long before 1763, but both reached a very definite stage about that time, and since then both have gone on much faster and farther than ever before.

European Expansion.—The great expansion began in the early fifteenth century about the time that the English were fighting the French at Agincourt, and their allies, the Dukes of Burgundy, were gathering the provinces of the Netherlands into their hands, while, in the background, yellow-skinned Asiatic Tartars ruled over most of Russia and other Asiatics, the Ottoman Turks, were pressing hard on Europe from the south-east. Prince Henry the Navigator, half Portuguese, half Englishman, began one part of the mighty movement when he sent his captains down the west coast of Africa; Columbus began the other when, a little later, he found his way to the West Indies. Other Europeans followed in their wake to such purpose that to-day there is, on both sides of the Atlantic, a vast European civilisation (using the word "European" in the widest possible sense) with a long extension thrust out eastward by way of the Cape to Australia and New Zealand.

The inhabitants of Europe, North America and Australia are almost entirely European; those of South America have a very strong strain of European blood in their veins; European communities live in Africa and Asia. These Europeans in 1921 numbered some 580,000,000 or about one-third of the human race and, of this great European community, we in South Africa form part. If we look at ourselves frankly we must admit that at present we are rather a small and, certainly, an isolated part. There are about 1,600,000 of us south of the Zambesi but in all black Africa there are only 1,500,000 other white men. Old Europe with its 455,000,000 souls lies nearly 6,000 miles away to the northward, seventeen days sail by the mailboat; 6,000 miles to the north-west are the 104,000,000 of North America; to the east 5,000 miles of water separate us from the nearest of the 8,000,000 in Australasia. In between or mixed with these scattered fragments of the European family live the other two-thirds of the human race: black, brown, red and yellow men. There are 126,000,000 such in Africa. In Asia dwells half the entire human race;

319,000,000 in India, 70,000,000 in Japan and perhaps 320,000,000 in China, but we cannot be sure to within a few score millions in the case of the Chinese.

Do not try to remember all those figures. They are merely put down to show where we stand. But there is another group of figures still to be mentioned. In 1914 European governments ruled six-sevenths of the land surface of the globe, and, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Japan which had thoroughly Europeanised her methods of commerce and war, the whole of the sea. They not only ruled their own peoples but ruled, more or less directly, more than half the non-Europeans; that is, in all, more than two-thirds of the peoples of the earth, while their subjects controlled much of the trade and industry and, therefore, the lives of the remainder.

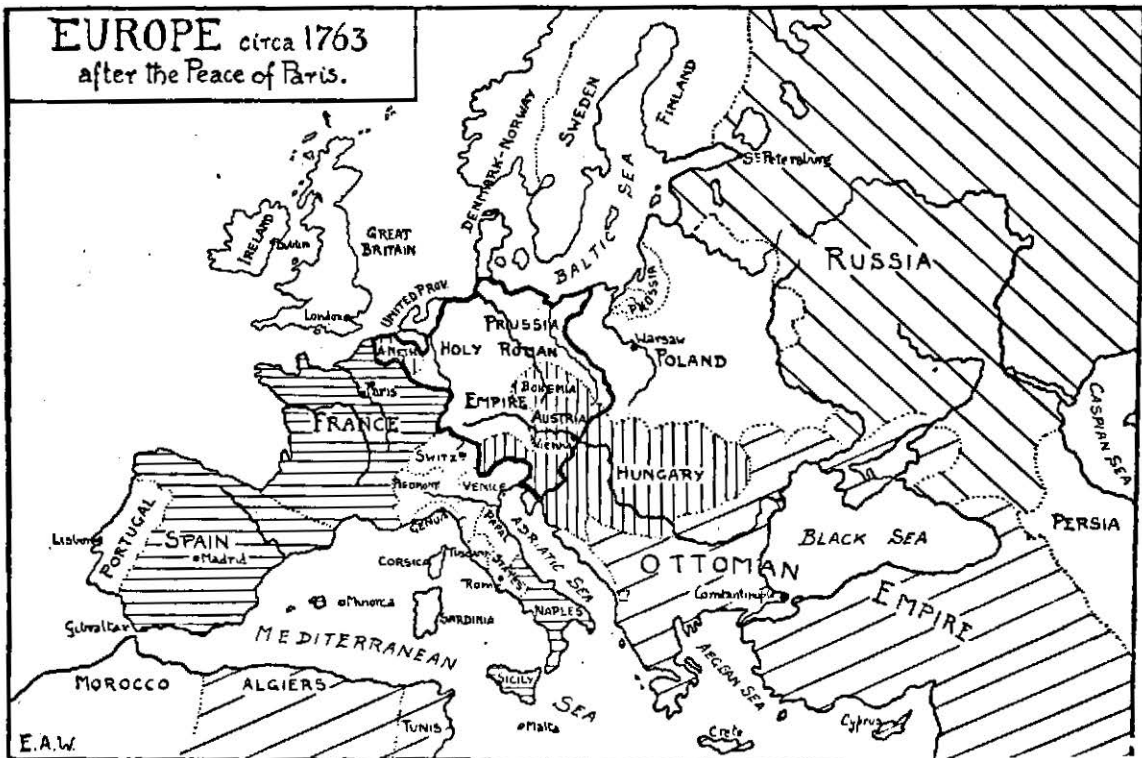
On the eve of war in 1914 the fortunes of the world were in the hands of six Powers: Great Britain with a huge empire scattered all over the world along the trade-routes, an empire varying immensely in different parts in economic and political development; France with a large new empire in Africa, southern Asia and the Pacific; Germany also with considerable dependencies in Africa and the South Seas; Russia with a great inland empire straddling from Poland to Kamschatka and down to the borders of Persia and Afghanistan; in North America, the solid mass of the United States with island colonies in the Pacific flung out as stepping-stones to China; between the U.S.A. and the Asiatic mainland the rising island empire of Japan. The weight of population, wealth and power, however, lay with Great Britain, Germany and her ally Austria-Hungary, and the U.S.A.

In 1763 the position was far otherwise. Then, only two of these Powers were of the first class: France and Great Britain, in that order. Russia had only recently begun her career as a Western Power, Germany was a name, some 1,300,000 British subjects of many nationalities strung out from Florida to the St. Lawrence gave a mere promise of what the U.S.A. were yet to be. Japan was a land utterly closed to all foreigners save for the handful of Dutch who were allowed to live, as it were, at the tradesmen's entrance on the islet of Desima; China, under its Manchu emperors, was cut off from all but the slightest trading

contact with the West; the millions of India were in somewhat closer touch owing to the activities of the various East India Companies. Africa was a continent unknown to Europeans save for their treaty connections with the Mohammedan North and their little settlements on the Slave and Gold Coasts, at the Cape and on the Portuguese East Coast. In North America, settlement had not really gone further inland than the Alleghany mountains and the valley of the St. Lawrence; in Central and South America, the Spaniards and Portuguese claimed vast territories but their settlements were mostly near the coasts or up the river valleys and much of the interior had never even been seen by the Europeans or the half-castes of the colonies.

Europe in 1763.—The only great mass of civilised people in the world outside Asia in 1763 was in Europe itself. It was a Europe much weaker in numbers, wealth and knowledge than the Europe of 1914, for the Industrial Revolution had not yet gathered strength. It was also much smaller, for it really stopped short at the eastern boundaries of Hungary and Poland. Russians still spoke, and rightly, of “going into Europe,” and no one dreamed of regarding the dominions of the Turkish Sultan east and south of the Danube as European. The outstanding political fact in this Old Europe was the central position and the relatively enormous power of France, a strong and ancient monarchy in a large compact country facing on to two great seas and well supplied with navigable rivers which for the most part converged on the capital at Paris. Paris was a city of 700,000 souls, larger even than London, three times larger than any other European city, the capital of a country of 25,000,000 inhabitants, whose nearest neighbours, Great Britain, Spain and the Netherlands, had eight, seven and three millions respectively. Industrially France was far ahead of her rivals. Her trade and shipping were increasing faster than those of Great Britain itself. To the south lay France’s very good ally, Spain, poor, proud, conservative, and ruled by a branch of the French royal house of Bourbon under the Family Compact; and Portugal, poorer if not prouder and, by reason of her dread of the allied Bourbon Powers behind her, the docile ally of Great Britain, the rising sea-power.

EUROPE circa 1763
after the Peace of Paris.



To the north and east of France was a rubble of little states filling central Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. The Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) were subject to the far-away court of Vienna; the seven United Provinces (Netherlands) to the north, still an important financial and commercial Power, were a republican federation in process of becoming a monarchy under the head of the House of Orange who was chairman of the East India Company and, since 1747, hereditary Stadholder. From Alsace, which she had long held, and Lorraine, which she had recently absorbed, France looked across the Rhine at the confusion which bore the name of the Holy Roman Empire, a troubled land which was only just recovering from the devastation wrought by the Thirty Years' War a century before. The archdukes of Austria had for centuries born the title of Emperor and claimed to be rulers of the German states as the successors of the great Charlemagne. Their's was now merely a nominal lordship and their real strength lay in their Hapsburg family dominions: the kingdom of Bohemia, various duchies, counties and so on in the south-east of the Empire and, outside it, the kingdom of Hungary. In the north of the Empire lay the rising power of Prussia with its non-Imperial lands of Prussia proper to the east, the recognised rival now of Austria for control of the other German states. These states numbered 360, ranging from reasonably large states like Bavaria and Saxony to free cities like Bremen and Hamburg and principalities too small to be shown on any but the largest maps. To the south-west of the Empire on the French border was the Swiss Confederation, a collection of urban and rural republics, dourly defending their local liberties in their mountain valleys.

South of the Alps was what had once been Italy divided now into at least ten states. The King of Sardinia, a ruler of some importance in that he held the passes which led from France into Italy, ruled Savoy, Piedmont and the island from which he took his royal title. In the north, besides Sardinia, were the duchies of Parma, Modena and Milan and the republics of Genoa and of Venice. Both republics were fallen from their former high estate but Venice still held much of Dalmatia on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. In the centre were the duchies of Lucca and Florence and the Papal States; in the south the Kingdom

of Naples (the Two Sicilies) ruled by a member of the Spanish branch of the Bourbons, a party to the Family Compact.

Finally, on the north-western side of France was the kingdom of Great Britain and its dependent kingdom of Ireland, already the leading sea-power with a hold on the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and Minorca, the financial centre of Europe destined soon to stride ahead of all her rivals as the big industrial power, politically useful at the moment as the most successful check upon a Bourbon hegemony in Europe and the growing European world. On the Baltic shores were the kingdoms of Denmark-Norway and Sweden, the Scandinavian States. Sweden had been a great Power in the seventeenth century and still retained Finland as a reminder of her past greatness. South of the Baltic was Poland, an ineffective buffer between Russia and Germany, a state which was not quite sure whether it was a republic or a monarchy for its king was elected for life. For the present, Poland was ruled by a King thrust upon her by Russia and Prussia in spite of France to whom one faction of the Poles was wont to look for help. In the background was the half-European despotism of Russia.

Results of the Seven Years' War.—As far as this much-divided Europe itself was concerned, the Peace of Paris proved three things. First, that the attempt of Austria, France, Saxony and Russia to suppress Prussia before it became too strong had failed. Prussia, though fearfully exhausted, had survived as something embedded in the chaos of north Germany sufficiently tough to withstand the eastward march of France or the westward march of Russia. Secondly, that Russia was a Power to be taken very seriously. Her troops had fought all over central Europe and it was their withdrawal at a critical moment which had saved Prussia. Thirdly, that France was not quite so strong in comparison to the rest as she had been in the days of Louis XIV half a century previously.

Outside Europe the results of the struggle were in the long run more far-reaching. When van Riebeeck came to South Africa nearly all India was ruled by a rich and powerful line of Moslem emperors, the Great Moguls of Delhi; but while the younger van der Stel was quarrelling with his burghers, the last of the great emperors died (1707). Moguls

reigned at Delhi for a hundred and fifty years to come, but their empire gradually fell to pieces. In the confusion, the French and English East India Companies took part in politics, first to defend themselves against the Indian princes and then to push each other out of India. Both drilled Indian sepoy in European fashion, both supported rivals to the many thrones of south India so as to make sure of political support. It was a long struggle lasting twenty-five years and at first the French had the best of it. But the English gained command of the sea, they found a brilliant leader in Robert Clive, and by the Peace of Paris the French were condemned to hold their trading stations in India unfortified. The English Company held much of the coasts of South India and, in the north, the rich and populous province of Bengal at the mouth of that great river, the Ganges, up which it was destined to march to seat itself on the throne of the Great Moguls. That day was not yet. In 1763 "John Company" was merely one of many rulers in India scrambling for power, but it was the only European competitor in the field. If any European nation was to reap the fruits of the trade with India it would be the British and, as a matter of fact, it was that trade which supplied much of the capital that made the Industrial Revolution possible.

In North America, Britain's long-drawn-out struggle with the Bourbon Powers also ended in her favour. In 1763 she received Florida from Spain, and from France all Canada, half of Louisiana as far west as the Mississippi and several West Indian Islands. British merchants rejoiced over the acquisition of these sugar-islands, the plums of the colonial trade of these days. But the annexation of the waste spaces of Canada and the Middle West was really a far more important fact in the history of Western civilisation, for it threw half of North America open to the British ideas of representative government and the "rule of law." The other half would surely follow. There France had given the remainder of Louisiana to her ally Spain, and in all North America beyond the new British frontier there were only a few Spaniards and half-castes in California, Red Indians on the Plains and, in Alaska¹ to the far north-west,

¹ Alaska was sold by Russia to the U.S.A. in 1867.

a few Esquimaux and Russian fur-traders. The Peace of Paris is one of the chief of the title-deeds of the U.S.A.

Rival Forms of Government.—If you look at the history of the states which have contributed directly to the development of Western civilisation, you will see that most of them for most of the time have been ruled by kings. In ancient Egypt the king was regarded as a god, in Babylonia and Persia as the mouthpiece of God. Later, little republics arose among the Greeks, a much greater republic at Carthage, and a greater republic still at Rome. In course of time a “divine” monarchy grew up in the Roman Empire and remained standing in the eastern half at Constantinople long after it had fallen in the west. In the west, the Pope stepped into the scarlet shoes of Caesar and claimed obedience in matters of faith and morals and, sometimes, in political matters as well. Meanwhile, in the Middle Ages, representative assemblies took shape all over western Europe, the Parliaments in England and Scotland, the States General in France, the Diet in the Holy Roman Empire, the Cortes in the little kingdoms into which Spain was then divided. All these gained powers and privileges as against the kings but, four hundred years ago, just after Europe had begun to expand, the absolute, official theory of government of which Caesar had been the type challenged the mediaeval system.

There were many causes for this challenge. Lawyers were reviving the Roman Civil Code which taught that what pleased the Prince had the force of law; the kings were finding it more convenient to collect taxes in money than in kind or in services and were using that money to buy the expensive new artillery which could breach the walls of feudal castles and free cities alike, and to hire mercenary troops to storm the breaches. States grew bigger and the business of government more complicated, the assemblies lost grip of it all and the kings and their growing staffs of officials took charge. The trading middle class was rising to importance and preferred peace rather than a liberty tempered by the civil and baronial wars which were so bad for business. They and the lawyers became the stoutest supporters of the New Monarchy. Then came the Reformation which broke the check which the Popes had kept over the rulers of half Europe. Protestant kings took over much

of the power, the divine right, which the Popes had claimed and made themselves masters of the clergy as well as of the laymen in their kingdoms. Even in Catholic countries like France and Spain the power of the king grew as against that of the Church and every other institution. Monarchy, more or less absolute and uncontrolled, became the rule in western and central Europe. Nearly everywhere the assemblies either disappeared or sank into insignificance.

This movement towards absolute monarchy was strengthened by the rise of two new states in north-eastern Europe. Between 1640 and 1786 Prussia was made by three great rulers of the House of Hohenzollern: Frederic William the Great Elector, Frederic William I and Frederic the Great. They all claimed to rule by divine right, they frankly held that their subjects were there to make the state rich and strong, and they founded their thrones on a large, cheap and efficient body of civil servants and an army which, in proportion to the population, was larger than any other in Europe. Similarly, the Czar Peter the Great (1689-1725) and the Czarinas Elizabeth and Catherine the Great who came after dragged protesting Russia as far as they could into Western politics and Western ways of life. They ruled on Prussian lines but with the difference that their civil service was largely foreign, dishonest and unbusinesslike, something alien to the mass of their bewildered subjects.

The British Parliament.—There were exceptions to this general rule of absolute monarchs. Many of the little Swiss cantons kept their assemblies. Venice was still a republican oligarchy of a few rich merchant families. In the independent Netherlands the provincial assemblies still met and the Estates General still sat at the capital but here, as in Venice, power lay in the hands of a comparatively small ring of wealthy lawyer or merchant families. The great exception was the island kingdom of Great Britain. The Stuart Kings of the seventeenth century had naturally tried to model their government on that of their great neighbours, the kings of France. They were defeated after a long struggle, not by the English people but by a very different thing, the English Parliament. That Parliament was in the hands of the nobles, always the greatest rivals

of the monarch, the squires or country gentlemen, the big lawyers and the rich merchants of the towns. Parliament more and more resisted the Stuart claim to rule by right divine and reasserted the old principle that the king and his officials were subject to the ordinary law of the land (rule of law). In 1688 it settled the issue by bringing in a foreigner, William III of Orange, as king. It then united itself with the Scottish Parliament to form the Parliament of Great Britain and in 1714 called in another foreign king, a German this time. George I was content to be the royal figure-head of the aristocracy which governed the British Empire unchallenged.

The British Parliamentary System.—The British Parliament was in a peculiar position in the eighteenth century. According to modern ideas, it was hardly a representative body, most certainly not a democratic body. The nobles and the bishops sat in the House of Lords. The House of Commons was elected by certain of the towns (boroughs) and the counties and lasted for seven years unless it was dissolved sooner. There were exceptions but, as a rule, the vote in a borough was in the hands of the corporation (town council) whose members were more or less permanent, or of a small number of other electors. Some of these boroughs were frankly "rotten." A few tiny places in the out-of-the-way county of Cornwall returned almost as many members as the whole of Scotland. Many borough seats were in the gift of the king's ministers or of noblemen and other great landholders. In the counties the vote was held by those who owned freehold land to the value of 40s., a rule laid down 350 years before. In some counties like Middlesex and Yorkshire these voters were still numerous, but that simply meant that elections there were more expensive than elsewhere for the voters expected to be bribed as a matter of course. Nor were they disappointed.

This old unreformed system, which held good till the Reform Act of 1832, was not wholly bad. Most Englishmen felt in a vague kind of way that it did represent them. Owners of rotten boroughs often used their powers wisely. In the course of the century the great William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, his son William, Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox all found their way into Parliament through

this back entrance. On the other hand, most of the members elected to the Commons expected to be paid for their support to ministers, if not in hard cash as was sometimes the case, at least in titles, jobs or posts in the army, navy and civil service for their friends.

Party and Cabinet.—The buying of support was a serious matter in view of the way in which the British parliamentary system was developing. The party system, had begun to take shape under the later Stuarts. It now hardened. There were two main parties, Whigs and Tories. The Tories on the whole stood for the "landed interest." Their leaders were usually nobles; the rank and file were squires and their tenants and the country clergy. The Whigs, the "monied interest," included some of the nobles, most of the bishops who were appointed by the ministry, and the bulk of the townsmen. The Whigs held office from 1714 till 1762. It was they who had planted the House of Hanover on the throne; it was they who were the war party prepared to fight the Bourbons and above all to defend Hanover; being in office they could use "patronage," that is, the power to bribe with jobs to secure themselves in office. The Tories meanwhile were under suspicion as supporters of the exiled Stuarts, who twice attempted to recover the throne with the sympathy if not the active help of France.

Side by side with this hardening party system there grew up the Cabinet. George I, who had little interest in England and none at all in discussions carried on in a tongue which he could not understand, left the conduct of public business more and more to an official who soon began to be called in derision the Prime Minister. George II followed suit and for twenty-one years Robert Walpole practically took the king's place at meetings of the ministers of state (1721-42). Walpole was in charge of the Treasury and was thus the best man to get through the royal business of persuading Parliament to vote the necessary taxes. He, more than any other man, built up the Cabinet system whereunder the heads of the Executive, the chiefs of the great government departments, were members of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, and belonged to that party which had a majority in the House

of Commons, the House which votes the taxes. They could be turned out of office if the Commons voted them out. Walpole himself fell in this way which was at least less expensive than the old way of impeaching¹ an unpopular minister and then probably executing him, though there are still folk who sigh for those "good old times." The more important of these "political heads of departments" began to meet together secretly in the Cabinet chamber and there decide what laws they should ask Parliament to pass, what taxes to vote, how the money thus voted should be spent, in other words, to decide on policy. That is the business of the Cabinet.

The Cabinet system grew up quietly as a matter of practical convenience. It was long unknown to the law, and in 1763 the rules that all the ministers "must say the same thing," at any rate in public, that if the Prime Minister resigns all his colleagues must resign too, and that the Prime Minister chooses his fellow ministers, had still to be formed. Nevertheless, the party and the Cabinet systems were already definite parts of British parliamentary life and they are so still wherever similar Parliaments have been set up. Our own Parliament is a lineal descendant of the Parliament at Westminster.

Representative Government Overseas in 1763.—
The influence of the Swiss and the Venetian assemblies was not felt outside the borders of those states. The rule of the Netherlands in the outer world, exercised through the East and West India Companies, was almost entirely official (bureaucratic). Nearly all the Companies' dominions were tropical and suited neither to a large white society nor to representative institutions. At the Cape alone did such a society promise to take shape and there, though effective power in the settled parts was mainly in the hands of officials, free burghers chosen by a mixture of popular election and official selection had a good deal of influence in local matters of church and state. In the wilder parts in the eastern Colony, the burghers were practically left to themselves but

¹ The House of Commons accused (impeached) the minister before the House of Lords, which thus acted as a Court. If this failed, a Bill of Attainder might be passed in the usual way by the two Houses and the King, thus condemning a man by Act of Parliament.

this was not so much a government policy as a breakdown of policy. Even so, the population and wealth of the Cape were very small in those days and the Cape itself still lay off the main track of the Western world's politics.

The only important exceptions to the general rule of official government for colonies were in the British Empire. Many of the West Indian islands and all the thirteen colonies which Great Britain had founded or conquered between 1607 and 1732 on the eastern seaboard of North America had representative assemblies with very wide powers. These colonies were looked upon as New Englands beyond the seas. Englishmen going thither took with them in theory all the privileges that they had enjoyed in Old England. There was absolutely nothing of the kind in the great colonial empires of France and of Spain. That is why the passing of the more important half of North America under the British Crown in 1763 is a fact of so much moment in the history of Western civilisation.

French Philosophy.—A ferment was going on below the surface which was destined to change this Western world radically. A whole body of ideas on politics and government, religion and economics, was being formed in France and spreading thence all over Europe and even to some of the European colonies. Many of these ideas were borrowed from English writers of the seventeenth century like Francis Bacon, John Hobbes, John Locke and Isaac Newton. It has been said that English literature first taught the French the lessons of political liberty, and then the French taught Europe and the world.

The French had a splendid opportunity for so doing. For a hundred years past Europe had gone to France for its fashions, its cookery and its art. It had modelled its armies on the French and built its fortresses on the lines laid down by Vauban, the military engineer of Louis XIV. The Castle at Capetown is a fort of that kind. Europe's rulers tried to imitate the glories of the palace at Versailles; they married if they could into the French royal Family; Spain and Naples borrowed kings from France. Above all, the great French poets, playwrights, theologians and diplomatists of the seventeenth century had made the French language a wonderfully clear and concise instrument for the expression

of thought. French became what Latin had been and what English is now becoming, the language in which treaties were drawn up and in which statesmen of one country corresponded with those of another, as nearly as could be the common tongue of the educated and ruling classes in Europe. The nobles at the Russian court spoke French, for Peter and the Czarinas had determined that they should be good Europeans. Frederic the Great of Prussia was almost as proud of his French poems, which his friend Voltaire tells us were very bad, as of his victories, which Napoleon assures us were excellent. If a Frenchman in those days wrote anything worth reading, he would be read by everyone who counted politically from one end of Europe to the other.

Before 1760 the great names are those of Montesquieu, Voltaire, the Encyclopaedists and the Physiocrats. Some of these men had lived for a time in England, and envied its freedom of speech, press and public meeting, the rule of law and the check put on the officials by Parliament, judges and juries. Montesquieu admired this system of checks and balances so much that he based on it his famous political principle of the "division of power," a principle which underlies the French revolutionary constitutions and the American Constitution which, in its turn, greatly influenced the republican constitutions later on in South Africa. That Montesquieu misread the English constitution and quite overlooked the growing Cabinet which was linking the executive and legislature together, in no way weakened the influence of his teaching that tyranny must follow if the executive, the body that carries out the law, the legislature, the body which makes the law, and the judiciary (bench), the body which says what the law means, are in the hands of one and the same person or group of persons. Divide these three powers, wrote Montesquieu, and there will be good government. For the rest, he did not criticise the French monarchy directly but he drew an all-too-rosy picture of the British system and left Frenchmen and others to draw their own conclusions.

Voltaire was more interested in freedom of thought and speech than in constitutions, hence many of his writings were directed against the Catholic Church. There was much to criticise in that Church in France in those days and Voltaire,

as a Deist, who believed in a God but not the Christian God, had no compunction in criticising it, especially as the Church was the censor of the press. That is why he lived and published so many of his books abroad.

The Encyclopaedists were a group led by Diderot who, in 1754, began to compile a great dictionary of knowledge. Some were Deists but some were Atheists denying the existence of any God at all. They discussed everything in Heaven and on earth in the light of human reason. They asked of religion, politics, government, laws, Is this reasonable? Can you prove that this ought to be or must be so? If not, it must and shall go. It was they who, more perhaps than any others, made the French Revolution when it came such a cold, logical blast of destruction.

The Physiocrats, as their name implies, held that rulers must be guided by the Law of Nature. They devoted most of their attention to economic questions but their teachings could be applied to politics too. Their main principle was that the government must defend the state and keep order within but that, otherwise, it must interfere as little as possible with the activities of its subjects. "*Laissez faire, laissez passer,*" they taught. Leave men free to act, give them their heads, and all will come right. The roots of Individualism and of Free Trade, doctrines destined to have immense influence in the nineteenth century particularly, lie in the teachings of the Physiocrats.

Rousseau.—The general conclusion of all this political philosophy was that man was naturally good, a very decent creature who, given education and free opportunities, might become quite perfect (perfectibility of man) but who would in any case be much better and happier than he was if only Church and King would leave him alone. "Man is wicked," wrote Diderot, "not because he is wicked but because he has been made so" by bad laws and customs. Hence, if these bad laws were swept away in the name of the Laws of Nature and of Reason, which were superior to them, all would be well and men would regain those Natural Rights which were theirs simply because they were men. It is easy to smile at these men's enthusiasm for a Law of Nature which they found hard to define especially as we, a hundred and fifty years later, have so much behind us that was in

the future to them. But the idea was a fine one, the maze of law and custom out of which they were seeking to break was hideous and, when all is said and done, it was the teaching of these men, oversimplified though it was, that gave the French Revolutionists courage to hack their way (and our's) out of it all.

Nevertheless, very few of these earlier French thinkers were democrats. Voltaire and the Physiocrats insisted that the work of sweeping away abuses and then of "keeping the ring" must be done by philosopher kings, Enlightened or Benevolent Despots, who should rule according to the Law of Reason as interpreted, doubtless, by M. de Voltaire and the Physiocrats. But in 1760, three years before the Peace of Paris, another Frenchman, Jean Jacques Rousseau, published *The Social Contract*. That book does not contain all Rousseau's teachings but, politically, it was the most important book that he or any other Frenchman wrote in all the eighteenth century.

Much of what Rousseau wrote had been written before, how that "Man was born free and is now everywhere in chains," and that Man in a state of nature was a "noble savage" and must therefore be set free from the chains to become noble once more. Nevertheless, Rousseau's work was epoch-making. Like Shakespeare, he took other men's work and "got it across the footlights," as actors say, in a way that no one else had done. It was he who made the teachings of the aristocratically-minded men who had gone before him so popular that Napoleon could afterwards say that had Rousseau never lived, there would have been no French Revolution. And he added at least one new doctrine, new, that is, to the men of the eighteenth century, for in the Middle Ages it had been well-understood, namely that the People were and ought to be the sovereign power. Kings, presidents and parliaments there might have to be, but Rousseau insisted that these were mere instruments of the Sovereign People. Rousseau lived at Geneva and afterwards confessed that he was thinking of the little Swiss cantons. There it was quite possible for all the citizens to meet together to make laws as in the ancient Greek cities or in the laagers of the Boer Trekkers later on. But to apply this principle in a huge state like France was a different matter, for it was a democratic revolution to which Rousseau

looked forward, a revolution which would usher in the reign of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

The Enlightened Despots.—Voltaire's royal revolution was tried first. In the thirty years preceding the French Revolution, Europe was full of kings, queens and ministers who, more or less consciously, tried to play the part of despots enlightened by the fashionable French philosophy. They were, in their own eyes, the State, absolute and answerable only to God for what they did. Some of them were even doubtful whether there was a God to Whom to be answerable. They set out to make their states rich and strong and their peoples happy whether they liked it or not. Louis XV, the cultured, dissolute, weary man, made no claims to be either despotic or enlightened, but some of his ministers did and his successor, the unhappy Louis XVI, had leanings that way and for a time had a Physiocrât, Turgot, for a minister. Charles III of Spain raised that kingdom from the depths into which it had fallen and into which it again fell on his death in 1788; Duke Leopold of Tuscany gave his little state the best government of its kind in Europe; Portugal found in Pombal, minister to her feeble king, the most energetic enlightened despot who stood lower than the throne. Pombal founded the first technical school in Europe, valued education so highly that he made professors nobles, and took the lead in a general attack on the Jesuits. That great preaching and teaching Order of friars, founded in the sixteenth century to uphold Catholic faith and tradition, was the enemy of the Philosophers. It had fallen on evil days, for religion had very little hold on most of the educated and governing classes, Catholic or Protestant, in the mid-eighteenth century. It had itself become slack and rich, too much concerned with trade and politics, and, in 1773, Austria, France, Spain, Naples and Pombal obliged the Pope to suppress it.¹

The most notable of the Enlightened Despots were Catherine the Great of Russia (1762-96), Frederic the Great of Prussia (1740-86) and Joseph II of Austria, Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90). With a few exceptions their

¹ The Jesuit Order was revived in 1814.

policies were identical but if one more than the others went further along the path to enlightenment, it was Joseph. They all tried to encourage the middle class, to build up industries often in most unsuitable places by protecting their home manufacturers against foreign competition, to extend the commerce of their merchants, to foster scientific agriculture. Catherine, like another Alexander of Macedon, founded cities in all directions and, if many of the 144 she boasted of having founded were mere posts in the ground with the names of the projected cities upon them, her intentions were at least seen to be excellent and some of the officials concerned to be much richer than they had been.

All three sovereigns tolerated men of different religions, perhaps because they themselves were indifferent on that score; Frederic gave refuge to Jews and dispossessed Jesuits impartially; Joseph, ruler of a collection of states whose only common bond other than allegiance to the House of Hapsburg was Catholicism, took away the property of many of the monasteries and refused to allow the Pope to interfere in his dominions. All three planned systems of public education and published codes of laws for their varied provinces. Joseph and Frederic, at a time when torture was still used in France, abolished it as part of the regular business of the criminal courts; but Frederic kept it for his army which he ruled with a rod of iron and doubled in size in the course of his reign, and Catherine freely used the knout, the hide whip of the Czars, on her loving subjects. Joseph also abolished the worst parts of the mediaeval system of serfdom, made his nobles pay the same taxes as ordinary mortals, and scandalised them by dancing with a lady of the middle class at a state ball. Frederic, on the other hand, jealously maintained the social barriers between the classes but he gave a sort of freedom to the press. He could well afford to do so, for he reorganised the machinery of government so that everything passed through his own hands. He worked with incredible industry as "the first servant of the state" and died three years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, leaving a body of second-rate ministers to carry on the cast-iron system which he had set up.

Joseph, meanwhile, had striven to centralise the government of an empire which was scattered right across Europe

from Belgium to the Turkish frontier, an empire in which each province differed from the next in history, tradition, language and nationality. He set aside the provincial diets (assemblies) and tried to rule all from the government offices at Vienna using German as the sole official language. He went further and, in the name of the Law of Nature, gave leave to all his subjects to use the Danube river which linked so many of his provinces together. That was excellent and unimpeachable but it was a different matter when this imperial revolutionist defied the public law of Europe embodied in a series of treaties as old as 1648 which closed the Scheldt and the port of Antwerp in the interests of Dutch Amsterdam. He opened the river Scheldt till the danger of a general war compelled him to close it again. His internal reforms led to trouble with many of his subjects who objected to being "improved" by royal proclamation. The Austrian Netherlands revolted, declared themselves a Republic, and had to be forcibly put down. Hungary, the Tyrol and some other parts of his dominions obliged him to restore their ancient privileges, and in 1790, having tried to do the work of a century in ten years, Joseph died, knowing that most of his reforms existed on paper only.

Influence of Enlightened Despotism on the French Revolution.—By sweeping away traditions and institutions to which their peoples had been long accustomed, the Enlightened Despots made men familiar with the idea of sudden change. By depressing the Church, the nobles and the provincial councils they left their own thrones perched high on pinnacles without supports such as would enable them to withstand a sudden shock from below. The first part of their policy set an example which humbler revolutionists were quick to follow, the second made the task of those revolutionists easier.

The restless and destructive foreign policy of these Despots had exactly the same effects. The Roman Empire had been the civilised world of the west, one single state. The Mediaeval world, for all that it fell short in practice, held to the theory that Christendom was one state ruled by Christ through two viceroys: the Pope in matters of the spirit and the Emperor in more earthly concerns. The Reformation had to a great extent broken both

Pope and Emperor. Modern Europe had no such general idea round which to rally. Each state claimed to be sovereign, bound by no ties of duty towards its neighbours. "Reasons of State" were held to justify all acts however abominable. The one real check on governments was fear of upsetting the Balance of Power. That principle of the Balance had first been worked out in fifteenth century Italy and had thence spread to the rest of the Continent. No one of the half-dozen big states of Europe was to be allowed to become so big that it could outweigh two or more of the others. If it threatened to do so, several courses were open. Either the other big states would ally against it, or they might let it keep what it had annexed and themselves swallow up a few of the smaller states and so keep the Balance true, or they might set upon the overgrown state and partition it among themselves.

Eighteenth century history is full of rapidly changing alliances and partitions. The century began with the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-14); a determined and partially successful attempt to cut up the Spanish Empire. The War of the Polish Succession was a scramble by rival powers to thrust their nominees on the throne at Warsaw (1730-38). The War of the Austrian Succession was an attempt, again partially successful, to divide the territories of the House of Hapsburg (1740-48), the Seven Years War, an unsuccessful attempt to partition Prussia, was merely a continuation of the struggle (1756-63). So it went on up to and after the outbreak of the French Revolution. From time to time their neighbours talked of partitioning Sweden and Turkey, and, in 1772, Prussia, Austria and Russia did help themselves to large strips of Poland. This was a black business though Frederic noted with satisfaction that it was the "first regular partition peacefully terminated" and Maria Theresa of Austria wept while she took her share. Catherine of Russia, for her part, grumbled because she was not allowed to have the whole. France, Spain, and the Netherlands then helped the revolted American colonists to partition the British Empire in the War of American Independence (1775-83) and, when the Revolution broke out, France ran a serious risk of being partitioned herself. She might well have been had not Russia been so busy annexing Turkish territory, Prussia anxious to share with

Russia in the second partition of Poland (1793), and Austria determined to be in at the death with her two confederates at the third partition (1795). As it was, the attempt to partition France was half-hearted and, thereafter, by the space of twenty years, Revolutionary and Napoleonic France partitioned and repartitioned Europe. In his foreign as well as in his home policy Napoleon was the last and the greatest of the Enlightened Despots.

Books for Further Reading :

- W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the 18th Century*, vol. vi, pp. 183-206 and 239-71 (French Philosophy); W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, chap. xxxiii (Philosophy), xxxiv and xxxvi (European Politics).
- MAPS*.—C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew, *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789-1922*, plates 5, 7, 10, 11, 15, 16, 19, 22, 27, 29 and 32; Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas for Students*, plate 10.

CHAPTER II.

REVOLUTIONS WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1763-1800.

“Wilkes and Liberty.”—George III of Great Britain and Ireland, whose long reign almost covers our first period, was not “enlightened” for he hated everything French and “gloried in the name of Britain.” But he was young, the third of his line to mount the throne, a member of the Established Church from conviction, honest, obstinate, hard-working, and neither the fool nor the knave that he is often supposed to have been. He had no intention of becoming a despot, but he had been brought up by a strong-minded mother and a Scottish tutor, Lord Bute, to hold high ideas of the powers and duties of a king. His teachers had based their lessons on the works of the great lawyer, Blackstone, who held that “the King of England is properly the sole magistrate of the nation, all others acting in due subordination to him,” and of the Tory Bolingbroke, whose book, *The Patriot King*, called for a monarch who would choose the best ministers regardless of party. George meant to be that Patriot King and, as such, to have an entirely new home and foreign policy. He had peace made with France as soon as he could (1763) and then set to work to reassert some of those powers which he was supposed to hold as King but which, in practice, had been taken from his predecessors by the Cabinet and Parliament.

Fortune favoured him. He himself was popular if only as a relief from the dullness of the first two Georges; the Tories had lived down the suspicion of being Jacobites in disguise; the Whigs were divided against themselves and a weariness to the flesh to everyone else. George completely broke up the Whigs by taking away official “patronage” and dispensing it himself. He selected what ministers he liked and held them each responsible to himself and not to

the Prime Minister and to each other in the Cabinet. But to do so he had to become the leader of a party in Parliament, the King's Friends, who were prepared to support the royal policy in return for the usual considerations. The victory of the royal system was not complete till 1770 and, in the meantime, George became entangled in a confused struggle which gave rise to a demand for the radical reform of the House of Commons.

This new Radical movement centred round an able, witty and scoundrelly member of Parliament named John Wilkes. Wilkes fiercely attacked the King's Speech in the press (1763). That speech was well-known to be the work of the ministry, but George took it as a personal insult and ordered his chief minister, Grenville, to have Wilkes punished. Wilkes, though a member of Parliament, was arrested on a general warrant in which no mention was made of the crime of which he was accused. Such an arrest was a commonplace in the kingdoms of the Enlightened Despots but, in England, it was against the "rule of law." Wilkes successfully pleaded that, as a member of Parliament, he could not be arrested while the Houses were sitting for anything less than treason or felony, the Chief Justice declared general warrants illegal, and Wilkes was released amid cries of "Wilkes and Liberty." George and Grenville then attacked him through the Commons. The King's Friends voted that his newspaper article was a seditious libel, expelled him from the House and outlawed him. He fled to France but he ventured home again in the midst of a fierce general election with the price of bread high and many workmen out of employment. George promptly had him imprisoned as an outlaw. Wilkes became a popular hero and, on his release, was elected member for the county of Middlesex.

The Commons, as they were entitled to do, thrice declared that Wilkes could not take his seat, and thrice the electors of Middlesex returned their champion. At last the Commons altogether overstepped the mark and declared his unsuccessful opponent elected, thus virtually disfranchising one of the few really democratic constituencies in England not by Act of Parliament but by a mere resolution of their own House (1769). The result was an outcry led by the anonymous *Letters of Junius* against a royal and parliamentary

system which made it possible for the Commons, controlled by the King's Friends, to be as tyrannous as ever the Stuart kings had been a hundred years before. Wilkes and his friends founded the Bill of Rights Society to secure the annual election of the Commons, the exclusion from Parliament of men who held offices or pensions from the Crown (that is, the King's Friends), and the right of electors to give their representatives binding instructions (mandates).

The point of this last demand was that debates in Parliament were not allowed to be reported in the press and electors could not know how their members voted. Of course, reports were smuggled out and the great Samuel Johnson as a young man had eked out a living by taking secret notes in the gallery. He tells us that, as a good Tory, he saw to it that "the Whig dogs had the worst of it." In 1771 the Commons prosecuted a man for printing such reports. "That devil Wilkes," as George called him, took the lead in defending the accused and raised such an uproar that, though the Commons won on the point of law, they henceforward tacitly allowed reports to be published.

This scandal strengthened the demand for an end to corruption and for a reform in the methods of electing members of the Commons. The Earl of Chatham, the hero of the Seven Years' War, proposed to increase the number of county seats and thus to outweigh the rotten borough vote; some of the Whigs led by Edmund Burke urged that many little useless offices, sinecures with salaries attached, should be abolished and, with them, one of the means by which the King held his party together; the Duke of Richmond and Wilkes, member for Middlesex at last and Lord Mayor of London to boot, annually brought forward motions for electoral reform, a demand to which point was given by the recent sale of one of the rottenest of rotten boroughs for £75,000. So much was a seat in the Commons worth in the year before the outbreak of the War of American Independence, a war whose causes show the gulf which separated the House of Commons from realities and whose conduct revealed the depths to which corruption and jobbery at headquarters could lead a great Empire.

The Old Colonial System.—By 1770 the worst of the Wilkes crisis was over and the king had found in Lord North

a minister who was prepared to consider his wishes and to hold together a mixed ministry of Tories and ex-Whigs. North was able, honest and popular. It was hard that he should have had to preside over the loss of the original American colonies and very nearly over the loss of Ireland as well. The British Empire of 1763, widespread and varied in character, was difficult to govern. The growing power of the East India Company in India was as yet hardly controlled at all by the Crown, but the Crown ruled Gibraltar and Minorca, scattered posts on the West Coast of Africa and, in America, several West Indian islands, French Canada, Louisiana and thirteen more or less British colonies on the east coast.

However much these groups of colonies might differ one from the other all alike were subject to the Old Colonial System. That system was based on the Mercantilist theory of trade according to which each government sought so to regulate commerce that at the end of each year its state should have a favourable balance of trade, that is, that its rivals should owe it more in goods and services than it owed them. The balance would then have to be paid in hard cash. All European Powers tried to organise their own trade and that of their colonies as one thing along those lines, the main difference being that the policy of Great Britain towards her colonies was much more liberal than that of other Powers towards their's. Great Britain required her colonies to make some return to her for the cost of the defence which she afforded them by land and sea. Under the Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century, goods to and from ports within the empire had to be carried in British or Colonial ships, certain "enumerated articles" must go from the colonies to England only, European goods must go to the colonies by way of England and there pay duty and, as far as possible, there must be no competition between Great Britain and her dependencies. They were to supply her with raw materials and she would furnish them with manufactured goods.

For a long time the system answered well enough for it was not so one-sided as it appeared to be. In the early days the English tobacco industry had been destroyed for the sake of Virginia; England was the obvious place to which sailing ships toiling for weeks across the Atlantic

would put in for fresh water and supplies; cargoes coming to England from the Colonies had to pay duty but the duty was refunded to colonists if the goods were re-exported; trade from one British colony to another was entirely in the hands of the colonists and the New England ship-building industry thrived so well that it was able to sell ships in London. But by the middle of the eighteenth century the system was not working quite so well. There was no trouble in the case of the tropical colonies but Ireland and the more northerly of the American colonies were too much like England to avoid competing with her. The Whigs, the merchant party, showed themselves jealous of the manufactures which colonists wished to start and more and more inclined to regulate commerce in the interests of Great Britain and not of the Empire as a whole. On the other hand, the Puritans of New England and the cosmopolitan population of New York defied the Navigation acts. Even in time of war they smuggled goods to the French and Spanish colonies while the British arms were defending them against the Spaniards and the French. Local juries refused to convict men accused of smuggling and so Americans were taught contempt for the law.

“The Old Thirteen.”—The difficulty of enforcing the colonial system in the North American colonies lay mainly in the character of their peoples and governments. Those colonies fell into three groups. In the south were the Carolinas, Georgia and Virginia, plantation colonies cultivating tobacco and rice with black slave or white indentured labour. Many of the plantation owners were British and Church of England men, but there were Irish there who did not love the English or the Scots, besides French Huguenots, Swiss and West Germans. The Middle Colonies were partly plantation colonies and had many slaves; but in those parts there was also much small farming and sea-borne trade. Society was on the whole cosmopolitan. Maryland, originally a Catholic refuge, had become the home of many peoples; Quaker Pennsylvania was full of Germans; New Jersey and Delaware were relics of a Swedish empire which had been cut short by the Dutch and, when the English in turn took Dutch New Amsterdam (New York) in 1674, they had found no less than eighteen languages

spoken in its streets. New York was more and more becoming the commercial centre of the Middle colonies. In the north, the New England group clustered round Massachusetts and its port of Boston. Here the mass of the people were small farmers, traders, fishermen, artisans, with the usual complement of professional men but with very few slaves other than domestic servants. The people were mainly of British stock, strongly Puritan in religion and inclined to be republican in politics. Many of their ancestors had been religious or political refugees in the seventeenth century, and most of those whose ancestors had been neither shared the prevailing coolness towards and ignorance of Great Britain, a coolness and an ignorance which, it must be frankly confessed, were entirely reciprocated.

These colonies ranged from semi-tropical to cold-temperate settlements. Their interests, therefore, varied greatly; they had little connection with one another except by sea for they were strung out along a coast that ran north and south while their natural lines of communication ran east and west; they were jealous of each other and of interference by Great Britain. The only constitutional link between them was that of the Crown, yet in each colony the machinery of government was practically the same. The Crown, that is, in effect, the British ministry, appointed a Governor and judges who were responsible to it. The minor executive officers were responsible to the Governor, but the local legislature of one or two Houses, elected on a franchise which, as a rule, was much more democratic and certainly less corrupt than the British of the day, were responsible to the electors of the colony.

Here was a "division of powers" and of responsibilities which would have warmed Montesquieu's heart. In England at that time the danger of a clash between the executive and the legislature was being averted by the Cabinet system, that is, by the slow development of Responsible Government, but the American legislatures were still constitutionally in the same position as the English Parliament had been in the time of Charles I. The Governor might decide that certain things ought to be done but, just as Charles in similar case had had to go to his most unwilling Houses at Westminster for the necessary Acts

and the money, so the Governor must go to an Assembly which might even refuse to give him the salaries of the judges. On the other hand, members of the Assembly who opposed him could not be called upon to carry out a policy of their own for they could not become ministerial heads of departments. They need not even suggest an alternative policy. They could merely criticise and obstruct where they could not control and they very often did both. It is human nature to do so in such circumstances. Something of the same kind happened in the Cape Colony under a similar constitution between 1854 and 1872. For representative institutions which fall short of full responsible government are difficult to work. The system cost Charles I his head in the seventeenth century; in the eighteenth, it cost Great Britain her thirteen American colonies.

The Stamp Act.—Had there been one government in America able to pass laws for all the colonies the break might never have taken place. At any rate, it would hardly have taken place when and how it did. As it was, the only body that could legislate in this way was the British Parliament on the other side of the Atlantic. It was that fact which led to the crisis. There had been talk of a union of the colonies as early as the time of Charles I; attempts to unite one or other of the three groups had been made in the seventeenth century; in 1754 British officials and a great American, Benjamin Franklin, had tried at least to provide for common action against the French. The attempt failed and New York and Massachusetts came to blows over a question of boundaries in face of the enemy.

During the Seven Years War, which began in America before it began in Europe, some of the colonies behaved well but others behaved very ill towards the Imperial authorities and their neighbours. The bulk of the work had to be done by Imperial troops and ships, the Indian rising which followed the war was put down entirely by Imperial forces, and since Chatham, the great war minister, had "won the war" regardless of expense, the British taxpayer was very heavily burdened. George and his ministers decided to ask the colonies to contribute toward the cost of the troops which were left to guard the frontiers. Meanwhile, they began to enforce the Navigation and

customs laws more vigorously. Grenville, the Prime Minister, found that the colonists either would not or could not tax themselves further. He, therefore, carried a Stamp Act through the Imperial parliament raising a small direct revenue in the colonies by means of stamps on legal and business documents (1765).

A similar Act had been passed fifty years before without causing any complaint. But times had changed. During those fifty years British ministers had never faced the constitutional difficulties which were certain to arise sooner or later between the Colonies and Great Britain and now, by taxing directly, they were doing something which they had never done seriously hitherto. They were, moreover, doing it at a very unfortunate time. Friction had already arisen over the enforcement of the trade laws by Imperial officials. Every smuggler, high and low, was up in arms against that. During and after the late war, British military officers had sometimes shown their scorn for the ill-trained and somewhat bumptious colonial levies who retaliated by pointing out all the mistakes and more that the officers had made while fighting French and Indians in the backwoods. The British had broken the French in Canada and Louisiana and had thus removed the foreign peril which had done much to keep the colonies quiet under Imperial rule. They had also wounded Colonial feeling by giving back Havana (Cuba) to Spain, a prize which colonial troops had done much to win, and had thereby reminded the colonists of their disappointment in 1748 when Louisbourg had been returned to the French under like circumstances. Further the king had proclaimed most of Louisiana a great reserve in which no land might be bought without official leave and into which no trader might go without a license (1763). That proclamation was resented by every frontiersman, trader and land speculator in the colonies.

Effects of the Stamp Act.—This mass of uneasy suspicion and resentment began to crystallize round the delegates of nine of the colonies who had met at New York to take steps to resist the Stamp Act (1764). The Act raised a vital constitutional principle. The Americans said that they had no objection to paying customs duties. Those were part of the regulation of trade which had always been

done by the British Parliament, and they were used to it ; but direct taxation by Parliament they would not have, for that would be taxation without representation, the very point on which the English Parliament had fought Charles I. Once admit that a small tax was lawful and others more heavy might follow. Some Americans like James Otis in the south and Franklin in the north revived the old proposal that Americans should be given seats in the Westminster Parliament. The idea was supported in England by some including the great economist, Adam Smith, but it was defeated by the jealousies of the English merchants and by the Irish orator, Edmund Burke, who feared that such a change might lead to others still more drastic in the British constitution which he wrongly regarded as the perfect work of time. Other Americans and even English friends like the Earl of Chatham claimed that the sovereign powers of the King in Parliament did not include the right to tax the colonies. That was going too far. If sovereignty does not include the power to tax, it is nothing. To their dismay, the Americans found that the letter of the law was as much on the side of the British Parliament as it had been on the side of the king in the time of Charles I. Nevertheless, they boycotted trade with Great Britain and agitated so successfully that the short-lived Whig Rockingham ministry repealed the Stamp Act (1766).

Defeated on the question of law but encouraged by their successful resistance, the American leaders appealed, in French fashion, to Natural Rights against the laws of a Parliament which had just reasserted its right to tax directly if it chose. In 1767 Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, did choose. In order to raise money to ensure the payment of the judges' salaries in the colonies, he levied small duties on certain goods going thither. Among them was a tax on tea. This was so arranged that it would help the East India Company, which in those days had the monopoly of the China trade as far as British subjects were concerned, and at the same time give the Americans their tea at a price below that paid by people in Great Britain itself. But to tax was to raise once more the question of principle, and American "Whigs," as the opponents of the Imperial policy were called, cried out. Troops were sent to Boston, the centre of the agitation, too few if it was intended

to overawe the colonists, far too many if it was meant to conciliate them. All sorts of trouble arose about finding quarters for the soldiers and, presently, a small party, harried by the Boston mob, shot one or two of their assailants. The officer in command was acquitted by a local jury but in the excitement of the times the incident was called "The Bloody Massacre" (1770).

Meanwhile, all the obnoxious duties had been repealed except that on tea which remained to keep the agitation alive. Both sides drifted towards war. The ministry threatened to revive old dead and gone laws against treason; New Englanders burnt a revenue schooner; Franklin, who had hitherto been moderate, was driven into the arms of the extreme "Whigs." He was himself largely to blame for he had published private letters written by Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts which he had no right to publish, but the fierce attacks made upon him by certain British Privy Councillors cost England a candid friend. So it went on till a party of young men disguised as Red Indians threw cargoes of tea into Boston harbour. Parliament thereupon declared the port of Boston closed and transferred the customs house to Salem, which was like closing the port of Capetown or Durban and ordering ships to land their cargoes at Simonstown or Port Shepstone.

The order reached Boston just as all Puritan New England bubbled up in wrath against the Quebec Act of 1774. That Act left the Catholic Church its lands in Canada and informally recognised the Catholic bishop of Quebec. Many people in Great Britain and Ireland protested for Catholics there were still denied the vote and were subject to all sorts of penal laws, but the New Englanders had special reasons for objecting. The Act retained the French civil law, just as the Roman Dutch civil law was afterwards kept by the British at the Cape, and it did not set up an elected assembly in Canada for fear that the French, who had never had such a thing and did not want it now, would let it fall into the hands of the New England traders who were pushing into their country. The effect of the Quebec Act illustrates very well the difficulty of ruling such an empire as the British Empire then was. The Act saved British rule in Canada but it helped it to ruin it in New England. Thus is one man's meat another man's poison.

American War of Independence (1775-83).—In 1774 “Whig” delegates from all the Old Thirteen met in Congress at Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, “in the name of the good people of these Colonies.” For two years past they had kept in touch with one another through Correspondence Societies organised by Patrick Henry of Virginia and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts. They had also diligently collected arms and drilled men, but very few wanted war and British ministers expected it so little that they reduced the size of the Navy. George, however, insisted that the colonists must admit the right of Parliament to tax, troops were sent to seize illegal stores of arms, and one of these parties was fired on by colonial “minute-men” at Lexington near Boston (1775). The British had to fight hard at Bunker’s Hill to make good their hold on Boston.

At the start the forces engaged were small and, indeed, for the first two years the struggle was somewhat half-hearted. In Great Britain the war was unpopular, officers resigned their commissions freely rather than fight, recruiting was difficult and it was hard to keep the army in America up to strength even with the help of German mercenaries (Hessians). The use of these men, customary though it was in all European armies then and long afterwards,¹ did much to stiffen the resistance of the colonists. On the American side there was no united uprising of an oppressed people for the best of all reasons. The colonists had not been oppressed and they certainly were not united. At the outset few thought of independence and, in many of the colonies, most of the fighting was left to indentured servants and soldiers of fortune. Throughout, the most determined foes of the British were newly-arrived Protestant Irishmen from Ulster. Great numbers of “Tories,” especially in the south, hoped to the end that King George would win and some of them helped his troops actively. It was only after a year of war that a determined minority induced

¹ Eighteenth century armies were not national. One-third of Frederic the Great’s army was foreign; many West German princes made much money by hiring out their subjects as mercenaries; the French army had German and Flemish regiments; till 1830 the French kings always had a Scottish Guard; the Netherlands had a Scottish regiment; the Swiss Guard of the Bourbons is famous in the history of the Revolution; the British had a German Legion as late as the time of the Crimean War (1854-56) and sent some of them to colonise British Kaffraria in Sir George Grey’s time; the Pope still has a Swiss Guard at the Vatican and the French a Foreign Legion in Algiers.

Congress to issue the Declaration of Independence (July 4th, 1776). That famous document was mainly the work of Thomas Jefferson inspired by a book, *Common Sense*, written by Tom Paine, one of the English Radicals who were attacking the existing system of government in England. *Common Sense* is full of the prevailing French philosophy; so, too, the Declaration appeals to Natural Rights and to the Social Contract between ruler and ruled which George was held to have broken.

But to declare independence was one thing, to achieve it another. Congress was without real powers of government. It could not tax the citizens of the thirteen states or raise troops of its own authority, and George Washington, the Virginian country gentleman appointed to command the "Continental Army," had to rely, like British Commanders before him, on the liberality and patriotism of thirteen governments. It was an experience that almost broke his heart. His army could have been crushed more than once but the British commanders, who owed their appointments to jobbery and "family influence," were incredibly slow and gave him time to make an army. After a nine months' siege the British were forced out of Boston but, at length, large reinforcements reached them and Washington, in turn, was driven from New York. The tramping of the invading army up and down the country called forth recruits to Washington's side, and he was victorious at Trenton and Princeton; but he was defeated on the Brandywine river and forced to watch the British occupy Philadelphia. And then the tide turned. Canada had refused to join in the revolt and had even beaten off an American attack. A British force under Burgoyne now marched south from Canada expecting to meet their friends coming up the Hudson river from New York and thus to cut off New England, the real centre of the rebellion, from the other colonies. The New York force never started and Burgoyne was obliged to surrender at Saratoga (1777).

France's Revenge.—Washington still had to face a terrible winter in quarters at Valley Forge with only 3,000 men, but Saratoga completely altered the character of the war. Hitherto it had been a family affair, so to speak, but now it became a general European struggle

like the Seven Years War. The American war became little more than a costly side-show. The Declaration of Independence made it possible for other powers to recognise the colonists as belligerents, that is, as people waging regular war and not merely rebelling against their lawful government. Saratoga decided France to intervene. She did so in 1778; next year Spain followed suit; in 1780 the Netherlands were drawn in on the Bourbon side, Catherine of Russia formed the Armed Neutrality of the Baltic Powers to threaten Great Britain, and in India a strong French squadron under the famous admiral, Suffren, supported Hyder Ali, the Moslem ruler of Hindu Mysore, and his French officers in an attack on the English Company's possessions.

This world war was, as usual, decided upon the high seas. Instead of concentrating either on the Americans or on her European enemies, Great Britain divided her forces. She very nearly went under. A French fleet held the English Channel for five weeks; a British army, after a successful campaign in the southern American colonies, had to surrender to a French fleet and a Franco-American force at Yorktown (1781), the Spaniards captured Minorca and thereby broke the North ministry, in Ireland Catholics and Protestants threatened to rebel. Yorktown practically ended the war in America but Gibraltar held out against the Bourbons, Warren Hastings stood fast in India, and Sir Eyre Coote beat Hyder Ali at Porto Novo, Rodney defeated the French fleet at the Battle of the Saints in the West Indies. The war was ended at the Treaty of Versailles (1783). Great Britain fared better than had at one time seemed likely. She had to recognise the independence of the thirteen American colonies as far west as the Mississippi and give back Florida and Minorca to Spain. But that was all. France had to be content with a few West Indian islands and a costly revenge.

The United States of America.—Peace and independence did not solve the American problem. An American government had to be set up unless chaos was to reign among thirteen independent little states from which the restraining hand of King George had been withdrawn. As it was, two of the states had prepared to fight each other in

the matter of boundaries in the very year of Yorktown and, at one stage, the situation had seemed so desperate that Washington's officers had offered him a crown which he, like Cromwell, had refused. In 1781 Congress had persuaded the states to enter a loose Confederation. It was useless. Each state retained full sovereign powers over its own people. The Confederate government had no power to tax or otherwise touch those people except through the state governments. The peace found the Continental paper money worthless¹ and British troops ensconced in the western territories till Congress should pay the debts due to British subjects under the peace treaty.

Force of circumstances and a few great men like Washington and Alexander Hamilton, a West Indian Scot, brought the jealous states together. The Union movement began with a meeting of the delegates from two of the states at Washington's house to discuss means of communication (1785). Next year those from five met to discuss commercial regulations, and Hamilton, speaking for the commercial centre of New York, demanded federation, a much closer form of union than confederation. Delegates from all the states then met at Philadelphia. Hamilton took the lead, and these fifty-five men sitting behind closed doors drew up the Constitution of the United States of America (1785). One by one the States accepted it and in April 1789, one month before the French Revolution began, Washington, as was most just, was elected first President.

The American Constitution.—The American Revolution was the first successful revolt of a group of European colonies from a Mother country, but the framing of the constitution was a much more important fact than the revolt. That constitution set up the first large democratic federal republic that we know of in history. It was a state of a new kind, a state on a continental scale, the forerunner of many similar federations and unions. The essence of the federal idea is to combine strong central government with local liberty. All independent governments claim sovereignty over their subjects. In a unitary state like Great Britain or the Union of South Africa that power rests

¹ Men still say that a thing is "not worth a Continental" when they mean that it is utterly worthless.

entirely with the central, national government. Local governing bodies like municipal or provincial councils simply hold such powers as that government chooses to give them. In a federation this is not so. There, sovereignty is divided between the central and the local state governments. Under the U.S.A. constitution, the federal government at Washington controls foreign affairs, the national army, coinage, customs duties and other matters of national importance and, in controlling them, can pass laws which touch directly every citizen in "these United States." But all the sovereign powers not specially entrusted to it were kept and still are kept by the state governments which exercise them through a governor and an elected assembly, the descendants of those of colonial days.

The new central government had to be made. The head of the executive was to be a President elected by electors chosen by the people of the states. He was to hold office for four years with power to appoint the heads of the great departments of state and the judges of the Supreme Court, and to exercise other duties strictly limited in time of peace but, in time of war, much greater than those held by most kings and emperors. There was to be no Cabinet, for Americans were as suspicious of that comparative novelty as were many Englishmen of those times and, true to Montesquieu's principles, they would not have members of the legislature as ministers.

The legislature (Congress), like the British Parliament, was to consist of two Houses. The upper House or Senate was to be made up of two representatives from each state, big or little, elected by the state legislatures;¹ the lower or House of Representatives was to be elected by the people, voting as the franchise laws of their particular states might direct, so many members for each state according to the number of its inhabitants. The Senate would thus represent the states, the lower House the people of the United States. Owing to the division of powers, Congress was only to be able to unseat the President, who was King and Prime Minister in one, or the other heads of the executive by impeachment as in the seventeenth century England. Conversely, the President could not

¹ Under a recent amendment of the Constitution, Senators are now elected directly by the people (1913).

dissolve Congress. Both Houses were to be elected for a definite term of years, the Senate for six years, one-third of the members retiring every two years, the House of Representatives for two years only. To become law a Bill had to pass both Houses and receive the President's assent. If the President refused to assent, the Bill could be carried over his head by a two-thirds' majority of each House.

The members of the federal Supreme Court as in Great Britain and South Africa, were to be appointed by the head of the state and were only to be dismissed after impeachment. They were to act as an ordinary court of appeal but their most important duty was to decide on the true meaning of the constitution if need arose. Like our own constitution but unlike the British, the American is a *written* constitution. The powers of the central and local governments are set out in black and white as precisely as possible. But whereas the British and, except in one or two very important points, the South African constitutions are *flexible*, that is, alterable by ordinary laws passed in the ordinary way, that of the U.S.A. is *rigid*. It can only be changed after many difficult conditions have been complied with and then the alteration must be ratified by three-fourths of the states.¹ It is the most rigid constitution of any importance in the world, so rigid that only nineteen amendments have ever been carried and three of those at the price of a terrible civil war. It falls to the lot of the Supreme Court to arbitrate, as it were, in disputes between the central and local authorities or between either of them and private citizens as to the precise meaning of this all-important document.

Such in main outline was the form of government which the Old Thirteen accepted in 1789. But the makers of the constitution looked ahead. They made provision for the automatic inclusion of new states in the Union. The question was forced upon them by the fact that some of the states, whose western boundaries were undefined, were already quarrelling about their respective shares of what had been Louisiana, the great plains that stretched away behind the Alleghany mountains uninhabited save for Red

¹ Amendments may be put before the people either by a two-thirds majority of each house or by vote of two-thirds of the State legislatures. In either case, they must be ratified by three-quarters of the States.

Indians and a few European hunters. To avoid the strife which must otherwise have ensued, they induced the states to do a very wise thing. All this vast area was placed under the central government as Federal Territory to be ruled as a kind of republican Crown Colony till, with the spread of population thither, it could be cut up into new states. The flag of the U.S.A. tells the story. The red and white stripes stand for the Old Thirteen, the foundation members of the Union. At first there were thirteen stars as well; to-day there are forty-eight.

General Effect of the American Revolution.—The influence of the American Revolution was not confined to the 3,000,000 inhabitants of the Union, black and white, bond and free. It helped to make British Canada, to give Ireland twenty years of Home Rule and to bring forth the French Revolution. It also helped to shift the centre of gravity of the British Empire from America to India and the Pacific lands of the East with very important results for the Cape Colony. Ultimately, it provided one of the strongest arguments that led Great Britain to give up the Old Colonial System.

Canada.—In spite of the loss of the Old Thirteen, Great Britain still held many West Indian islands and, on the mainland, a group of colonies which were destined to become the Dominion of Canada. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island had all had representative assemblies of the usual kind before the outbreak of the War of Independence. During and after the war, "Tories" from the revolted colonies, people of whom little is said in most histories of that time but who none the less suffered much at the hands of the victorious "Whigs," poured north on to what was still British soil. About 100,000 of these United Empire Loyalists settled in New Brunswick or in Ontario away to the west of French Quebec.

The coming of these men to Ontario made some change necessary for that territory was still part of Canada and, as such, ruled by the officials at far-away Quebec according to the French civil law. In spite of the widespread fear in Great Britain that the best way to lose colonies was to give them representative institutions, Pitt,



Map No. 2.

son of Chatham, passed the Constitutional Act (1791). English Canada (Ontario) was thereby divided from French Canada (Quebec) and each province was given a legislature of two Houses with the usual powers. Pitt's arrangement in the Two Canadas held good until 1840 and served to link the constitutional development of the old British Empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with that of the new, which, in the nineteenth century saw the development of full responsible government in Canada first and then in Australasia and South Africa.

Ireland.—The history of Ireland is a distressful one. George III and a Parliament of two Houses at Dublin ruled Ireland as a kingdom separate from that of Great Britain. The power of the Irish Parliament was limited. Laws of 1494 and 1719 forbade it to pass any Bills which had not been approved of by the English Privy Council, that is, in practice the English ministry, and gave the Westminster Parliament power to legislate for Ireland over its head.

The mass of the Irish were very different in spirit and tradition from the mass of the English and the Scots; above all, they were Catholics and, as such, they were denied the franchise and were shut out from seats on city councils, the bench, the bar and juries, and were refused commissions in the army and the navy. The Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster were also excluded from the Irish Parliament, for those were days when men still held that only those who belonged to the state church were entitled to political power. None the less, all Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant alike, were taxed for the support of the Established Church of England which was also the established Church of Ireland. Shut out from other walks of life, the Catholic Irish became priests, agitators, soldiers or peasants. Many enlisted in the army, others took service under the king of France and served him well especially against the British, but most of them were and remained small peasants.

Land, as in South Africa, was the crux of the situation. The old Irish land law had been as different from the English in many ways as the Bantu law is different from our own; yet the English law had been enforced, especially after the wars of conquest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Irish had naturally replied by indulging in massacre

when they could or by calling in the Spanish or French enemies of England; but the upshot was that masses of land had been taken away from them and "planted" with English and Scottish settlers. Ireland was, in fact, the first British colony. The largest settlement of this kind had been made in the north-east, in Ulster, which is still markedly different from the rest of the island. As in Great Britain, the tendency had been for the land to fall into the hands of a few big landlords. Most of these men about 1760 lived in England and left agents in charge of their estates. These agents squeezed the tenants for high rents with such vigour that they squeezed many Protestant Ulstermen out and across the Atlantic there to stiffen Washington's army. The Catholic Irish clung desperately to the land and paid or promised to pay higher and ever higher rents. There was nothing else for them to do, for Ireland, unlike Scotland, was not on an equal footing with England under the Old Colonial System. She was a colony and treated as such, treated indeed much more rigorously than other colonies which were further away and less like England itself. The Whig Parliaments of the eighteenth century encouraged the Ulster linen manufacture for they had need of linen, but they practically forbade the development of other industries like cloth weaving. It was harsh; but South Africans, who fear the competition of low-paid coloured labour, can at least understand the fears of eighteenth century Englishmen in face of the sweated population of Ireland which was increasing by leaps and bounds.

The Irish Union.—So Ireland was ruled or misruled by the small Anglican minority which centred on Dublin, the home of a society which combined Irish wit and charm with English ideas on art, literature and life. It was this Dublin which produced such men as the great Dean Swift and Edmund Burke, but it was in this Dublin that the Irish Parliament sat, a legislature more corrupt and rotten than that at Westminster. The House of Lords contained the Irish peers and bishops, the House of Commons 300 members elected nominally by the Anglican "garrison." Actually, half the seats were in the gift of thirty wealthy men, "a handful of landowners, as narrow, selfish and

irresponsible an oligarchy as the world has ever seen." George III infuriated these men by taking charge of the patronage, which they had hitherto controlled, at the very moment that hard times and land hunger led to violent outbreaks among the peasantry in the North and South.

Then came the American war. The closing of the American ports damaged the Irish trade and, to make up for that loss, North, after much opposition from English merchants and manufacturers, gave Ireland greater freedom of trade elsewhere. She was even allowed to export woollen goods and, in keeping with the removal of some of the burdens on Nonconformists in England, Protestant Irishmen of all kinds were allowed to hold official posts (1779-80). When France entered the war, Ulster raised Volunteers to defend Ireland. Presently, the Catholics enrolled and, as the British troops were withdrawn, the Volunteers under the great orator, Grattan, became real masters of Ireland. On the fall of the North ministry, the Rockingham Whigs repealed the Acts which limited the powers of the Irish Parliament and left Ireland connected with Great Britain solely by the fact that George was king of both countries and the British ministry also the ministry for Ireland (1782). Some Irishmen talked of independence, but Grattan stood out against them because, he said, "You can get a King anywhere, but England is the only country with whom you can participate a free constitution." That, at the time, was true.

The arrangement was an uneasy one. Matters of trade and of foreign policy soon strained it. The younger Pitt's attempt to give Ireland free trade with Great Britain in return for a contribution towards the Navy (1785) was wrecked by opposition in England and in Ireland. Some Irishmen wanted a Navy of their own; others talked of remaining neutral in case of war; French ideas began to spread and soon Ulster had visions of a republic. Then, in 1790, Wolfe Tone founded the Society of United Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant together, to press for the repeal of the laws which pressed so hard on the Catholics.

Tone was encouraged by the fact that, following on the concessions made to Canadian Catholics by the Quebec Act, many of the penal laws had recently been abolished in England. Grattan, in spite of his followers, wanted to

repeal them in Ireland, and Pitt managed to carry a few minor reforms. But fear of the Catholics and of the Pope was deep in England and, when a new Viceroy went too far in raising the hopes of the Irish Catholics, Pitt had to recall him (1795). Great Britain was now fighting for her life against Revolutionary France and her allies. Tone, therefore, called on France for help while bands of Catholics and Protestants fought each other in Ireland. A French expedition failed (1796), Irish sailors did much to cause the dangerous mutiny in the fleet at the Nore (1797), the Government raised Yeomanry in Ireland who treated the United Irishmen with great ferocity and, by 1798, Southern Ireland was in rebellion. The Protestants withdrew from the struggle and at length the Catholics, disappointed of French aid, were crushed by the Yeomanry and German mercenaries. Pitt decided that the only solution was union. He bought out the owners of the Irish seats which would have to be suppressed at the market price, £15,000 apiece, and, by dint of further wholesale bribery among "the most corrupt people under Heaven" as the disgusted Viceroy called them, he induced the Irish Parliament to vote its own extinction.

By the Act of Union of 1800, twenty-eight Irish peers and 100 commoners were given seats in the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Ireland was given the trading privileges which had been offered her in 1785. But the two gifts which might have reconciled the mass of the Irish to Union were withheld. The bad old land laws remained untouched and Catholic Emancipation, which Pitt had clearly been prepared to grant in return for union, was not given. George III let Pitt resign rather than yield on that point. Nearly a generation later the boon was granted, but by that time the mischief had been done.

Books for Further Reading :

- H. E. Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, pp. 170-233 (American Colonies) and 234-55 (Canada); W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, chap. xxxv; Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, pp. 305-14 (American Revolution); Gertrude Atherton, *The Conqueror* (Alexander Hamilton); G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the 19th Century*, pp. 1-59 (Great Britain), and 99-107 (Ireland).

M.A.P.S.—Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plates 50, 52 and 56.

CHAPTER III.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789-1802.

Political Liberty.—It is hard to say exactly how much our civilisation owes to the efforts of any one nation since all nations have borrowed so freely from one another. Probably we owe the modern ideas of religious toleration and of international law more to the Dutch than to any other people. Certainly we owe modern national self-government mainly to the English, the Americans and the French. The English, free in their island to make experiments which were forbidden to other more dangerously placed peoples, showed the way. They framed government machinery which more or less secured to them the liberties which they regarded as “the birthright of Englishmen.” Their conception of these liberties was, however, purely national and by no means democratic. Americans as Englishmen overseas had shared in those liberties from the first and, though they had broken away, they had based their constitution largely on them. But they had also borrowed a great many ideas from France and had tried to find room in the new machinery of government for the rights of all free men in democratic fashion.

Americans were better able to do this than most men for in 1783 there were very few rich men in America and, outside the ranks of the slaves, comparatively few really poor ones. It is easy to exaggerate the social equality in the colonies before the War of Independence. There were fairly well-defined social distinctions and these were becoming more marked, but the war stimulated the democratic idea and, at the end of it, there really was considerable equality as well as liberty and, now that the “Tories” were going, something of fraternity in the U.S.A. Nevertheless, the Americans were making their great experiment in a vast and nearly empty land three thousand miles away from the armies and the partitioning diplomats of Old Europe. It

was reserved for France, an ancient kingdom of 26,000,000 souls, a museum of mediaeval and modern institutions, the very heart of the European state system, to proclaim Liberty, Equality, Fraternity as the natural rights of Man all the world over and to apply those principles first within her own borders and then outside them.

Causes of the French Revolution.—The connection between the American and the French Revolutions is very close. Not only did they spring largely from the same body of ideas but the hundreds of Frenchmen who, like Lafayette, served against the British in America, came back full of enthusiasm for a people which had “resisted tyrants.” If in America, why not in France too? Secondly, the French Government emerged from the struggle with a crushing burden of debt. Both the example and the debt were fatal to the old order of things in France and therefore in Europe, especially as Frenchmen paid more heed to the actual struggle against the British than to the painful but more fruitful process of constitution-building which had followed it.

There are two points to be laid hold of firmly before the French Revolution can be understood. First, all European countries were socially, economically and politically very much alike. Everywhere there was more or less the same division of people into privileged and unprivileged classes. The overturn of this arrangement in any large country such as France was bound to upset it elsewhere. Secondly, the Revolution in France was essentially a rising of the middle class, the bourgeoisie, the Third Estate, against the remains of the mediaeval Feudal System. It was not a movement of the peasantry nor even of the Paris mob. These played their parts but the lead was always taken by men of that middle class which has provided the leaders of revolutions from the days of Mohammed to those of the Bolsheviks. And what this middle class struck at was Privilege, what they demanded was Equality even more than Liberty.

There were four social classes in this Old Europe. In France the Church was the next most powerful institution after the Crown. It owned one-fifth of the land and was exempt from many taxes. Its position had been weakened

by the attacks of the philosophers but the Third Estate and the peasantry objected to it not on religious grounds, for most of them were much better Catholics than some of the bishops, but because all the higher offices in it were reserved for nobles and because it was expensive, lazy on the whole, and too much taken up with politics.

Next came the Nobles. They formed a large class for, whereas in England only the head of the house was noble, in France all the sons and daughters shared that nobility and its privileges. The nobles owned three-tenths of the land, avoided many of the taxes, and had a monopoly of all the places worth having in the Church, the Army, the Navy and the Diplomatic Service. Since 1781 no Frenchman could hold a commission in the Army unless he could prove that he had four generations of noble blood behind him. That rule nearly condemned Napoleon to rise no higher than the rank of sergeant-major. Many of the Nobles were excellent men but they were in a false position. In early days under the Feudal System, nobles had been given privileges because they had had to perform difficult and dangerous duties, but for many years past it had been the policy of the Kings to take away the power of the nobles to perform those duties and to collect the nobles themselves at the court. Hence, the French nobles lost touch with the people on their estates. Most of them merely drew rents and other payments, lived gracefully and luxuriously at Versailles, and kept their privileges. In La Vendée, in the west, where the nobles, like their English and Prussian fellows, did live among their own folk, the peasantry fought hard against the Revolution.

Next came the Third Estate, the merchants, the skilled artisans and the swarming lawyers of the towns, jealous of the nobles and contemptuous of the wretched peasants. They had very little political experience for, as in Holland and England, their town councils were in the hands of cliques, often bankrupt and always much under the control of the central authorities; but it was they who were reading Rousseau, following the course of events in America, and demanding equality of opportunity, "the career open to talent," in return for the taxes they had to pay.

The full weight of these and of much else fell on the Fourth Estate, the mass of the nation, the peasants, ignorant,

suspicious, excitable and more unused than even the bourgeoisie to political action. They were by no means the most unhappy peasantry in Europe ; indeed, in many ways they were better off than any save those in England. The further east men travelled into Europe, the more serfs they found, that is, men who could not be moved off the land they cultivated so long as they paid their lords the customary dues in money, goods or labour, but who could not move away from that land without their lord's consent. In France most of the peasants were free men and not serfs at all. They owned nearly half the land in the country and their position was slowly improving.

On the other hand, peasants were taxed by two governments and got very little from either. Many shammed poverty to escape the pressure of the royal taxes which were farmed to financiers who paid the treasury so much and then recovered that and something over from the taxpayers at their leisure. But there was no escape from the *corvée*, compulsory labour on the roads or in the public service, from the *gabelle* (salt tax), nor from the risk of having to serve in the army. There was no general conscription, but unprivileged men had to draw lots. If a bourgeois drew an unlucky number, he could usually pay a peasant to serve in his stead. The peasant could not afford to do that but must serve in a force where discipline was harsh, pay bad and hope of promotion small. There was even less escape from the feudal dues which varied infinitely in different parts of the country, or from the tithes payable to the Church or to the local monastery. It has been reckoned that, at the time of the Revolution, the peasant paid away 81% of his earnings to others and lived on the remainder as best he could. Few of these men could read the *Social Contract*, but they were ready to hearken to those who would expound it to them with illustrations drawn from the list of grievances of which they were only too conscious.

France thus sharply divided into classes was further divided into thirty provinces each under a royal Intendent. These men were responsible to the king and the heads of the government departments. This royal machinery worked slowly, expensively and badly for it had to compete with remains of old local institutions in towns, provinces,

feudal domains and Church lands which were strong enough to hamper without controlling it. Its headquarters was at Versailles twelve miles from the capital, far enough away to be a little, artificial world of its own, and near enough to be reached by the Paris mob in a single day. The king on whom so much depended was not the man for the post. Louis XVI was moral, honest, patriotic, as industrious as Frederick the Great and much more scrupulous, but he was easily swayed while he was slowly making up his mind and, once he had made it up, absolutely immovable; he knew more of foreign affairs than those of his own country; he was far too attentive to the opinions of his wife. Perhaps he could not help himself for Marie Antoinette was said to be "the only man he had about him." She was as charming, brave and disastrous as Mary Queen of Scots. Her lack of political ability was hardly atoned for by an endless thirst for intrigue and, at a time when France was sinking into bankruptcy, a boundless extravagance. Worst of all, to the mass of the French, she was *L'Autrichienne*, the Austrian woman, living symbol of the alliance with that House of Hapsburg which had been the traditional enemy till "reasons of state" had made it necessary that she should marry Louis.

At Louis' accession this cumbrous and expensive government was already loaded with debt as a result of the wars, the magnificence and the muddle of the long reigns of Louis XIV and XV. Quite early in Louis' reign the Physiocrat, Turgot, almost saved the situation (1774-76). Turgot swept away the absurd duties on corn levied at the provincial boundaries and thus made France a free trade area in that vital commodity; he abolished the manufacturing guilds (*jurandes*) which kept industries in the hands of little cliques; he ended the royal *corvée*, laid a small tax on noble and clerical lands, and proposed a scheme of elected local councils leading up to a kind of advisory Parliament at Paris which would have gone far to end the unhealthy centralisation of the machinery of government. Meanwhile, one of his colleagues abolished torture and tried to abolish arbitrary imprisonment (*lettres de cachet*).

Turgot was overthrown by the Queen, the higher clergy, the die-hard nobles, a bad harvest and the Parlement of Paris, a more or less hereditary law court which had the

right of registering the royal decrees. The *jurandes* and the royal *corvée* were restored, France plunged into the American war, and successive finance ministers tried to stave off the day of reckoning by raising loans. One of them, Necker, before he lost office for trying to tax the privileged classes, startled France by publishing a statement of the national balance sheet (1781). Necker was a prudent banker from Geneva and he did not tell France all the truth but he told her enough to show that the government was nearly bankrupt. It was a terrible blow to the middle class which then, as now, put most of its savings into government securities (*rentes*). Henceforward the cry went up for a sound financial policy and for a definite constitution. At last, too late, Louis called in Necker once more. All that Necker could do was to announce national bankruptcy and agree to the summoning of the States General.

The States General.—The meeting of this relic of the Middle Ages, the first meeting since 1614, marks the beginning of the French Revolution (May 1789). The members came up with lists of demands (*cahiers*, mandates) from their constituents. Those of the privileged orders suggested that feudal dues should be bought out, that *lettres de cachet*, exemptions from taxes, their own exclusive control of the diplomatic and fighting services, and a mass of pensions and sinecure offices should be abolished, and that the parish priests (*curés*) should be better paid. Those of the Third Estate harped more on the need for equality.

The Third Estate was a most respectable body quite unlike the red revolutionists of fiction, but it came into conflict with the Court at the outset. In the old days the Estates had sat and debated in three Houses: Clergy, Nobles and Third Estate. Hence, it had usually been possible for the two privileged Houses to outvote the unprivileged. This time the Third Estate had been given as many members as the rest put together. Against the wishes of the King, it demanded that all three Orders (Estates) should sit together and vote "by head," that is, one man one vote, for it hoped thereby to sway the majority. Some of the lower clergy sympathised with it and took their seats in its House. At last, believing that the authorities meant to dissolve the States General, the enlarged Third Estate

met in the Tennis Court at Versailles and took oath to stand or fall together. In face of this, Necker resigned and a body of Nobles led by the Duke of Orleans, a member of the royal house who consistently plotted against his sovereign, came over to the Third Estate. Louis gave way. All three Estates met together in the Riding School, formed themselves into the National Assembly, and set to work to clear away abuses and to make a constitution.

The National Assembly.—The Assembly was very ill-fitted to do the work that had to be done. It was a huge unwieldy body of 1,200 men, ignorant of parliamentary procedure, without recognised leaders at first, suspicious of the Court, and forced to debate in full view of the gallery crowded with people of all sorts and conditions. Times were very bad. The harvests of 1788, 1789 and 1790 were all poor, relief works had to be opened at the capital, and a mob was thus being collected which was destined to play havoc with the building of the constitution. Already speakers and writers like Desmoulins and Danton were at work among them, and the newly-formed Jacobin Club was forming branches in different parts of France all linked up to the parent society at Versailles. Worse still, the Queen was known to be hostile to the Assembly, some of the courtiers talked of using force to overawe it, Swiss and German regiments were concentrated at Versailles. Thereupon the Paris mob, swelled by men from other parts and by some of the Paris garrison, stormed the Bastille, the mediaeval castle which overtopped the capital (July 14).

It was the first act of violence. To quiet the growing excitement, Louis recognised what was really a revolutionary city council in Paris and the newly-raised National Guards, a middle class body under Lafayette, for the most part determined to put down mob rule but quite prepared to defy the royal authority. He also donned the red, white and blue cockade, the tricolour, the new colours of the Nation as distinct from the white cockade of the Bourbons.¹

¹ The arms of the Kings of France in the Middle Ages had been golden lilies on a blue ground. Their battle-flag, the Oriflamme, had been red. Joan of Arc had rallied the French against the English under a white flag. Golden lilies on a white flag were the colours of the Bourbon kings. The colours of Paris were red and blue. Hence the red, white and blue of the French tricolour. There is a deal of history embodied in some flags.

The king had thus lost control of Paris, and his brother, the Count of Artois afterwards Charles X, fled the country, followed by a steadily growing stream of nobles.

As this "Joyous Emigration" proceeded, municipal councils and National Guards on the Paris model were organised in town after town of France. Meanwhile the National Assembly, amid indescribable enthusiasm from the floor of the House and from the crowded gallery, freed the serfs and the colonial slaves, swept away the *jurandes* and other corporate bodies, abolished tithes and cancelled a mass of feudal dues in return for compensation to the holders (4th August, 1789). Outside, however, the government machine broke down. Officials could not collect taxes, for what place have taxes in the day of liberty? Peasants refused to redeem the feudal dues and, in some places, burnt the castles of their lords. Then while the Assembly was setting forth in detail the Rights of Man and debating the best way in which to limit the royal authority, the Paris mob practically destroyed the monarchy. Furious that the Assembly should propose to limit the franchise to payers of direct taxes only and driven frantic by a rumour that the Court party was causing a shortage of bread in the capital, the mob led by the market women marched out and rushed the palace at Versailles. Lafayette's Guards arrived in time to save the Queen, but the royal family had to go back with the mob to Paris (October).

The Flight to Varennes.—The rest of this part of the story is soon told. The Assembly humbly followed the King to Paris, and Paris took control of the Revolution. The Assembly, wedded to Montèsquieu's theory of the "division of powers" and jealous of the executive, would not listen to the appeals of Mirabeau, an able noble with a dingy past, to set up something like the British cabinet system. That in the eyes of the respectable members of the Third Estate, already suspicious of Mirabeau's past follies, was impossible. It was English and they wanted nothing English. Neither would they have anything so American as a federal system. There must be no division of sovereignty in that sense. Authority must be centralised at Paris. So, Mirabeau died knowing that he had failed to set up a constitutional monarchy.

Meanwhile, the Assembly confiscated the Church lands and used them as security for the *assignats*, the paper money, which the bankruptcy of the government forced them to issue in ever greater quantities. It also decreed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). Henceforward, bishops and priests were to be popularly elected in each of the eighty-three departments into which France had just been divided. The Pope's approval was not to be asked; the clergy were to be paid by the state; in other words, the Church was to be a branch of the civil service, like the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Colony at that time. Two-thirds of the priests and all save four of the bishops refused to take the oath of obedience to the state under the new system. The result was that the Church in France and, therefore, the nation, were split from top to bottom and remained split till 1801.

Louis had resisted these sweeping changes as best he could but, at last, he fled east with his family hoping to reach the loyal garrison at Metz and from that vantage ground to speak to Paris and the Assembly on more equal terms. He was arrested by National Guardsmen at Varennes and sent back to his capital virtually as a prisoner. There, he was obliged to accept a new constitution which reduced his powers to a farce and left his ministers in the hands of committees of the legislature (1791).¹

War.—The National Assembly duly broke up after decreeing that none of its members should sit in the Legislative Assembly which was to be elected under the new constitution (October, 1791). Most of the members of the new legislature were under thirty years of age; more than half were lawyers chosen for their much speaking. Parties were fairly clearly defined. The Right, the Royalists, were a small minority; the Feuillants, supporters of the new constitution, were more numerous; the Centre was the largest party of all but also the most undecided; the Left was split into two sections, both closely connected with the Jacobin Club and both republican. The milder party, the Girondins, came from the south. They wanted a free and

¹ More than one constitution was drafted and even accepted by Louis between 1789 and 1791. The general effect of the last constitution is as stated here.

democratic republic on federal lines so as to free the departments from the grip of Paris; but the other section, the Mountain, men of the north and east, were red republicans and believers in centralised rule, men who knew what they wanted and would stick at nothing to get it.¹ They were in touch with the strongest leaders of the Jacobin Club and of the press the real rulers of Paris and of France, men like Desmoulins the wit, Danton, in many ways a statesman, and Robespierre, the narrow, honest and vindictive lawyer of Arras. These men, debarred from seats in the legislature because they had sat in the National Assembly, pushed the Left, and the Left pushed the Legislative Assembly. The shadowy powers of the King were still further cut down, priests who refused to take the oath of obedience were declared to be "suspect" of treason, the lands of the Emigré nobles were confiscated and sold.

The new Assembly had also to face war with Old Europe. Thanks partly to her great military reputation, France had been given two clear years in which to carry through her revolution without let or hindrance from outside. But the main reason why she was given this respite was that her enemies were busy elsewhere. It is true that Catherine of Russia, who was steadily absorbing Turkish territory, urged Prussia and Austria to go to the rescue of a brother king in distress while she dealt with the Poles who had dared to set up a good constitutional monarchy; Marie Antoinette, the growing crowd of *émigrés* and the German princelings who had lost their feudal rights in Alsace clamoured for intervention; but it was only after the Flight to Varennes that Frederic William of Prussia and Leopold of Austria, the Holy Roman Emperor, declared the Revolution a public danger and offered to take steps to strengthen the French monarchy if all the others Powers would help them (August, 1791).

This Declaration of Pilnitz was a farce. Privately the two kings looked on the Revolution as a godsend, since it put France out of action and thus left them free to deal with the Poles. Besides, they knew that Great Britain,

¹ Unlike the members of the British Parliament and of our own, those of the French Assemblies did not and do not sit facing one another. They sat in a semi-circle of seats facing the president. The Mountain was so-called because it sat on the upper tiers of seats on the left. The Centre was sometimes called the Plain, or, in derision, the Marsh.

under the rule of the pacific Pitt, would never intervene unless she had to. Farce though it was, it had serious consequences. There was a war party in France which took up the challenge. The Feuillants were in office at the moment and were not opposed to a war which would distract men's minds from home politics. In March, 1792, however, they made way for Girondin ministers who looked to war as the best means of spreading revolutionary doctrines through Europe. At this moment, Francis, the new Emperor, showed signs of coming to the help of his sister, Marie Antoinette. The Girondins, therefore, forced Louis to declare war "on the King of Bohemia and Hungary," that is, on Austria (April, 1792). They thus began the cycle of wars which did not really end till the fall of Napoleon nearly a quarter of a century later.

The French Republic.—As the Austrians, Prussians and *émigrés* poured over the frontiers of France, power passed into the hands of the Jacobin Club which was itself now in the hands of the Mountain. The Mountain had not wanted war for fear of strengthening the hands of the executive against the legislature which they controlled, but they now became ministers and swore to burn Paris rather than surrender. The Jacobin Commune (municipal council) took charge of Paris and Danton sent to the sea-ports of Brest and Marseilles for "six hundred men who knew how to die." Presently the men of Marseilles tramped into Paris dragging their cannon with them to the strains of Rouget de Lille's new battle hymn of the Revolution, the immortal *Marseillaise*. They arrived just as the Duke of Brunswick, in command of the invaders, promised to destroy Paris if the royal family were harmed. Their reply was to lead the Paris mob against the palace of the Tuileries, to massacre the faithful Swiss Guard, and to drive Louis to seek refuge with the Legislative Assembly (August 10th).

The monarchy was suspended and the royal family virtually imprisoned in the Temple. Danton, minister of justice, then struck hard. Paris was swarming with spies, the king and queen were known to have been telling the enemy the military plans of France, the country was in danger, it was no time for half measures. Suspects were collected in the prisons and were slain in hundreds, some after a form of

trial, others without. During and immediately after these September massacres a new legislature was elected by the one-fifth of the electors of France who dared to vote. This was the famous National Convention to which all the Jacobin leaders of the Mountain were duly returned. A fortnight after the massacres they declared France a republic, one and indivisible (1792).

Valmy.—In that same week the invasion was stayed, almost miraculously. Two-thirds of the noble officers of France had resigned or fled to join the *émigrés* and, though seventeen of the new officers elected by the soldiers to take their places were destined to become Marshals of France under Napoleon, they and most of their fellows had still to learn their profession. Their men, old soldiers and raw recruits, were ill-disciplined and worse equipped. Against them came the pick of the soldiery of Europe. The late eighteenth century was the hey-day of the small, gaily uniformed, and wonderfully drilled and disciplined professional armies. War was a slow and stately business; manoeuvring, formal sieges and winter quarters for one-third of the year, marching, more marching,

“ . . . pipe-claying and starching,

To stand in the morning and be killed by the French.”

Science, experience and all the paraphernalia of war were on the side of the Allies, but they themselves were jealous of each other and their men knew little and cared less for what their kings were fighting. Desperation and a determination to defend the equality and the lands of the privileged orders which the Revolution had won for them were on the side of the French. The old forces and the new faced one another at Valmy. After the usual cannonade, the steady battalions of Prussia moved forward to the attack but, as a roar of unexpected cheering swept along the French line, they halted, turned and marched back. Why, no man knows,¹ but so it was and France and the Revolution were saved.

The French then took the offensive. They advanced to the “natural frontier” of the Alps; they pushed into

¹ Some say that they were stogged in the mud of the valley, others that they were suffering severely from dysentery brought on by eating too many of the grapes of Champagne. Probably the French artillery was too much for them.

the Rhineland and were welcomed to Mainz by the Illuminati (that is, Germans who admired the French philosophy). Dumouriez beat the Austrians at Jemappes, to the great joy of the Belgians, and overran the Austrian Netherlands (November, 1792). There, the Revolutionists did what Joseph II had not been allowed to do. In the name of Reason and Natural Rights they declared the Scheldt and its port of Antwerp open to the shipping of the world.

The Year One.—Encouraged by these victories and by the withdrawal of Prussia to assist Russia in the second partition of Poland, the Convention first offered to help any people which desired to be free and then promised to treat as enemies all peoples who refused to accept Liberty and Equality and sought to come to terms with their rulers or privileged classes (December, 1792). Meanwhile, within France, it severed all links with the royal and feudal past. It adopted the metric system and a new calendar dating from September, 1792, the Year One of the Republic; it began to codify the law and to draw up a scheme of national education on the lines laid down by Rousseau, and left Danton and Carnot, an engineer officer, to reorganise the army. Then, in January, 1793, in spite of the efforts of the Girondins, the Mountain executed the king. It made no pretence at justice, but frankly considered the matter on the grounds of policy. The unhappy Louis was guillotined, and France flung down to the kings "the head of a King as a gage of battle."

Pitt.—The gage was soon picked up. Since 1783 Great Britain had been governed by the Tory, William Pitt, second son of the great Earl of Chatham. Pitt made an end of George's system and, next to Walpole, became the greatest builder of the Cabinet system. He was strong in popular support and in the fact that the only alternative minister was Charles James Fox, whom George hated as a Whig and the bosom friend of the Prince of Wales. Pitt soon gained the king's confidence and for ten years nursed the English finances back to strength after the strains of the Seven Years and the American wars. He gained something like real control for the first time over the English East India Company; in accordance with the teachings of the

economist Adam Smith, he simplified the tangle of customs duties which were strangling British trade and industry and giving a livelihood to countless smugglers and revenue officers; he secured a commercial treaty with France which made trade between the two countries easier, and tried in vain to do the same for Ireland. He abolished many sinecure offices and even proposed a cautious reform of the Commons, while his rival, Fox, carried a Libel Act which gave still greater freedom to speech and to the press by leaving it to the jury and not to the judge to decide whether or no a statement was libellous. Fox, ever generous, supported Pitt in his repeated attempts to abolish the Slave Trade, which Wilberforce, Pitt's friend, was already attacking.

In short, Great Britain seemed to be set upon a course of steady though conservative reform which would have anticipated the liberal reforms of the eighteen-thirties by a full generation. Unfortunately, she became involved in the wars with Revolutionary France which not only stopped the reforming movement but deprived her of many of the liberties which she already enjoyed.

Great Britain enters the War.—For a long time, Pitt looked on the French Revolution as no concern of his except that it made war with the “*aunchient* enemy” unlikely and thus enabled him to reduce the size of the navy. Fox, on the other hand, had hailed the fall of the Bastille with wild delight; English Radicals corresponded freely with French politicians; Tom Paine was actually elected a member of the National Convention and, as the sun of liberty rose behind the towers of Notre Dame, poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge felt it “*joy to be alive, and to be young was very Heaven.*”

The mass of Englishmen paid little heed to what was going on for the ways of the French had always passed their understanding. They themselves were not ill content. They had their own Parliament, a free press and freedom of speech and public meeting, Habeas Corpus and trial by jury, a Church which was privileged but not persecuting, a much better system of taxation and some sort of local government, fewer philosophers and a great contempt for “*new-fangled notions.*” They might not all have votes, but they felt themselves to be free men. Moreover, the

Wesleyan movement, which had arisen about 1730, had spread widely among all classes and had awakened an Evangelical revival in the established Church. Wesleyans and Evangelicals alike were shocked at the irreligion of some of the French Revolutionists and felt little sympathy with the rest who were Catholics like the "wild Irish."

But there was one Irishman who viewed the Revolution with horror as a violent break with the past. Burke in press and Parliament stirred up opposition to "an armed doctrine . . . fanatical propaganda . . . a movement which has its centre in France and its circumference everywhere." After the Convention had decreed "compulsory liberty" Pitt listened to Burke, for he was now alarmed for England's security. The opening of the Scheldt tore up treaties, and the French occupation of Antwerp faced England with the strong power in Belgium which she had always been prepared to fight since the days of the Spanish Armada; the execution of Louis dismayed a people forgetful of what had happened at Whitehall in 1649; the attempts of the French ambassador to make trouble in Ireland turned that horror to fury. In the end France declared war, but she declared it on a people that was itching for a fight (February, 1793).

The Terror.—France was already at war with Austria, Prussia, Spain, the Netherlands, Sardinia and Russia. Prussia and Russia were busy at the moment in Poland, but the tide had turned against the Republic. Dumouriez, horrified at the violence of the Mountain and defeated by the Austrians at Neerwinden, deserted to the enemy; the royalists, noble and peasant, rose in La Vendée, Lyons and Marseilles; the great naval port of Toulon admitted a Sardinian garrison and a British squadron; the Corsicans revolted. Disasters on the frontiers produced the Reign of Terror within France. The Jacobins set up the Committee of Public Safety to spur on the government departments; they decreed a *levée en masse* of the manhood of France to repel the invaders; they pitilessly guillotined unsuccessful commanders; they slew all who were suspected of plotting against the Republic. The secret Committee of Public Security provided work for the Revolutionary Tribunal. The country was in danger, and they executed the Queen and the Duke of Orleans. Equality, they declared, was

more even than liberty and they sent the Girondins to *Madame la Guillotine*; but they also quelled the royalist risings in Lyons and Marseilles, forced the Allies out of Toulon, and made the vulnerable northern frontier safe by crushing the Austrians at Wattignies.

France was thus thrusting back her enemies, but still the Terror continued. It is easy to exaggerate its horrors. The theatres remained open in Paris throughout; the victims were far fewer than those slain, for instance, in the crushing of the Communist rising in Paris in 1871; but it was sufficiently horrible. The Jacobins presently began to devour each other. Hébert, with his Goddess of Reason and his passion for destruction, went first; then Robespierre executed Danton for trying to stop the slaughter. For a while Robespierre, an honest fanatic believing that in time of revolution the government must rule "by Virtue and Terror," was the real ruler of France. Robespierre died, as did so many of his fellows, for his beliefs and he died poor. He was guillotined by men who had no intention of doing either. Barras, Tallien and the other "Men of Thermidor" struck at him to save their own necks and were mightily surprised when they were hailed as the saviours of their country. (July, 1794).

This "Thermidorian Reaction" ended the Terror. The well-to-do middle class rallied to the Thermidorians, closed the Jacobin Clubs and cut down the powers of the revolutionary Committees. A new constitution was drawn up. A Directory of five was to control the government departments; the many vacancies in the National Convention were to be filled up by men elected by those citizens who paid direct taxes, a grievous departure from equality; the Convention was then to be divided into two chambers: the Council of Five Hundred which was to initiate all laws, and the Council of the Ancients which was to act as a check upon it. Fortune favoured the Thermidorians. The Austrians, defeated again at Fleurus, went off after the Prussians to share in the third partition of Poland; Pichegru was welcomed by the Dutch republicans who proclaimed the Netherlands the Batavian Republic and entered into an alliance with France; Spain made peace and, by the Treaty of Basel, Prussia came to terms with the Revolution (1795). At home, La Vendée was "pacified" and, in Paris itself,

Napoleon Bonaparte, a gunner officer who had done good work at the siege of Toulon, dispersed a mixed mob of Royalists, National Guards and Jacobins, of all indeed who objected to the new *régime* (October, 1795). That "whiff of grapeshot" in the streets of Paris in Vendémiaire of the Year III of the Republic ended the "sacred right of insurrection" and firmly established the Directory and the Councils, the most sordid government that France had ever had.

The Italian Campaign.—The Revolution had accomplished much. Masses of noble and Church land had passed into the hands of the peasants who were freer and, as a consequence, were farming better than before. "The career open to talent" had been won; good administrators had sprung up from many quarters; the new generals and the armies had gained for France those "Natural Frontiers" which French statesmen had longed for since the days of Richelieu. But French trade and, to a great extent, industry were ruined; bread sold at £2 10s. per lb. in the depreciated paper money; and France, weary and disillusioned, had fallen under the sway of stock-jobbers, army contractors and men who had speculated in assignats.

Such rulers dared not call the conquering soldiers back to France, for the crusading zeal of the Revolution which was burning low in Paris still glowed in the armies of France; they dared not risk too many generals in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries even if they could persuade the last of their enemies to make peace. Besides, loot might yet restore the shattered finances. Austria, Sardinia and Great Britain still kept the field, and the Directory already had an army in Italy facing the two land powers. They now appointed Bonaparte to the command. "This officer," one of his superiors had written, "is general of artillery and in this arm has sound knowledge, but has somewhat too much ambition and intriguing habits for his advancement." Bonaparte certainly understood guns. He revolutionised field warfare by massing his artillery against one or other point of his enemies' line and so shattering it that he could send in the infantry and cavalry. He made his name in the Italian campaign of 1796-97, and there laid down the four rules of the Napoleonic tradition: Divide for finding provisions (for the ill-found Revolutionary armies must live

on the country), concentrate to fight, unity of command is necessary, time is everything.

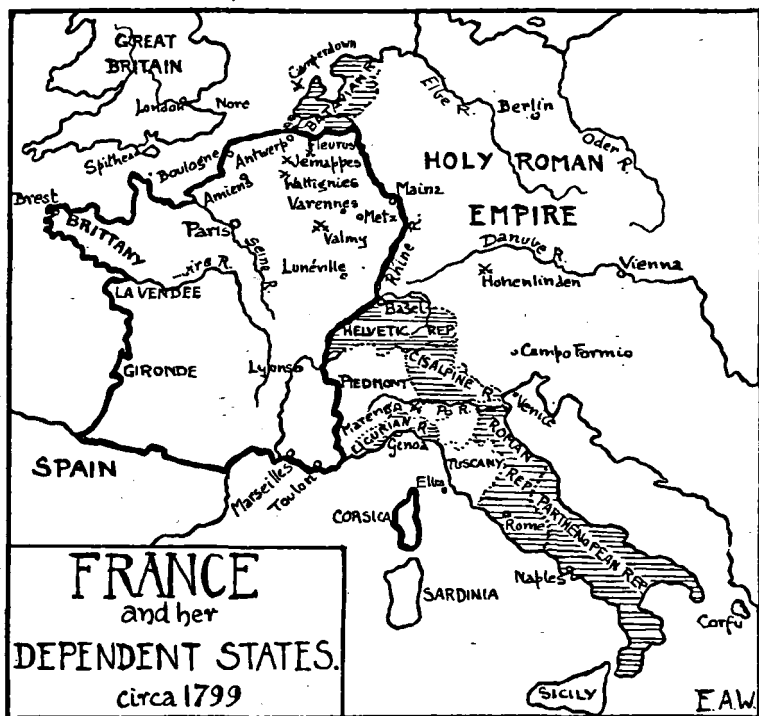
Bonaparte put the Sardinians out of action in twelve days and then turned upon the sluggish Austrians, beat them repeatedly at Lodi and Arcola and Rivoli, overran the republic of Venice *en route*, marched over the eastern Alps and dictated terms at Campo Formio (1797). He gave Austria part of Venice and secured for France the Austrian Netherlands, the Venetian fleet and the Ionian Islands, useful stepping-stones to Egypt on which his eyes were already fixed. Austria also recognised the right of France to the west bank of the Rhine, and secretly undertook to compensate the dispossessed princes with territory elsewhere in Germany.

Republics.—Thanks mainly to Bonaparte, France was now able to surround herself with dependent republican allies. The Batavian Republic had been in that position since 1795. Now, Genoa became the Ligurian Republic, for the Revolutionists had a taste for Roman names, Milan and much of north Italy were formed into the Cisalpine Republic, Naples was renamed the Parthenopæan Republic, presently a Roman Republic arose where the Papal States had been and on the northern frontier the old Swiss Confederation was consolidated into the Helvetic Republic. These republics found room for their ex-nobles, for Napoleon was no doctrinaire Jacobin; they received rational government and law, a rush of new ideas and an awakening from the sleep of centuries which started them on the road which, sixty years later, led to the union of Italy. But they had to pay for it. The spoils of the Italian peninsula poured into France there to enrich her museums, her treasury and her Directors.

The Great Attempt.—The Directors, arrayed in Roman togas, welcomed Napoleon back to Paris "with uneasy effusiveness." And well they might. Their own positions were insecure. They had executed the leader of the one and only communist plot that occurred during the Revolution to alarm the middle class which held office, and the peasantry which held so much of the confiscated lands. But the White peril was more dangerous than the Red.

The Royalist element in the Council was growing, and a Royalist had even become a Director till some of his colleagues had winked at armed intervention by Napoleon from his headquarters in Italy.

To call in the sword was to risk perishing by the sword, all the more as Napoleon came home crowned with Italian



Map No. 3.

laurels while the Directors' bays had been blasted by British cannon. Pitt had not engineered the First Coalition against France which had just fallen to pieces. He had joined it after it had been made and had supplied the fleet and the money. He had received poor value for his money

and had seen England hard put to it as a consequence. Under stress of the long struggle and the growing hatred and fear of "French principles," he had restricted English liberties in all directions, suspended the Habeas Corpus Act and allowed fierce political prosecutions to take place. Debt had piled up and the Bank of England stopped paying out in gold for twenty years to come. The year 1797 had been the Black Year: with a run on the Bank of England, the failure of many local banks, serious trouble in Ireland, the landing of a small French force in South Wales where it was presently captured, and two mutinies in the fleet. The mutiny at Spithead had been due to the shocking treatment of the sailors and had been ended by redress of grievances, but that at the Nore, at the very mouth of the Thames, had been a political movement led by Irish and other seamen who had been forced into the Navy by the press-gang. This mutiny had been crushed by force but both had been dangerous because the Directory, in spite of a severe check off Ushant in 1794, had determined to invade England with the help of the Batavian and Spanish fleets. The British had, however, beaten the Spaniards at St. Vincent shortly before the mutinies and, after they were over, defeated the Dutch at Camperdown.

The Egyptian Campaign.—The Great Attempt had thus failed and, in spite of Campo Formio, Great Britain still stood out alone against France and her allies. The Directory, therefore, decided to destroy her by ruining her commerce. Spain was their obedient ally; they already held Corsica and the Ionian Islands. If they could take the strong fortress of Malta from the old Crusading Order of the Knights of St. John, they could shut Great Britain out of the Mediterranean. If they could then secure Egypt, "the most important country in the world" and still nominally part of the Turkish Empire, they would win that commercial influence in the Levant which Frenchmen had desired since the thirteenth century and get into touch with Tippoo Sahib who, with his French officers, was once more at war with the English Company in India. With a fine naval base on the Red Sea coast of Egypt to supplement the base in the Indian Ocean they already had at Mauritius, it would be hard if they could not sweep British

trade out of the East to make way for their own. "Destroy England," they said. "That done, Europe is at our feet."

They sent Napoleon in charge of the expedition. He was eager to go. "Little Europe" was not big enough for him and he meant to seek fame in the East where Alexander the Great and Pompey and Caesar had found it. The Directors, for their part, were pleased to see this dangerous young man sail away. Napoleon received Malta at the hands of the Knights of St. John, many of whom were Frenchmen; he evaded Nelson's ships, landed in Egypt and overthrew its Mameluke rulers under the shadow of the Pyramids (1798). It was a remarkable expedition. Civilians accompanied the troops. They and the officers began to teach the Egyptians European methods of cultivation, Napoleon himself took part in chemical experiments, learned men tried to puzzle out the meaning of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics. Presently a bored French officer, digging in the ditch of his fort at Rosetta found a stone¹ inscribed in hieroglyphics and Greek, and thereby gave learned men the key to that long history of Egypt which made the Greek and Latin and even the Hebrew classics seem almost mediaeval by comparison.

The Rosetta Stone never reached the Louvre in Paris, for Nelson caught the French fleet at anchor and destroyed it at the Battle of the Nile. Napoleon was thus marooned in Egypt. Undismayed, he marched into Syria proposing to conquer the Turkish Empire. He was, however, beaten off from Acre by Sir Sidney Smith and a mixed Anglo-Turkish force and, at the same time, the British in India defeated and slew "that good Jacobin, Citizen Tippoo" at Seringapatam. It was the end of Napoleon's Egyptian dream. He fell back to Egypt, abandoned his army and, once more evading the British cruisers, landed safely in France (1799).

Napoleon, First Consul.—The news that brought Napoleon hurrying home was bad. The Powers of Europe had formed the Second Coalition (Austria, Russia, Naples, Portugal and Turkey) with Great Britain once more to hold

¹ Napoleon's savants did not have time to interpret the "picture writing." An Englishman, Dr. Young, found out the meaning of a few of the signs but the bulk of the work was done by a Frenchman, Champollion, who finished his labours in 1824. The Rosetta stone is now in the British Museum.

the seas and to supply the money since her army was small and inefficient. The Directory had been driven to enforce conscription, the first universal conscription in modern Europe, but their troops had been beaten in the Rhineland and almost pushed out of Italy. France itself was in chaos and the constitution was visibly breaking down. The Directors were using force and intrigue to secure a legislature favourable to themselves while most Frenchmen sighed for a respectable and firm government, if necessary, by one man. Napoleon was willing to supply the need. By the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November, 1799) he drove out the Councils at the point of the bayonet and obliged the Directors to make way for himself and two others as Consuls. The other two Consuls and an elaborate system of councils were a screen to hide the fact that Napoleon as First Consul was the real ruler of France, signing treaties, controlling the army and the navy and appointing the civil officials who now took their orders from him.

The Treaty of Amiens.—The new constitution of the Year VIII of the Republic was approved by an overwhelming majority of Frenchmen voting in a plebiscite (referendum) and Napoleon set out to face the enemies of France. He regained Italy by defeating the Austrians at Marengo while Moreau, his only serious rival for the affection of the soldiers, beat them north of the Alps at Hohenlinden (1800). He won over the Czar Paul to his side by offering him Malta which Nelson was besieging, and had the satisfaction of seeing him revive the Armed Neutrality of the North against Great Britain. Austria was content to sign the Peace of Lunéville much on the lines of the Treaty of Campo Formio and to acquiesce in the revival of most of the little Italian republics; but the Czar was murdered, the Armed Neutrality collapsed, Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen and thus ended Napoleon's hopes of using it as part of the force which was to invade England. In the Mediterranean, Malta fell and the remains of the French Army in Egypt surrendered to the British.

Meanwhile, Pitt, thwarted in his Irish policy, had resigned after seventeen years of office. The new British ministry was ready to make peace and, before the news of the French surrender in Egypt could reach London, it had

signed preliminaries of peace with France. Those terms were embodied in the Treaty of Amiens which ended the long Revolutionary wars (May, 1802). Great Britain kept Spanish Trinidad and Dutch Ceylon, but she gave back all the other enemy colonies which she had taken, including the Cape to the Batavian Republic, restored Egypt to Turkey, and arranged to give back Malta to the Knights of St John and to recognise the Ionian Islands as an independent republic. Incidentally, George III gave up the title of "King of France" which English kings had borne since 1338.

The disappearance of this shadowy monarchy was more than counterbalanced by the creation of a real monarchy in France. Napoleon was rapturously hailed in France as the peacemaker and was made Consul for life, a change decisively confirmed by the customary plebiscite. From the Consul's chair to an Imperial throne was but a short step.

Books for Further Reading :

J. H. Rose, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789-1815*, pp.1-118 ; L. Madelin, *The French Revolution*. ; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the 19th Century*, pp. 60-98 ; W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vi, pp. 207-38 and 272-364 ; Lord Acton, *Lecturer on the French Revolution*.

MAPS.—Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas*, plate 7 ; Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plate 15e.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAPE COLONY, 1775 (circa)—1796.

Main Events.—The years 1775–96 mark a definite period in South African history as far as the history of any country can be divided into periods. One form of the old system of colonial government began to be challenged seriously at the Cape just at the time that another form was being challenged in the British North American colonies. By about 1775, it became clear that the great Dutch East India Company was failing. Its hold on the Cape began to slacken and, at the same moment, three important factors came into play in southern Africa. First, the rivalry between the French and the British in the East made it certain that one or other of those Powers would try to take the halfway house to India. Secondly, the European settlers, moving eastwards, came into contact for the first time with the Bantu (Kaffir) tribes moving south-westwards. The weary Company was thus faced on the banks of the Fish river with a native problem far more difficult than any that the little Bushmen or the scattered Hottentots had ever presented to it. Thirdly, the frontier Boers, the men of the eastern borderlands, long out of touch with all real government by the officials of Capetown, took the law into their own hands and set up independent republics at Graaff Reinet and Swellendam. During the same week a British expedition sent to take the Cape anchored in Simon's Bay (1795).

The Dutch East India Company.—The Cape Colony had grown up around a little refreshment station or "factory" which the Dutch East India Company had founded on the shores of Table Bay in 1652. The Company was a federation of a number of companies which had begun to compete with the Portuguese and with each other for the eastern spice trade at the close of the sixteenth century.

Much of the commerce and colonisation of those days in the Indies and the Americas, had been done by chartered companies. The Dutch Company had been no exception. It was given a charter by the government of the United Provinces (Netherlands) empowering it to behave almost like an independent power in its sphere of operations eastward of the Cape and westward of Cape Horn (1602). By 1658 it had either taken from the Portuguese or founded a string of trading stations from the Cape to far-distant Japan, by way of Mauritius, Ceylon and the west coast of India, the Spice Islands and Malacca.

The Dutch Company was at once a trading and a governing body like the English East India Company or, in more recent times, the British South Africa Company in Rhodesia. At the head of its affairs in the Netherlands was the board of directors, the Council of Seventeen, appointed by the Chambers, the remains of the original independent little companies. Thus the constitution of the company was as federal as that of the United Provinces of which it was, in a measure, the commercial side. The directors were nominally responsible to the States General but, as many of the leading men in the national legislature were also directors and the Stadholder himself presently became chairman of the Company, inquiries were never pressed too far. Similarly, they were supposed to report at regular intervals to the shareholders, the mass of men and women, great and small, who had bought shares in the Company and looked for a return each year from its profits. Dividends were usually forthcoming, often very large ones, but apparently no report was ever made to the shareholders and, hence, no one save the Seventeen knew how the money was obtained.

Government of the Cape Colony.—Under the Seventeen stood the Governor-General and the Council of India sitting at Batavia, the capital of Java, headquarters of the Dutch East Indian Empire. Subject to these officials were the Governors and Commanders of the various settlements. In the early days, the Cape had been ruled like a stationary ship by a Commander, but in 1690 that office had been definitely raised to that of Governor. The Governor ruled the Colony from his house in the Castle at Capetown with

the assistance of the Council of Policy manned by the seven chief officials in the Colony. All these men were responsible to him save only the Independent Fiscal whose business it was to see that the revenues duly came in and that they were properly spent. It is not so clear who was supposed to keep an eye on the Fiscal. The Governor himself was responsible to Batavia, but he also had to obey the Commissioners whom the Seventeen sent round from time to time on tours of inspection and, still more, the occasional High Commissioners (plenipotentiaries) who, while they were in the Colony, had all the powers which the mighty Seventeen themselves could have exercised.

The Governor, the Council of Policy and two burgher councillors chosen from among the free colonists formed the High Court in which the Fiscal acted as public prosecutor, stimulated by the receipt of one-third of the fines levied by the Court. In certain cases an appeal from its decisions lay to Batavia. The Governor and the Council of Policy made the law, saw that it was carried out and, as judges, interpreted it and punished those who broke it. They were legislature, executive and bench rolled into one, an arrangement shocking to the believers in Montesquieu's "division of powers" whose numbers were growing so fast in Europe and in North America.

Local Government.—By no means all the work, however, fell on this central authority. There was the Petty Court, of two officials, two burghers and a secretary, which dealt with small cases in Capetown, the Matrimonial Court before which all couples who proposed to marry must appear and give an account of themselves, and the Orphan Chamber, again half official, half burgher, which registered wills, looked after the property of orphans and acted as Master of the Supreme Court and Loan Bank combined.

In each of the two districts outside the Cape district there was a landdrost appointed by the Governor to look after the Company's property and, with a court of four heemraden, to serve as a local government and a local court. The heemraden were burghers of the district. Two of them retired each year after the full court had sent up a list of four names to the Governor and Council which chose two of them to fill the gaps. This combination of semi-popular

election and official selection was the basis on which practically all the local bodies in the Colony were formed. The court of the landdrost and heemraden had to see that the roads were more or less kept in repair and that the taxes were paid, and could settle small civil cases subject in certain circumstances to an appeal to the High Court. They could not deal with criminal cases at all. These had to be sent to Capetown, otherwise how would the Fiscal have made sure of his share of the fines? In 1775 there were only two such courts in the whole colony: one at Stellenbosch, the centre of a huge district, the other at Swellendam in the corner of one still huger which faded away to the north and east to the point "where the power of the Honourable Company ends," wherever that might be.

Each district, including that of the Cape, was divided into wards under officials who were soon to be called the field cornets. These men were chosen by the landdrost and were instructed to settle disputes between neighbours, take the census, make new laws known (not an easy matter at a time when the Colony did not possess a printing press), and call up their men for military service.

Law.—The law which all these courts administered was first of all that which was laid down in the proclamations (placaaten) of the Council of Policy. If that did not meet the case, they were told to use the Statutes of India issued from Batavia. Failing those they followed the Roman-Dutch law of the Netherlands. At bottom, therefore, the law of the Colony was Roman-Dutch, the code which is still to-day the basis of the civil law of the Union, Southern Rhodesia and South-West Africa.

Church and State.—The ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, the established church, were civil servants. The Classis (presbytery) of Amsterdam gave them leave to preach, to administer the sacraments and to do other clerical duties, but it was the Company which appointed them, paid them, gave them houses to live in and transferred them. There were not many ministers in the Colony. The Groote Kerk at Capetown had three, but Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Zwartland (Malmesbury), Rodezand (Tulbagh) and Swellendam were happy if they had one apiece. Beyond Swellendam there was neither church nor predikant. The assembly of

ministers and elders in Synod had been tried in 1746 but it had soon been forbidden. Each congregation, however, had its own consistory: the minister, deacons selected annually by the Council of Policy from the usual double list, elders elected by the congregation and, to keep a watch on the proceedings, a member of the Council of Policy as civil commissioner. Each church place had its elementary school conducted by the "sick-comforter," the predikant's understudy. But outside Capetown the bulk of the people depended for book-learning on their parents or on wandering *meesters* (tutors) who were hardly well-educated men and sometimes no better than they should have been. But, after all, that was the only schooling that was to be had in many parts of the world before the days of state-aided universal education.

Most of the colonists belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church and paid great respect to their predikants, but in Capetown, a sea-port with a much more varied population than the countryside, other religious bodies were represented. The Lutherans were strong enough in 1780 to get leave to build a church of their own which is still to be seen in Strand Street; clergymen of the Church of England could usually arrange to hold services in the Groote Kerk; the Moslem Cape Malays worshipped in private houses. Evidently the authorities began to be worried at the increase of rival religions at the capital for, in 1785, they refused to give any but members of the established church seats on the Council of Policy and the High Court. That was still the custom in most parts of Europe, a custom which was only beginning to be broken down in England, Ireland and Canada. It was the French Revolution that convinced men that those who were not members of the established church might yet be entrusted with the duties and privileges of citizens; but the Revolution was still in the future.

Defences.—Table Bay was fairly heavily fortified even in 1775. During and after the coming of the French many more forts were built including a few at Simonstown and at Hout Bay, but to the end the centre of the defence system was the Castle, a Vauban fort built towards the close of the seventeenth century and by no means so strong a place as it looked. The Company kept a garrison in its forts in

the Cape Peninsula and at its scattered cattle-posts and storehouses as far east as Plettenberg's Bay. The troops were usually mercenaries, Dutch and the ubiquitous Germans for the most part, gorgeously uniformed, poorly paid and highly undependable in times of emergency. Later on the Peninsula garrison was stiffened by French troops and, as the threat of invasion grew more serious, the government raised companies of blacks and coloured men, the Pandours and Freemen, and enrolled Malays as gunners.

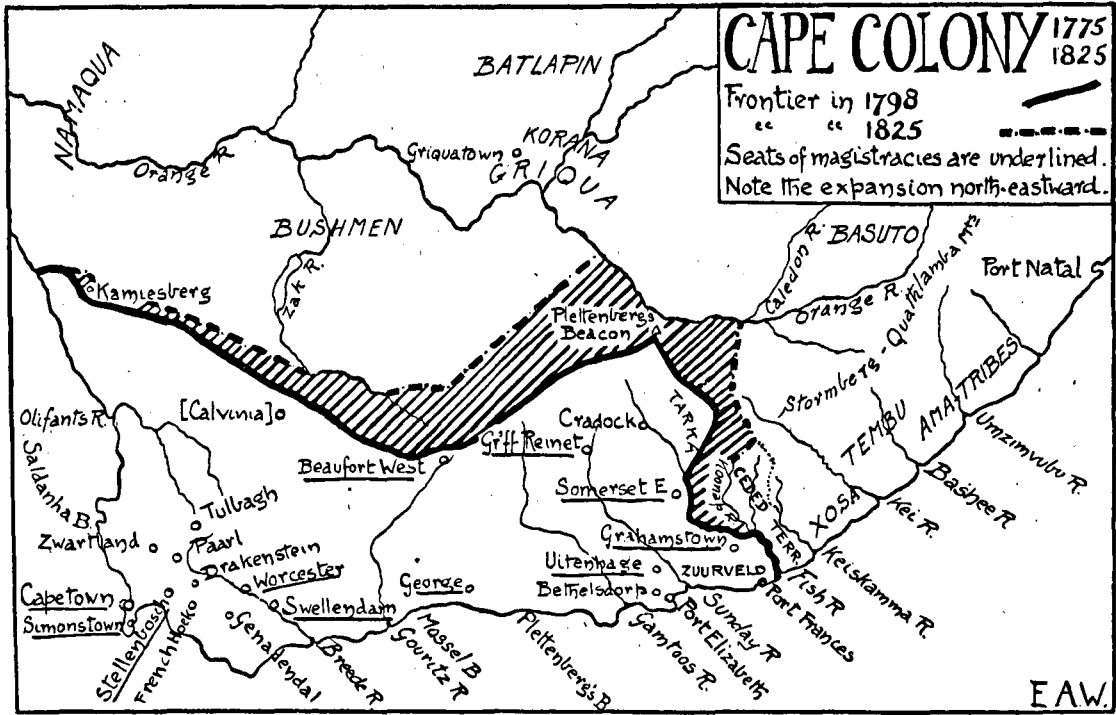
Behind the garrison stood the burghers. There were no police but in Capetown the burghers took turns to patrol the streets at night. All the able-bodied burghers in the Colony between the ages of sixteen and sixty were liable to military service under officers chosen for life by the district Krijgsraad (council of war) with the approval of the Governor. Some of the burghers in the Cape district served as infantry but there and in the other districts the rest served on horseback supplying their own weapons, food and horses while the Company furnished the ammunition. All had to drill for eight days annually and attend an inspection of their arms and equipment twice a year, a duty which they disliked intensely. In case of the threat of foreign attack, all were liable to be called up in relays to strengthen the garrison of the Peninsula and, when the alarm was given by the line of flags and cannon running from the Lion's Head and Rump from hilltop to hilltop far inland, all were bound to go to their local mobilisation stations. Burghers were also obliged to turn out on commando for service anywhere within or near the Colonial borders at the bidding of the landdrosts and field cornets. In the early days these commandos had been made up partly of troops and partly of burghers, but, as the eighteenth century wore on, purely burgher forces became the rule. These were subject to very little control by the authorities at the Castle especially in the borderlands against the Bushmen.

Social Conditions.—The Cape Colonists were of Dutch, French Huguenot and West German stock with a sprinkling of other nationalities. Most of their ancestors had come to the Cape before 1707, for after the trouble between the free burghers and Willem Adriaan van der Stel, the Seventeen had not encouraged immigration. From 1775 onwards

immigrants came in somewhat larger numbers than during the preceding seventy years but, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, their numbers were really trifling. On the other hand, life at the Cape was healthy; men married young, and, if their wives died, lost little time in remarrying. Families were large and, though the infant death-rate was high as it was in all parts of the civilised world of the West on those days, the population increased fast. In 1708 there had been less than 1,700 free burghers; when the British came in 1795 there were almost ten times as many.

But, when all is said and done, in spite of its paraphernalia of councils, boards and committees, the Colony in 1775 was really a very humble member of Western Civilisation. It covered a large space on the map from Capetown eastward to where Somerset West now stands and northward to the site of Calvinia; but in all that 100,000 square miles of territory there were only 9,000 free burghers, men, women and children, and of these well over one-third lived in Capetown alongside of some 1,600 Company's servants and troops. European settlement at the Cape had begun within fifty years of that in Canada and the Old Thirteen, yet in 1775 Canada boasted of a population of 75,000, the other British American colonies one of nearly 2,000,000. The great explorer, Captain Cook, was right when he noted that "were it not for the importation of slaves, this settlement would be thinner of people than any other inhabited part of the world." At this time, the slaves slightly outnumbered the free burghers, while no man had counted the few Bushmen who haunted the borderlands or the Hottentots who lived as labourers on the farms or picked up a precarious living on the vacant spaces that lay between.

Few in numbers, the colonists were isolated from other European societies and from each other. Amsterdam was three months' voyage away beyond the vast bulk of what was to the Europeans of those days truly Darkest Africa. Men had known of the great river to the northward for some time past, but it was only in 1779 that it was officially named the Orange. What lay beyond was still a matter for guessing. The voyage to Old Europe was costly and must be made in cramped wooden sailing ships on stale water, hard and weevilly biscuit and salt meat. For these reasons



Map No. 4.

EAW

alone there was little likelihood that the colonists would visit Europe or indeed any other part of the world. Twice a year on the way to the Indies and twice a year on the way home to the Texel, the Company's fleet came into Table Bay or, in the winter months, into Simon's Bay to escape the north-westers which from time to time piled the Salt River beach with wreckage. At intervals ships of all nations dropped into port for fresh water, meat and vegetables if such were to be had after the needs of the Company and the colonists had been satisfied. The folk of Capetown were thus more in touch with the outer world than were their fellows, but they in turn were to a large extent cut off from the rest of the Colony. The only connection with the tiny village of Simonstown was a sandy track skirting the winefarms of the Constantia and Tokai valleys while, between the Peninsula and Stellenbosch, lay the Cape Flats, a waste of shifting sand, innocent of trees and bushes to say nothing of a hard road.

Capetown itself was a pleasant little place well laid out along the Heerengracht (Adderley Street) and the Keisersgracht (Darling Street) down which ran the water courses. Shady oak avenues sheltered the white flat-roofed houses, each in its own garden, from the dust and glare of the road; the Company's offices and stores were imposing enough and, away to the east across the Parade Ground, lay the low bulk of the Castle. The interests of those townfolk who were not in the Company's service none the less centred in the passing shipping. Every other house was a shop, a canteen or a boarding-house whose proprietor relied for a living "on God and the stranger." Visitors noted that the men were slack and slow to move except where there was money to be made when they could be grasping enough, but they spoke more highly of the friendliness and hospitality of the ladies. One stout old Hollander, Admiral Stavorinus, tells us that they struck him as giddy, especially the younger ones, most of whom were proud of their knowledge of French and of English, played the piano fairly well and diligently followed the flights of fashion in Paris and at The Hague. Other strangers noted the passion for dancing, and the Frenchmen, when they came in 1781, found Capetown gay enough. Perhaps they helped to make it still gayer. In any case, the town earned the name of "Little Paris."

Beyond the Flats was a society of a different kind. Here were the wine and grain farmers, many of them descendants of the settlers whom Simon and Adriaan van der Stel had planted at Stellenbosch and along the Berg river valley from French Hoek by way of Drakenstein and Wagenmaakers Vallei (Wellington) to Roodezand (Tulbagh). They were a settled folk living in substantial houses to some of which Malay workmen were adding the famous Cape gables like those which had become fashionable long since on the farms of the Cape Peninsula. The farmers came in to "the Cape" from time to time, but their interests lay in the belt of land between the Flats and the first range of mountains, the "Mountains of Africa" as the old map-makers had called them. An offshoot of this type of settlement ran northwards to Zwartland (Malmesbury) and so, by way of the Company's stables at Groote Post (Mamre), to Saldanha Bay; another stretched out eastward behind the mountains down the Breede river valley to Swellendam and beyond. Farming methods were rough and ready. The ploughs were the age-old wooden ploughs dragged by eight straining oxen, sowing was wasteful, fencing almost unknown and the use of manure hardly ever practised. Manure was, indeed, carefully piled in the farmyard, but it was used as flooring for the humbler houses or for fuel in a land where wood was not plentiful.

Such was the West, "the colony of settlement," which could boast of churches, drostdies and a fairly plentiful supply of slaves. Beyond the mountains away from the river valleys, conditions were different. There was the East, the home of the vee boers, "the colony of dispersion." The dispersion had been rapid and it was still going on. As early as 1700 farmers from the Berg river valley had driven their cattle on to the Little Karoo; their sons moved away still further to the mouth of the Olifants river and eastward to Mossel Bay. The next generation trekked away still faster, passing along the Langekloof to the south of the empty Great Karoo and through the Ghoup and the Camdebo to the north, till, by 1775, the voorloopers had reached the plains close to the Fish River. The Company vainly called on its subjects to stop. In 1770 and 1775 it fixed an eastern boundary but it was destined to fix still others in 1778, 1780 and 1786 always further to the east. There was no stopping

cattle farmers on whom the trek spirit had fairly laid its grip.

It was out of this slowly drifting society of the East that the Trek Boers arose who were to play so large a part in the troubled political history of South Africa. The creation of the Trekker is one of the most important facts in the history of eighteenth century Cape Colony. His presence in the country before ever the Batavians or the British tried to rule the Cape is the key to much that followed. The cattle farmers came of the same stock as the rest of the colonists, but many forces had combined to make them develop along lines of their own. In the beginning, the Company had expected its free burghers to grow corn and vines and to run a few cattle for the supply of the colony and the ships. It had forbidden them to grow tobacco, for that was its own monopoly, it discouraged them from keeping too many cattle, and forbade them to barter cattle from the Hottentots for fear of sending up the price of beasts. But the temptation to trade with the Hottentots had been too strong in spite of *placaaten* and the troops at the Company's cattle-posts. Besides, it was much easier to watch cattle running on the veld than to sweat at the plough-tail, cattle could walk to market and, even if they became tougher and stringier at the end of each day's trek, there was usually a demand for them at Capetown whatever else might be shut out of that easily glutted market.

The law and custom of the Company unintentionally encouraged the farmers to scatter. Under the Roman-Dutch law, all children except notorious ne'er-do-weels were entitled to a share in their father's property on his death while, if a man died without making a will, the property must be divided equally among his children. Sometimes one of the sons would buy out the rest and carry on on the parental farm; sometimes all the sons would do the best they could with their shares of that farm; but, in the one case certainly and in the other most probably, the young men would go further afield in search of farms of their own.

Custom was even stronger than law. At first the Company had given its burghers small farms in full ownership (*eigendom*) but soon it had to let them have the use of loan places (*leening plaatsen*), great sheep and cattle runs of 3,000 morgen or more. These loan places belonged to the Com-

pany as ruler of the Colony and were leased to the farmer for a year at a time at £5 a year and a tithe of the grain grown, if any. From time to time the Company tried to induce the Boers to settle permanently by offering them small plots round their homesteads in full ownership for cash. It was of no avail. The Boers refused to be thus anchored. The loan place system suited them too well. It was cheap, especially as the £5 recognition money was often allowed to fall into arrears; the Company hardly ever exercised its right of turning a man out of his farm; if it did, it paid him compensation and allowed him to find 3,000 morgen elsewhere, for a farm to be a farm must be 3,000 morgen and morgen were plentiful at the Cape in those days. Legally, if a farm was sold, all that the holder was entitled to was the price of the *opstal*, that is, of the buildings and other improvements upon it; actually, the price included the value of the land as well. For all practical purposes, a loan place was a free grant of land in freehold tenure at a trifling payment each year. What more could a man want?

There was little to stop the Boers if they wished to trek. The way had been paved for them by the explorers of the seventeenth century; the geographical conditions of the country helped them. The ranges of mountains, which rise one behind the other like steps leading up to the plains of the interior, are steep on the sea side, but there are plenty of passes and, once over the nek, the descent to the plains beyond is usually short and easy. Boers, who had had to hitch double spans to their waggons going up the slopes, or had even had to take their waggons to pieces and pack them over, were not eager to return the way they had come. There was little need to do so. The land beyond was not rich, but there was grazing for the herds, if a man did not mind letting them scatter in search of it, and the further east a man went the better did the grazing become. There were wild beasts, even lions, on the plains, but all the Boers could ride and shoot. The natives were rather a nuisance than a danger. The feeble resistance of the Hottentots had been broken long ago. The Bushmen stole, for they resented the coming of white men into their hunting grounds and they looked on cattle merely as big and slow-moving game; occasionally they shot the owners with their poisoned

arrows, but fortunately there were not many Bushmen left except in the north-eastern borderlands. Smallpox had swept them and the Hottentots off by the hundred in 1713 and 1755. It was into a land to a great extent cleared of inhabitants that the Boers came.

The cattle farmers had learnt to be self-sufficing. Their houses were ruder than those of the farmers of the West but they lived contentedly enough attended by a few slaves and by more numerous Hottentot serfs. Many of them had two farms, one for the winter and the other for the summer grazing, and they moved regularly back and forth between them in their huge tented trek-waggon like true nomads. Even those who had only one farm would journey long distances in dry seasons in search of pasture. They grew but little corn and were content to go without bread, milk, butter and vegetables. Their food was meat, furnished by their flocks and herds or by the game which swarmed upon the plains. The women cooked, made soap and candles, tanned leather and made it up into clothes for the family, and saw to the education of their children. So long as the Boers could get a few luxuries like coffee, brandy, dress-lengths and soon from wandering pedlars (*smouses*) or from far-distant Capetown, they asked for nothing more except ammunition from the Company. Ignorant of book-learning they were, though thanks to the *meesters* and their mothers, most of them could spell out passages in the Bible and knew the *Gesang Boek* and *Sluyter's* hymns thoroughly. A few could write, still more could sign their names. As for the great world outside, what was that to them or they to it? They had been born and bred in isolation and so they hoped to continue.

By 1775, the cattle farmers, especially those of the eastern and north-eastern borderland, had lost many of the arts and graces of civilised life; contact with slaves and Hottentot servants had bred slovenly habits which shocked visitors from the neat and cleanly Netherlands. What was equally serious from the political point of view was that they had lost touch with the organised Church and State and society. They tried to keep in touch with the Church and came in once a year, if they could, for *Nachtmaal* (Communion) or for the christening of a new baby, but the only other social bond which held them together were the rounds of visits

which they paid among themselves and service on occasional commandos. As for government, that to them was a local affair of landdrosts and locally chosen heemraden. Even so, until 1786, the nearest drostdy was far away at Swellendam. Government at Capetown was something much further away, something foreign carried on by Hollanders who spoke High Dutch while they themselves spoke the Taal, Afrikaans in the making, and felt that they belonged to Africa and, conversely, Africa to them.

Government to the cattle farmers also stood for taxation, fees, extortion and restrictions which irked men who were lords of all they surveyed at home. Once at least in their lives the cattle farmers had to journey to Capetown to face the Matrimonial Court; occasionally they would ride in with a waggon-load of soap, candles or butter, but if they did so, there would be arrears of taxes and other dues to pay at the barrier—the provinces of France at that time had customs offices on their frontiers and in many towns in Europe to-day there is an octroi at the gates—there were official palms to be oiled; there were keen-witted townsmen to cheat the countrymen unused to the ways of the business world. The Boer went to Capetown as seldom as he could. No love was lost between the people of the capital and those of the Platteland.

System of Trade.—The Company applied the same commercial policy to the Cape as to the Indies, and that policy was against the healthy development of the Colony. The Company was first and foremost a trading association bound to make profits for its shareholders. The commercial ideas of the time at which it had been founded had been based on monopoly, the killing of competition, the careful regulation of commerce, the jealous reservation of trade for those Dutchmen and those only who belonged to the Company. The directors had occasionally permitted colonisation, for instance in the East Indies, between 1619 and 1630 and again at the Cape under the van der Stels (1679–1708), but even then they had done so mainly for commercial reasons.

What they wanted was a trading monopoly and a food supply. The free burghers were to supply the one and not to infringe the other. Company's servants and burghers alike were forbidden to trade in spices, or to embark on any

sea-born traffic whatever. The officials were further forbidden to raise cattle or other foodstuffs for the supply of the ships. That, at least, was left to the burghers subject always to the Company's privileges. These were wide. The Company sold contracts each year to individuals who were to supply it with corn, meat, wine, milk and so on. The burghers had to sell to these men and even buy from them, safeguarded only by the fact that the Company fixed one price at which it was prepared to buy (a necessary precaution in such a small market), and another at which the burghers must buy from the contractors. No price was fixed for foreigners. The contractors were free to bleed them and, three days after the contractors had had that market to themselves, the burghers might step in.

The trade of the Colony centred in a market which was small and easily overstocked. In bad seasons, the farmers had little to sell and the Company might be driven to import flour and rice to stave off famine; in good seasons, the farmers could not get a reasonable price. What, then, was the use of trying to farm well? Besides, over all were the officials. The higher officials were fairly well paid and, in addition, drew house, food and other allowances; but the rank and file were badly paid and worse chosen, for the Cape offered few attractions to able or ambitious Company's servants: These men made ends meet by taking fees, by frank extortion, and by illicit trade. As in the British American colonies, the trade laws were evaded wholesale. Smuggling to and from the Netherlands was rampant with all the loss to the Company and the contempt for law which such a practice brings in its train. The officials were the worst offenders, for they had the best opportunities; but the burghers were not behindhand.

Politically and economically, the Colony was thoroughly badly governed. "The Dutch colonists here," wrote commissioners from the Netherlands in 1776, the year of American independence and the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, "bear the name of free men, but they are so limited . . . that the absence of freedom is rendered only too evident." In the immediate neighbourhood of the Castle this might have been so, but elsewhere ^{at this time} ^{burghers} had in practice a good deal of liberty in that age ^{at this time}, enlightened and otherwise. In those days

a democratic franchise was almost unknown and, even in Great Britain, men did not need to elect members of Parliament personally to feel themselves well represented. At the Cape, the selection of burghers for service on the High Court, the boards of heemraden, the krijgsraden and the consistories supplied a reasonably popular system of government. In the outlying parts, the popular side of the system was obvious enough. The central authorities were too far away to interfere, and the local officials, being human, were only too eager to live as much as in them lay at peace with all men, especially with their neighbours.

Slaves.—Slaves had been imported into the Colony almost from the first, never in great numbers but at a rate sufficient to enable them to outstrip the free burghers in numbers by the middle of the eighteenth century. Some had been brought in from Ceylon and the East Indies, a few from the Congo area, but far more from Portuguese Mozambique and from Madagascar, a happy hunting ground of pirates and slavers. Most of them lived in the West, the more settled agricultural part of the Colony. There were three main classes. The Negroes, the cheapest kind, did the rough work in the vineyards and cornfields. The Malays did most of the skilled work in the Colony. The mixed breeds, Afrikanders as they were called in those days, were as a rule the household servants and often the confidants of their masters and mistresses. Skilled artisans were sometimes hired out to other masters; sometimes they were allowed to work on their own account, paying part of their earnings to their owners and keeping the balance. Housewives used female slaves to carry on the peddling in which most Capetown families indulged.

The slaves gave rise to our "Colour problem," which is the other side of our "White labour problem." In 1717 the Council of Policy had debated whether it should go on importing slaves or try to encourage European labourers. All save one of the members voted for slaves who were supposed to be cheaper and known to be more docile than white men. Henceforward, Cape society was frankly based on slavery and the mass of the Europeans naturally learnt to despise manual work. Bushmen and Hottentots could never have competed with white men for even the semi-skilled work,

but the better class slaves could and did. What is more, they interbred with each other, with Hottentots and with Europeans. That kind of thing has always happened in slave-owning countries.

The majority of the slaves at the Cape towards the close of the eighteenth century were of mixed blood, whether European or otherwise. On the whole they were well treated, especially in the West. Slaves taken to the Netherlands became free and, at the Cape, manumission was fairly common in spite of the law of 1708 which obliged owners to give security that any slaves that they thus set free would not become an expense to the public within ten years. The attempts of the seventeenth century officials to christianise slaves had soon ended, but a good deal was done by masters and mistresses. On the other hand, a check was put upon this civilising process when, in 1770, owners throughout the Dutch East Indian dominions were forbidden to sell Christian slaves to non-Christians. This reduced the market for such slaves, and, therefore, their value. Many masters feared to have their slaves baptised and the slaves, feeling the need for some religion, naturally turned towards Mohammedanism.

Here as elsewhere, slaves were subject to special laws. Ryk Tulbagh, the most popular and perhaps the most humane of eighteenth century Governors, had issued a code of slave laws which permitted flogging at the order of a magistrate without trial for trivial offences, and punished with death any slave who raised his hand against his master, death by slow strangulation, impaling or breaking on the wheel in public.¹ But in those days torture was only just disappearing from the criminal courts of many civilised states in Europe, executions everywhere were in public till long afterwards, and flogging was still all in the day's work in the Prussian army and the British navy. The slave code was cruel, but one of the penalties of slave-owning is that fear breeds cruelty in the masters.

Bushmen.—The Europeans and the slaves were subjects of the Company. The Bushmen and the Hottentots were not. The little Bushmen may not have been the real

¹ Tulbagh did not invent these punishments. They were much older than his time.

“aborigines” of South Africa, but they were certainly the most primitive people with whom the Cape Colonists came into contact. They were small brown men of the Stone Age. They had no tame animals, not even the dog, “the first friend of man,” they had no knowledge of working metals, a roofed hut was as much beyond them as it was beyond the Tasmanians who were so like them in many respects and as it is still beyond the “black fellows” of Australia. But they knew fire, they painted and carved just as the Palaeolithic men had done ages before in Southern France and Northern Spain, they loved ornaments made of shell or broken ostrich eggs. They smoked dagga and made merry on the fermented juice of roots and honey. For food they ate the game which they shot with their poisoned arrows, or the roots and ants’ eggs which they grubbed up with their digging-sticks weighted with round stones. In good times they were a gay little people, fleet of foot, born mimics, fond of dancing or of telling endless stories in their clicking tongue. In bad times they died or stole the cattle of the Hottentots or the farmers.

Van Riebeeck had found Bushmen in the Cape Peninsula but, gradually, the white men had pushed them out of their hunting grounds, the smallpox had slain them in hundreds, and by 1775 the survivors hung about the ever-advancing frontiers of the Colony. Every man’s hand was against them, the Hottentots and Griqua half-breeds despised them, the Bantu classed them with the animals who had been in the world before the Great Spirit had called men out of the rock. Europeans sometimes treated them as if they were hardly human. Some Governors gave them cattle in the hope that they would become pastoralists, but the Bushmen simply ate the beasts. What other use had they for them? Other Governors broke them at the wheel or offered £3 each for those delivered as prisoners at Robben Island. Most Governors ignored their existence and supplied the frontiersmen with ammunition. Latterly the Bushmen had taken to shooting the white men who were pressing them so hard, and, in 1770, the authorities took the trouble to appoint a commandant-general on the north-eastern border. There was much slaughter of Bushmen in the Camdeboo and Sneeuwberg districts; hunting for Bushmen children as farm servants grew common in the

wilder parts and soon numbers of farmers in the north-east had Bushmen cattle-herds. But the little Stone Age men did not take kindly to the ways of civilisation.

Hottentots.—The Hottentots could neither paint nor draw but socially they were a much more highly developed people than the Bushmen and much more amenable than they to civilised ways. They were pastoralists whose main wealth was in cattle. In the beginning, the Dutch had found them living in small clans near the coast from Walfisch Bay to the present western border of Natal. They were well armed with bows and arrows, clubs, assagais fitted sometimes with metal points (for they could work copper and iron if they chose), small hide shields and even hide breast-plates. Some of them used bulls as a screen in battle, just as Hannibal's Carthaginians had used elephants long ago. They lived in rude huts, smoked dagga and drank mead, and lived mainly upon meat, milk and fish. Some had mixed with Bushmen; at any rate they had taken over many of the Bushman clicks. Those in the east were already pressed upon by the Bantu, whose vanguard, the Xosa, had mixed with them to a certain extent and borrowed their clicks. The Europeans now pressed upon them from the west. There had been some fighting in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries but the feeble Hottentot resistance had soon crumpled and the smallpox had completed the rout. They gave away too many of their cattle to the white men in exchange for brandy and arrack and other delights of civilisation; the farmers possessed themselves of the *fontains* and therefore of the grazing grounds.

By 1775 the weak tribal system had collapsed within the Colony. The Company had never had a definite Hottentot policy. As early as 1673 it had given staffs of office to favoured chiefs as a recognition of their office; later, it had talked of giving them reserves but had rarely done so. Adam Kok, a Griqua half-breed, had been given such a reserve at the Khamiesberg well away from the area of European settlement and there he was, in 1775, being joined by half-breeds (Bastaards) and Hottentot Grikwas from the south. The Namaquas lived close by in what is still called Little Namaqualand; the Koranas were retiring towards the middle valley of the Orange river. The whole

of the northern border lands of the Colony thus swarmed with Griquas, Hottentots, runaway slaves and European ne'er-do-wells, a constant source of danger to the farmers.

As the organised clans withdrew, the broken remnants of other clans remained behind, mostly in the eastern parts of the Colony. Little was done for them. The attempts of the Government to civilise them in the early days had soon been abandoned; the efforts of George Schmidt, a Moravian missionary who had settled at Genadendal in 1737, had been thwarted by the jealousy of his neighbours and the Dutch Reformed Church clergy. Unless a Hottentot was involved in a dispute with a European the Government took no notice of them, though it did decree that children of slave men and Hottentot women were to be registered and apprenticed to the owner of the fathers up to the age of 25. As might have been expected the mass of the Hottentots in 1775 were farm servants, reputed to be lazy, improvident and thieving, miserably paid and in some cases not paid at all.

Bantu.—The Kaffir tribes with which the Colonists were coming into contact at the beginning of our period belonged to the Bantu-speaking peoples who, to-day, occupy all Africa south of a line drawn eastward across the continent from the Gulf of Guinea, and north-eastward of another line drawn roughly from Swakopmund to Knysna. The Ovambos and the little dark Hereros and Damaras to the south of them had lived in what is now South-West Africa long before 1775. To the north of the Orange river between the Kalahari desert and the Drakensberg mountains, were the highlanders, big men ranging from copper colour to black. The third division were the tribes of the south-east coast.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, while the Dutch had been fighting Philip of Spain and the English awaiting his Invincible Armada, a swarm of Abambo and Amazimba had poured down the east coast across the lower Zambesi, slaying all who stood in their way to the great alarm of the Portuguese in those parts. They had come to a halt in Zululand and had there broken up, each tribe taking the name of a great chief and prefixing it with the word Ama (people). Hence arose the Ama-Swazi, -Pondo,

-Tembu, -Xosa, and the rest. The Xosa moved away ahead of the others with the Tembus behind them and, as they came westward, they mixed with the Hottentots. By 1702, a few Xosa had crossed the Kei and were sending out hunting parties to the Fish river, where a party of European and Hottentot cattle dealers from Stellenbosch met one such band. Fifty years later, they had settled on the east bank of the Fish. On the death of their great chief, Palo, those east of the Kei river fell under the rule of his "great son," Galeka, while those between the Kei and the Fish followed another son, Rarabe. It is with these Rarabe clans that the Colonists first had to deal.

In spite of local variations, the political and social arrangements of all Bantu Tribes were the same. Both were far in advance of those of the Bushmen or Hottentots, for the Bantu were no mere savages. They were organised in tribes under great or paramount chiefs. The actual amount of power that such a chief could wield depended largely on his strength of character, for he was bound by custom, as all the "noble savages" whose freedom Rousseau at Geneva was envying were and are bound. That custom was interpreted by the *indunas* (councillors) without whose advice the chief was not supposed to act. Beneath the great chief were the lesser chiefs, often sons or other relatives.

Tribes were continually forming new clans. The great chiefs, like other wealthy tribesmen, had many wives to till the fields and to bear young warriors. The first wife of a chief was the "wife of the right hand," the second of the "left hand," but there was always a "great wife," often married late in life for political reasons. Her son was heir to the throne. But the sons of the right and left hands were not forgotten. They were given men and cattle to found a new clan within the tribe. This practise was confusing to Europeans. They might make a treaty with a great chief and then find that it was not really binding on the sub-chiefs, or they might claim cattle stolen by a tribesman and be told by the great chief to apply to the man's immediate chief over whom he himself might have very little power. The existence of these clans was, indeed, a great check upon the power of the great chiefs or of rival sub-chiefs. If a chief "ate up," that is, confiscated the cattle and other goods of his men too vigorously, he might

find them transferring their allegiance to a milder ruler. Warriors would only do that if all else failed, for patient endurance and loyalty to the chief were the virtues most highly prized among them.

Punishments as a rule were not merely arbitrary. The Bantu had a system of courts which did justice according to well recognised law and custom. Men accused of crimes were held guilty until they had proved their innocence, as in modern France but not in England or South Africa, where a man has to be proved guilty; some of the inland tribes tried men by ordeal as in Anglo-Saxon England and, if they failed to pass the ordeal, held them to be guilty; in most cases, there was a chance of appealing to the paramount chief. Punishments were two: death or a fine payable in cattle, for how could tribes without prisons imprison a man? At the back of their religion was a belief in a Great Spirit who had once upon a time brought men and all living things out of the earth, but that belief was overlaid by the worship of ancestors in Chinese fashion, and the need for keeping lesser spirits and goblins in a good humour. Chiefs and important men kept witch doctors to ward off the powers of these spirits and to "smell out" the witches who were supposed to be in league with them to plague man and beast. As the penalty for witchcraft was death and the confiscation of goods, an unscrupulous chief might and sometimes did use his witch doctor as a means of getting rid of wealthy opponents. Beside his witch doctor the chief had an official praiser (mbongo), for eloquence was much admired by the Bantu and their musical language lent itself to it well. The warriors were organised in regiments, those who had killed their man wearing plumes; all were drilled in sham fights and armed with the assagai, knobkerry, hide shield, and, in the case of some of the inland tribes, with the bow and the battle-axe.

Economically, the Bantu were and are cattle farmers with agriculture as a side-line. Cattle were the central fact of their lives. The beasts were sacred. It was the sacrifice of an ox in the middle of the cattle-kraal round which the huts were grouped that put the living in touch with the spirits of their ancestors; it was *lobola*, the cattle given by the bridegroom to the father of the bride, which "begat the children." Without the cattle the children would be

illegitimate. It was with cattle that fines or compensation for injuries were paid.

Nevertheless, the Bantu system was based on land-holding. "The patrimony of a chief," said one great chief to Sir George Grey, "is not cattle. It is land and men." In theory, the great place, the kraal of the chief, was the centre of the life of the tribe. Around it were grouped the lesser kraals, and around all lay the tribal lands. There were no borders as we understand them. If pressed, a chief might point out a line far within the area claimed by his neighbours who would cheerfully do the same. What he would have meant was that there was a belt of debatable territory between the land he used and that of his neighbours. So long as there was plenty of room that belt would be left empty but, if not, both tribes would graze their cattle on it and even settle there side by side, the men of each tribe still under the rule of their own chiefs. If it came to a fight, the defeated side lost claim to the land.

Within the tribal area, the land did not belong to the chief. He could neither sell it nor give it away. All that he could do, and, in spite of the various treaties and cessions that were made, all that he ever meant to do was to allow strangers, whether white men or Kaffirs, to have the same privileges as his own tribesmen over the tribal lands subject to the payment of a few cattle or some other goods as a recognition that the bargain had been made. Strangers gaining these privileges became, in his eyes, his vassals.

This system was bound to lead to trouble as soon as Europeans and Bantu came into contact. The European system was based on the idea of private property in land and even the tribe hardly "owned" the land in that sense. What each member of the tribe was entitled to was the free use of grass, water, timber and the game upon the land, provided he gave the chief the share of the game which custom demanded. But there was one kind of land which was in a very real sense private property. If the chief gave a man leave to make a garden on a piece of hitherto unused soil and that man, or rather his wife, hoed it up and planted it with mealies or pumpkins, that man and his son's sons could claim the use of that land, even if they went away and only returned after many days. Once the crop

was reaped, all the tribe could drive their cattle into the stubble; nevertheless, as soon as the new seed was sown all must keep off it. To say, as white men have often done, that the Bantu have only "communal tenure" of land is not correct, for that is to say that they have no idea of individual tenure.

The fundamental fact to be grasped for a proper understanding of the frontier quarrels between European and Bantu which were just about to begin in 1775, is that on both sides of an ill-defined and totally unpoliced border were white men and black, at very different levels of civilisation it is true, but both rough and ready agriculturists, both cattle farmers and, therefore, both eager for land. The land and not the cattle is the key to the whole story unto this day.

Decline of the Dutch East India Company.—The long story of the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, which is the story of similar frontiers in South Africa and elsewhere, began in 1772, when Willem Prinsloo and his friends arrived on the banks of the middle Fish and found themselves facing the Imidange clan of Rarabe Xosas. The orders of the Company were to have no dealings with the natives, but no one paid any attention to that. The days of the Company were, indeed, numbered. The Netherlands were declining and with them the great national trading associations, the West and the East India Companies. Scandinavians, British and Russians had long competed successfully with the Dutch for the Baltic trade in copper, hemp, timber and tar on which so much of the wealth of the Netherlands had depended in the golden age before 1650. The long wars, first with the English and then with Louis XIV (1668–1713), had overstrained the United Provinces. The Dutch had been forced to put their money into forts and troops instead of into ships and to watch Great Britain supplant them at sea, and London take the place of Amsterdam as the financial capital of the European world. The spice trade with the Indies had not proved to be so profitable as had been hoped for distances were great and competitors had forced their way in. The French were strong in the Indian Ocean with their stations in Madagascar and their naval base at Mauritius; the British, allied to the Portuguese, were

growing stronger in India and, alongside of the Americans, were ousting the Company from the China tea trade.

In manufacture the Dutch were losing ground to the French and British; raw materials were scarce and those two nations took the best; besides, Netherlanders seemed to have lost the knack of their grandfathers for venturing their money in solid trade or industry. Many preferred to live on safe investments, others to get-rich-quick by speculation (*windhandel*). There was much extravagance side by side with real poverty. Social troubles made political differences more bitter. The old rivalry between the Orange and the Republican parties came to the fore again. The mass of the humbler folk supported the Prince of Orange, hereditary Stadholder since 1747 and the friend of England which in 1688 had paid his house the compliment of making the head of it her king. The Republicans, the burgher oligarchy of the towns, feared a monarchy and looked for help to France.

The Company still made a brave show in 1775; it still found employment for some 20,000 Netherlanders and offered a good official career to the upper classes; but it had long been in financial difficulties and these difficulties were growing worse. Quite early in its career, to prevent shareholders from asking questions and to keep up the price of its shares, it had paid dividends when there had been no profits to warrant them. Now, the upkeep of its many stations in the East was draining away its money and, of all the stations, the Cape was the most expensive and the least profitable from the trading point of view. The expenses charged against the Cape in the Company's books included many items beside the mere cost of governing it; nevertheless, it had never paid its way and, overstaffed as it was by officials who swindled their employers, it was becoming a grievous burden to the anxious Seventeen. To make matters worse, a whole crop of new problems arose which the Company had neither the means nor the wish to face properly.

Agitation by the Cape Burghers.—As early as 1744 the Cape burghers had asked for "Free Trade," that is, freedom to trade by sea under any conditions. The request had been refused, but in 1779, the year of the first conflict

between the frontiersmen and the Kaffirs, a deputation of burghers laid their woes before the authorities at Amsterdam. It was a mixed list of grievances and requests: complaints of official corruption and private trading, of the burden of the matrimonial court and the expense of having their farms surveyed, demands for "Free Trade," the right to punish their own slaves and to have half the seats on the High Court filled with burghers. It was, in short, an outcry against the old order, the *Ancien Régime* on its commercial side. Governor van Plettenberg was ordered to reply. He did so and the matter dropped, for it was war time and, therefore, no time to make changes at the Cape. Moreover, unwonted prosperity had come to ease the strain. The Netherlands had at last fallen foul of Great Britain, and had taken part against her in the War of American Independence (1780). A British squadron under Commodore Johnstone, on its way to seize the halfway house to India, was surprised by the French admiral, Suffren, at Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands. The battle was indecisive but Suffren, on the whole, had the best of it and beat his adversary in the race to Table Bay. From 1781 to 1784, guardian French troops occupied Capetown and with their demand for food and other supplies brought temporary prosperity to the Colony.

It was a fictitious prosperity. The British were sweeping Dutch shipping off the seas and ruining the East India Company, which paid its last dividend in 1782 and had to issue paper money at the Cape. Prices rose but, so long as there were paper and Frenchmen, "Little Paris" flourished. But at last the Frenchmen departed and the tide began to turn. Expenditure on public works and forts, a lavish Governor's court and still more paper failed to stop the depression, and, in 1785, a second burgher deputation went to Amsterdam.

This time van Plettenberg was replaced by van der Graaff. The new Governor made some cautious reforms. He raised the number of burgher seats on the High Court from two to six, appointed three officials and three burghers as a Commission of the High Court to fix prices, look after the roads and suggest new forms of taxation, sent a landdrost to Graaff Reinets to introduce the "rule of law," if it might be, on the eastern frontier, and to a certain extent opened

overseas trade to all Colonists subject to light customs duties. The boon of "Free Trade" was more apparent than real. There was little to trade in and that little had to be carried in Cape ships manned by crews of which at least one-third must be Cape men, an almost impossible condition at the moment.

Above all, the concession was made too late. In 1791 the Seventeen stopped all public works, recalled van der Graaff and most of the Swiss and German mercenaries, and followed up these fatal orders by sending two Commissioners-General, Nederbergh and Frykenius, who were to tour their Indian dominions not so much to benefit the colonists as to stave off the bankruptcy which Nederbergh, at least, had already admitted was unavoidable. The Commissioners arrived in 1792. After something of a struggle they agreed to recognise the six burgher councillors as spokesmen of the community; nevertheless, they ruthlessly cut down official staffs and expenditure, forbade the importation of goods in foreign ships, issued more paper money, tried to collect the arrears of taxes and levied new duties on imported slaves, stamps, transfer and succession, and on the auctions by which much of the business of Capetown was done. They then passed on to Java leaving A. F. Sluysken as Commissioner to hold the Cape with a skeleton garrison against the foreign attack which was almost certain to come now that the Netherlands in common with half Europe was at war with the French Republic. They left the townsfolk crying out against the auction duty, the western farmers so angry at the transfer and succession duties that they threatened to cut off Capetown's corn supply, and the cattle farmers of the East steadily drifting into rebellion.

Rebellion.—The men of the eastern part of the Colony had long been self-supporting in all save ammunition and, being for the most part out of reach of their nominal landdrost at Swellendam, practically independent. The policy of the Company was that there should be no intercourse between black and white. Van Plettenberg had, therefore, visited the borderlands in 1778, laid down this policy of segregation once more, persuaded some Xosa chieftains to recognise the Fish river as the dividing line between European and Bantu, and set up his famous beacon near the site of Coles-

berg to mark the north-eastern corner of the Colony. Next year, the Imidange and other Xosa crossed the Fish and came to blows with the burghers. It is impossible to say who fired the first shot. With men of both races scrambling for land, strife was bound to come. After prolonged scuffling van Jaarsveld drove back the Kaffirs and divided the spoil of cattle (1779-81). There was peace for the next few years. The Imidange retired southwards to the Zuurveld west of the Fish river where Grahamstown now stands; the Boers traded with them for cattle and employed Xosa as farm servants; the Government proclaimed the lower Fish river as the boundary, sent a landdrost to Graaff Reinet and included the newly-occupied cattle runs of the Tarka district in the Colony.

White and black thus fairly overlapped one another, the whites beyond the upper Fish in the Tarka, the Xosa on the Cape side of the lower river on the Zuurveld. Presently, Boers trekked on to the Zuurveld and, in the year of the French Revolution, Ndhlambi, the leading Rarabe chief, entered it from the other side. Fighting began again but van der Graaff, anxious to avoid the expense which war must bring with it, dismissed the commando and sent a new landdrost to Graaff Reinet with one, Maynier, as secretary. Maynier at once took the lead. He was filled with French ideas of liberty and equality, many of which were excellent. He tried to set up a "rule of law" on the frontier where, as on most frontiers, none existed; he tried to do justice to white and Hottentot and black alike, but he lacked the police which were absolutely necessary if he was to do either. All he could do, in the name of a far-away Government which failed to protect its subjects, was to stop the frontiersmen from taking their own line. He first of all offered to allow the Xosa to remain between the Fish and the Kowie rivers "without prejudice to the Europeans"; he then tried to regain looted cattle from Ndhlambi with the aid of a commando, with very poor success; finally, in spite of van Jaarsveld, he made peace and allowed the Xosa to stay where they were on the Zuurveld (1793).

Many of the frontiersmen were in distress. The fall in the purchasing power of the paper money hit them hard, for their cattle now fetched less than they had done in the

Cape market; they had lost a good many cattle in the late fighting and had taken few from the enemy; they began to withdraw from the Zuurveld, especially after Sluysken refused to recall the hated Maynier. Maynier was a nuisance in their eyes. He would not let them "correct," that is, beat the Hottentots if they misbehaved themselves. The newly-arrived predikant at Graaff Reinets (1792), the first to go eastward of Swellendam, was almost as bad for he interfered, they said, in matters outside his clerical duties. The frontiersmen decided to pay no more rents or taxes, to prevent the Hottentots from getting guns or such teaching as they heard those in the West were receiving from the Moravian Brethren who had just reopened Schmidt's old mission at Genadendal; they wanted leave to elect their own local officials, to go into Kaffirland in search of missing cattle, and to occupy land beyond the Fish between the Koonap and the Kat rivers. Many Swellendammers shared these opinions and had, moreover, their own special grievances against the Company. The authorities had recently opened a storehouse at Mossel Bay and, thus encouraged, many farmers had mortgaged their farms and spent the money on ploughs, oxen and seed corn. Now that the magazine was full the Company refused to take the harvest.

It was to men thus bitterly discontented that news came, first of the successful revolt of the American colonies, and then of the French Revolution. They began to call themselves Nationals like the Frenchmen and, at last, the men of Graaff Reinets rose, expelled the local officials and declared their district an independent republic. Their example was promptly followed by the Swellendammers. In that same week a British squadron entered Simon's Bay (June, 1795).

British Occupation of the Cape.—The occupation of the Cape by either Great Britain or by France had been foreseen ever since Suffren and Johnstone had raced each other for the prize in 1781. As far as the outer world is concerned, the fundamental fact of South African history is that, from the beginning of the seventeenth century till the opening of the new highway to India through the Suez Canal in 1869, the Colony was looked upon merely as the

hinterland of the Cape Peninsula, and the Peninsula was valued as the halfway house to India and the Far East. The French had held the key to the Indian Ocean during a large part of the War of American Independence and had sorely harried British shipping in eastern waters. The British would not endure that again if they could help it, especially as the interests of their East India Company in India were growing greater every year.

The Netherlands was in no position to help its Company to defend the Cape. In 1785 the "patriots," the burgher oligarchy, had been strong enough to make an alliance with France and to take the command of the forces away from the Prince of Orange. After some confusion the Prince had been restored to his full powers by a Prussian army acting with the diplomatic support of Great Britain (1787). The upshot of these rapid changes was that the Netherlands made one secret treaty with the French to defend the Cape if the British attacked it, and another with the British for the opposite purpose. On the outbreak of war with Revolutionary France, the Netherlands discussed with Great Britain ways and means of defending the Cape. Nothing came of it at the time, but in January, 1795, the French under Pichegru poured across the frozen canals into Holland. The Batavian Republic was proclaimed and the Prince of Orange sent flying to London. There, he gave Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig a letter bidding Sluysken admit them to hold the Cape against the French.

On arrival at Simonstown, the British commanders presented the letter. Long negotiations followed, for the British did not wish to use force and Sluysken feared the pro-French "National" or "Jacobin" party among the Colonists more than he did the invaders. At last, he heard that the Batavian Republic was about to ally with France and, to save his neck, he put up a sham resistance. The British rushed the pass at Muizenberg under cover of their ships' guns and, after a long delay during which reinforcements arrived, drove the Company's mixed forces off Wynberg Hill.

They dictated terms of peace at Rustenburg (September). Officers were allowed to sail home to Holland with Sluysken; the rank and file became prisoners of war; many of the mercenaries enlisted with the British for service

in India; such of the burgher commandos as had stayed so long in the Peninsula dispersed. For the rest, the British promised to give freedom of trade on good terms, to cut down taxation if possible, to make no alteration in the laws and customs of the Colony, and, misled by the Company as to the true facts of the position, to keep up the value of the paper money.

The burghers of the three districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch and Swellendam submitted without much difficulty and the bulk of the British troops passed on to India. The more settled burghers of the northern part of Graaff Reinet also wished to submit, but the men on the eastern frontier, hostile to any Capetown government, whether Dutch or British, held out for practical independence under British protection and a due supply of gunpowder in exchange for cattle. It was only after a strong Dutch squadron, on whose help they had counted, had been captured by the British in Saldanha Bay that they took the temporary oath of allegiance to King George and allowed their landdrost and minister to return to Graaff Reinet (1796).

Thus did Great Britain become heir to all the problems and perplexities of the Company at the Cape.

Books for Further Reading :

- A. G. Keller, *Colonization*, chap. xii (Dutch East India Company); S. F. N. Gie, *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, vol. i, pp. 182-91, 203-19, and 241-54. Also, G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795*, vol. 1, chap. i-vii, and vol. iii; E. C. Godée-Molsbergen and J. Visscher, *South African History Told in Pictures*: E. A. Walker, *Political History of South Africa*.
- MAPS.—E. A. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, plates 7, 8 and 9.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPEROR AND THE KINGS, 1802-23 (circa.)

Napoleon's Reconstruction of France.—Napoleon, whether as First Consul or as Emperor, was an autocrat whose power rested on the army and the votes of the mass of the French people. To the soldiers, he was *Le Petit Caporal* who led them to victory; to the middle class, he was the guardian of peace and in a measure the restorer of the finances; to the peasants, he was the man who guaranteed them the possession of the confiscated lands of the clergy and the *émigré* nobles and, after he had come to terms with the Pope in 1802 and thus closed the schism in the Church and the nation caused by the Civil Constitution, "the restorer of altars" also. Napoleon for his part welcomed home those *émigrés* who would accept the new order of things. Were not they, as well as the republicans, Frenchmen?

Napoleon had begun the work of reconstruction as soon as he had got rid of the Directory. He was in a good position to do so. The Revolution had swept away the old institutions which had clogged the working of the royal machinery of government and all he had to do was to repair and improve that machinery. That is what he did and his system of administration is that under which republican France is ruled to-day. As a tribute to revolutionary memories, he had the assemblies into which the legislature was divided elected in democratic style, but he gagged them all and saw to it that the Senate, the only assembly with any power, was virtually chosen by himself. He left hardly any real local government as we understand it but ruled through local officials responsible to himself; he continued the conscription for the army; if he gave toleration to men of all religions, he kept a tight hand on the clergy of all religions through a Minister of Cults.

In two respects Napoleon carried out schemes sketched by the National Convention. He had a great code of laws drawn up, the Code Napoléon, which still stands in whole or in part in many countries of Western Europe. He also organised education, but here he did not go so far as the Revolutionists had proposed. He did little for the mass of the nation and nothing at all for women; but, for the upper and the middle classes, he set up the University of France and the lycées (high schools) which were to supply France with teachers, scientists, engineers and good officials, but by no means with original thinkers. These last were too dangerous to be encouraged. He also severely censored some subjects which were allowed to remain in the curriculum, for instance, history. He founded the Legion of Honour as a means of rewarding good work whether by soldiers or civilians, and also as a means of satisfying men's desire for ribbons and the distinctions they stand for. The Legion was the germ of the new aristocracy of counts, dukes, princes and even kings that he set up around his throne after he had become Emperor. For, in 1804, in the presence of the Pope, he crowned himself Emperor at Paris, not as the successor of Louis XIV but of Charlemagne, the great Emperor of the Middle Ages. It was a sign that he meant to reorganise Europe round France as the new Italy, and Paris as the new Rome.

Napoleon also tried to restore an overseas empire to his adopted country. India was closed to him by the British; a "scientific" expedition to Australia failed to win him a footing there; at a fearful cost in men and treasure he crushed the negro republic of Hayti (San Domingo) which had arisen out of the revolt of the slaves hastily set free by the Revolutionists, only to see the negroes regain power as soon as the renewal of war with Great Britain closed the sea to French ships. He also aimed at reviving the empire in North America which had been lost in 1763. Louisiana west of the Mississippi had then been given by France to Spain. Napoleon now induced the feeble King of Spain to give it back to him in exchange for a petty principality in Italy. This dream, also, was ended with the renewal of war with Great Britain. Napoleon, therefore, sold Louisiana to the U.S.A. and thus became a most unwilling builder of the American Union (1803).

Renewal of the War.—Long before Napoleon had finished his work of reconstruction, his most lasting title to fame, France was once more at war with Great Britain. Napoleon's colonial activities and, in defiance of the Treaty of Lunéville, his constant interference with the little republics and other states that surrounded France alarmed Great Britain so much that she refused to give up Malta. War began in 1803. At first it was purely a struggle between Great Britain and France. Napoleon tried to shut out British trade from the Continent and, by means of the fleets of France and her allies, to gain control of the English Channel for such time as would allow him to ferry across the great army which he collected at Boulogne.

He had a good chance of at least getting across for the British had by no means full command of the sea. They had more ships than had France and Spain but a large proportion of them were always laid up for repairs; ship for ship they were worse built and equipped than theirs; there were constant quarrels between the officers; the crews were often pressed men and at all times badly paid and fiercely disciplined. The French were brave men and good sailors, the Spaniards were not lacking in courage, and yet the British usually won. According to the great French historian, Halévy, the explanation is that the British crews knew that the Navy was the pride of the nation and, having the nation behind them, they went in to win and won. Perhaps Napoleon would have agreed with his fellow countryman, for he used to say that the morale, the spirit of an army made up three-fourths of its strength.

In any case, while the French troops tramped up and down the sands of Boulogne, the British blockaded the enemy fleets and, one by one, the Powers of Europe joined the Third Coalition against France. At last, the main French fleet under Villeneuve broke loose, shook off Nelson's pursuit, joined hands with the Spanish fleet, and sailed towards the mouth of the Channel. They were checked by a British squadron under Calder off Ferrol and put back to Cadiz. In response to a furious message from the Emperor, Villeneuve came out again, only to be crushed by Nelson at Trafalgar (1805).

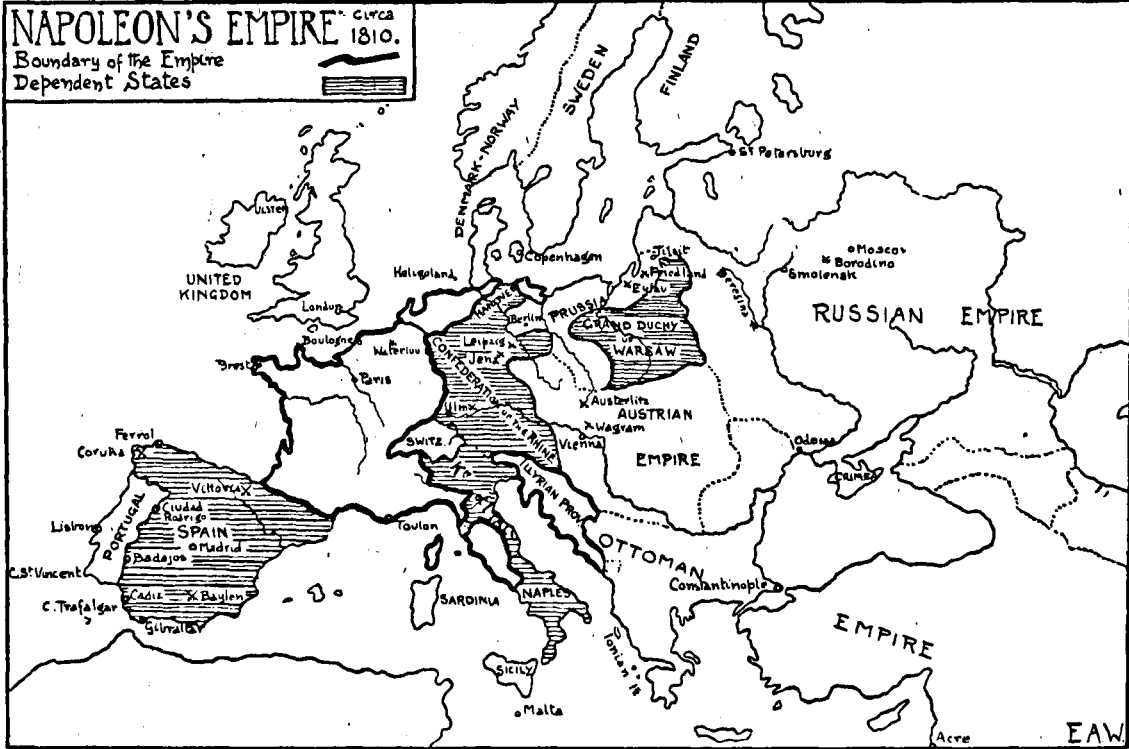
The victory cost England Nelson, but it ended all real danger of invasion and gave her undisputed control

of the high seas. Yet Calder's indecisive action had the more immediate results. It was that which cleared the way for the expedition which took the Cape for the second time in January, 1806; it was that which decided Napoleon to wheel his armies about and to march on his enemies in Central Europe. He captured one Austrian army at Ulm and overthrew another and its Russian allies at Austerlitz. It was now Prussia's turn. She had stood out of the war since 1795 and had hoped to gain George III's German principality of Hanover which Napoleon had dangled before her eyes. Napoleon picked a quarrel with her and, at one blow, smashed the antiquated military machinery of Frederic the Great at Jena (1806). He then followed up the retreating Czar Alexander and, after a terrible but indecisive battle at Eylau, soundly beat the Russians at Friedland (1807).

The Continental System.—Napoleon stood on the battlefield of Friedland the master of all Europe from the shores of the English Channel to the frontiers of Russia. He had already begun to reorganise his conquests. The Holy Roman Emperor had faced facts, resigned his shadowy title and taken the title of Emperor of Austria instead. By the Treaty of Pressburg, Napoleon had taken Venice and other Austrian territories on the Adriatic (1805), he had crowned himself king of Italy, that is, of the northern parts, and restored Rome and part of the Papal States to the Pope. He had also formed a new Family Compact by planting his brothers on thrones: Joseph, the eldest, in Naples, Louis in Holland, and Jerome in Westphalia (1806-7). The larger states of Germany had already begun to swallow up the smaller. Napoleon carried this unifying process still further and, after Jena, cut off all Prussia's western territories and formed these and other states of Western Germany into a Confederation of the Rhine dependent on France. He also formed the central parts of Poland into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and held out to the Poles the hope of one day restoring the Kingdom of Poland.

After Friedland he and the Czar ratified these arrangements by the Treaty of Tilsit. The two Emperors also secretly agreed to support each other against common enemies and to force Portugal, Sweden and Denmark to

NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE circa 1810.
 Boundary of the Empire
 Dependent States



Map No. 5.

close their ports to British goods and, if necessary, to compel Denmark to go to war with Great Britain.

The secret clauses at Tilsit showed that Napoleon was determined to enforce his Continental System for the destruction of British trade. All wars affect the commerce of those who take part in them, and, as a rule, that of many who do not. Belligerents seize each other's merchant ships and try to stop neutrals from carrying contraband of war, that is, warlike stores and certain other goods to their enemies. All this and more had gone on during the Revolutionary wars and, when the Napoleonic war broke out, Napoleon seized British goods and subjects wherever he could find them and tried to make his allies do the same. The British had retorted by declaring large strips of the coasts of Europe under blockade which meant that no ships of any kind would be allowed to trade with those parts. Napoleon, having failed to invade Great Britain directly, determined to destroy her by shutting out her goods from the Continent and preventing neutrals from trading with her.

He laid down the lines of his System in the Berlin and the Milan Decrees (1806-7). The British replied by blockading the coasts of France and her allies and by searching neutrals on the high seas, a policy which presently led them into a little war with the U.S.A. The Americans burnt Toronto and the British burnt Washington in revenge, while at sea the American frigates (cruisers) usually had the best of it in single combat (1812-14). The real struggle, however, took place in Europe. The System hit Great Britain hard but it hit the Continent much harder. Great Britain had a large and growing market within her own borders and all the rest of the world to trade with, but the Continental peoples could not do without the tropical products and the manufactured goods which England of the Industrial Revolution could alone supply. These goods had to be smuggled in at great cost and even Napoleon had to clothe his soldiers in greatcoats made in England. The rise in prices, the actual lack of some articles and the conscription for the Napoleonic armies made the subject peoples hate the French Empire. On the other hand, Napoleon was driven to annex more and more of the coast line of Europe in the vain effort to shut out British trade.

What this policy was certain to lead to became clear immediately after the Treaty of Tilsit. Napoleon meant to secure the Danish fleet but the British stepped in first and forcibly removed it out of harm's way. On the other hand, a French force occupied Lisbon and drove the Portuguese royal family away to Brazil on British ships (1807). Napoleon then bullied the Spanish king into resigning his throne on which he placed his own brother, Joseph, and filled the vacancy at Naples with Murat, a brilliant marshal who had begun life as a stable boy (1808). The result was a national rising in many parts of Spain marked by the capture of a French force at Baylen, a surrender which shook the prestige of the French badly.

At Baylen the tide turned against Napoleon. There is no need to go into the story of the long Peninsular War in detail. The main facts are that the French had to pour thousands of troops into Spain first under the Emperor himself and then under his quarrelsome marshals, and a very difficult country it was to conquer and hold, some what like the High Veld of South Africa. British troops came to the help of the Spaniards, first under Sir John Moore who was killed victorious at Corunna (1808), and then under Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. Wellesley attacked the French wherever he could, forced them to concentrate their men in order to face him, and thus gave the Spaniards the chance of rising again and again. The French failed to break through the Lines of Torres Vedras behind which Wellesley defended Lisbon (1810). The British then stormed the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos and forced their way into Spain, beat the French at Salamanca, entered Madrid (1812), pushed Joseph out of Spain at Vittoria (1813) and followed him up into southern France just as the Napoleonic Empire collapsed (1814).

The Peninsular campaign drained away men and money that Napoleon badly needed elsewhere. Inspired by the Spaniards' example of a national resistance, Austria took up arms but was beaten at Wagram (1809). The Czar then took Finland away from Sweden, and Napoleon incorporated Holland and the north-west coast of Germany in his empire (1810) but, behind the scenes, the statesmen Stein and Hardenberg and the soldiers Scharnhorst and Gneisenau were busy reorganising Prussia. They did it by borrowing

many of the principles of the French Revolution. They abolished old laws which forbade a peasant from buying "noble" land and so on, set up municipal governments, founded the University of Berlin and remodelled the army on modern lines. Poets, professors, the pressure of the Continental System and the conscription stirred up national feeling in sorely-divided Germany.

At last, even the Czar of Russia showed that he could endure the weight of the Continental System no longer. Other questions entered into the quarrel between the two Emperors such as the *entente* with Austria which Napoleon had cemented by marrying an Austrian princess. In any case, Napoleon invaded Russia at the head of a huge army drawn from all parts of Europe (1812). It was the beginning of the end. He failed to crush the Russians on the frontier but he followed them up as they retreated, fought a bloody battle at Borodino and pushed on to Moscow, losing men and horses at every step. The Russians burnt their capital under his very eyes and he was forced to retreat over the devastated road along which he had come. Disease and the awful cold of the Russian winter smote him and, as the wrecks of the Grand Army staggered across the Beresina river into safety, Central Europe sprang to arms. Napoleon raised another army, but was defeated by the Austrians, Russians, Prussians and the subject German allies who deserted him in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig (1813). Next year, with the British pouring over the Pyrenees into southern France, he fought a magnificent campaign against his other enemies in defence of Paris, but the capital fell, many of his marshals abandoned him and he was forced to abdicate (1814).

The Hundred Days.—The Allies sent Napoleon away to the tiny islet of Elba off the west coast of Italy and restored Louis XVIII, elderly, fat and amiable, to the throne of a France which, by the Treaty of Paris, was cut down more or less to its 1792 limits. They then met at Vienna to settle the affairs of post-war Europe. The labours of the Congress of Vienna were rudely interrupted. France was discontented at the loss of her conquests, the neglect of Napoleon's veterans and the return of the *émigrés* demanding the restoration of their lands and privileges.

Napoleon slipped across to France, won over the army and entered Paris in triumph as Louis wearily disappeared across the Belgian border. Napoleon promised to give France many liberties which had hitherto been withheld; he promised the kings of Europe that he would keep the peace. Old Europe would not have it so. The kings were much too frightened and distrustful of him for that and they slowly prepared to drive him out once more. Napoleon struck first at the enemies who lay nearest to him. He very nearly succeeded in getting between the British under Wellington and the Prussians under Blucher in Belgium. He beat the Prussians at Ligny but on the same day failed to drive back a mixed Anglo-Belgian-Dutch force at Quatre Bras. Two days later, he failed again to break the British at Waterloo, the Prussians came in on his right flank and his army was destroyed (1815).

The Congress of Vienna.—This time the Allies made no mistake. They sent Napoleon to St. Helena where he lived in weariness of spirit till his death in 1821, a great source of gain to the Cape Colonists who supplied food to the ships and troops which guarded him. Meanwhile, the Congress of Vienna drew up a series of treaties which fixed the political framework of Europe for the next half century. That framework, which was only broken down by the great national wars of 1859–71, was mainly the work of five men: the Austrian Metternich, the Prussian Hardenberg, the Irishman Castlereagh, and the Czar Alexander of Russia, with Talleyrand, the most experienced diplomat of them all, to defend the interests of France.

Alexander, half autocrat, half Liberal, had the largest and least battered army. He was, save for his lack of money, the President Wilson of the Congress. He received Finland but was obliged to be content with only two-thirds of Poland. Great Britain behaved with commonsense. Castlereagh refused to have France crushed and gave back nearly all the colonies which Great Britain had taken from her various enemies, including the rich Dutch East Indian Islands. He kept Heligoland, Malta and the Ionian Islands as naval bases necessary for the command of the seas which was Great Britain's real spoil of war, as well as British Guiana, Tobago and St. Lucia in the West Indies, and the Cape,

Mauritius and the Seychelles Islands as outposts of India where British interests were increasing daily.

Austria gave up Belgium and her Rhineland territories but regained her lost lands elsewhere and thus became a solid group of states on the middle Danube. In Italy she was given Venice and Lombardy (Milan) and leave to place members of the House of Hapsburg on one or two of the little thrones which were set up all over that unhappy country. The restored kingdom of Sardinia absorbed the old republic of Genoa, the Pope regained the whole of the States of the Church straddling right across the middle of Italy, the Spanish Bourbons returned to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Sicily and Naples) where they promptly shot the Napoleonic king, Murat.

Prussia became the largest state in Germany. She regained all that Napoleon had taken away from her after Jena and, in addition, rich territories in the Rhineland on the French border. She tried to get all Saxony and Alsace-Lorraine as well, but Russia and Great Britain would only allow her to have half of Saxony. Nevertheless, she now held scattered territories which ran right through northern and central Germany and she was in a position to keep her "watch on the Rhine" against the French. On the northern French border, Protestant Holland and Catholic Belgium were put under William of Orange as the United Netherlands, an uneasy union disliked by those Dutchmen who preferred colonies to Belgium and by nearly all Belgians. Similarly, Norway was taken away from Denmark and given to Sweden. France herself was cut down to the limits of 1790, obliged to give back the art treasures which Napoleon had collected from the various parts of Europe, and once more saddled with Louis XVIII and 150,000 allied troops under Wellington till she should have paid a moderate indemnity.

In Germany as a whole some of Napoleon's political reconstruction was allowed to stand. The 360 states of 1789 had been reduced to thirty-nine ranging from big states like Austria and Prussia to free cities like Hamburg. These thirty-nine states were not broken up neither was the Holy Roman Empire raised from the dead; but the legitimate rulers were restored as far as possible and the states were linked loosely together in a Confederation (Bund) more helpless as a government than the American Confederation

of 1781. Austria, as the traditional leader of the German states, presided over a Diet of two Houses: the Narrower Assembly in which a majority could decide and the General Assembly to which important matters must be referred. There, a two-thirds majority was necessary or, if the constitution was to be changed, a unanimous vote. The Diet was a meeting of ambassadors rather than a parliament; it could only act on individual Germans through the jealous State governments; Protestant Prussia in the north was the rival of Catholic Austria in the south; the only bond of union was that the smaller states usually rallied to the side of Austria. For Prussia had privately suggested to Austria that they should divide the rest of Germany between them, and Austria had obligingly warned the smaller princes.

Hard things have been said of these peacemakers of Vienna. It may be allowed that they were swayed by fear, ambition and even downright greed, but that is simply to say that they were victorious human beings at the end of a long and exhausting war. Some of the leaders were elderly men, all had been bred to diplomacy and all, through twenty-five long years of war and revolution had learnt to dread French Jacobinism, which had at first been carried forward by the ragged soldiers of the National Convention and then by the well-drilled battalions of the Emperor.

Moreover they worked in an atmosphere of reaction. In the press and in educated and governing circles opinion ran strongly in favour of Legitimism, that is, the right of lawful kings to be replaced on their thrones with something of "the right divine to govern wrong" if they chose. Side by side with this principle in Catholic countries, ran the idea of Ultramontanism, the belief that the Pope "beyond the mountains," the Alps, had absolute authority everywhere in matters of faith and conduct. The restoration of the Order of the Jesuits (1814) and the writings of the Frenchman, Chateaubriand, were signs of the times; the romantic novels of Sir Walter Scott, glorifying the Middle Ages, were a pale reflection of the same ideas in Great Britain. The Congress had to choose some general principle on which to divide the principalities and powers which Leipzig and Waterloo had placed at their disposal. Just as the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 took as a rough guide the principle of one nation, one state and fell far short of living

up to it, so the Congress of Vienna took Legitimism and squared their ambitions with that as best they could.

The Holy Alliance.—There was need for some principle which should revive the old mediaeval idea that all Christian men were members of one state. From time to time statesmen or scholars had suggested something like a super-state to check the warring independent governments of Europe. In the seventeenth century, Sully, minister to Macaulay's Henry of Navarre, had talked of an assembly of representatives from the various states to arbitrate quarrels and at least to delay the outbreak of wars. In the eighteenth century another Frenchman, St. Pierre, had had the same idea and, in 1795, a German philosopher, Kant, had dreamed of a Europe of federated republics in the mistaken belief that republics are less warlike than monarchies. In a measure, Napoleon's Empire had been a European federation under the presidency of France, "the great nation." Again, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dutchmen like Grotius and Bynkershoek, Swiss like Vattel, and Germans like Leibnitz had developed the principles of an international law which should bind states just as the ordinary law of any given state binds its citizens. On occasion, in the past, many of the Powers of Europe had met in congress to settle joint affairs, thereby admitting that there was such a thing as international law.

The Congress of Vienna was just such an assembly and in three directions it strengthened this idea of a law that was more than the law of any single state. It treated the great river Danube as a "European" river, "internationalised" it, and laid down rules for its use by all nations; it made Switzerland a neutral territory not to be invaded by anybody; it passed a pious resolution condemning the slave-trade which Great Britain had given up in 1807 and which she was anxious that the rest should give up too. But, owing mainly to the resistance of Spain and Portugal, the Congress took no active steps to stop the traffic. The Big Four, Russia, Austria, Prussia and Great Britain did, however, form the Quadruple Alliance to uphold the peace treaties and arranged to meet regularly to secure "the repose and prosperity of the peoples" (1815). From this policy of joint discussion and action by the leading Powers

arose the Concert of Europe which often served to keep the peace for a hundred years to come.

The Czar went further. Just as President Wilson at Versailles took the lead in founding the League of Nations which was to make the maintenance of peace less difficult, so Alexander formed the Holy Alliance to rule Europe according to "the sacred principles of the Christian religion." It was a strange league of princes. Some of them signed honestly, others with their tongues in their cheeks, but all signed except the Pope who would have nothing to do with a league led by a heretic Emperor, the Sultan of Turkey who as a non-European sovereign was not invited, and the Prince Regent of Great Britain who knew that Parliament, though willing to uphold the definite peace treaties as a member of the Quadruple Alliance, was not prepared to embark on the vague adventures which might arise from the Holy Alliance. Great Britain steadily refused to allow the Czar or Metternich to combine the two alliances. She would not have the Big Four with all their powers and, still more, their responsibilities swamped by a crowd of little princes who had neither the one nor the other but who, being possessed of votes, would simply form fighting tails (for a consideration) to one or other of the big Powers. Two facts suggest that she was right. This very thing happened in the German Bund. Worse still, Metternich, minister of that "ramshackle empire" of Austria to which any movement from within or without was dangerous, used the Holy Alliance as a machine for crushing Liberalism, first in Germany and then wherever it showed itself in Europe.

Liberalism.—There were three great forces already at work in their world which the peacemakers of Vienna did not take sufficiently into account, namely, Liberalism, Nationalism and the Industrial Revolution. The last of these forces was at that time confined to England and, even there, had not yet become a serious factor in politics. The second was still so new that it was ignored, but the first was regarded as a real danger.

The ideas, the general political principles, which lie behind Liberalism are that justice and liberty are to be prized above all things and that the rules of right and wrong which govern the private lives of men ought also to govern public

actions of statesmen.¹ But what made Liberalism so hateful to the diplomatists at Vienna was that it carried forward the teachings of the eighteenth century French philosophers that man must be left as far as possible free to act as he thought best. There was no room here for benevolent despots who wished to "make peoples happy in spite of themselves," still less for those who would deny their people justice and liberty for the sake of the wealth, efficiency and power of the government.

Continental peoples held that the British had liberty under their peculiar constitution even in the eighteenth century; the Americans had drawn up their constitution on that basis; the French Revolution had proclaimed liberty and equality to all men and, if the National Convention in France and Napoleon in half Europe had given little liberty, they had at least given equality, which is the first step thereto, and decent, understandable government, which is the second. It was armed peoples, many of them fighting in the uniforms which they had worn as soldiers of the Emperor, who had carried the Kings in triumph to Paris. The Congress of Vienna, therefore, promised that the peoples should be given a voice in "questions of taxation, public expenditure, redress of public grievances and general legislation."

Reaction.—It was an easy promise to make before Waterloo but not so easy to carry out afterwards. Very few Continental states in 1814 had anything like representative institutions. The Swiss Cantons and Sweden had mediaeval assemblies, Norway a new democratically elected legislature which could not control the executive, Spain since 1812 a constitution based on universal suffrage. In 1814, however, Louis XVIII issued a charter partially freeing the press and setting up a Parliament of two Houses with no real control over ministers; the Czar made his share of Poland a kingdom distinct from Russia endowed with an assembly of the same sort. The German princes were left to give or to withhold constitutions as they saw fit. The Austrian dominions were given nothing. Metternich blenched at the thought. Frederic William III of Prussia did not give his people the promised constitution for he held that he must assimilate his new Catholic provinces

¹ Unless otherwise stated, "Liberalism" refers to the general European movement and not merely to the aims of the modern Liberal Party in Great Britain which are an outcome of it.

in the Rhineland to those of the Protestant north and east before he could safely do so ; but he pushed on with the work which Stein had begun of adapting some of the principles of the French Revolution to Prussian ends. On the other hand, the rulers of Bavaria, Baden and Wurtemberg in that south-west of Germany which had always been most open to French influence gave constitutions.

A reaction soon set in. It was a time of reaction everywhere. All Europe was suffering from shell shock. In Great Britain, the Parliament, partly hereditary and partly elected by a small fraction of the people, still controlled the executive. It was liberal in comparison with the autocracies of the Continent ; but the High Tories, the men who had "won the war," were in power. It was useless for others to press for a reform of Parliament or even for the emancipation of the slaves.- The High Tories, of whom Castlereagh at Vienna was the greatest and the best and the Governor of Cape Colony, Lord Charles Somerset, by no means the worst or the least, would have no change. The Industrial Revolution was slowly changing England beneath their feet, but they passed the Corn Laws which kept up the price of corn for the benefit of the farmers and the landlords at the expense of the growing towns, they sternly repressed riots and let the Yeomanry charge a public meeting at Peterloo near Manchester, and, since the times were really dangerous, they passed the Six Acts (1819) which muzzled the press, forbade drilling or the possession of arms, and limited the cherished right of public meeting. In Spain, Ferdinand VII swept away the 1812 constitution as soon as he could ; the Italians fell once more under autocratic rule, respectable in Sardinia and Tuscany, cold, hard and frankly repressive in the Austrian provinces, an affair of spies, lay and clerical, in the Papal States, base, cruel and incompetent in Bourbon Naples. Two even of the princes of South Germany took alarm and hurriedly withdrew the new constitutions. One of them tried to put the clock back so far that his soldiers were ordered to wear the powdered pigtails that had gone out of fashion with the Revolution. Prussia, perturbed by the noisy talk of Liberalism and Nationalism at the Universities, closed the students' clubs (1817).

In France the lower House of the new parliament proved to be "more royalist than the King." Leading Bona-

partists like Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," the man who had covered the ghastly retreat from Moscow, were shot and the clergy recovered control of education; but neither the church nor the noble lands were taken away from the peasants and all Frenchmen remained equal in the eye of the Law. Louis stood by the Charter and in 1818 a much more moderate assembly was elected. At the same time, Great Britain persuaded the Powers assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle to withdraw their troops from France and to admit France as a fifth member of the alliance which guaranteed the peace treaties. On the other hand, Metternich steadily became master of Central Europe. The folly of some of the German Liberals played into his hands. He and the king of Prussia agreed to suppress Liberalism in the smaller German states; the larger German states accepted the Carlsbad Decrees which abolished the students' clubs, appointed curators to watch the political activities of University professors and students alike, set up a censorship of the press, and forbade the grant of any constitution that harmed the principle of monarchy or that was not the free gift of the sovereign. The Final Act of Vienna announced that constitutions were only to be changed peaceably, and put Metternich in a position to drive Liberalism underground in any state in the German Confederation (1820).

Metternich now won the Czar over to his way of thinking. Hitherto, Alexander had been disconcertingly Liberal but a mutiny among his Guards in Poland, Liberal revolts in Naples, Spain and Portugal, and National risings in Greece and the Danubian Principalities (Rumania) close to his own frontiers thoroughly alarmed him (1819-21). On the other hand, the Greek and Rumanian risings opened the way to intervention which might take him far towards Constantinople if he was ready to risk war with Great Britain and France. In any case, he wanted to make sure of Austria's friendship and, at the next meeting of the Concert at Troppau-Laibach, he fell in with the wishes of "old Mitternacht," as the Germans called Metternich (1820-21). The absolute military powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia agreed that, if a revolution took place anywhere, they would "bring back the guilty state into the bosom of the Grand Alliance."

Great Britain and France stood aside. In other words, the two Liberal Powers of the West began to break away

from the autocratic powers of the Centre and East. Nevertheless, Austrian troops put back the king of Naples on his throne; Austrians and Russians at Novara ended the attempt of Charles Felix of Sardinia to form a Kingdom of Italy; the Holy Allies very nearly intervened in France when a revolutionary priest was elected returned to Parliament. Louis XVIII had to allow his ministers to limit the franchise and the press still further, but he held out against the reactionaries till the murder of the heir to the throne wrecked the moderate ministry and cleared the way for the ultra-royalists under Villèle. Against the wishes of Great Britain, the Congress of the Powers at Verona commissioned Bourbon France to restore the Bourbons in Spain. A French army was sent into Spain as "the Whites" had long desired (1823). It restored Ferdinand and remained in occupation of the country for four years. In France itself the reaction was complete when the Count of Artois, who had long ago headed the "Joyous Emigration" from revolutionary France and had "learnt nothing and forgotten nothing" since, ascended the throne as Charles X (1824).

Canning and the Monroe Doctrine.—In spite of the White Terror enthroned at Paris, the tide had turned in other parts of the European world. In Great Britain the High Tories had fallen on the retirement of Lord Sidmouth and the suicide of Castlereagh (1822). The Young Tories came to the front, led by Canning the Foreign Secretary. The post-war depression was passing, the Bank of England had resumed payment in gold (1819), the fear of revolution was fading. In 1823 advocates of slave emancipation, parliamentary reform, full civil and political rights for Catholics and Nonconformists, and freedom for workmen to form trade unions all raised their heads.

It was in the sphere of foreign policy that Canning first showed unmistakably the new course on which Great Britain was set with all her power, new wealth and immense prestige. At the Congress of Verona, he had withdrawn his representative, the Duke of Wellington, rather than join "this conspiracy of monarchs . . . to bind Europe in chains"; but his real opportunity came later in America rather than in Europe. Spain had long held a huge empire in the West Indies and in North, Central and South America, stretching right down from California to Chile and the

Argentine. Her only rival was Portugal which held Brazil. Spaniards and Portuguese have often been regarded as failures in the art of colonisation; but that judgment ignores the fact that they have impressed their religion, language, architecture and general way of life upon a continent and a half of mixed peoples. On the other hand, vast tracts in both empires had never been really conquered, let alone occupied; pure Europeans formed a tiny minority of a population which ranged down through infinite varieties of colour to the black and red of the Negro and the Indian. As far as possible, both governments had kept high offices in church and state for European born men, played off each social class against those immediately above and below it, withheld all self-government and, except for a short period under Charles III of Spain, regulated trade according to the strictest rules of the old Colonial System.

The wind of the American and French Revolutions, which had stirred far-off Swellendam and Graaff Reinet, blew more boisterously in Latin America. Leaders from Europe organised little revolts and some of them called on France, Great Britain and the U.S.A. for help. Alexander Hamilton, the great constitution-builder of the U.S.A., was eager for joint action by a British fleet and an American army, but the recent struggle between the British and Americans made that impossible. Both countries were, however, ready to break down the rigid Spanish-trade monopoly if they could.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Trafalgar made the ultimate success of the rebels possible. Most of the British ships and troops which took the Cape in 1806 sailed away at once to help rebellious Buenos Ayres. That expedition ended disastrously and the outbreak of the Peninsular War diverted British attention to Old Spain; nevertheless, the coming of the British to the River Plate had given the Spanish colonists their first taste of newspapers and an open port; the fall of the Spanish monarchy before Napoleon convinced them that there was "no more Spain." Between 1810 and 1816, revolutionists in the towns quietly took possession of Buenos Ayres and Paraguay, Monte Video and the Argentine and, in the north, a creole (South American born man) named Bolivar headed a revolt in Venezuela. On the other hand, royalist Peru held down Chile in the



Map No. 6.

West and, at the end of the great European wars, the Spaniards made a big effort to regain lost ground. They failed. American and British subjects, like the famous sea captain Cochrane, flocked to help the rebels in Venezuela and in Chile and, at last, the U.S.A. recognised some of the revolted colonies as independent republics (1822).

The restoration of the Bourbons in Spain pointed straight at an attempt by France to restore them in Spanish America also. Canning, therefore, suggested to the U.S.A. ambassador that the Holy Allies be told that they must confine their activities to Europe. The old Independence leader, Jefferson, ardently desired an Anglo-American alliance to keep out Old Europe and to preserve the open market in the West. The alliance was not made but Canning warned the French that, if they tried to cross the Atlantic to interfere in Spanish America, they would have to reckon with the British fleet, and Monroe, the President of the U.S.A., while recognising existing European colonies in the New World and disclaiming any intention of meddling in the affairs of the Old, warned the Powers of Europe not to interfere with the Americas. Such was the origin of the famous Monroe Doctrine of 1823. Soon Canning recognised the independence of the Spanish American republics (1825), outbid France for the honour of restoring the king of Portugal to the throne from which Napoleon had driven him in 1807 and arranged that his son, Pedro, should rule Brazil separately as a "constitutional emperor" (1825).

Thus did Great Britain and the U.S.A. safeguard free commerce and free government in the West. If political liberty in Mexico and elsewhere often degenerated into license and faction fighting, that was only to be expected in view of the political training of the people in the past. The victory for the rising forces of Liberalism was none the less complete.

Books for Further Reading :

J. H. Rose, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era 1789-1815*, pp. 1-134; Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe*, pp. 1-134; H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*, lectures I, II and III; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the 19th Century*, pp. 108-21 and 165-94; Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, pp. 124-55.

MAPS.—Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas*, plates 8, 12, 16, 21; and 22; Ramsay Muir: *New Historical Atlas*, plate 58b.

CHAPTER VI.

THE END OF THE OLD ORDER IN THE CAPE COLONY, 1795-1825.

John Company and the Crown in India.—The fortunes of the Cape Colony had been bound up from the first with those of the East Indies. This was especially the case during the period from 1795 to 1814. It is necessary, therefore, to have a clear idea of what was happening in India before turning to the story of the Cape Colony. Put shortly, the facts are these. While Napoleon was eagerly climbing the steps of an Imperial throne in Europe, the English East India Company was slowly and on the whole unwillingly preparing to mount the throne of the Great Mogul at Delhi.

The English Company was only able to do this because India is a continent rather than a country, a land of many peoples and many tongues, a much-conquered land with few traditions of unity. All her conquerors had hitherto come down over the Khyber Pass but the British came by sea and pushed up the Ganges river. It was fortunate for them that, during the critical years of their conquest, no hardy invaders came through the Khyber to dispute with them the plains of Hindustan. As it was, the further end of the great pass was barred by the Afghans and the nearer by the Sikhs, a militant reformed Hindu sect in the Punjab, and by the desert which had turned back Alexander of Macedon long ago.

Clive's victory at Plassey (1757) had made the English Company master of the rich and populous provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa; the Peace of Paris had left it the one European power of any account in all India. The Company was a trading body, a private association in no way responsible to Crown or Parliament. In England, its affairs were in the hands of a Board of Directors responsible to the Court of Proprietors (shareholders) which could and

did override their decisions. Its possession in India were divided into three groups or Presidencies, Bengal, Madras and Bombay, each under a president and council and each with its own private army of Europeans and Sepoys.

The years which immediately followed Plassey are a disgrace to the memory of "John Company." It had the power to rule but it had no intention of ruling if it could help it. It set up a dummy prince in Bengal and misruled through him. Indian tax-collectors backed by the Company's troops fleeced the unhappy Bengalis; the Company's officials, often as badly chosen as those of the Dutch Company and all badly paid, made fortunes by extortion or by taking presents and perquisites, and returned home as "nabobs" to corrupt British public life still further with the loot of Bengal. As early as 1759 Clive had suggested that the Crown should take over the Company's possessions and rule them, but the costly farce of dual rule was allowed to go on till 1765 when Clive was sent back to India to rule Bengal as Governor in the Company's name with the consent of the nominal overlord, the Great Mogul. He did something to check corruption, but the strain of the effort and the attacks of his private enemies drove him to commit suicide in 1773.

In that same year the British government began to intervene in India. The Company had been obliged to ask for a large loan, and parliamentary committees of inquiry had revealed the scandal of its methods in India. Lord North therefore passed his Regulating Act. It was a cautious measure but it was a beginning. The Governor of Bengal was made Governor-General with power to rule Bengal directly and to control the other Presidencies with the help of an executive council of four in which he was to have the casting-vote. A Supreme Court of four judges was also set up at Calcutta. There were many weaknesses in the scheme. The Crown did not claim sovereignty; the Governor-General might be and sometimes was outvoted by his councillors; the court was left to decide whether it should use English or Indian law, and Elijah Impey, the first chief justice, often used English law with disastrous results.

The first Governor-General under the Regulating Act was Warren Hastings. He had to fight hard against

Hyder Ali of Mysore and the French but he more than held his own and helped to make the Company's rule a cleaner and more efficient thing. Some of his acts were high-handed and, on his return home, he was impeached by his political enemies. The long drawn out trial ended in his acquittal, but the fact that it had taken place was a proof that British politicians were realising that they had a duty towards India.

Meanwhile Pitt had carried his India Act (1784). This Act established that system of administration by the Company and control by Parliament which lasted until the end of the great Mutiny in 1858. The Company retained its trading monopoly and the right to appoint its own civil and military officials (patronage), but all matters of policy and government were put in the hands of a Board of Control in London consisting of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, four Privy Councillors and a Secretary of State for India appointed by the King and responsible to Parliament. The orders of this Board were passed on to India by a Secret Committee of three directors, and, once the Board and the Committee had agreed on any point, the Court of Proprietors was not allowed to interfere. Bombay and Madras were put more completely under the control of the Governor-General and a council of three at Calcutta, and, in 1786, the Governor-General was given the right to override the wishes of his councillors.

It was on these terms that Lord Cornwallis became Governor-General (1786-92). His term of office marks a turning-point in the history of British India. He persuaded the Directors to pay their servants decent salaries and thus to do away with temptations to make money illegally; he reformed the police, appointed British magistrates in each district, set up four courts of appeal in different parts of the huge province of Bengal, and ordered the judges to use Mohammedan law in criminal cases and to sit with Hindu or Moslem advisers in civil suits. Finally, under orders from the Directors, he carried through the Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

That measure made an end of the long dispute whether the tax-farmers, the zamindars, owned the land from which they collected the taxes or whether they were simply tax-collectors. It was now decided that they owned

the land on condition that they paid a fixed land tax to the government. Smaller landowners were given leases which it was hoped would protect them. The Settlement led to a social revolution. Many of the old landed families could not fulfil the conditions on which they now held their estates; they had to sell to new zamindars who squeezed the peasants (ryots) mercilessly for rents. It was the history of Ireland over again, but it was only in 1859 that the leases of the ryots were made an effective protection against this kind of thing.

In foreign affairs Cornwallis avoided wars till Tippoo Sahib, successor of Hyder Ali, attacked him relying on French help. Cornwallis beat him, annexed his coastlands and then protected the western border of Bengal by obliging the Nawab of Oudh to sign a Subsidiary Treaty. He thereby guaranteed his throne to the Nawab but took charge of his foreign policy and bound him to pay (subsidise) the British and Sepoy troops who defended him.

Cornwallis's policy was typical of the way in which the Company's control was extended and of the reasons for that extension. Both sides of that policy were carried still further by his successor, Lord Mornington, brother of the Duke of Wellington. Tippoo Sahib, once more relying on French help, went to war but he was slain at Seringapatam and his kingdom of Mysore was annexed by the Company (1799). Hyderabad, the other great state in southern India, signed a subsidiary treaty; Mornington persuaded other princes to do the same and, by 1800, the only strong Indian powers which were still independent were the Sikhs beyond the Sutlej river and the Mahratta Confederacy in west and central India.

The Mahrattas were Hindu soldiers of fortune. They had first become strong under one, Sivaji, on the breakdown of the authority of the Moguls a hundred years before. Their plundering horsemen had long been a plague to all their neighbours; at one time, they had threatened to conquer all India; they had even held Delhi and the Great Mogul himself until Ahmed Shah's Afghans had driven them out in 1761. Real power had passed from the sons of Sivaji to the prime minister, the Peishwa, and the great chiefs of the Confederacy. In 1802, the Peishwa was driven into the arms of Mornington by these chiefs. He signed

the Treaty of Bassein making the whole of the Confederacy subsidiary to the Company. Two of the chiefs refused to be bound by such a treaty and threatened to raid Hyderabad just as news came that a French expedition sent by Napoleon was on its way to India. Arthur Wellesley (Wellington) defeated the southern Mahrattas in the hard-fought battles of Assaye and Argaum while Lake beat those of the north at Laſwaree, entered Delhi and took possession of the person of the unhappy Mogul (1803). The Mogul became a pensioner of the conquering Company which now controlled all India, directly or indirectly, except the Rajput states of the north-west and the Punjab which lay beyond them.

Main Events in South Africa, 1795-1825.—The growth of the Company's power in India helps to explain why the government of the Cape Colony changed hands so rapidly between 1795 and 1806. The First British Occupation of the Cape Colony lasted from 1795 till 1803 when the Cape was restored to the Batavian Republic in terms of the Treaty of Amiens (1802). The Batavians ruled it till 1806. It was then retaken by the British and held provisionally till 1814, when it was formerly ceded to them by the restored House of Orange as part of the general settlement at the end of the Napoleonic wars.

Throughout the period till about 1825, the more the government changed, the more it was the same thing. Neither the Batavians, who had too little time, nor the British, who had no desire, made any important permanent changes in the laws or the system of administration. The British abolished the trade in slaves in 1807 but slavery remained till 1834; the paper money continued to circulate unchecked till 1825; each government followed the policy of its predecessor towards the Bushmen, Hottentots and Bantu. Missionaries, the advance guard of European Liberalism, had already begun to arrive in 1792; they came in increasing numbers till, by 1823, those of the London Missionary Society had gained great influence in the Colony and in Downing Street. The arrival of the 1820 Settlers changed conditions on the Eastern Frontier. Then, in 1823 the Young Tories sent out a Commission of Inquiry which began to revolutionise the finances, administration and law of the Colony and thus to set on foot those rapid changes

in the direction of Liberalism which ultimately sent the frontiersmen out upon the Great Trek:

Internal Policy, 1795-1825.—As High Tories fighting the French Revolution, the officials of the First British Occupation were naturally hard on colonists suspected of Jacobinism but not so hard as were their fellows at home on Englishmen, let alone on Irishmen. They were soon on friendly terms with the townfolk and the Orange officials in Capetown and the neighbourhood, thanks mainly to the efforts of Lady Anne Barnard, the charming wife of Lord Macartney's secretary, in whose letters this period is made alive for us. Most of the Dutch officials kept their posts though the higher posts were gradually given to Englishmen. Government was expensive but, as civil servants were forbidden to take fees or perquisites, it was probably not really more expensive than that of the Company. It was certainly much less corrupt. There was some corruption under Sir George Yonge but that soon ended with the Governor's recall.

Very few changes were made in the law or machinery of government, for the Occupation was only temporary and the articles of the Capitulation of Rustenburg stood in the way. The Committee of the High Court was replaced by a Burgher Senate of six members which acted as a kind of town council for Capetown; the High Court was reduced in size and its members given salaries; the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor heard civil appeals; a Vice-Admiralty Court dealt with shipping cases; the civil powers of the landdrost's courts were extended; but, by special order of the Imperial Government, the Roman-Dutch law was retained as the law of the Colony.

The Colonists were much better off than they had been in matters of trade and industry. All monopolies and checks on trade within the Colony were swept away; coasting trade was thrown open; till 1802 the Cape was favoured above all British colonies by being allowed to land goods from any part of the empire duty-free. It was then put on the same footing as the rest and only permitted to receive goods from the United Kingdom on those terms. Many arrears of taxes were cancelled, no new taxes were levied till Yonge's time and, on his recall, some of these were repealed. A post

office was opened for the overseas mail and a printing press was set up in the Castle which struck off the *Government Gazette*, the first newspaper in Africa south of the equator. Commerce revived, a few men undertook flour-milling and forestry, Walfisch Bay and Angra Pequena (Lüderitzbucht) were annexed to help the whale fishers who used those harbours, but agriculture and stock-farming remained far and away the biggest industries. The authorities tried to improve both; a large garrison and naval squadron offered a good market to the farmers; but bad season followed bad season and they were forced to rush in rice and wheat to stave off famine. To finance these imports and to pay the troops, they imported Spanish silver dollars (4s. 8d.) and copper pennies (dubbeltjes). These were not enough. Business, was expanding and Governors gave way to the prayers of the Burgher Senate and issued more paper money. They cancelled some of it, but they left more paper in circulation than they had found and, naturally, its purchasing power had fallen.

Batavian Rule, 1803-6.—The British were harrassed throughout by rebellions in Graaff Reinet and by troubles with the Kaffirs and revolted Hottentots, but they had established some sort of peace in the East when the time came for them to hand over the Cape to the representatives of the Batavian Republic (1803). The Dutch East India Company had come to an end in 1796 and its territories were now under the control of the Council for the Asiatic Possessions. De Mist, a member of this Council, came out as Commissioner-General with the new Governor, General Janssens.

Both men were moderate revolutionaries, filled with French Liberal ideas. They were welcomed in the West, even by those British civilians who remained behind after the British troops and some of the Orange officials had sailed away. De Mist installed Janssens as Governor, appointed an executive council of five officials to assist him, and thoroughly overhauled the High Court. For the first time, all seven members were to be professional lawyers independent of the executive in keeping with Montesquieu's principles, and assisted by an attorney-general as public prosecutor instead of the Fiscal.

Both Commissioner and Governor travelled through the Colony and did what they could to set up the rule of law for all on the frontiers notably by establishing a new drostdy at Uitenhage in the south-east and another at Tulbagh in the north-west (1804). They linked up the drostdies with the Castle by means of weekly post-riders, defined the powers of the landdrosts and field cornets, and presently brought the commando system up-to-date (1805). This last was a very necessary step for, within a few months of the beginning of their rule, the Batavian Republic had once more been dragged into the war with Great Britain at the chariot wheels of France.

De Mist and Janssens pushed on manfully with their reforms, opening trade with Batavian possessions to all Cape Colonists, encouraging scientific agriculture and trying in vain to induce farmers to give up their fat-tailed, hairy sheep in favour of wool-bearing merino sheep from Spain. They also tried to improve the Cape wines but, with the exception of the famous Constantia brand, these continued to be bad. They struck off new paper money to finance their public works and other schemes. They felt justified in so doing because they looked for a large European immigration which would develop the Colony and save it from its dependence on slave labour. The immigration scheme organised by the Hollander, van Hogendorp, proved a failure and some of the reforms set on foot by the zealous Batavians at the Castle threatened to cause trouble in the Colony. De Mist resigned in September, 1804, partly to give Janssens a free hand to deal with the expected foreign invasion, but partly because he foresaw a storm rising in the Colony to which he was not prepared to bow. Conservative Colonists objected to the reduction of the number of predikants at Capetown, to the decree granting liberty of conscience to all, and to the fact that Catholic priests were allowed to celebrate Mass privately in the Castle. Still more did they resent civil marriage in French fashion before the landdrosts and heemraden and the organisation of the public schools not, as is sometimes said, without any religious instruction at all, but certainly free from the customary control by the predikants.

The Liberalism of De Mist and Janssens never had to try conclusions with the Conservatism of the Colonists for the

return of the British cut short their rule. The empire of the English Company was growing fast in India. The British could not afford to see the French Imperial eagles perched at the Cape as well as at Mauritius. On the breakdown of Napoleon's Boulogne scheme, they sent a strong expedition southward to take the key to India and the South Seas. The troops landed at Losperd's Bay to the north of Capetown and routed Janssens' mixed force of burghers, mercenaries, French sailors and coloured men at Blaauwberg. Capetown was given up at once under the Capitulation of Papendorp (Woodstock) and, a fortnight later, Janssens surrendered with the honours of war at Hottentots Holland (January, 1806).

The Second British Occupation, 1806-25.—Until 1825 the officials and the methods of government during the Second British Occupation were very much like those of the First. The Colony was ruled by men of the class that was ruling the United Kingdom, High Tories who looked on all change, especially change in the direction of democracy, as a concession to the Jacobinism that they had been fighting since 1793. The system of government that they set up was purely autocratic. It could hardly have been otherwise. The Tories believed that they had lost the American colonies because they had allowed the colonists to have too much local liberty. They viewed the Cape as an outpost of their Indian Empire; they could see no reason why it should be treated differently from other small and racially mixed colonies which were certainly not fit for representative institutions. Most of these colonies were in the Tropics while the Cape enjoyed a Mediterranean climate; but that was the only difference, for in 1805 there were only some 25,000 Europeans in the Colony as against over 29,000 slaves and 20,000 "free blacks," that is, half-breeds, freed slaves and Hottentots in the service of white men.

Power lay with the Governor who was responsible only to the Secretary of State at Downing Street three months away by sea. The Governor was head of the executive; he appointed and dismissed all officials except the president of the High Court; he made the laws by proclamation; if he was a soldier, and all were except Earl of Caledon, he commanded the troops; he also heard civil and

criminal appeals with the help of the Lieutenant-Governor or other assessors. The Roman-Dutch law was retained but the High Court was restored to its condition prior to the Batavian reforms, and the Fiscal and the Vice-Admiralty Court reappeared.

On the other hand, Caledon sent two of the judges round the Colony twice yearly on circuit to do all that the full Court could do except to pass the death sentence, and to report to him on the condition of the country and its inhabitants. These circuit courts sat with open doors from the first, a healthy reform which was extended to all courts in 1813; but no real changes were made in the law, apart from the use of a little English procedure in the courts, permission to British-born citizens married before their arrival in the Colony to make wills in English style, and a warning that English would soon be the official language (1822). The Burgher Senate still sat at Capetown; the rest of the Cape district was placed under a landdrost; many new drostdies were set up especially near the frontiers; the courts of the landdrosts and heemraden were given a limited criminal jurisdiction for the first time but, to the satisfaction of the mass of the Colonists, they were forbidden to celebrate civil marriages.

As before, the administration was top-heavy and expensive but war prices and the post-war boom long concealed the fact that it and the public and private works which were undertaken in the time of Lord Charles Somerset were beyond the means of the Colony. The ocean mail ran monthly to and from England, horsemen and Hottentot runners carried the weekly post inland from the Castle; the Green Point lighthouse, the first in South Africa, the Royal Observatory, a Commercial Exchange and the Old Somerset Hospital were built; the Government took over a private museum and gave a grant to the Public Library (1818). The Lutherans crowned their church in Strand Street with a steeple to the fury of the congregation of the Groote Kerk who looked on that as their exclusive privilege as members of the established church; the Church of England built a church of its own at Simonstown; after some trouble with Somerset, who as a good Tory disliked Dissenters, the Wesleyans made good their footing in Capetown and Albany; even the Roman Catholic priests, expelled

in 1806, were allowed to resume their labours and were paid by the Government like any other clergymen.

Somerset also recruited Scottish ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church which was unable to train its own clergy or to obtain ministers from Holland (1822). He then allowed the Reformed Clergy to meet in Synod and, though the Government carried on the traditions of the Company by keeping a close watch on what took place, the Synod was able to organise the Church much more satisfactorily than ever before (1824). Much was also done for education. There were one or two good private schools in Capetown and the usual elementary school at each church-place. The Batavians had planned a wide scheme of public education and Sir John Cradock had encouraged the Bible and School Commission to collect money for schools; but it was Somerset who gave the real impetus to education in and around the principal villages by importing Scottish schoolmasters to give a good free English education with religious instruction in Dutch (1822).

All went well for a time. Wine, encouraged by a large preference in the British market, was the chief export; hides and skins came next; whaling did fairly well; and, led by Somerset in person, the Colony made its name as a breeding ground for horses. Somerset also developed scientific agriculture at the state farm at Grootte Post and the Somerset Farm near the Eastern Frontier (Somerset East); steel ploughs began to replace the archaic wooden implements (metal machines were beginning to oust iron-jointed wooden machines in England) and, urged by successive governors, a few farmers experimented with merino sheep. Then the tide turned. Merchants speculated wholesale; Government sent up prices by issuing paper money to finance the public works; the garrison and squadron were cut down; St. Helena's demand for Cape produce died with Napoleon, and a run of bad seasons followed just as the Colony had made itself responsible for part of the cost of the English settlement in Albany. The boom collapsed and the colonists cried out against Somerset and all his works (1823).

Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Somerset had to deal with a colony in which social conditions were slowly

changing if only because the importation of slaves had been stopped. The British possessed nineteen slave-owning colonies, all of which were in the West Indies except Mauritius and the Cape itself. No slaves had been imported into the Cape after the dying Company had set on foot its desperate economy campaign in 1791 till the first Governor of the British Occupation, yielding to pressure by the Burgher Senate, admitted a few under special license. Yonge shut his eyes to a good deal of illegal traffic by his friends, but that was soon stopped. De Mist and Janssens, good disciples of Rousseau, were opposed to slavery as such and had hoped to replace the slaves by white labour and then to segregate them in reserves. Apparently the Dutch Government at the very last decided to free the slaves at the Cape, but, be that as it may, their representatives at the Castle had to give way to popular pressure and allow a few to be imported. A few licenses were issued at the beginning of the Second British Occupation, but, before the slaves had all been brought in, the British slave trade had been abolished (1807).

Abolition was the end of a long story. Slavery among Europeans had died out in the early Middle Ages. It had been revived by the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the fifteenth century and, one by one, other nations had ventured upon the trade. At first the French and the Dutch had held the lead, but in the eighteenth century the British outstripped them. But already the reaction had begun. English clergymen and Quakers had protested as early as 1680; by 1776, Quakers in Pennsylvania had stopped slave-owning among their own people; English men of letters, like the poet Cowper, wrote against the horrors of the Middle Passage across the Atlantic from Africa to the American plantations; Lord Mansfield, in the case of James Somersett, a slave, declared that slavery could not exist in England except under a special statute (1772).

That judgment freed thousands of slaves who were living with their masters in England. It also inspired Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce, the friend of the younger Pitt, to found the Anti-Slavery Committee. Pitt spoke in favour of the ending of the trade but all that he could do was to help to carry an Act providing for the more humane treatment of slaves on board ship. Opposi-

tion was very strong, for, if Great Britain alone gave up the trade, she would merely damage her own shipping and slave-owning colonies, and make a present of a great traffic to her keenest rival, France. International action was necessary but there was no chance of that. Then came the French Revolution. Pitt the reformer had to become Pitt the war minister, and a fearful negro rising in San Domingo (Hayti) following the liberation of the French slaves there, ended the hopes of the Abolitionists.

It was not until 1804 that they plucked up courage to go forward again. Denmark had just given up her small share of the traffic (1803), Pitt had fallen and his rival, Fox, threatened to wreck the new ministry by resigning unless the Abolition Bill was carried. It was carried just as the U.S.A. Congress passed a similar measure (1807) but, whereas the American law could not be enforced in face of the demand in the southern states for slave labour, the British law was carried out by dint of giving British slave-runners fourteen years' hard labour in Australia (1811).

Effects of Abolition at the Cape.—Once importation had been stopped, the European population of the Colony rapidly outstripped the slave. It was already slightly ahead in 1813 and gaining fast. Portuguese and Spanish slavers sometimes ran a few slaves ashore till they were refused fresh water and supplies at Capetown. British cruisers landed rescued slaves who were apprenticed as Prize Negroes for seven years; but in neither case was the number great. Slaves bred slowly and now that fresh supplies were cut off, their value increased. So did the care bestowed on them by their masters. Slavery at the Cape had never been so widespread or so harsh as on the West Indian plantations. Latterly, the authorities had watched over the interests of the slaves. In spite of the opposition of the High Court, torture, breaking at the wheel and other fierce punishments had been abolished during the First Occupation. Janssens had commanded that slaves be treated well; Caledon had ordered the circuit judges to see that both they and the Hottentot farm servants were so treated; Cradock abolished the old law of 1770 which frightened owners from having their slaves baptised and limited the number of lashes which might be given to a slave.

Somerset opened schools for slave children, ordered a registration of slaves, and in 1823 issued detailed instructions vastly improving their lot. In that very year, with the advent to power of the Young Tories, the campaign for the emancipation of slaves had been resumed in Great Britain, but, apart from forbidding the 1820 settlers and the Dutch farmers who took up farms along the Koonap river in 1825 to farm with slave labour, Somerset did nothing which would weaken slavery as an institution. After all, the freeing of the serfs had only just taken place in western and central Europe, there were thousands of serfs in Russia, and he himself frankly thought that the Cape slave was very well off.

Philanthropists and Missionaries.—There were many men in Europe who held, in spite of Somerset, that no slave could be well off simply because he was a slave. Individual liberty was the root idea of the French political philosophy, the saving of the soul of the individual was the main aim of the Wesleyan movement in Great Britain and the U.S.A. and of the Evangelical Revival to which it had given rise in the Church of England. These revivals which had roused so many Englishmen and Americans from spiritual sloth in the later eighteenth century, had been accompanied by similar movements in Germany and among the French Protestants. At the close of the century the Protestant missionary flood began to flow to the Cape.

The way had been prepared by a few enthusiastic members of the Dutch Reformed Church at Capetown led by van Lier, one of the ministers of the Groote Kerk (1789). The first to come were the German Moravian Brethren who established themselves at Genadendal (1792) among the Hottentots and half-breeds of the western Colony. In 1807 they were given another station at Mamre and, in 1816, another near the Eastern Frontier at Enon. Meanwhile, in 1799, the London Missionary Society, organised mainly by the Independents (Congregationalists), sent out a small band of missionaries led by a Hollander, Vanderkemp. These men went to the Bushmen, Hottentots and half-breeds in the wild north at Zak River or to the Xosa beyond the Fish. By 1816, the London Missionary Society had twenty men at work, some within the Colony and others beyond the border

from Kaffirland up to the middle valley of the Orange where they were gathering the wandering Griquas and Hottentots in what is now Griqualand West. After 1816, other societies, like the Wesleyans, the Glasgow Society and the Church Missionary Society sent their men to South Africa, Dutch and English clergy formed an association for distributing Bibles, and the South African Society worked among the coloured folk in the dorps.

At first the political influence of the missionaries was small; nevertheless, from the first, their coming meant that a new factor had come into colonial politics. They were the voorloopers of the Liberalism of the West come to a High Tory Colony ruled by High Tory officials. Henceforward, officials and colonists became more and more conscious that some of the things that they had always taken for granted were being criticised, especially their relations to the natives on such matters as land and labour. By 1825 open war had been declared between the old forces and the new as represented by some of the London Missionary Society men; but, by that time, these missionaries had behind them the evangelically-minded members of the British governing class and of that middle class which was rising to wealth and power as the Industrial Revolution swept on its way.

Frontier Policy.—It was only gradually that the nature of the native problem and its close connection with land and labour became clear. The British in 1795 had little to guide them. The Company had had no policy beyond leaving the Bushmen and Hottentots to take their chance, and trying to keep the Europeans and Kaffirs apart. Craig with difficulty induced the men of Graaff Reinet to recognise his authority and then made way for Macartney. Macartney defined the boundary of the whole Colony for the first time since 1660, bade the local officials give the Bushmen cattle (which they ate) and, if necessary, drive them north into the desert, sent a handful of dragoons, the first troops ever posted in the eastern Colony, to support the landdrost at Graaff Reinet, remitted the Boers' arrears of land tax, brought those who had gone into the Koonap lands back within the border, forbade the frontiersmen to have any dealings with the Kaffirs, and tried in vain to persuade the

Xosa on the Zuurveld to go back behind the Fish (1797-98).

This policy was simply a continuation of the Company's policy of non-intercourse. It had the same results. The hope of French help, the withdrawal of the bulk of the British garrison to fight Tippoo Sahib in India, the intrigues of "Jacobins" in Capetown, all pointed to further trouble with those frontiersmen who resented control by a distant Government which taxed them but did not police the border. The rising was precipitated by the arrest of the local leader, van Jaarsveld, for forgery. His friends rescued him and demanded practical independence and the right to graze their cattle beyond the Fish river. They were encouraged by the prospect of Xosa help held out to them by Du Buis, an able scoundrel who, with some British deserters, was living in Kaffir fashion at the kraal of Gaika, great chief of most of the western Xosa. The rebellion collapsed on the arrival of British and Hottentot troops, and van Jaarsveld and some others were sent to the Castle. On the way down to Algoa Bay, the troops fell foul of the Xosa clans on the Zuurveld and, in the confusion, Hottentots who had fled from the farms formed plundering bands and joined the Kaffirs. Dundas, the acting-Governor, marched up a strong force of troops and burghers and imposed a kind of peace. He left the Xosa on the Zuurveld, garrisoned Fort Frederick, the foundation stone of Port Elizabeth, on Algoa Bay, and gave Maynier wide powers over Swellendam and Graaff Reinet.

Maynier once more tried to enforce the rule of law on the frontier without the police, the magistrates and the circuit courts which could alone make it a reality; but he did it, in a measure, by using Hottentot troops and by insisting that Hottentot farm servants should be registered and fairly treated. Bad seasons and locusts made him more unpopular than ever; the renegades at Gaika's kraal plagued him; at last, the Graaff Reineters besieged him in his drostdy (1801). The rest of the story is that of Dundas's attempts to restore order. Troops dispersed the insurgents; Maynier was recalled and Dundas, seeing that the root of the Hottentots' troubles was their lack of land and hence their utter dependence on the farmers, allowed Vanderkemp to take such as would go with him to a temporary reserve

near Uitenhage. He was less successful with the Kaffirs and the Hottentot bands, but, by dint of calling up a large commando, he was able to patch up a settlement which left him free to withdraw his troops from the Colony (1803).

Batavian Native Policy.—The Batavians carried the Dundas-Maynier policy a step further. Janssens visited the frontier. He appeased the Hottentot bands, who were thoroughly tired of fighting and of their Xosa allies, by giving them reserves and by banishing two notorious farmers. He also established Vanderkemp and his flock at Bethelsdorp and ordered farmers to make contracts with their Hottentots before an official for a definite period on definite terms. De Mist appointed a landdrost at Uitenhage to watch the south-eastern border. Most of the Hottentots took service and, as a body, caused the Government no further anxiety till the war of 1850. But neither de Mist nor Janssens could do anything with the Xosa who refused to budge from the Zuurveld which they now regarded as theirs by right of conquest.

Bushmen and Hottentots.—By the time that the British took control of the Colony for the second time, the nature of the Native problem was clearer. The Bantu side of the question turned upon disputes for land with organised tribes, the Bushman-Hottentot side of it was a matter of detribalised men and labour within the colonial borders.

The little Bushmen had ceased to be a serious difficulty. As recently as 1797, they had been strong enough to drive Europeans out of the Tarka district, but now their resistance was broken. Many had withdrawn to Great Bushmanland beyond the northern frontier or even to the Kalahari desert beyond the Orange. Commandos took the field against them as late as 1823 but there was little real fighting after 1810. Hunting for Bushman children still went on but in the north-east some of the little men settled down as cattle-herds for the farmers, especially after Somerset had ordered that "abandoned" Bushman children should be apprenticed in the usual way.

The Hottentots were dealt with firmly. The ending of the slave trade threatened the colonists with a labour

shortage. The officials were members of a class which both in Holland and in England strongly disapproved of vagrants and landless men. They agreed with the average Colonist that the shiftless Hottentot ought to be taught the dignity of labour and thus guided more or less gently along the road to civilisation. Officials and Colonists alike acquiesced in the presence of the Moravians who laboured mainly in the West where slaves were fairly numerous, and who taught their flocks that to work was also to pray. They frankly disliked some of the London Missionary Society men, especially those at Bethelsdorp who told the Hottentots that they were an oppressed people and were so sure of the equality and perfectibility of all races that some of them married Hottentot wives. Yonge had suspected the first London Missionary Society missionaries of being Jacobins in disguise, and other officials, without going so far as that, held that Bethelsdorp ought to be broken up as it was run for the benefit of the Hottentots and not of the Colony.

The great charge against the mission stations was that they drained off the labour supply. That view was pressed upon Caledon. He tried to meet it and, at the same time to give the Hottentots a more secure place in the social system by abolishing the relics of chieftainship and bringing the Hottentots under Colonial law. He ordered all Hottentots to have fixed dwellings and not to leave their districts without a pass from the landdrost (1809). On the other hand, he strengthened the labour contract regulations and, in 1811, directed the circuit judges to pay special heed to Hottentot complaints. Cradock went further. With the idea of encouraging farmers to take an interest in the families of their labourers, he decreed that all Hottentot children maintained by their parents' employer to the age of eight were to be apprenticed to him for ten years (1812). Finally, Somerset bade landdrosts apprentice all Hottentot orphans (1819).

The general effect of these laws was to make the Hottentots serfs at the disposal of the local officials for, if they moved far without a pass, they could be treated as vagrants. They were in one way less fortunate than the serfs of Russia, for it was by no means certain that they could hold land always supposing they could get it. Many of them turned to the mission reserves for refuge thus making

more bitter the feeling of some of the Colonists against the missionaries.

That feeling had been bitter enough on the Eastern Frontier since the Black Circuit of 1811. Read, the missionary at Bethelsdorp, had charged many Europeans with cruelty towards their Hottentots. Many of these charges were grossly overdrawn, but enough were proved to show that some servants had been abominably treated.¹ The sentences awarded were not heavy; nevertheless the effect of the whole affair on Frontier opinion was serious. Hundreds of people had been put to expense and even danger by coming to court at the close of a Kaffir war virtually at the summons of a missionary and some Hottentots. The Frontiersmen did not easily forgive the Betheldorpers.

Somerset himself was not much more sympathetic. He disliked Nonconformists and justly held a low opinion of some of the hastily chosen London Missionary Society representatives. Partly because he shared the Colonists' dislike for coloured troops and partly because he thought the soldiers and their families should work, he disbanded the Hottentot Corps and approved of the closing down of one or two mission stations beyond the border. The collection of half-breeds and Hottentots at such stations in the north had led Janssens to extend the frontier in order to bring them under his own control (1804). Somerset wanted to close them all, but was dissuaded from doing so by Dr. John Philip who arrived at Capetown in 1819 as superintendent of all the London Missionary Society missions in South Africa.

Philip was a man of great force of character and was destined to play a vital part in South African politics. Until 1824 he was on good terms with the Governor and was able to carry out a much-needed reform at some of the London Missionary Society stations. Somerset had already appointed a landdrost at Beaufort West to control the trade in hides with the Griquas of the north and, now, on a hint from Philip, he sent a Resident to Andries Waterboer, chief of Griquatown, to help to keep order in the troubled valley of the Orange. He also carried the north-eastern frontier

¹ Compare the ill-treatment of orphan apprentices under the Domestic System of industry in Great Britain at that time.

of the Colony up to the middle Orange to keep a hold on the cattle farmers who were rapidly moving in that direction. Meanwhile, Philip, resenting the pressure brought to bear by local officials on the mission Hottentots to make them go out to work, began to send home detailed reports. He thus drew the attention of the philanthropic party in England to the fact that there were Hottentot serfs as well as black slaves in the Cape Colony.

Frontier Policy.—On the Eastern Frontier, the dwellings and the claims of the Europeans and the Bantu overlapped. The Europeans claimed all up to the Fish including the Zuurveld, the Xosa occupied the Zuurveld and claimed all as far west as the Sunday River, and the Colonial authorities talked seriously of appointing more frontier magistrates, occupying the empty lands on the Koonap, driving Ndhlabi's Xosa from the Zuurveld and closely settling that area with farmers. The expulsion was carried out first. Cradock, with a large force of troops and burghers, cleared the Zuurveld, garrisoned a double line of block-houses along the Fish River and founded military headquarters behind the lines at Cradock and Grahamstown (1812).

Cradock also offered comparatively small farms on the Zuurveld to be held on payment of annual quitrents. This plan was not a great success; nevertheless, with the idea of giving farmers security of tenure and thus encouraging them to stop trekking and to improve their farms, Cradock announced that in future Crown Lands would only be given out on quitrent tenure at rates varying with the quality of the land and not, as in the past, on loan-place tenure. He also tried to persuade the holders of loan places to convert them into quitrent farms, but the Boers preferred the old system and, in most cases, declined to make the change.

Cradock's settlement was shaken by another rebellion on the frontier. Frederic Bezuidenhout, who lived on the extreme eastern frontier, objected, as did many of his neighbours, to the growing power of magistrates and circuit courts backed up by Hottentot troops. For two years he refused to appear in court to answer a charge of maltreating a Hottentot servant. At last, Hottentot soldiers under a

white officer were sent to fetch him. He fired on the party and was shot dead. His brother, Johannes, and his friends, determined to drive the British and the Hottentots away from the frontier and to set up a little republic. They twice tried to get help from Gaika by offering him the Zuurveld in exchange for lands on the Kat river and, when one of their number was arrested, they tried to rescue him and to rouse their neighbours. Very few responded and most of the little band surrendered to the troops and burghers at Slachters Nek. A few fled towards Kaffirland but Johannes was killed on the way and the rest were taken (1815). A special court tried the prisoners and sentenced six to death. In those days men could still be hanged in England for stealing a sheep; the penalty for treason under the Roman-Dutch code was automatically death. Somerset reprieved one man but the rest were publicly hanged, as was then the custom, to the dismay of the frontiersmen who had never yet taken armed uprisings seriously.

Meanwhile, on the Eastern Frontier, as on every other known frontier where tribes have been in contact with civilised men, the Kaffirs stole cattle. Somerset, therefore, met Gaika and, treating him as paramount chief of all the Western Xosa, arranged a reprisal system based on the principle of Bantu law that the kraal or the clan is responsible for the misdeeds of any of its members. Owners were to be allowed to go into Kaffirland with a patrol of troops in search of stolen beasts and either to recover the animals at the kraal at which the spoor ended, or to take Kaffir cattle at the kraal's expense. Somerset also allowed a fair to be held every six months at Grahamstown and thus relaxed the strict rules against intercourse with the tribes.

Unluckily many of the troops and nearly all the mounted men were withdrawn from the Colony at this time. Robberies increased and war broke out between the Xosa clans beyond the frontier. Ndhlabi, Gaika's son Dushane, and the prophet Makana overthrew Gaika at Amalinde. Somerset went to the rescue of Gaika. Ndhlabi, in revenge, tried to storm Grahamstown. Troops and burghers chased him beyond the Kei river and took much spoil of cattle. Somerset then obliged as many of the chiefs as possible to recognise Gaika as paramount and verbally

agreed with Gaika that all the land between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers, except the Tyumie valley which Gaika was to keep, should be neutral ground. Fort Willshire was to be built on the Keiskamma and patrols were to be free to go through the Neutral Territory. Otherwise it was to remain empty (1819).

The 1820 Settlers.—Somerset now looked round for a European population which should form a solid wall on the Colonial side of this vacuum. The quitrent farmers settled by Cradock were drifting away from the Zuurveld. On the other hand, the post-war depression in Great Britain, the high prices caused by the Corn Laws, the discharge of soldiers at the close of the great war, the displacement of labour by the machines of the Industrial Revolution and of small farmers by the Agricultural Revolution which accompanied it, all pointed to emigration as a means of finding homes and work for surplus population. Since 1817 indentured immigrants, bound to work for a term of years for the man who paid their passages, had been privately brought into the western colony. The British Government now offered Somerset immigrants for the Zuurveld.

Somerset jumped at the chance, Parliament voted £50,000 to finance the scheme, and 57 parties were speedily organised. Each was under a leader, often an officer on halfpay, but the Settlers as a whole were quite humble folk. Every man was promised 100 acres on quitrent which would fall due at the end of a few years, for the idea was to have the closest settlement possible. Many others who paid their own way accompanied these 1820 Settlers and, between March, 1820, and May, 1821, nearly 5,000 British immigrants arrived, nearly all in the thinly-peopled eastern districts.

Somerset was away on leave and the acting-Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, at first sent the Irish and some of the English to Clanwilliam; but the land there was not good and these parties were soon sent to join the rest on the Zuurveld. Donkin visited the settlement, created it the district of Albany, appointed a temporary magistrate at its capital of Bathurst, paid the cost of the Settlers' transport from Algoa Bay and named the little town on that bay Port Elizabeth, in memory of his dead wife. He found the Settlers complaining with truth that their farms were

too small and the artisans among them anxious to go to the towns and, when he came again next year, he found the crops blighted and many of the artisans actually gone. However, he appointed a landdrost to deal with the Kaffir thieves and allowed a fair to be held weekly at Fort Willshire in the hope that he would thereby stop traders from going into Kaffirland in defiance of the law. This was another blow to the old policy of non-intercourse, but Donkin went further. He persuaded Gaika to agree to an ex-officers' settlement at Fredericksburg in the Neutral Territory and winked at the return of Gaika's son, Macomo, to his old lands on the Kat river (1821).

At this stage Somerset came back furious with Donkin for having changed his frontier plans and dismayed to find that the whole Colony was sliding into economic depression. In Albany, the Settlers were in debt to the Government for the cost of their rations, the townsmen were leaving their farms, the rest were grumbling that they might not farm with slaves and blaming the Somerset Farm as an unfair state subsidised competitor. Somerset gave the surviving Settlers much bigger farms but he also appointed a new landdrost with whom the Settlers promptly quarrelled, moved him and the troops from Bathurst to Grahamstown, abandoned Fredericksburg, and, quite in the spirit of the Six Acts, told the Settlers that he would have no airing of grievances at public meetings (1822). Next year floods swept the country, the crops were ruined and the destitute Settlers had to be supported by relief funds raised in the Colony, Great Britain and India. That was their darkest hour before the dawn. Somerset came again in 1825. He appointed a more popular landdrost, gave up the Somerset Farm, allowed direct trade oversea from Port Elizabeth and Port Frances (Alfred) instead of merely a coasting trade to Capetown, and at last let the Boers to the north settle on the banks of the Koonap. Presently the ration debt was cancelled and, by 1826, Albany was fairly established not so much on the intensive farming that had been hoped for but on cattle and sheep.

Before the Settlers had found their feet two events had taken place which clearly marked the end of the old order of things. In response to the outcry against Somerset from public and private enemies, to the bad news which

reached them of the state of the Colony's finances, and to the reports which Philip was sending to London, the Young Tory ministry sent a Commission of Inquiry to Capetown (1823). The arrival of the two commissioners, Major W. Colebrooke and J. T. Bigge, marked the beginning of a new era in South African history. If there was any doubt on that point, it was dispelled a few months later, for those who had eyes to see. In October, 1825, *Enterprise*, a steamship, puffed into Table Bay fifty-eight days out from England on her way to India. She prudently carried masts and sails (the ships of the Royal Navy only gave those up in the 'nineties) and she only used her engines when the winds were contrary; nevertheless, she was a sign that man was now able to sail the seas when and how he chose, a warning that the world was shrinking.

The commissioners and *Enterprise* stood for something more. The one represented a Tory brand of Liberalism, the other was a weak and wheezy product of Industrialism; nevertheless, with them, Liberalism and Industrialism, the two great forces which were changing the centres of Western Civilisation out of all knowledge, reached Capetown. The story that follows is largely that of the working out of those two forces in South Africa.

Books for Further Reading :

Sir A. Lyall, *British Dominion in India*, pp. 138-265; *South Africa a Century Ago (Letters of Lady Anne Barnard)*; *Memorandum of . . . J. A. de Mist (Van Riebeeck Society, No. 3)*; G. W. Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents illustrating S.A. History from 1795-1910*, Introduction and pp. 1-24, 76-77 and 97-106.

Also, G. M. Theal, *History of South Africa since 1795*, vol. i; Sir George Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. i and ii; E. A. Walker, *Political History of S. Africa*; E. C. Godée-Molsbergen and J. Visscher, *South African History Told in Pictures*.

MAPS.—Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plates 61a and c (India); E. A. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, plates 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12.

SECTION II.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain.—The world of Western Civilisation as we know it is mainly the result of two forces : the Liberalism which arose in France and the Industrial Revolution which began about the same time in Great Britain. Those two forces have not only set free serfs in Europe and slaves in many parts of the world but they have given masses of humble folk everywhere far greater freedom to move about, to choose what work they shall do, to read, to think and to speak for themselves than people of their kind had ever had before. This revolution brought suffering in its train as all great changes must do ; but, if the lot of the average member of Western Civilisation to-day be compared with that of a man of the same social class in 1763, there can be no doubt that the change for the better far outweighs that for the worse.

The Industrial Revolution is often said to have taken place in the late eighteenth century. It is true that vital inventions were made during that period, but the origins of the great change lay much further back and it was not until about the year 1825 that men realised that the Revolution was turning Great Britain into something radically different from what she had been, and that it was spreading from her to other countries. Roughly speaking, the years that lie before 1825 were years of experiment, those that follow right up to our own day are the years of achievement.

In 1763, all Europe including Great Britain had much the same ways of farming, manufacturing and carrying on business. Most of the people lived "on the land" either as farmers, great and small, serf or free, or as makers of waggons, ploughs and other things closely connected with

farming. The towns were not only much smaller than they are to-day but their populations were smaller in proportion to that of the rest of the country. The old-established industries on the Continent were in the hands of guilds, often very close corporations. Men and goods travelled on horse, mule or donkey-back, or in lumbering waggons and coaches over roads that were sloughs in wet weather and stretches of hard-baked ruts in dry, except where parts of the Roman roads survived. Rivers and, in some parts like Holland and northern France, canals were the only means of carrying really heavy goods.

To-day, men think of Great Britain as a vast workshop but in 1763 she was by no means the leading industrial power in Europe. France, with a population and therefore a home market three times the size of her's, was ahead of her in industry and commerce. Great Britain's trade in 1760 was about one-sixteenth of what it was in 1914; three-fourths of her people were "on the land," the great majority of them in the south and east; the lowlands of Scotland and the north of England were poor and thinly-populated as they had always been. The only industry to be compared in size and wealth with agriculture was shipping. Cloth-weaving and flour-milling gave employment to many, but the copper, lead, tin and, above all, the coal mines were hampered because at a certain depth water flowed in and there was as yet no satisfactory way of pumping it out.

Most of the manufacturing was done by hand in the homes of the work people. Under this "domestic system" the cloth weaver worked up the wool with the help of his wife and family. Sometimes he bought the wool and sold the cloth himself to his neighbours or to traders who went round collecting it; sometimes, and this was becoming more common, he was given the wool by a man with capital who paid him so much for the finished article. In this case the weaver was a wage-earner in his own home.

The domestic system, whose passing some people still regret, had its drawbacks. The picturesque cottages were vilely unhealthy, the death-rate in the villages was high; but it was high all over Europe at that time and had been so as far back as men could remember. Many of the hand-loom cotton workers toiled in damp and dark cellars which was good for the cotton but bad for the makers of it.

If the father was brutal, the fate of his family and still more of the orphans whom the Poor Law authorities used to apprentice out was pitiable; even where the parents were well meaning the over-working of quite tiny children was common. As late as 1866, when the domestic system was gone except in the sweated industries of the slums, a commission could report that "against no persons do the children of both sexes need so much protection as against their parents."

On the other hand the system had its advantages. In many parts of England in 1763 the mediaeval farming organisation still survived with the village in the centre of three large fields; in each of which each villager owned scattered strips. Elsewhere villagers owned compact farms, like the squires and larger landholders, but in either case they had the right to cut wood and peat for fuel in the waste lands and to drive their geese and donkeys on to the common lands of the manor. Most cottages would also stand in a garden; hence, if the demand for cloth was bad, the weaver could live somehow from his garden and the common. He was not entirely dependent on his wages as so many men are to-day. Trade was more steady than it is now, for the markets were so much smaller and better known. There was less chance of over-producing one year and of standing unemployed the next.

It is well to be clear on one point. The use of steam engines to drive machinery was the central fact in the Industrial Revolution, but many of the things which we look upon as results of that Revolution were in existence in Great Britain and in other parts of Europe before ever the steam engine was invented. Machines were already used, wooden machines like the looms of the hand-weavers; there were wind-mills everywhere; factories were common in the south and west of England with simple machinery driven by horses, donkeys, or water-wheels.

In these factories men worked as wage earners, for the Capitalist system was already growing up. Capital is necessary if anything is to be produced. Something more than a pair of hands and some wool is necessary before a man can make his living by weaving cloth. The man must at least have food to keep him alive till he has sold his cloth; he must have money with which to buy more wool

for his next job, money saved out of the profits on his first piece. Capital in terms of money stands for the food, materials, tools, replacement of worn out machines and so on which must be there if a man is to produce goods. It may be capital belonging to the man who actually does the work. Under the domestic system of manufacture this was very often the case just as it was on the farms of the peasants or the yeoman farmers. These men were owners, managers and workmen in one. But some of the domestic workers were already employees of capitalists, and it was capitalists who owned the factories.

Capital was increasing fast in eighteenth-century England. She had learnt the art of banking from the Dutch and from the Jews who had come to London from Amsterdam, the "New Jerusalem" as it was called in Van Riebeeck's time. Soon after the foundation of the Bank of England in 1694, London had taken the place of Amsterdam as the financial centre of the European world. It was the place where people could most easily borrow money. Gold and silver were becoming more plentiful; men were getting used to paper money and to credit represented by credit notes and other "scraps of paper"; joint stock companies for trade were becoming more common, bodies of men scattered all over the country who would each subscribe so much (buy shares), elect directors and share in the profits in proportion to the size of their subscriptions, that is, draw dividends. It was a system which might easily lead to disaster, as it did in England in 1720 when the wild-cat schemes which were started alongside of the South Sea Company caused the bursting of the "South Sea Bubble." At the same time many Frenchmen were ruined by the failure of John Law's "Mississippi Scheme." In spite of the risks entailed, this growing *fluidity* of capital made it easier for men to raise loans for buying ships and cargoes, or factories and looms.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century most of this capital was used for commerce. Great Britain was taking the place of the Netherlands as the great carrier of goods by sea. She was an island and therefore safer from attack than the Low Countries; her capital, London, was served by a splendid river which opened out into the English Channel just where the sea roads from the Mediterranean and the Baltic crossed the ends of the great rivers and roads

of western Europe. England moreover, lay between Europe and the New World of America and the West Indies and the older world of India and the Far East. Her victories during the Seven Years War had given her great territories in both East and West which gave her raw materials and took her manufactures in return. Shipping, banking and manufacture were making her rich for the first time. The Industrial Revolution now came to increase those riches enormously.

The Agricultural Revolution.—There were two sides to the Industrial Revolution: the Agricultural and the Mechanical, and so it has been and is wherever that Revolution has spread. In the sixteenth century the demand for English wool in the workshops of Flanders was still great. Big landholders, especially the “new men” with an eye to business who had secured most of the lands taken from the monasteries, used much of the ploughlands of England as sheep runs and thus employed fewer labourers. They also raised rents and drove peasants and small farmers off the land into the towns or oversea where they helped to found the early English colonies in America. In the later seventeenth century this movement away from the land died down but, in 1750, the enclosing of “common lands” began and went on at a great rate for nearly a hundred years till about 1840. The bigger landholders also bought out their smaller neighbours right and left.

There were many reasons why they should thus enclose and buy. The demand for corn in Great Britain was growing and the old three-field system of farming was wasteful and clumsy. The fields were not fenced, there was little incentive for a farmer to manure or to drain his scattered strips, even those who had compact holdings were too poor and ignorant to improve their methods. Prices jumped up and down. If the harvest was good, the price of wheat was low; if it was bad, the small man with his bad methods had the worst crops. In either case, he must sell his crops quickly. He could not hold on, but the big man could. Moreover, the big man had the capital and the brains wherewith to farm scientifically. They did so, led by the King, “Farmer George III.” There was less need to keep the waste lands open now that improvements

in coal-mining made wood and peats less necessary for fuel. The possession of land in a country where the county franchise was based on land meant social position and political power. Merchants and East Indian "Nabobs" were anxious to become "gentlemen," if possible. The first step for them was to buy land. Landowning was good business. Rents were rising and the price of wheat on the whole went up, especially during the long French wars and under the Corn Laws which followed them.

The methods of enclosing varied. Sometimes big men arranged with their smaller neighbours that the commons and the three fields should be divided among them in proportion to the number of the strips that each man held, but only on condition that all the new farms should be fenced. Many a small man could not pay for fencing and was obliged to sell his share. Sometimes lawsuits were started on questions of boundaries which the small man could not face for lack of money; sometimes the landholders who controlled Parliament passed private Acts allowing them to enclose; sometimes men simply seized the common lands and defied their neighbours. There was much suffering and bitterness, for the loss of the wastes and the commons made it hard for the humbler villagers to live:—

"They put in gaol the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common,
But leave the bigger villain loose
Who steals the common off the goose."

So it went on side by side with a "war on cottages" in some parts. If a landlord wanted to squeeze a tenant out, he would refuse to repair his cottage; more often, he would refuse to have any more cottages built and, as it was not customary for men to marry till they had a cottage, young men went off to the towns. Energetic young fellows, bored with village life, followed them and, in many cases became the hardest and most callous of the class of new employers which the Industrial Revolution was bringing forth.

The pressure of the old Poor Law worked in the same direction. From 1795 onwards, the local authorities, mostly landed gentry and large farmers, gave doles in money

or in food to relieve the distress of the poorer folk. These doles rose and rose; employers were tempted to pay lower and lower wages since the difference between the wage and the cost of living would be made up out of the rates; the larger the family, the larger the dole. The rates were levied on land. The wealthier men could stand the strain, the smaller men could not. Hundreds were ruined by the rates and had to sell their land. Thus everything, from ordinary competition in the produce market downwards, worked in the same direction. Masses of peasants, partly farmers, partly manufacturers, masses of "squatters" and of yeoman farmers who had owned fair sized farms, were driven off the land. The rest remained as labourers working for a wage or as tenants paying rents to the landlords.

The Mechanical Revolution.—The dispossessed country folk went, for the most part, to the factories and the new factory towns which were springing up in response to the Mechanical Revolution. The way had been prepared for this great change by the work of men of many nations. The fifteenth century had seen the beginnings of a big advance in science, mainly in Italy. That had been cut short by the mutual intolerance and bloodshed which accompanied the Reformation. The advance was taken up again in the seventeenth century by the Italian Galileo, the Englishmen Bacon and Newton, and the German Leibnitz. They added much to our knowledge of Mathematics and those rules of exact measurement without which machinery cannot be made. In the eighteenth century the Frenchman Mariotte and the Englishmen Boyle and Black discovered many of the principles of Physics, while the Frenchman Lavoisier developed Chemistry.

All this growing body of knowledge was there for anyone to use and at least two nations seemed, at first sight, to be in a better position to use it than the British. Holland had capital, good canals, a fine position for trade, a large market in the Indies, and a small population which did not tempt masters to use cheap labour instead of labour-saving machines. France again was much larger than Great Britain, her trade and industry were growing faster, her roads and canals were better, her people were careful and

saved much capital. But Holland's trade was falling off and she seemed to have lost her nerve; her industries were all on a small scale and held fast by hidebound guilds, her provinces were intensely local in spirit, and she could not get much raw tropical material at a time when all Europe was short of it and France and Great Britain got the best of what there was. France, too, was hampered by the customs barriers between her provinces; her people feared to speculate after the Mississippi disaster and preferred to lend their money to the Government; her population was large and hardworking, content to work for low wages and more interested in turning out artistic goods than masses of plainer goods at a cheap rate. There was little inducement to use machinery in France. During the Revolution her Government went bankrupt, much of her wealth and industrial organisation was destroyed and the long wars from 1792 till 1815 cut her off from the outer world. France did not recover fully till 1830 and by that time Great Britain was the workshop, the banker and the common carrier of the European world.

Great Britain had had no internal customs barriers since the Union of Scotland and England in 1707; the last of her serfs had gone in the sixteenth century, the craft guilds were well under government control, she had capital. Cloth-weaving and the much smaller silk and cotton-weaving industries were already partly organised on capitalist lines; her coal and iron mines were close together and fairly near the coast; her roads were worse than those of most other countries, but she had good rivers which could easily be improved and linked together by canals; she had a reasonably large home market and a fast-growing one in her colonies; so many men, women and children were busy with farming, spinning woollen yarn, and, presently, with coal-mining and road and canal-making that manufacturers could not get masses of cheap labour. In the cotton industry especially they were forced to use machines.

But they only did so slowly. One of the most striking facts about the Industrial Revolution in its early stage is the slowness with which it was carried through. Many improvements were made in the machines before steam was used to drive them. Kay invented his "flying-shuttle" for weaving in 1733 but, though he had to flee to France

to escape the storm his invention raised among the weavers, his shuttle was not used freely till the close of the century. Meanwhile Hargreaves had invented the "jenny" to meet the cloth-makers' demand for woollen yarn but only twenty of these machines were in use in England by 1790. Arkwright also made his yarn-spinning water-frame which was worked by water power and twisted the thread so strongly that pure cotton goods could now be made instead of goods half of cotton and half of the much tougher linen.

The cotton industry went ahead helped by the fact that the Government began to keep out Indian cotton goods for the benefit of its own manufacturers. For a time it was hampered by lack of raw material and Great Britain very nearly kept the little island of Guadeloupe in 1763 instead of French Canada because it produced raw cotton; but, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Southern States in the American Union began to grow cotton, and Whitney of Connecticut invented the cotton-gin which cleaned the seeds out of the bolls much faster than hands could do. A plentiful supply of cotton was thus assured to the mills of Lancashire. Meanwhile, in 1775, Crompton had combined the jenny and the water-frame in his "mule" which could be worked at home for producing yarn. To use up the woollen and cotton yarns which were thus being made so fast, Cartwright invented the power-loom and gave an impetus to the building of factories (1785). But the impetus was only gradual. The new loom was not much used till 1803 and did not drive the last of the hand-loom weavers out of business till 1840.

Thus, it took seventy years, two generations, for machines to defeat the handworkers in the big cotton and cloth industries. Workmen preferred to work in the old way in their own homes rather than go into the factories which were often badly-run and, with unfenced machinery, dangerous. Sometimes they rioted and smashed the machines for "taking the bread out of their mouths." Employers did not see why they should go to the expense of putting up factories and plant while they could get Englishmen or the immigrants who were pouring across from poverty-stricken Ireland to work for them in their homes, especially as there was less chance of their "hands" combining to win better pay and conditions if they were thus

scattered. Besides, towards the close of the century, population began to grow fast. Plague died out and vaccination warded off the dreaded smallpox. The use of turnips and other winter fodder made it possible to keep large numbers of cattle alive during the winter; there was now no need to slaughter them and salt them in the autumn as had been the rule for centuries; men could get fresh meat and vegetables all the year round and became much healthier as a result. Doctors were learning more about child-birth and were thus able to keep alive thousands of mothers and infants who would have otherwise died as so many had died for ages past. (A walk through any old churchyard in southern England will tell you that.) The apprenticeship system, which had forbidden young men to marry till their seven years apprenticeship was over, was breaking down even before the Apprenticeship Acts were abolished in 1813. Young couples could usually get some sort of dwelling in the new factory towns whereas they could get none in the country. Thousands of country-folk flocked into the towns and furnished a much greater supply of cheap labour than before. Why should a man buy expensive machines?

Coal, Iron and Steam.—The machines of the early Industrial Revolution were made of wood. The English had always had a taste for using iron if they could get it, but hitherto iron had been expensive. Most of it was mined and smelted in the oak forests of Sussex in the south-east and, small though the industry was, it alarmed the naval authorities who wanted the “heart of oak” for their ships. Improvements were made in smelting from 1750 onwards but the great step was taken in 1760 when the Carron works set up coal-using blast-furnaces. This led to cheaper iron and, from 1786 onwards, iron parts were fitted freely to the wooden machines. It also increased the demand for coal and, in view of the shortage of miners, the owners employed women and children and supplied the coal somehow. Coal-mining became less dangerous after Sir Humphrey Davy invented his safety-lamp (1816); the conquest of the water in the mines by steam enabled the miners to go to greater depths.

An inventive nobleman, the Marquess of Worcester had made a steam engine in the middle of the seventeenth

century and, in 1712, Newcomen had made one which would pump water out of mines after a fashion. But it was only during the interval between the Peace of Paris and the Declaration of Independence that James Watt so improved the cylinder that the steam engine became really effective for pumping and capable of giving the circular rotary thrust that would drive machines. Four years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, Watt and his partner Boulton set up a steam driven cotton-spinning machine near Nottingham. Five years later steam was used for blast furnaces and the output of iron rose fast.

Hand in hand with these epoch-making inventions went improvements in the means of communication. Something had been done in the late seventeenth century to improve the main roads. A good deal more was done in the eighteenth century by the turnpike companies which kept stretches of roads in repair and levied tolls on those who used them. In the latter half of that century the famous four-horse coaches carried men and light goods swiftly from posting house to posting house; they carried them still more swiftly over the fine metalled (macadamized) roads laid by Telford and Macadam between 1818 and 1829. But it was the canals which made it possible to move goods in bulk. Goods produced in the Midlands or the North by coal and iron and steam would have been of little use unless they could have been brought down to the ports and the towns, and for that purpose rivers and canals were and are the cheapest and easiest means of carriage. England learnt a good deal about canal-making from the French and the Dutch, and, led by the Duke of Bridgewater and his engineer, James Brindley, she covered herself with a network of waterways (1761-92). The cost of carriage was cut down to one-fourth of what it had been.

Then, in the year of the Treaty of Amiens, the Mechanical Revolution took to the water and the first steamboat in the world began to ply on the canal which linked up Edinburgh with Glasgow. Next year, while Dundas was handing over Capetown Castle to de Mist, Trevithick mounted a pumping-engine on wheels and set it running on rails hauling wagons at a colliery in South Wales. It is because the usual gauge of the wheels of these wagons was 4ft. 8½in. that the "standard gauge" of railways in Great Britain



Map No. 7.

and many other parts of the world is still the same. The first railways in South Africa were built on that gauge, as the old engine at Capetown station proves, but in 1872 the Government cut it down to 3ft. 6in., the general gauge in southern Africa to-day. In 1807, Fulton, an American, experimented with a steamboat on the Seine about the time of Napoleon's Boulogne Scheme (where would Nelson have been if the Emperor had had steam-tugs for his flotilla?) and he then began a regular steamboat service on the Hudson river above New York with British engines built by Watt and Boulton. In the year of Napoleon's first abdication and the cession of the Cape Colony to Great Britain, one of Robert Stephenson's engines pulled a respectable load uphill (1814); steamers began to cross the Atlantic in 1819 and, in 1826, the year after *Enterprise* had steamed into Table Bay, the Stockton and Darlington railway was opened, the first in the world for the regular carriage of men and goods. A year or two later the locomotive *Rocket* hurtled across the page of history at the incredible speed of 44 miles an hour.

Steam had arrived to quicken up the whole order of things in the world of Western civilisation. And already men knew of the "Leyden jars"; Volta, Faraday, Ohm and Ampère, an Italian, a Scot, a German and a Frenchman were experimenting with electricity while humbler men were digging for petroleum in the shales of the Scottish Lowlands, thus foreshadowing our own day when petrol and the electric dynamo have gone far to oust steam as the motive power of the Industrial Revolution. By 1835 Americans and British, Morse, Cooke and Wheatstone, had produced the electric telegraph and thus made possible the working of long lines of railway and the instantaneous passing of messages from a capital to a frontier hundreds of miles distant.

It was a long time before steam was generally used to drive machinery. The engineers and mechanics had to be trained; the engines were expensive and clumsy; water-wheels were much more familiar and at first quite as powerful; the engines and all their parts were made by hand and, hence, each was a little different from the rest. Watt and Stephenson literally had to travel round England with a spanner and a lump of cotton waste tinkering at each engine

in turn. They could do it, for only fifty-three engines were at work in the three largest industrial towns in Great Britain as late as 1800. So it went on till 1825 when England began to make machine-made standardised parts. Men could now turn out engines and machines by the hundred, machines which were exact in all their parts. Great Britain began to export quantities of machinery as soon as Government allowed it to be sent out of the country with the skilled artisans to set it up and work it. Hitherto men and machines had had to be smuggled out like that William Wilkinson who organised the famous Creusot iron works in France in 1781; but in 1829 Stephenson was free to send one of his engines to run on the fifteen-mile long Baltimore railway, the humble beginning of the present vast railway system of the U.S.A.

The Utilitarians.—After seventy years, the Industrial Revolution had fairly got into its stride in Great Britain and had crossed the English Channel and the Atlantic. Other nations were thus able to build on the achievements of the British, just as the Japanese, Chinese and Indians to-day are building on the industrial achievements of Western Civilisation. They could judge of its effects, good and bad. It was the good effects which at first attracted most attention. The control over natural resources which the revolution, even in its early days, had given Great Britain had helped her to weather the storm of the long French wars. Now, with one invention leading to another and the division of labour training her workmen in skill and efficiency, Britain was organised for the production of goods in the mass. The revolution was bearing hardly on the swarming peoples of the new industrial towns but men believed that all would come right in the end if only each man was left free to act for himself without government interference.

That was the idea which underlay the whole of the early Industrial Revolution. It was an idea drawn from the Liberal French political philosophy of the eighteenth century and strengthened in Great Britain by the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements to which so many of the new employ-
in class belonged. Men, they held, were free and equal,

free to bargain among themselves. No harm could surely come of that for, as one economist wrote, there was a Scotchman in every man, who could be trusted to see that he was not swindled. Puritan teachings in Great Britain and the northern U.S.A. paid little heed to the idea of corporate responsibility which had underlain the religion of the Middle Ages and which was still more or less held by Tory Anglicans. It laid stress on the importance of the individual soul. It was easy to argue from that that, in worldly matters, the individual was all that counted.

The leading economists of the day took that line. The Scotsman, Adam Smith, after wisely lecturing on the subject for many years, published his great book, *The Wealth of Nations*, in 1776, the year in which Watt produced the first effective pumping engine and the Americans drew up the Declaration of Independence. Smith did remind his readers that power was more valuable to a state than wealth but, since Economics is the study of wealth, he went on to show that wealth was to be won most easily by giving every man free play. Smith was the stoutest early advocate of Free Trade, an internationalist writing in the middle of a century whose colonial wars had been wars for close markets and whose protective system of commerce was only a peaceful kind of war which might and often did lead to real war. Under Smith's influence Pitt cut away many of the restrictions on British trade; but the French Revolution came to end Pitt's reforms and it was only at the end of the wars that Smith lived again in the Englishman, Jeremy Bentham.

Bentham was the leader of the Utilitarians, a group of Englishmen and Scots, the best known of whom were Malthus and James Mill. They judged everything by its utility, its usefulness, its power to secure "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." They were convinced that the way to secure that happiness was freedom, especially in matters of trade and industry. Their influence was great and, in the hands of enthusiastic followers who, as ^{Steu} went further than their masters, it helped to make a ^{space} early Industrial Revolution the unchecked movement ^{engine} it was.

Quite at the beginning, there had been some attempt to control it. The hours of labour for apprentices in the older industries had been limited (1784 and 1802) but, in 1813, the Apprenticeship Acts of the sixteenth century had been abolished as a check on freedom, and these safeguards had gone with them. Similarly, an old Combination Act of 1720 had been strengthened forbidding either masters or men to combine to fix wages or hours of labour (1799-1800). Trade unions had thus been made illegal. The results had been terrible. Wages were forced down, hours of work became longer, machines were still light and employers found it cheaper to employ women and children rather than men. Matters became so bad that in 1819 the cotton-spinners had to be forbidden to employ children under nine years of age, and in 1824, Francis Place, a Radical tailor, was able to secure the repeal of the Combination laws. Next year, attempts by trade unionists to use force or to frighten employers into making concessions were made criminal offences, but already matters seemed to be mending slowly. Machines, often all of metal, were becoming heavier; the demand for orphan children and for little ones of under ten was falling off; men were finding employment again. It really looked as if the Utilitarians were right and that, given freedom, all would be well.

The Reform Bill.—Under the influence of the Utilitarians and the Young Tories all kinds of Liberal reforms made headway in Great Britain. Statutes of the seventeenth century were repealed in all directions. Huskisson and Vansittart took up the task that Pitt had dropped and freed British trade from more of the restrictions which the Navigation Acts placed upon it; laws which forbade skilled workmen to leave the country were repealed and the great emigration of British to North America and elsewhere became possible (1824); the Test and Corporation Acts were abolished and Protestant Nonconformists were set free to take their seats in Parliament without having to accept religious doctrines in which they did not believe; the efforts of the eloquent Daniel O'Connell won Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the penal laws and the granting of the franchise to Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland, a generation too

late to save the Irish Union. The fierce criminal code was overhauled from 1821 onwards; many capital punishments were abolished; the state of the prisons was vastly improved thanks to the efforts of Elizabeth Fry who carried on the patient work of Thomas Howard; the movement for the emancipation of the slaves grew in strength; there was even talk of reforming the Court of Chancery.

All these changes pointed straight at a reform of the House of Commons, the central political institution in the land. Pitt had tried cautiously to reform it before the French Revolution but, for thirty long years thereafter, the Tories had ruled and in 1831 nearly one-third of the Commons were still appointed by the Crown or by private persons. The Industrial Revolution forced on reform. One of the main facts in that revolution was that the weight of wealth and population, which had always lain in the south and east, was rapidly shifting to the new towns which were spreading on the coal and iron fields in the English Midlands and North and in the Lowlands of Scotland. These towns were full of energetic and pushful men some of whom could buy up many a peer of the realm and any number of forty-shilling county voters, yet these men had no votes and the great towns in which they lived had no seats allotted to them in the House. The wealth and, to a large extent, the brains of the country outside of London were now in the North; votes and seats still lay in the South. The political structure of the country no longer fitted the economic; hence men had to choose between reform and revolution.

Wellington, a better soldier than a politician, resisted the demand for change as long as he could but, at last, he had to resign and the Whigs under Earl Grey took office (1830). The new House of Commons carried a Reform Bill which swept away the rotten boroughs without compensation to the owners, gave members to the counties and to the new towns, and simplified the franchise. The Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords and, for a time, there was a risk of revolution. The mob burnt Nottingham Castle and did much damage at Bristol, while Francis Place started a run on the Bank of England. The Lords gave way and "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill" became

law (1832). A democratic measure the Reform Act most certainly was not. It disfranchised many humble folk and put power into the hands of the well-to-do middle class. That class was content to be led in Parliament by the abler members of the House of Lords; nevertheless, effective political power was now in the hands of the men who stood for money and machines instead of blue-blood and land.

Books for Further Reading :

- L. C. A. Knowles, *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain*, especially pp. 1-109; A. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, pp. 1-152; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the 19th Century*, pp. 142-64 and 180-241 (Parliamentary reform); C. M. Waters, *A Short Economic History of England from the Middle of the 18th Century to 1874* (short and excellently illustrated with contemporary pictures); F. S. Marvin, *A Century of Hope*.

MAPS.—Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plates 44 a and b.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIBERALISM, NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM.

The Literature of Revolt.—Liberalism and Industrialism had forced on a more or less peaceful political revolution in Great Britain; Canning and Monroe had called into being a new world of republics in America free from the old Europe of the emperors, kings, police, priests, spies and soldiers. It remained to be seen how long the Holy Alliance could stand against the forces which pressed upon it from around and below. The wind of freedom had stirred mightily in the eighteenth century and now it was blowing again in the literature of western Europe. Lessing (*d.* 1781) had spoken of life and hope to the Germany of the Enlightened Despots; Goethe had taken up his work and lived to see the English Reform Bill become law; Grimm had addressed the German people, essentially one in spite of their princes, flags and customs barriers; in Great Britain, Robert Burns (*d.* 1796) had told the world that "rank is but the guinea-stamp, a man's a man for a' that." Since then Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelley and Keats and Byron (*circa* 1820) had all tried to tell the truth about human nature. They called up an historical background which showed that the shames of the moment had not always been in existence; above all, they breathed the very spirit of freedom. They spoke with the tongues of men and of angels so that even men, who were bored with the French or Utilitarian philosophy, hearkened. As the dust and smoke of Waterloo and of Peterloo thinned, men saw the Holy Allies for what they were. And in France young Victor Hugo and Béranger were mocking, mocking at the restored monarchy.

Nationalism.—Writers like these men are as fully worthy of a place in a political history as Metternich, for they told men what to think while he only told them what they must not think, at any rate, out loud. When the

Young Tories came into power in England, Industrialism was only just beginning to reach the Continent and Liberalism there had been driven underground. At this very moment another great force thrust its way to the surface. This was Nationalism.

A nation is one of those things that are easier to talk about than to define clearly for there are notable exceptions to every definition that you can lay down. What is a Nation? It is, of course, a large number of people, but so is a mob. It is not necessarily a state, though the political Nationalism which grew up in the nineteenth century tried to work along the lines of "One Nation, One State." It, thereby, became in many cases a great enemy of the Liberalism with which it was so often allied in the early days, for, if the state consists of one nation only, what is to become of the people who are subjects of the state but who are yet members of other nations? Most big states contain men of several nations; besides, a state is a number of people living on a definite piece of territory under a government of their own. There are people like the Jews and the Irish who for centuries have lived scattered all over the world with no government of their own but who can none the less claim to be nations.

A nation is not a Race. Race depends on descent, on blood, like the Tribe, and all civilised nations are of very mixed blood. Men of the same racial admixture living on different sides of a boundary often feel that they belong to different nations like the French citizens of Germanic Alsace, the French Walloons of Belgium, and the Italian Swiss. It is a great advantage to a nation if it has one common language, but nationality does not depend on language. The Swiss nation speaks four tongues and, conversely, Americans, who are not pleased if they are mistaken for Englishmen, speak English. It is hard to see how a body of people can claim to be a nation unless they have the same general ideas of right and wrong, but they need not all have precisely the same religion. The English Catholic is none the less a good Englishman because most of his fellow-citizens are Protestants, and, to-day, educated Indian Moslems and Hindus are beginning to realise that they are all Indians. Common business interests are great makers of nations for "where the treasure is there will the

heart be also," but political and economic union with the English for more than two hundred years has not destroyed the Scottish nationality. Any Scotsman in South Africa will tell you that, and so will most Englishmen.

The one infallible test of Nationality is that people should feel in their bones that they are a nation, cherishing a liking for their own kind and usually a hearty contempt for outsiders. It is a matter of sentiment, a spiritual thing. When that feeling comes, there is a nation; when it goes, that nation ceases to be.

This sentiment of nationality counted for very little in the politics of the Roman Empire or during the Middle Ages. Men were loyal to their lord or to their city or tribal chief or Pope or Emperor. The national idea began to awake during the Crusades. If Northumberland men in camp fell out with Rhinelanders or men from the south of France, the men of Kent would go to their help feeling that they had more in common with them in spite of the queer way they talked than with these foreigners. England and Hungary emerged as perhaps the first big national states under strong governments in the thirteenth century. Wars with the French and Scots hammered out the English nationality still further, and also that of the Scots and French. So it went on. The religious wars of the Reformation cut across the national idea and, in the eighteenth century, Nationalism played little part. Even states which were already national put up with foreign rulers; armies were cosmopolitan; French political philosophy claimed to rise superior to local states and nations; at the last, German *illuminati* and Dutch and Belgian republicans could welcome the invading French with open arms.

On the other hand, the partitions of Poland shocked even that cosmopolitan Europe as crimes against a national monarchy and, as Old Europe pressed upon France, the Revolution became national. It was to the cry of "*Vive la nation*" that the French guillotined their king, it was that cry which rallied them at Valmy and carried them cheering into half the capitals of Europe. The cry changed to "*Vive l'Empereur*" but Napoleon and his men claimed to be the Revolution, the nation in arms, and the hostile governments went crashing to the ground. All save one. Partly because it was on an inaccessible island, partly

because it and its fleet had a solid nation behind them, the British government held on while Napoleon, organising Europe round France, "the great nation," deliberately encouraged national feeling among the Poles, the north Italians and the western Germans and unwillingly awakened it elsewhere. National resistance flared up first in Spain, then in Austria, then in Russia, then all over Germany. The climax came when the nations led by their kings overthrew the Emperor at the "Battle of the Nations" round Leipzig.

Greek Independence.—The peacemakers of Vienna ignored national sentiment, yet a German historian, Gervinus, could write that "the history of this age will no longer be only a relation of the lives of great men and princes, but a biography of nations." The prophecy began to come true in a neglected corner of Europe. When van Riebeeck founded his little settlement at the Cape, the Turkish Sultan still ruled nearly all the coast of North Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, three-fourths of Hungary and the northern coast of the Black Sea. But while Simon van der Stel was founding Stellenbosch, Austria began to push the Ottoman Turk out of Europe, and, when she gave up the attempt in 1739 in order to waste her strength in Italy, Russia took up the task. In the early days of the French Revolution, Catherine the Great took the Crimea, launched a fleet on the Black Sea, and dreamed of taking Constantinople, one of the strongest and most wonderful ports in the world, and of reviving there the old Christian Byzantine Empire which the Turks had destroyed in 1453 and of which the Russian Czarism claimed to be the successor.

The Turks often surprised their enemies by their stubborn resistance but, between the wars, their rule became weaker and more hateful to their Christian and Jewish subjects. The Sultans officially respected the Orthodox Greek and other churches; indeed, they dealt with the subject peoples as churches and not as nations. But the weakness of their position was that they were and always had been leaders of an Asiatic host encamped on European soil alternately neglecting or despoiling people more civilised than themselves.

Greek bandits and seamen who were often pirates had kept the idea of a Greek nationality alive among the

Greeks who lived along the coasts of the Turkish Empire and, since they had no flag of their own, they flew the Russian standard on their ships. In 1814 a certain Korais, living in Odessa which Catherine had taken from the Sultan, formed a society to encourage the study of classical Greek and the use of the Greek language. Inspired by this movement, some of the northern Greeks rebelled and called on Russia, the great Orthodox Greek Church Power, for help. Metternich, to whom rebellion was the unforgivable sin and the thought of the Russians at Constantinople a nightmare, persuaded the Czar Alexander not to help the rebels. The rebellion was crushed, but soon another rebellion took place in southern Greece (Morea) and in the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia-Wallachia=Rumania) on the Russian frontier (1821). The Russian people wanted to help the Greeks; Englishmen, whose education in those days was based largely on the Greek classical writings, were enthusiastic at the promised revival of so great a people and some, like the poet Byron, gave their lives for Greek independence. But the Turks were helped by the fleet sent by Mehemet Ali, who ruled Egypt as the nominal viceroy of the Sultan, and were so successful that it was soon clear that the Greeks would never win their freedom without help.

The difficulty was to decide who should give that help. That has always been the difficulty with this Eastern Question which has broken out at intervals from 1825 till 1914 "like the gout." Russia and Austria were the Powers nearest to the Balkans but neither wanted the other to go forward alone, while Great Britain and France were afraid to have Russian warships based on Constantinople on the flank of their trade route to the Levant and India. However, Canning recognised Greek independence in 1825 in the same year that he recognised the independence of the Spanish American republics. The Czar Alexander died and the new Czar, Nicholas I, a stubborn soldier, was less ready than he to listen to Metternich. By the Treaty of London Great Britain, France and Russia agreed to secure—at least self-government for the Greeks. Unluckily Canning died, and Metternich began to win over the Czar. At this crisis, the British admiral, Codrington, sank the Turkish-Egyptian fleet at Navarino (1827). British ministers apologised for

this "untoward event," so unsettling to the Concert of Europe, but Navarino cleared the way for Greek and, to a less extent, for Rumanian independence. Russia went forward alone against the Turks and, by the Treaty of Adrianople, secured practical independence for the Danubian Principalities (1829). A little later, the European Powers recognised the independence of most of Greece and made it a kingdom under a Bavarian prince, Otto.

"1830."—The War of Greek Independence had split the Holy Alliance. It, thereby, gave a chance of success to some at least of the revolutions which broke out in different parts of Europe in 1830. Some of these movements were liberal, some national, some both, but all were protests against the cast-iron peace settlement of 1814-15.

Paris, fountain-head of revolutions, set the example. In 1824 the White Terror, dreaded by the middle class and the peasants who held the confiscated lands of the Church and the nobles, ascended the French throne in the person of Charles X. Charles levied taxes to compensate those who had lost their lands during the Revolution, gave the Jesuits control of education, censored the press, talked of giving back its lands to the Church, quarrelled with his Parliament, and disbanded the middle class National Guards. Matters went from bad to worse. Middle class leaders like Thiers and Guizot talked much of the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688 which had set up the constitutional monarchy in Great Britain; Charles failed to draw Frenchmen's attention away from home affairs by sending an expedition to conquer Algiers; in 1830 he passed the Four Ordinances still further muzzling the press, dissolving Parliament and narrowing the franchise. Paris threw barricades across its narrow, twisting streets and the disbanded National Guardsmen turned out with the arms which they had been allowed to keep. The Holy Alliance almost interfered, but Russia would not move and Charles X had to flee to England, the refuge in those days of monarchs and revolutionaries in distress. Louis Philippe of the Orleanist branch of the royal house became "Citizen King of the French," supported by a middle class Parliament elected by a small minority of the nation. It was essentially the same kind of government that was set up in Great Britain under the Reform Act of 1832.

Belgian Independence.—The movements in Germany and Italy, like this second French revolution, were Liberal, but unimportant. Risings in some parts of west Germany were easily put down. In Italy the people of the Papal states rose against the rotten rule of Gregory XVI. Metternich sent in Austrian troops who restored the rule of the Pope; whereupon, lest the Austrians should grow too strong in Italy, the French occupied the Papal port of Ancona and held it till 1838.

On the other hand, the rising in Poland was Nationalist. Russian Poland had been governed as a separate state under the Czar since 1815. The factions in the Polish Parliament had been more keen to preserve their caste privileges than to safeguard liberty. They had quarrelled with each other and with their sovereign till a plot among some army officers gave the signal for a war of independence (1830). The Poles hoped for help from France and Great Britain. The help never came. They were defeated, their constitution was taken away and their country was henceforward ruled as a subject province though as one separate from the rest of Russia.

The Belgians were more fortunate than the Poles. Belgium had always been a much-divided country but hatred of the Dutch drove Dutch-speaking Flemings and French-speaking Walloons together against their king, William, who was accused of giving Hollanders too many of the official posts, pushing Dutch too far as the official language, taxing farmers, and showing hostility to the Catholic clergy. Catholic Belgium rallied to its priests, the clerical opposition became national and, led by the capital, Brussels, the country rose. As usual, there was a risk that the Holy Alliance might step in to "bring back the guilty state to the bosom of the Grand Alliance," but the military powers of eastern Europe were too much worried by events in Poland and Greece and much too jealous of each other to move. Palmerston, Foreign Secretary in the new Whig ministry in England and the real successor to the foreign policy of the Tory Canning, favoured little nations. He allied with Orleanist France to secure Belgian independence. At length the five great Powers recognised that independence, and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg became King of Belgium with a ministry responsible, in the most approved British fashion,

to a Parliament elected on a fairly wide franchise (1831). A few years later the five great Powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, signed a treaty guaranteeing that Belgium should be a neutral territory like Switzerland. This was the famous "scrap of paper" which Germany tore up in 1914.

Socialism.—In spite of the victories in France, Great Britain, Greece and Belgium, Liberalism and Nationalism had been driven down in most parts of Europe to ferment in the dark. But something else was fermenting below the surface in the very countries in which Liberalism was most triumphant. In the industrial towns of Great Britain and France, men were talking Socialism. There, the ugly side of the Industrial Revolution was plain for all to see. Society was not so steady and stable as it had been; trade and industry were working now for wider and less certain markets; there was more risk that too many goods would be produced in one year and that men and machines would have to stand idle the next. The division of labour, whereby each man made one part of a given article, meant quicker and more expert work but it also meant dull and deadening labour. A great gulf was widening between town and country which had not been there when country folk had also been manufacturers and most of the towns market towns. Worse still, there was a widening gulf between rich and poor. There were no millionaires yet and there had always been plenty of poor men; but the poor, herded together in towns, could better contrast their own lot with that of rich manufacturers, who had in many cases risen from the ranks. They could see themselves in the mass.

It was not a pleasant sight. Towns had always been death-traps all over Europe for there were no proper drains, no town planning regulations and rarely a clean water supply. In the middle of the eighteenth century the death-rate in the City of London had been as high as 50 per 1,000 annually. The rush of people to these towns, old and new, made matters still worse. The death-rate among children was frightful.

Moreover, the workers in the towns were entirely dependent on their wages. Three things go to the making

of any goods : first, general knowledge, skill and invention, the work of many men ; secondly, capital, organisation and management ; thirdly, labour. Under the domestic system, all three were often in the hands of the same man, the man who actually made the goods, but now labour was sharply divided from capital and management. At this time, a single employer or a few partners supplied the capital, that is, the factory, machines, raw material, money for wages, and so on, and also managed the business themselves. The "hands" supplied the labour. Labour thus became a commodity to be bought and sold. Men, who had nothing to sell but their labour, trod on one another's heels in the scramble to do so, for, in spite of the high death-rate, population was increasing fast. They must sell quickly to employers who thought that there was a fixed "wage-fund," that is, a given sum available for paying wages so that the more workers there were the less could each man get, who held it a duty to buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market, and who honestly believed that supply and demand were automatic rules which could not be checked without making matters worse than they were already. Even employers who still felt that they were somehow responsible for the moral and physical welfare of their employees were afraid to pay better wages than the rest. If some firms employed women and little children, the others felt bound to set their teeth and do likewise, lest they be undersold and ruined by less scrupulous rivals.

Two of the men in England who had seen what was coming had thundered against it. Tom Paine was one, but who would listen to a man who had egged on the American colonists to rebel and had been elected a member of the bloodstained National Convention in Paris ? The other was William Cobbett, a mixture of Tory and Radical who, in his newspaper, the *Political Register*, scourged the Tories for squeezing the small men off the land, the Whigs and Radicals for pushing them into factories, and both for putting money, especially paper money, before land and men.

Both these writers wanted to stop the Industrial Revolution and to restore the farming folk to their land and their self-respect. Robert Owen, the father of British Socialism, saw further than either of them. He saw that

there was great good in the revolution if only it could be controlled. He believed that it was wrong to sacrifice everything to profits and that the employer should be a kind of father to his workpeople. First at his mills at New Lanark (1797) and then near Manchester, he limited the hours of work each day to ten, refused to have children of less than ten years of age in his factory, opened a school and a co-operative store, and in many ways tried to care for the morals and comfort of his folk. Owen's isolated experiment failed for the children shut out of his mills were sent by their parents to others. He therefore went to the new land of America and set up a communist settlement at New Harmony in Indiana where he taught that the aim of society was to produce character and not wealth (1825). New Harmony failed, and Owen returned home to spend the rest of his life in attacking the existing industrial system.

The father of Continental Socialism (the name was first used in 1832) was St. Simon, a Frenchman who had fought in the American War of Independence. He taught that every man ought to be paid according to the amount of labour he put forth. St. Simon died in 1825 but his work was carried on by other Frenchmen, Fourier, Cabet, Proudhon and Louis Blanc. Proudhon held that private property was theft, but it was the teaching of Blanc, a politician, which had the most effect. Blanc looked forward to the day when "Captains of Industry" and scientists should take the place of kings and priests. To bring that day nearer, he took the lead in demanding that the Government should lend money to co-operative workers who should produce goods in "National workshops where man shall no longer be exploited by man, but the toilers shall share equally in the proceeds of their toil." In Blanc's workshops, every man was to have the "right to work."

The general effect of the teachings of these men, French and English, was that the state, the whole body of citizens acting through its rulers, ought to own the means of production, the land, the machinery, the mines, the roads, railways and canals, and everything that goes to the making and distributing of goods, and thus reunite capital and management with labour in a new way. That was and is the idea underlying the economic side of Socialism or Communism. On the moral side, these men revived the

old idea of co-operation, they denied that the individual could or ought to try to stand by himself, they insisted that men ought to be trained for their work and, like any ancient Athenians, they reminded men that "the good life" was of more value to the state than mere wealth.

It is easy to see how this teaching came to play its part in politics. Of what use was it to talk to men of liberty and equality or to give them votes, when all men could see that the conditions of daily life were neither free nor equal and that masses of men were too poor and ignorant to use a vote intelligently? The American and the French Revolutions and the Liberal movement which had followed them had been middle class and individualist. The men who carried them through had valued dividends and investments, and the makers of the American Constitution had entrenched private property so firmly that their descendants had to amend the constitution in 1913 before they could levy an income tax. Neither Revolutionists nor Liberals nor Restored Royalty had done anything worth speaking of in the way of facing the new social problems produced by the Industrial Revolution. In 1832 there was little hope that the middle class (bourgeois) governments in Great Britain and France would take any radical steps. It was much more probable that the next series of revolutions would not be merely Liberal or Nationalist but Socialist as well.

The Orleanist Monarchy.—Louis Philippe's government was a dull prosaic affair. The Citizen King, fat, uninspiring and a born jobber on behalf of his relatives and himself, had declared that 6,000,000 francs a year was more than enough for him and, after his coronation, had demanded eighteen millions and grudgingly accepted twelve. France asked two things of any ruler: glory and security. These are not easy gifts to combine, and Louis Philippe failed to give either. He narrowly missed the race with the British for the possession of New Zealand and took Tahiti instead; he completed the conquest of Algiers, the corner-stone of the French empire in north-west Africa to-day, but these things could not make up for disappointments elsewhere.

France had long cast her eyes on Egypt. Its ruler, Mehemet Ali, claimed Syria as a reward for helping his lord,

the Turkish Sultan, in the War of Greek Independence. He proceeded to take his reward and overran nearly all Asia Minor as well. The Sultan, in terror, turned to Russia, and, under the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, practically became a dependent of the Czar at whose bidding he promised to close the Dardanelles to warships of other nations (1833). The Czar Nicholas then renewed the Holy Alliance with Austria and Prussia to uphold the Ottoman Empire. Great Britain, who was already in difficulties with Russia in Asia, also wanted a strong Turkish Empire but only as a barrier to Russia. France wanted a Turkish Empire dependent on herself. For the moment Palmerston and the French diplomatist, Talleyrand, drew Spain and Portugal into a Quadruple Alliance to face the allied eastern powers, but Palmerston soon found out that France was playing for her own hand in Egypt with both the Sultan and Mehemet. He, therefore, swung over to the side of the Holy Allies, took Aden on the road to India (1839) and helped to drive the Egyptians out of Syria. Mehemet was conceded practical independence and the title of Khedive of Egypt; France had to be content with the closing of the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations, an attempt to neutralise that vital stretch of water.

Louis Philippe, playing on Palmerston's fear of Russia, restored the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* for a moment but, against Palmerston's wishes, he hurriedly allied his family by marriage with the Bourbons of Spain in the hope that the crowns of the two countries would in due time be united. In face of this new Family Compact, Great Britain drew away and left France isolated. Failure in Switzerland followed. A nationalist and democratic movement for closer union had sprung up in the leading towns of the Swiss Confederation. Its opponents, chiefly the rural cantons, formed the Catholic Sonderbund, for religion was the one point on which they were united. Louis openly favoured the Sonderbund. Palmerston urged the federalists to strike quickly. They did. The Sonderbund was broken up, the Jesuits were expelled, and the Swiss cantons adopted the close federal union which they enjoy to-day (1847). Louis had thus angered his Liberals and Democrats to no purpose by supporting the Catholic party. He now infuriated them by standing aside while Russia made her share of Poland

a mere Russian province and Austria annexed the free city of Cracow, last remnant of the liberties of that unhappy kingdom (1847).

The internal security which the Orleanists gave France was dingy and broken by labour riots in Lyons, Marseilles and other towns, a republican rising in Paris and six attempts on the king's life. Criticism of the government was forbidden; criticism of the king was made high treason; juries were ordered to vote secretly in political trials; the special law, *droit administratif*, freeing officials from the ordinary law of the land was strengthened. It is true that municipal councils were set up and a beginning made with elementary education and Factory Acts, but the authorities showed much more vigour in bayonetting the Lyons mob, increasing the standing army, fortifying the capital at vast expense and improving the prisons. Opposition increased on all sides. The Catholic Democrats hated the bourgeois monarchy and held that the Church should have no official connection with the government; men diligently spread the Napoleonic Legend which the Emperor and his friends had concocted during the six weary years at St. Helena, the idea that Napoleon would have given France all kinds of blessings under a Liberal Empire if only the Allies had let him alone. Thiers' histories, the poems of Béranger, the tales told in every village by Napoleon's veterans, the pictures of the "Little Corporal" and his marshals that adorned the cottage walls, all recalled past glories so different from present failures.

And then the Orleanist government perpetrated folly upon folly. At Paris, the Arc de Triomphe commemorating Napoleon's victories was finished; the Emperor's statue was replaced on the huge column depicting those victories in Roman style in the Place Vendôme; next year, a little book was allowed to appear, an important little book on *Napoleonic Ideas* written by the great man's nephew, Louis Napoleon; Napoleon's body was brought back from St. Helena to rest in the heart of Paris at Les Invalides (1840). The Emperor came back to his capital that day, the capital of a country whose machinery of government was still what he had made it. It says much for the strength of the Napoleonic Idea that two comic-opera attempts by

Louis Napoleon to raise the troops in his favour did not kill it.

The second escapade earned Louis Napoleon a term of imprisonment in a fortress, part of which he spent in discussing Socialism with Louis Blanc. For Socialism was spreading in the poorer quarters of the towns and, in Paris, the meaning of it was being learnt by a young German Jew, Karl Marx, destined to become the prophet of modern Communism.

“1848.”—All these discontents came to a head in Paris. Those who demanded a peaceful reform of the constitution held Reform Banquets at which the constitutions of free and prosperous Great Britain and America were praised. The minister, Guizot, forbade one such banquet; a crowd collected; the National Guards sympathised with the crowd; a few citizens were killed in a scuffle with the troops; Paris exploded; Louis Philippe, as plain “Mr. Smith,” fled to London, and all France quietly accepted what had been done at the capital (1848). It was “revolution by post-card.”

The poet Lamartine, as leader of the republicans, and Ledru-Rollin, head of the Communists, formed a joint government. They abolished slavery in the colonies and the death penalty for political offences at home, and arranged for the election by universal suffrage of an assembly which should make a constitution. They also set up a travesty of Louis Blanc's National Workshops which simply had the effect of attracting to Paris all the unemployed in France, there to be set to work at tasks which were, for the most part, useless and very expensive. The government soon split. The electors returned a moderate republican majority, for France, a nation of peasants and holders of Government securities, was the last nation in the world to support the Paris Communists. The National Guards rallied to the republican party, the Workshops were closed, the Communists were crushed after four days' furious fighting in the streets, and Marx, having issued his famous Manifesto, “Workers of the world, unite. You have a world to gain and nothing to lose but your chains,” fled to Cologne whence he followed “Mr. Smith” to London.

Louis Napoleon.—The new republican constitution was in many ways like that of the U.S.A. A President, whose power over the army and civil service was immense, and a Parliament were to be elected for four years by universal suffrage; but the President, who could rightly claim that his power rested on the people as fully as did that of Parliament, was not to be re-elected at the end of his term. It was on this point that the constitution broke down. Louis Napoleon was elected President and at once began to make himself popular while the politicians quarrelled at Paris. He already had the support of every Legitimist (Bourbonist), Orleanist, Republican and peasant who feared the Communist "Reds"; his name was magic to the soldiers and their friends; he won over the strong Clerical party by sending troops to crush a republic which had been set up at Rome and to restore the rule of the Pope (the Temporal Power). It is true that he had to put down riots at Lyons and elsewhere; but he quietly went round France, posing as the friend of the working-man, till the Paris politicians gave him his chance.

Alarmed at a small Socialist rising, Parliament cut 3,000,000 electors off the roll. Napoleon demanded that they should be replaced and appointed a new ministry of his own friends, an adventurous crew, some of them dubious financiers, others soldiers who had learnt their business in the brutal "colonial" warfare in Algiers. He then asked that the constitution should be altered so that he might be re-elected President at once, for, if he and the Parliament both went out of office at the proper time, there would be an interval during which France would have neither legislature nor head of the executive, and would be at the mercy of the Reds. When his request was refused, he forcibly broke the constitution by the *Coup d'état* of December, 1851. France again took the news quietly, this time by telegram, and presently ratified the new constitution by plebiscite in the usual Napoleonic style. It was really the constitution of 1799 over again; a lifeless legislature elected by universal suffrage and an all-powerful Prince-President. A year later, the Prince-President became an Emperor; once more, the mass of the people approved; and the Powers of Europe, assured by Napoleon III that "the Empire is peace," very dubiously acknowledged the Second Empire (1852).

Revolution in Italy.—Revolutionary Paris had set out in 1848 to find either a republic or a socialist commonwealth. She had given herself and France a dictator, but the example of her revolution had been followed in Central Europe on both sides of the Alps.

In Italy the revolutionary movement was Liberal and, in so far as it aimed at Italian unity, National also. The task of uniting Italy was well-nigh hopeless. The country was divided in every way. The Appenine mountains ran down the centre of the peninsula almost from end to end; there had been no central government since the sixth century; there were many towns in the north but throughout the country the mass of the people were peasants, ignorant and suspicious. The men of the north differed by tradition and in blood from those of the centre, those again from the lazy and superstitious Neapolitans of the south and all of them from the remote and insular Sicilians.

Italians had almost had the spirit beaten out of them. Their country had long been one of the battlefields of Europe and, in 1848, they were mainly ruled by foreigners. Spanish Bourbons ruled Naples and Sicily; in the centre were the Papal States ruled in such fashion that no man could say where the Church ended and the State began. To the north was a tangle of duchies mostly under members of the Austrian House of Hapsburg; to the north again were Lombardy (Milan) and Venice, Austrian provinces dragooned by the hated whitecoats. In the north-west was the kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont-Savoy), a much more reasonable autocracy than any of its neighbours. What wonder that Italy, always a land of secret societies, swarmed with Carbonari, desperate plotters against authority, and with brigands.

Yet even in Italy there was hope. In the towns in the north and centre (Italian unity was won by townsmen often in spite of the peasantry) there were many who could remember the partial unity and the decent rule of Napoleon's time; some looked to Sardinia who had struck for Italian unity once and might strike again; some looked for a federation under the Pope; others followed the lead of Joseph Mazzini, and hoped for a republic.

Five men made united Italy: Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II and, strangely enough, Napoleon III.

All played their parts in the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848-49. Mazzini paved the way. He was the son of a Genoese doctor. He saw that the Carbonari plots and murders were useless; he gave up Rousseau's Rights of Man in favour of the Rights of Italians and started the Young Italy movement. It was an appeal to the youth of his country to forget that they were Lombards or Neapolitans and to remember only that they were Italians whose religious duty it was to unite all Italy as a republic round Rome as the capital. He spent most of his life in exile; the raids and revolutions which he organised all failed; nevertheless, he above all others was the real founder of Italian unity.

Mazzini's ideas had taken root in Italy by 1846 but it was the accession of a new Pope in that year that first raised the hopes of the patriots. On the strength of a few reforms they hailed Pius IX as the champion of Italian Liberalism. Austria in alarm seized the Papal city of Ferrara, whereupon Great Britain and France sent warships to cruise off Naples and the Sicilians drove the Neapolitan troops out of Palermo (1848). Meanwhile, a war of customs tariffs with Austria had united all parties in Sardinia. Cavour, the leader of one of the parties had been an engineer officer and a visitor to England, where he had learnt to admire the British constitution. He was now editor of the newspaper, *Il Risorgimento*, wherein he preached Liberalism and unity. Early in 1848 he persuaded Charles Albert to grant a constitution: a parliament of two houses, freedom of the press and of public meeting, and a franchise high enough to shut out the mass of the peasantry. That was a challenge to the whole of the Metternich system, especially as the neighbouring people of Milan drove out the Austrians, and the Neapolitans forced their king to give them a constitution too.

Sardinia declared war on Austria; volunteers flocked to her side; the Pope, Pio Nono, blessed the banners of the Neapolitan volunteers, and Manin declared a republic at Venice. The hope of unity soon faded. Pio Nono condemned the war against Austria; the king regained power at Naples; the Austrians beat the Sardinians at Custoza and retook Milan. Nevertheless, the Tuscans gently put their Grand Duke across the frontier and Mazzini proclaimed a republic at Rome itself (1849).

Unluckily for them, the Austrians beat the Sardinians again at Novara; Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, who was obliged to make peace as best he could; the victorious Austrians replaced the Grand Duke of Tuscany on his throne at Florence, and President Louis Napoleon sent Oudinot with French troops to overthrow the Roman Republic and restore the temporal power of the Pope. Garibaldi, also a Genoese, a man who had seen much fighting by land and sea in South America, came to Mazzini's help and, with the pick of the young men of the Italian towns, fiercely defended the city. At last, the French forced their way in and Garibaldi had to escape by a march through half Italy, a march whose story is still one of the epics of Italian history. So, with the fall of Manin's Venetian Republic which speedily followed, Italy fell again under its old despotisms.

Yet the cause of Italian nationalism had gained much. Victor Emmanuel, at great risk, had defied Austria and refused to give up the new constitution. In Sardinia, therefore, Italians could see a royal house, a parliament organised on the best Liberal ideas of the time, and a national flag, the red, white and green which the great Napoleon had given his Republic of Italy with the arms of Savoy in the centre. There was something more. The desperate defence of Rome had fixed the Eternal City in the minds of all patriots as their only possible capital; the valour and luck of Garibaldi had marked him out as "the sword of Italy" on the day that would surely come.

Revolutions in Central Europe.—In 1848 two great state systems existed in Central Europe north of the Alps, the Austrian Empire and the German Confederation (Bund). The one overlapped the other. German Austria presided over the German Bund and brought with her Slav (Czech) Bohemia. Outside the Bund, she held part of Italy, Slav Croatia (Illyria) at the head of the Adriatic, all Magyar Hungary and her share of Poland (Galicia). Within the Bund her great rival was Prussia, whose Polish and purely Prussian territories lay outside it to the east. Around these two big members of the Bund lay a jumble of smaller states ranging in size from the kingdom of Bavaria to mere free cities.

German national feeling had been stirred mightily by the struggle against Napoleon; it had been kept alive by poets, writers and University men; it was slowly forming on the economic side round Prussia, who from 1818 onwards had first gathered the seventy scattered territories which were ruled by her king into a Zollverein (Customs Union) and had then admitted other German states to this free trade union. On the other hand, the Protestant North was something distinct from the Catholic and more or less pro-French South, and everywhere the Metternich system held sway with its repression of word and thought by means of the spy, the police and, in the last resort, the troops.

There had long been signs of coming trouble in the Austrian Empire. The Magyars, the upper class and landed gentry of Hungary, differed in race, tradition and language from the Slavs, Poles and Rumanians within their borders. They controlled the old-fashioned Diet and, as good Liberals, aimed at securing more power for it but, as good Nationalists, they also aimed at Magyarising their subject peoples. Louis Kossuth, a journalist, took the lead and tried to unite the various parties to press for Liberal reforms and to resist Austria's hostile customs policy (1844). Meanwhile, the Bohemians sought with considerable success to revive Czech as a literary language and thus gave rise to a Nationalist movement, friendly to Slav Russia but hostile to German Austria and Magyar Hungary. The Croats and kindred peoples of Illyria did the like.

By 1848 the Austrian Empire was sorely strained by these divergent national movements. The Austrians themselves were determined to keep the lead and were even prepared to consider closer union with the other states of the German Bund provided they were allowed to have the chief place; but they were tired of "Old Mitternacht", and their country folk resented the feudal dues which had escaped the reforming hand of Joseph II and the French Revolution. In Galicia, as in other parts of what had been Poland, the mass of the peasantry were serfs. In 1848 they attacked their landlords. Then, when tidings came of the revolutions in Paris and in Italy, the people of Vienna drove out Metternich. The Emperor Ferdinand was obliged to give the Bohemians a constitution and to recognise Hungary as a virtually independent state with a cabinet

and a parliament of its own but, hoping to save the unity of his empire, he proclaimed one constitution for all its parts. The Bohemians and the Poles repudiated this imperial constitution, a Panslav congress met at Prag, the capital of Bohemia, and the Viennese drove their Emperor out of their city.

Then the tide turned. The whitecoats reoccupied Prag; the abolition of the remains of feudalism quieted the country folk of Austria; the Croats of Illyria came over to the side of the Emperor against the hated Magyars once they had been promised a united empire with equal rights for all nationalities; Austrian troops set free from service in Italy by their victory at Custozza reoccupied Vienna. Ferdinand resigned in favour of his son, Francis Joseph, whose minister, Schwarzenberg, declared for the inclusion of a united Austrian Empire in the German Confederation. The Hungarians, who had no intention of being swallowed up in Germany, promptly declared their independence. They were crushed by the intervention of the Czar, who had had nothing more serious to face than sixty-four risings among the wretched Russian serfs. Hungary lost such political liberties as she had had before the struggle, those of her leaders who survived fled to Turkey, and a synod of Austrian bishops declared that nationality was the work of the devil.

But something had been saved from the wreck. Serfdom had ceased in German Austria and Metternich was gone forever.

Liberal Nationalism in the German Confederation.

The revolutions in France and the Austrian Empire naturally influenced the German Confederation which lay between them. The main facts in the German revolutions were the attempt to set up parliamentary rule in Prussia and the efforts of the Liberals to federate the states of Germany. The Prussians had not been given the constitution which had been promised them during the War of Liberation against Napoleon. In 1847, however, Frederic William IV decided to take preliminary steps and, in spite of the warning of Metternich that such a thing would be fatal to his composite state with its Prussians, Poles and Rhinelanders, he summoned the old Diet. He soon quarrelled with the Liberals and prorogued the assembly, whereupon his "dear

Berliners," hearing of the rising in Vienna, rose too. The king's brother, William, let the troops fire on the crowd. The king stopped the firing, apologised, sent "the Cartridge Prince" into exile, summoned an assembly elected *à la française* by universal suffrage to frame a constitution and, to the dismay of true-blue Junkers (squires) like young Otto von Bismarck, announced that "Prussia's interests shall henceforth be those of Germany."

Frederic William also approved of the meeting of a German National Assembly at Frankfort, the members of the upper house appointed by the various state governments and those of the lower elected by the people. Some few of the delegates were Republicans, most were Liberals, but nearly all were jealous guardians of local liberties. One great difficulty was the definition of the "fundamental rights" of German citizens, another was the question whether Austria with her fighting tail of Magyars, Slavs and Italians should be admitted *en bloc* to the future German state; but, at last, the imperial crown was offered to the Prussian king. To the joy of his junkers, he refused it lest he become "the slave of the revolution . . . , of a transcript of Magna Carta on Continental blotting-paper," in other words, a constitutional sovereign like Queen Victoria.

That ended the hopes of Liberal Germany. Everywhere the revolutions collapsed. Troops marched into Berlin and restored the royal authority and, though Frederic William presently gave his people a constitution, it was one which left all real power to the executive (1850). The franchise was so arranged that the big taxpayers had most votes, and the two houses of the legislature had no control over ministers beyond refusing to pass laws or to vote new taxes. The Prussian *Landtag* was really an early Stuart Parliament like those of the Old Thirteen or that which was set up in the Cape Colony in 1853, and so it remained till the war of 1914. Meanwhile, the Frankfort National Assembly dwindled away and the Diet of the Bund met once more. The princes recovered their power and Austria regained control of the fortunes of Germany.

Summary.—By 1851 it was clear that the great Liberal effort had failed. The kings had defeated it partly by the sword, partly by playing off the awakening forces of

Nationalism against it. France was ruled by a Bonaparte whose power was autocratic even though it rested on the plebiscite; in Prussia absolute monarchy was merely screened by the Landtag; Russia, Austria and all the Italian states except Sardinia were frank despotisms; the Scandinavian states had assemblies but these had no control over the executives; Spain, Portugal and Greece had all become nominally constitutional monarchies, but, what with bad roads and peoples who were blankly ignorant, all three governments had shared the fate of many South and Central American republics of that time by falling into the hands of cliques of army officers. Holland, on the other hand, had been given a constitution more or less on British lines in 1848. There were thus four European states ruled as the Liberals of the Continent would have had their own states ruled: Belgium, Sardinia, Holland and Great Britain herself.

Books for Further Reading:

Allison Phillips, *Modern Europe*, pp. 135-331; Ramsay Muir, *National Self-Government*, pp. 63-107; A. E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, pp. 32-86; G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*; F. B. Kirkman, *Socialism (The People's Books, No. 50)*.

MAPS.—Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas*, plates 9, 13, 17, 21 and 23; Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plate 12.

CHAPTER IX.

LIBERALISM OUTSIDE EUROPE, 1830-60 (circa).

Reforms in the United Kingdom.—The United Kingdom passed almost unscathed through 1848, “the year of Revolutions.” Nevertheless a steady and peaceful revolution was carried through during the years that lay between the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, not only in the United Kingdom but in many other parts of the British Empire. The governing powers of the squires, the justices of the peace, were reduced in the country districts and elective municipal councils were set up in the towns. The old Poor Law which had ruined so many farmers was reformed and, though the poor hated the “Bastilles” as they called the new workhouses, the new system was sounder from a business point of view and became less generally felt as a hardship as the wealth and prosperity of all classes gradually improved. The slaves were freed, colonial self-government was invented in Canada and extended to the Australasian colonies, and Great Britain adopted a policy of Free Trade.

Factory Acts.—During the 'forties the Industrial Revolution advanced faster and faster in Great Britain. Masses of capital were sunk and thousands of men employed in building railways; manufacturing businesses grew bigger and their form began to change. Joint stock companies began to be formed; hundreds of shareholders supplied the capital and thus really owned the factories, plant and the rest of it, leaving the works to be run by managers who were as much wage-earners as the workmen. In other words, just as the early Industrial Revolution had sharply divided capital and management from labour, so now capital was beginning to be divided from management. This process has since gone on so fast that to-day most big businesses

are owned by shareholders scattered all over the world, but in 1840 it was only just beginning. Already it had two results. Managers put in to make profits for absentee shareholders were as apt to be as hard on the "hands" as ever eighteenth century land agents had been on the Irish tenants of absentee landlords. The personal touch between master and man was lost. Men who would put up with much from a man they knew and liked were not so ready to put up with it from a vague thing called "the Company." Secondly, Socialists began to ask why people who simply supplied money and then quietly waited for their share of the profits produced by the joint brains and hands of the manager and workpeople should be allowed to have those profits.

Before 1833 very little had been done to check the pressure of the Industrial Revolution on the poorer folk. Cobbett told the first Reformed Parliament in that very year that, whereas the England he wanted to see was one based on free farmers, the owners of the new Lancashire cotton-mills and 1,000% dividends were apparently content to base it on the labour of little girls. There was truth in his gibe, but the tide was on the turn. Great Britain, first of all nations, had stumbled into the unchecked Industrial Revolution. She had the honour first of all nations to show the world some of the ways in which it could be controlled and thereby made a blessing instead of a curse to mankind.

The checks were gradually applied from above and from below. The literature of the time is full of demands for reform. Charlotte Brontë drew pictures of the coming of the revolution to her native Yorkshire; Charles Dickens told the truth about it in *Hard Times*; Thomas Carlyle, in the language of the Hebrew prophets, attacked the Whigs and *laissez-faire* and what he called the "cash nexus," the idea that there need be no connection between man and man beyond the passing of wages from one to another. "We cannot," he cried, "have prosperous cotton-mills at the price of having the devil a partner in them." Benjamin Disraeli in *Sybil* told of the Two Nations, the industrialised one and the other, which were drifting apart in what had once been "Merrie England." There were others. Mrs. Browning wrote her terrible "*Cry of the Children*"; John

Ruskin, the art critic, insisted that men could not leave moral questions out of their economics; Broad Churchmen like Charles Kingsley in his *Water Babies* and *Alton Locke* worked for reform as hard as any Anglican priest in the slums who had been inspired by the High Church movement started by Pusey and Newman at Oxford in 1833.

The Tory Anthony Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury, forced through the first real Factory Act in 1833. The Act of 1819 had failed because no inspectors had been appointed to see that it was carried out and also because it only touched the cotton-mills. The infants shut out from them were promptly sent by their parents to the woollen factories. In 1833, one-fifth of the workers in the cotton industry were under fourteen years of age, one-third under eighteen. Ashley's Act limited the hours of labour for these children and "young persons," forbade work at night and appointed inspectors. Other Acts followed; women were treated as young persons; presently it became impossible to keep the mills open after the women and children had been withdrawn and men were given the same conditions as a matter of custom; by 1853, work in factories had been limited to ten-and-a-half hours daily, and much had been done to secure safe and decent working conditions.

As with the factories, so with the mines. Finding that the children shut out from the mills were sent down the mines, Ashley had a commission appointed whose report horrified Parliament into taking action. It was easier to do so than it had been, for the recent invention of the exhaust-fan which drew the foul air out of the mines had made the use of children to open and shut the trap-doors in the tunnels less necessary, and the new wire cables for hauling the coal up the shaft to the surface did away with the need for women to carry the coal in baskets up the long ladders. By the Mines Act of 1842, women and children were shut out of the mines altogether and inspectors were duly appointed. This Mines Act was the first of a series which kept pace with the Factory Acts.

One other thing the British government began to do. In 1848 it passed its first Public Health Act to bring the growing towns under control. It was not a very drastic measure but it paved the way for later Acts which gave the towns main drainage, clean water and the advantages of

the medical knowledge which was fast increasing. Other nations have followed Great Britain's lead in this respect and some have surpassed her; but it was she who "invented for the world the way to live *healthily* in the mass in towns." And that is more to the honour of a people than many victories in the field.

Two main results followed from all this. The children excluded from the mines and the mills could not be allowed to run wild. Government, therefore, began to do something for elementary education and, in 1839, made an annual grant for that purpose. It was only £20,000 but it was the thin end of the wedge. Secondly, masters who were ready to keep the new regulations saw to it that less honest rivals kept them, lest they undercut them with cheap and over-worked labour. The Mines and Factory Acts were a protection to the good employers as well as the salvation of the workpeople. Looking at it all in 1848, John Stuart Mill, a man brought up in the so-called "dismal science," the economics of the Utilitarians, could tell the world in his famous *Political Economy* that the Socialists were not entirely wrong and that there was room for kindly human feeling even in industry.

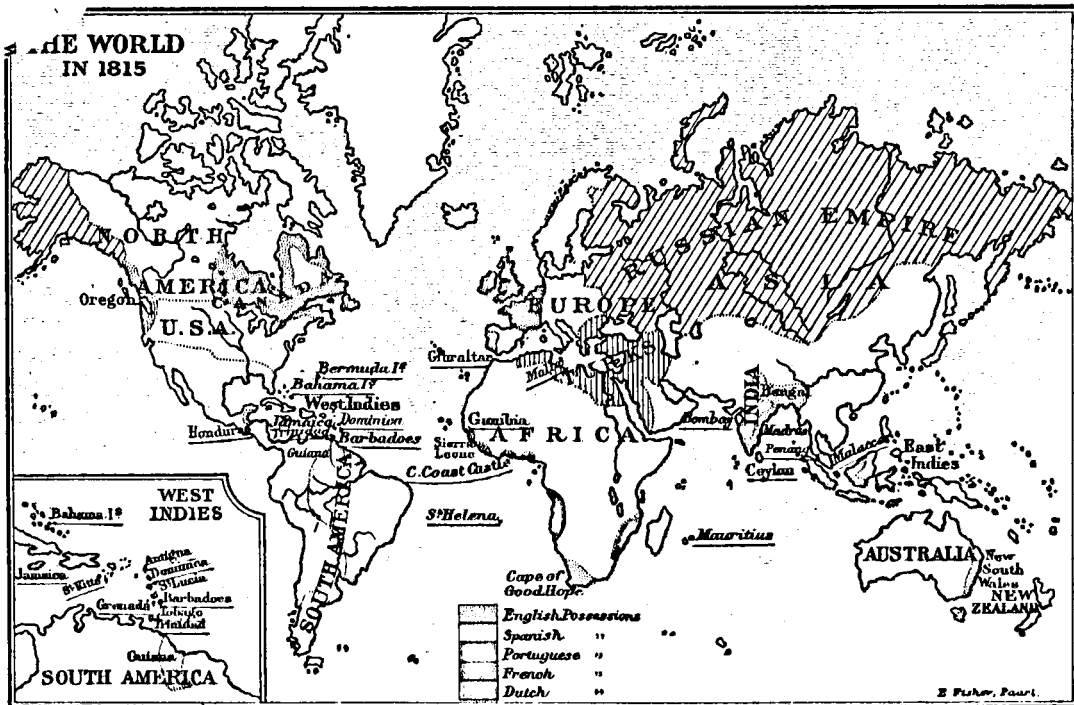
Chartism.—This reforming movement from above was met by another from below, the really democratic movement of the day in Great Britain. The British Labour movement has usually tried to stand on four legs: trade unions, co-operative societies, education and action through Parliament. The men from whom the workers took many of their ideas had not been working class folk, but all of them from Paine, Cobbett and Owen onwards had been keen advocates of the need for education and moral training. The law had ceased to look on trade unions as criminal bodies since 1824 (unions were forbidden in France and in Germany till long afterwards and they are still very doubtfully legal in parts of the U.S.A.). At first the unions had been inclined to be violent. They had then taken part in the agitation for the Reform Bill in the hope that the new Parliament would help them. The Reform Act put political power into the hands of the employers. In 1838, therefore, some leaders drew up the People's Charter demanding "One man, one vote," voting by ballot secretly and not on the open

hustings under the eye of the parson and the squire or of the mill-owner, payment of members of Parliament, the abolition of the rule which obliged all candidates for election to own a certain amount of property, equal electoral districts (One vote, One value) and annual elections of Parliament.

All these demands except the last have been granted in many countries since then, but in those days the Chartists were asking for a revolution in political life. Owen, meanwhile, tried to form the workers into one big union and linked up his campaign with that of the Chartists. There was a real risk of revolution in 1848 when the Chartists tried to petition Parliament, but the danger passed away, and the trade unions, dropping Chartism, made a fresh start. They concentrated on "collective bargaining," that is, of standing solidly together as distinct unions or as many unions acting together to secure better wages and working conditions, and backing their demands in the last resort by strikes. At first all these trade unions were local, but in 1851 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers began to organise itself on a national basis so as to include all the engineers in the country. The unions linked themselves up with the Friendly Societies which insured their members against starvation if they fell sick or lost their jobs and alongside of both grew up the Co-operative movement.

Owen had tried something of the sort but had failed. Twenty-eight Lancashire weavers were more successful. In 1844 these Rochdale Pioneers each subscribed £1 and opened a little shop which should supply goods at the usual prices and share the profits among the purchasers at regular intervals after paying the subscribers a reasonable interest on their money. Their idea was to cut out the middleman as far as possible and to give the consumer, that is, themselves the benefit of what was thus saved. It was the day of small things in the 'forties but, in 1914, one-fifth of the population of Great Britain were directly or indirectly interested in "The Co-op."

The Irish Famine.—The course of events in Ireland was quite different from that in Great Britain. Catholic Irishmen protested against having to pay tithes to the established Anglican Church and followed Daniel O'Connell in his campaign for the repeal of the Union of 1800. The



**THE WORLD
IN 1815**

WEST INDIES

Bahama Is.
Jamaica
St. Kitts
Antigua
Dominica
St. Lucia
St. Vincent
Barbadoes
Grenada
St. Eustace
St. Paul
St. Peter
St. Thomas
St. John
St. Marks
St. George
St. Andrew
St. James
St. Philip
St. Nicholas
St. George
St. Mark
St. Luke
St. Anthony
St. Elizabeth
St. George
St. Mark
St. Luke
St. Anthony
St. Elizabeth

SOUTH AMERICA

Guiana

- English Possessions
- Spanish "
- Portuguese "
- French "
- Dutch "

E. Fisher, Paarl.

Wm. Lowndes & Sons, Lith. London.

Government did something to help in the training of Catholic priests; it reformed municipal councils; but it upheld the Union and the Church and did nothing to improve the land laws. And the land was the vital fact in Irish life.

The Industrial Revolution hardly touched Ireland directly. Many Irishmen came across to seek work in England but for most of those who stayed behind, there was nothing for it but to farm if they could get land to farm on. That was increasingly difficult. Rents were rising, population had nearly trebled in sixty years, much of the land was too poor to be farmed at all, and Irish farming methods were what they had been before the development of scientific agriculture in the middle of the eighteenth century. Everything depended on the potato and in 1846 the potato crop failed. Thousands of Irishmen died; many thousands more emigrated to the U.S.A. with bitterness in their hearts against Great Britain; in 1848 a few revolted but were suppressed after a skirmish in "Widow McCormick's potato patch." Some of these men were on board the convict ship *Neptune* which came to Simons Bay in 1849 and gave rise to the Anti-Convict Agitation in the Cape Colony. The outstanding fact of the twenty years following the Famine was that the population of Ireland fell from about eight to less than six millions and that the Irish were scattered over the world of Western Civilisation as widely as the Jews themselves.

Western Civilisation Outside Europe.—The European world overseas to which so many of the Irish fled, was much larger than it had been even thirty years before. All the forces which were at work in Old Europe were at work in it, and so it will be unless communications utterly break down. A political map of the world in 1815 shows Europe and most of the Americas blocked out in solid colours representing the territories claimed by the various states. Africa is a huge blank adorned at the edges with dots of colour which stand for trading posts and, at the southern end, a fair-sized splash of red representing the Cape Colony. Australia is half blank, New Zealand is wholly so. In Asia, European stations appear on the coasts and islands but there are also two solid blocks of colour: one in India where the English East India Company was spreading along

the coasts and far up the great rivers; the other in the north where Russia straddled over all Siberia and crossed the Behring Straits to Alaska in North America. Contrast that map with one of the present day. The change to a map of solid colours with very few blanks is startling. That change is the work of the last hundred years, much of it of the last fifty.

Europe in Asia.—During the first half of the nineteenth century there were only three centres of Western Civilisation outside the Continent of Europe itself that were expanding more or less vigorously: Russia in Asia; Great Britain in Asia, Australasia, North America and South Africa; and the U.S.A. in the empty lands to the west of the Alleghany mountains. France, indeed, conquered Algiers (1830–48) and pushed some way up the Senegal river on the west coast of Africa; in the Pacific, she occupied Tahiti (1842) and New Caledonia (1855), but the great growth of the French overseas empire belongs to a later period.

In the later years of the fifteenth century the Czars of Moscow had broken free from the yoke of the Mongol Tartars; in the sixteenth they had pushed their mounted Cossacks far into Siberia; at the very end of the seventeenth their horsemen rode down to the Pacific and their fur-traders crossed over into Alaska (1699). Behind the Cossacks came the Russian peasants and political prisoners, many of whom mixed readily with the Tartar and Turkish tribesmen. The frontiers of Russia-in-Asia already ran along those of the placid empire of China when Peter the Great swung the unwieldy bulk of his empire westward. For a century and a quarter, Russia more and more made her weight felt in the affairs of Europe swallowing up Polish, Swedish and Turkish territory and, in the person of her Czar Alexander, holding the balance at the Congress of Vienna. By 1825 however it was clear that Austria and Prussia blocked Russia's road westward and Great Britain and France stood in her way towards Constantinople. Nicholas I therefore turned his back on Europe and pushed south-eastward. He gained territories in the Caucasus and influence over the decaying Shahdom of Persia; his Cossacks began to encircle great stretches of the grassy steppes of Turkestan and so began the "march on India" which was

to be the dread of the British for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

India, 1805-49.—From the close of Wellesley's policy of expansion in 1805 until 1839 the Company took comparatively little territory in India under its direct rule. It put down the Thugs, a religious society that strangled its human victims; it crushed the Pindaris, mounted robbers who were the secret allies of the Mahrattas; after the third Mahratta war, it ended the line of the Peishwas and obliged the remaining Mahratta chiefs to sign subsidiary treaties (1818). Meanwhile, it changed the aims and methods of its rule. Hitherto it had done nothing more than enforce order and set up a decent system of government, though that in itself was much. It had left the native princes to rule wherever possible, it had very rarely interfered with the social or religious customs of the people, it had made no attempt to spread Western civilisation in the East, it had steadily and wisely given up the attempt to apply European law to Indian peasants. But the Evangelical revival made itself felt in India once missionaries had been freely admitted in 1813; in the same year the government had given a tiny grant towards education; soon newspapers in Indian languages began to appear (the vernacular press). Enlightened administrators held that it was the duty of the Company to rule India on Indian lines and even that Indians ought to be trained to rule each other; a parliamentary commission reported that no man ought to be disqualified from holding office simply because he was an Indian and that in case of conflict Indian interests ought to be preferred to British (1833); Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General and roundly declared that "the end of government is the welfare of the governed."

It was easier to carry out that resolution than it had been for the Company's trading monopoly in India itself had been abolished in 1813, and now in 1833 its monopoly of the China tea-trade was swept away. "John Company" ceased to be a trader and no longer had to face the temptation of ruling India in its own commercial interests. The Charter Act of 1833 put the whole duty of administering and passing laws in the hands of the authorities at Calcutta; it made Bentinck first Governor-General of British India and

gave him leave to set up a new Presidency in western Bengal. This was done in 1836 when Agra and Oudh were combined as the United Provinces. Bentinck forbade the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands (*suttee*) and, by forbidding the removal of slaves for sale from one district to another, paved the way for the abolition of slavery in British India in 1843. In the same spirit of Liberalism he freed the press and, largely as a result of the efforts of Lord Macaulay, offered Western education to India. Persian ceased to be the language of the law courts, and English was introduced as a language of higher education beside the Indian tongues.

During this period the Company secured Assam in further India and Penang, Malacca and Singapore in the Malay Peninsula (1825). Then, in 1839, while Palmerstone was taking Aden on the sea road to the East, Russians and Persians marched in to Afghanistan to place their nominee on the throne. Afghanistan was the buffer state that guarded the western end of the Khyber Pass, the front door into India, just as the Punjab guarded the eastern end. British and Indian troops entered Afghanistan and placed a friendly Amir on the throne at Cabul with a British Resident to watch him. The Resident was murdered and the troops were cut to pieces as they withdrew through the Khyber Pass (1842). Another British force reoccupied Cabul, but soon marched out and left the Afghans to look after themselves. On the other hand, Sind was annexed to the south of the Punjab and a protectorate was declared over Kashmir to the north of it. The Company thus advanced to the mountains of the North-west Frontier at two points. Meanwhile, war had broken out with the Sikhs of the Punjab itself (1845). Fearing attack, the Sikhs struck first but at the end of a hard-fought campaign, in which Sir Harry Smith of South African fame made his name at the battle of Aliwal, the British entered Lahore, the Sikh capital. A second war soon followed. At the end of it Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, annexed the Punjab and so got control of one end of the Khyber Pass (1849).

China and Japan.—During the same period, European influence spread far to the eastward of India. In 1841

an Englishman, Sir James Brooke, became Rajah of Sarawak in Borneo; a year later the British secured a footing in China. Until the middle of the nineteenth century China was a land practically unknown to Europeans. Yet in China was to be found the largest mass of civilised men in the world, men who had been civilised when Europeans were barbarians and had since given the Western world paper and ink, printing, silk and gunpowder. Mediaeval travellers who had reached China, like the Venetian Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, spoke of their skill in building and canal making, in silk weaving, painting, metal work, shipping and agriculture with a reverence which was very different from the complacent superiority with which nineteenth century Europeans, over-confident in their money, machinery and firearms, spoke of the immemorial civilisations of the East. Especially did the early travellers marvel at the quiet orderliness of the life of the Chinese who, to this day, are the most peaceful and polite of all peoples in a quarrelsome world. Courtesy, respect for their ancestors and a contempt for "foreign devils" were the marks of this great people to whom the West repaid part of the debt it owed them—in gunpowder.

In 1644 the Chinese Empire had been conquered by the Manchus from the north, a people whom they had half-civilised much as the Greeks had half-civilised the Macedonians who afterwards conquered them. The Manchu Emperor, like his Chinese predecessors, claimed to be the Son of Heaven far superior to all other earthly monarchs; but real power lay in the hands of the Viceroys of the eighteen provinces and of the official class trained in the ancient classics, the Mandarins.

In 1796 the Chinese government forbade the importation of opium; nevertheless, the drug was smuggled in at a huge profit to the smugglers and to the great gain of the East India Company and the poppy farmers of India. After the China trade had been thrown open to all British subjects in 1833, the smuggling went on more briskly than ever till at last an energetic official at Canton tried to stop it by force. He went too far. China became involved in a war with Great Britain, the first she had ever had to wage with a modern power, and, by the Treaty of Nankin, she was obliged to cede the barren island of Hong-Kong to Great

Britain and to open the five Treaty Ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai to British traders (1842). Hong-Kong became one of the great ports of the British Empire, cosmopolitan Shanghai one of the great ports of the world. French, Belgians, Dutch, Prussians and Portuguese made haste to follow the British through the door which had been thus rudely thrust open; and the Son of Heaven began to awake to the fact that the world contained other potentates besides himself.

The Opium War of 1841-42 was Liberalism run to extremes. Just as the French in 1792 had threatened Europe with compulsory "liberty," so British merchants thrust compulsory Free Trade upon the Chinese. Their example was speedily followed by the growing Liberal power of the U.S.A. The Japanese had originally been civilised by the Chinese but they had since developed along lines of their own and were as warlike as the Chinese were pacific. They worshipped their Emperor, the Mikado, descendant of the Gods, they had the nobles and the fighting men in the highest respect, they held merchants and shopkeepers of small account. Nevertheless, when Europeans first made contact with them in the sixteenth century, they admitted traders and missionaries so freely that the Jesuits had soon converted thousands to Christianity. This naturally offended the Shinto priests, but what alarmed the authorities was that warships and soldiers began to follow the missionaries and traders. A pitiless persecution of Christians took place, and in 1638 Japan sacrificed her overseas trade to her national purity. Apart from a handful of servants of the Dutch East India Company who were allowed to live on the little island of Desima off Nagasaki, strangers were forbidden to come near Japan and Japanese were forbidden to go to them.

For over two hundred years Japan remained closed to the outer world. At the time of the Opium War, the Mikado was what he had long been, the figurehead of the state, living in ceremonious seclusion at Kioto. Power lay with the Shogun, the prime minister, at Yeddo. Below this "Mayor of the Palace" came the Daimios, great nobles with privileged military retainers, the Samurai. Socially and politically, Japan was an Oriental version of the Frankish monarchy of the eighth century A. D. Against her came

the American, Commander Perry, with four warships to demand good treatment for American sailors wrecked on the coast of Japan and the opening of one or two ports for trade. (1853). Some of the Daimios were against the idea but the Shogun was inclined to agree, and next year the return of Perry with ten warships settled the matter. Two ports were opened to American traders and through the opening thus made came Russians, Dutch and British as well (1854). Thus did the two streams of Western Civilisation which had set out eastward and westward in the fifteenth century meet at last in the Far East.

British Colonial Policy.—Western influence in Asia was still almost entirely a matter of trade except in India and Russian Siberia. In three other continents, western trade, settlement and rule were steadily extended by Great Britain and the U.S.A. Great Britain built up a new empire to take the place of that which had so largely been destroyed in 1783. Her empire consisted of three groups of possessions: first India, a thing apart under the Company but by far the most important group from the commercial point of view in those days; secondly, tropical colonies and naval stations; thirdly, colonies in North America, Australasia and South Africa, in which there was more or less prospect of building up European societies.

The story of the growth of that mixed empire is a story of mixed aims and motives but so is the story of the growth of any empire. The idea that it was the result of systematic planning and conquest may be set aside. It is as untrue of the British as it was of the Romans. A few outposts were taken to guard the road to the East such as Malta, the Cape and Aden; some systematic conquests were undertaken in India to make sure of the peace of provinces already under British rule; but the expansion of the colonies of settlement during the period up to 1854 and for long years afterwards was mainly carried out in spite of the British Government by restless colonists. Behind it all was the growing mass-industry, the vast commerce, the pressure of population and the economic distress of Great Britain and Ireland. In any case, Great Britain developed a new colonial policy to meet the needs of her new Empire. She freed the slaves, swept away the Old Colonial System,

attempted to colonise scientifically, and developed responsible Government in her colonies of settlement.

Slave Emancipation.—Denmark had forbidden her subjects to trade in slaves in 1803; Great Britain and the U.S.A. had done the same in 1807. British cruisers had at once begun their patrol of the Slave Coast and the West Indies, but so long as slaves could sail under other flags free from search, there was no chance of stopping the traffic even when Venezuela, Chile, Buenos Ayres, Sweden and Holland forbade it to their subjects, and eight Powers at the Congress of Vienna condemned the trade in principle (1810-14).

Great Britain then arranged with Holland, Spain and Portugal that their warships and her's should search slavers sailing under any of their flags; France gave up the traffic in 1818; Spain and Portugal gave it up in return for British money; the U.S.A. Congress declared slaving to be piracy and sent warships to help the British—"Sentimental Squadron" off the African coast. (1818-30). But slaving still went on even after 1842 when France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Denmark and Great Britain agreed on reciprocal search. The treaty was badly carried out, penalties were too light, and the U.S.A. refused to sign. By 1850 the slave trade was larger than it had ever been and the bulk of it was carried on under the Stars and Stripes. It was reserved for President Lincoln to end it in 1865 side by side with slavery itself in the American Union.

Long before the world trade in slaves was ended, Great Britain had abolished slavery within her Empire. With the working out of some of the sugar islands and the fall in the value of the trade in sugar in proportion to the rest of British trade, the West Indian party became less powerful than it had been in Parliament. When the Young Tories came into power the Abolitionists took the field again led by Thomas Fowell Buxton, the lieutenant of the veteran Wilberforce. Buxton moderately proposed compensation for slave-owners and a period of apprenticeship for liberated slaves before they should be given full freedom, but Canning shelved the question and passed the Trinidad Ordinance (1824).

The Trinidad Ordinance laid down rules for improving the condition of slaves in Trinidad in the hope that other West Indian islands, which unlike Trinidad had elective legislatures, would adopt similar measures. The result was the loss of two years with nothing done but talk of secession in Jamaica. So it went on till Buxton took a strong line and declared for emancipation without delay (1830). The Whig reformers took office and freed the slaves belonging to the Crown in Jamaica, a step which led to a strike by other slaves, the damage of some property and the ruthless repression of the movement by the troops. In spite of the scare thus caused the Emancipation Act was carried just before Wilberforce died (1833).

The slave-owners fared better than the late owners of rotten boroughs, for £20,000,000 was voted as compensation to them in the nineteen slaveowning colonies. It was not the full market price, but Great Britain held that, as owners had in times past pressed for the importation of slaves and she herself was risking losing what was still a good trade in sugar, it was only fair that some of the cost of Emancipation should fall on the owners. Besides, the 800,000 slaves set free in 1834 were to be apprenticed to their ex-masters till 1838. The slave-owning colonies including the Cape were hit hard by this social revolution, for some of the freedmen refused to work and others set up as small peasants wherever they could get land. Mauritius, however, began to import indentured Indian coolies in 1837. Her example was followed by many West Indian islands and, in due course, by Natal.

Nevertheless, modified as it was by indentured labour, this emancipation of the British slaves was one of the great events of the nineteenth century. Had slavery not been swept away but only very gradually abolished as many slave-owners had wished, it must have lingered on till the Scramble for Africa set in a generation later. Humanly speaking, that scramble with its demand for cheap labour must have left slavery with us to this day. Something of that sort had actually happened in the U.S.A. in the years that followed the framing of its Liberal constitution.

Free Trade.—The breaking away of the American colonies from Great Britain, the successful revolt of the

Spanish colonies in South America and the winning of practical independence by Portuguese Brazil dealt a fatal blow to the Old Colonial System. Men argued that Turgot, the French Physiocrat, had been right when he had said that colonies would "drop off like ripe fruit" in due time. They noted that, so far from being ruined by the loss of the American colonies, Great Britain's trade, helped by the Industrial Revolution and by Pitt's cautious movement towards Free Trade, had increased by leaps and bounds, whereas Napoleon's Continental System with its restraint of trade had gone far to wreck his own empire. Canning's Young Tories had given various states Reciprocity, that is the right to trade directly with British colonies provided they gave Great Britain the same privilege in their own colonial markets, and had gradually cut down the Preference given to colonial goods including Cape wines in the British home market (1823-24). And still Great Britain's trade and industry flourished as never before.

Utilitarian economists were sure that with greater freedom it would flourish still more. Headed by Richard Cobden and John Bright, the extreme free traders of the "Manchester School" argued that colonies with their demands for garrisons and warships, their native wars and deficits all of which had to be paid for by the British taxpayer, were an expensive nuisance. They must be treated well but, if they wished to become independent, they should be let go without tears or recriminations and the sooner the parting comes the better. Many, like the young Benjamin Disraeli, who were neither Whigs nor Radicals agreed with the Manchester men.

Great Britain was organising herself to produce goods for all the world; her manufacturers and merchants therefore wanted freedom to send those goods to all the world, and to import raw materials from all parts unchecked by Navigation Acts. Above all, they wanted to import corn freely. That might not reduce the price of bread and, therefore, the level of wages in the industrial towns, but it would at least make prices and wages more steady than they were. Some of them wanted also to have their revenge on the landed Tory gentlemen who had forced the Factory Acts upon them.

The crisis came in "the hungry 'Forties." Between 1842 and 1845, the Tory Peel abolished many customs duties and

levied an income tax to make up for the loss of revenue. In other words, he taxed directly instead of indirectly. But the keys of the Protectionist position were the Corn and Sugar Laws. Under the Corn Laws of 1815, foreign wheat was kept out until the home-grown wheat had reached a certain price. Hence, prices jumped about according to the size of the British harvest and sometimes they jumped very high. Similarly, West Indian sugar paid far lower duties at the British ports than did foreign sugar; but the sugar islands, wastefully cultivated first by slave and then by cheap indentured labour, could not supply enough to meet the needs of the growing population of Great Britain; prices rose and men complained that the British public was being sacrificed to the planters and negroes of the West Indies. Moreover, other lines of trade had been opened up and the sugar trade was no longer so vastly important to Great Britain as it had been in the eighteenth century. At last, Peel swept away the Corn Laws; Lord John Russell's Whigs abolished what was left of the Navigation Acts and thus completed the work that had been begun by the gradual abolition of the East India Company's trading monopoly; Gladstone, on the eve of the Crimean War, carried his "peace budget" cancelling most of the remaining duties, retaining the income tax and levying a succession duty on estates; next year the last of the sugar duties was repealed (1849-54).

Scientific Colonisation.—Free Trade and the emancipation of labour in the British colonies were part and parcel of the general Liberal movement with its insistence on personal freedom. Another side of the process was the abolition of old laws which regulated wages and restricted the movement of men within Great Britain herself (1813-24). The Act of 1824 which allowed artisans to leave the country set free men to go in increasing numbers to the British colonies of settlement, and the U.S.A. There had, of course, been emigration before that, some organised by prominent men like Lord Selkirk who settled landless Scottish Highlanders in Prince Edward Island (1803) and at the Red River Settlement where Winnipeg now stands (1813); some assisted by the government like the 1820 Settlers at the Cape.

But this emigration was small compared with that which was to come. Many went overseas at their own

expense; some were brought out at the cost of colonial governments, for instance, to the Cape in 1844; others went under the care of scientific colonisation societies. By about 1830 men realised that Great Britain had more capital and more money than she knew what to do with. They feared that, as the economist Malthus taught, population would outrun the available food supply; but they hoped that if the vast empty spaces in and around the colonies in North America, Australia and South Africa could be settled with surplus people, poor folk who were treading one another down in the struggle for employment would make a decent living, the food supply would be enlarged and capitalists could lend money for public works in the colonies or put it into ships and cargoes for the growing colonial markets. Hence Gibbon Wakefield formed societies to colonise scientifically.

Wakefield's plan was to supply labour to men in the new colonies who had capital. The number of labourers sent was to be regulated according to the amount of land actually occupied and the newcomers were to remain as labourers for a few years before getting land of their own, otherwise there would be no labourers after all to develop the farms of the men with capital properly. Above all, land was not to be given away but sold by auction at a "sufficient price," that is, with a lower limit fixed from time to time according to the amount of land and labour available in the given colony. The money thus received by the government would be used to pay the passages of further immigrants and so it would go. Underlying Wakefield's plan was the idea that Crown Lands in the colonies should be used for the benefit of the colonists on the spot and also of the public in Great Britain who, after all, had paid and were paying for the troops and ships which had won the vast bulk of the land in and around the colonies and were defending the whole of it against attack from outside. The story of the Eastern Frontier of the Cape from 1836 to 1853 is a good illustration of what Wakefield had in mind.

Canada.—Knowledge of what lay beyond the Great Lakes had increased considerably since Pitt had passed the Constitutional Act of 1791. Alexander Mackenzie had found his way to the Pacific, crossing the great river that

bears his name on the way (1793); George Vancouver had presently found and given his name to the island on the west coast, "another England tacked on to the coast of North America"; Sir John Franklin had voyaged among the ice-floes of the north, staking out British claims on the islands (1819-35). All this vast area was as yet unsettled. The fur traders of the Hudson Bay and North-West companies would have no settlers disturbing the game. Besides, there were no communications. During the period a certain number of immigrants came to the little colonies at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but far more went to Ontario up the river. There, the Canada and Huron companies got control of great stretches of land, made roads and, though they asked a fairly high price for their land, settled many men on small farms. No less than 34,000 souls arrived in 1831, the year of the "Great Immigration."

Australia.—Wakefield's influence was felt more in Australasia than in Canada. In the far Pacific, just before the outbreak of the French Revolution, Great Britain had laid the foundations of a group of colonies which were to make up for those she had lost in North America. Like other nations at the time and some for long years afterwards, the British had deported their convicts. Most of them had been sent to the West Indies or to the southern colonies in North America, there to be indentured to planters who found them very useful. After 1783 this was no longer possible. Great Britain, therefore, began to send her convicts to New South Wales whose fertile shores had been discovered by Captain Cook in 1769. We still talk of sending convicts to Botany Bay but, as a matter of fact, the convicts were not sent there but to Port Jackson (Sydney) close by (1788).

There is something to be said in favour of this system of transportation. Life on the convict ships and stations was hard and brutal, but all prisons were hard and brutal in those days; convicts did not work so well as free men and escaped convicts might become a public danger as "bush-rangers," but convicts did carry out many valuable public works and freed convicts had a better chance of making a fresh start in a new country than in the old. Besides, many of the convicts were decent, spirited lads who had merely broken the Game Laws by poaching rabbits or pheasants,

or else they were political prisoners like those Irishmen who were nearly landed at Simonstown in 1849. In any case, the convicts founded Australia under the rule of military or naval officers. They had some difficulty about food supplies at first; for a time rum and corn were the only currency, but some of the officers took to whaling and, in 1805, one of them, MacArthur, imported sheep and so laid the foundation of the great Australian wool industry. The need for timber and coal led to the foundation of a convict station at Newcastle and fear of the French to further stations in Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island.

Then, as the wool farmers pushed inland, a few free settlers came to join the ex-officers and ex-convicts. In 1821, just as the English Settlers were arriving at the Cape, New South Wales was thrown open to free men. Immense sheep runs were taken up by squatters but the growing export of wool that followed overshadowed the evil results which were to come from thus locking up vast stretches of land in the hands of a few men. Meanwhile on the west coast, an attempt was made to found a settlement at Perth on the Swan River (1829). This was the beginning of Western Australia, but most of the settlers drifted away and the little colony had to be kept alive by convicts till 1850.

On the other hand, a way had been found along the rivers from Sydney to where Adelaide now stands; the French were once more active in the neighbourhood; hence, one of Wakefield's companies decided to colonise South Australia (1836). The settlement was not made altogether as Wakefield wished; the system of government was clumsy; the colony borrowed too much money; land speculators had their own way and, by 1840, South Australia was bankrupt. Wool pulled it round the corner; general farming and copper and lead mining were developed; the able Sir George Grey came as Governor and, by 1850, there were 15,000 picked settlers with a far larger proportion of educated men among them than was usual in new settlements.

Meanwhile, from 1840 onwards, sheep farmers from New South Wales and South Australia had driven their flocks into what is now Victoria. There they had found sandal and jarrah wood, lead and coal. The convicts gradually disappeared from Australia as the free men came in. They

had been shut out from South Australia from the first and in 1840 they were excluded from New South Wales. With the prospect of self-government and the discovery of gold in Victoria at Ballarat and Bendigo (1851), they were shut out from neighbouring Van Diemen's Land which promptly



Map No. 9.

changed its name to Tasmania. Western Australia however remained open to them till 1867.

New Zealand.—A thousand miles away to the south-east of Australia lay New Zealand. This group of islands, especially the North Island, was inhabited by Maori tribes

and a scattering of missionaries, traders and ruffians. In 1837, Wakefield formed the New Zealand Association. In spite of opposition from the missionaries and the British Government which was no more anxious for new possessions in the Pacific than it was in South Africa, he began to buy land from the Maori chiefs who had as little idea of what a sale of land meant as the Bantu chiefs of that day. He thus forced the government's hand; a lieutenant-governor was appointed; the British ships just beat the French in a race for the islands and, by the Treaty of Waitangi, the chiefs ceded all New Zealand to the new Queen, Victoria (1840). The tribes were to keep the tribal lands but these were as hard to define as the lands of the same kind in South Africa. The question gave rise to much quarrelling and some wars in both countries, for Wakefield's settlers came in fast. Many parties were organised by churches. For instance, the Church of England planted a settlement at Canterbury, and the Free Kirk of Scotland another at Otago. By 1854, six centres were well peopled by men of good middle class and farming stock, for the most part on small farms.

Colonial Self-Government.—Liberalism in Great Britain and economic progress in the colonies led to great changes in the system of government in the colonies of settlement. Some of the West Indian Islands and the Two Canadas still had the representative assemblies which had been the rule in the lost American colonies; but the sixteen new colonies taken during the Napoleonic wars were all ruled solely by officials. This was "a singular novelty for England" but all these colonies except the Cape were mere naval stations or tropical dependencies and the Cape was a foreign colony with a majority of non-European inhabitants. It thus fell midway between the class of colonies of settlement and that of dependencies.

(a) **Canada.**—After a time, Pitt's system in the Two Canadas ceased to answer. The French of Quebec complained that they were ruled by a "family compact" of men of more or less British descent; in Ontario, which was growing fast, the British complained of the control of finances by the officials and of the amount of land set aside for the churches. At last, Louis Papineau raised a rebellion

in Quebec, while William MacKenzie raised another in Ontario and talked of union with the U.S.A. Both rebellions were put down by the regulars and the local French and British militia, and Lord Durham, a leading Whig, was sent to report (1838).

With the help of Wakefield and Charles Buller, Durham drew up his famous Report which is the Magna Carta of colonial self-government. It is true that he made no mention of self-government and that he insisted that the Imperial Government must keep control of foreign policy, trade regulations and Crown Lands; but he proposed that, even if the North American colonies could not be federated as he wished, the Two Canadas at least must be united and given such wide parliamentary powers that either responsible government or deadlock was bound to follow. Lord Sydenham was sent to complete Durham's work, and, on his advice, Russell carried the Canada Act (1840). The Act was accepted readily in Ontario, but it was opposed by many people in Great Britain who feared that the grant of such wide powers to a colony must lead to its speedy independence, and it was simply imposed by Sydenham on unwilling Quebec whose constitution had been suspended because of the recent rebellion.

Russell's Canada Act united Quebec and Ontario, set up a Legislative Council of twenty members nominated by the Crown and a House of Assembly of eighty-four, half of whom were to be elected by Quebec and half by Ontario, and gave the legislature power over the raising and spending of revenues except for a few of the salaries of the highest officials which it was to have no power to withhold. After Sydenham's departure there was some friction between Governors and the parliament but, between 1847 and 1854, Lord Elgin, as a matter of custom, chose to follow the advice of a Canadian cabinet just as the Queen was guided by her ministry in London. Canada was thus the first part of the British Empire outside Great Britain to have full self-government in internal matters. The same powers were granted to the other North American colonies, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland (1848-53).

(b) **Australia.**—At first the only government in the Australian continent was that of New South Wales at

Sydney and that was as autocratic as the early Tory system in Cape Colony. In 1823 a nominated Council of Advice was set up, just as was done at the Cape two years later; in 1828 the Governor was forbidden to make laws without its consent and in 1842 the Council was made partly elective. Meanwhile, a similar Council had been set up in Van Diemen's Land. Wakefield pressed ceaselessly for self-government, free men came in and the convicts went out, the Whig ministry favoured the idea, and in 1850 Russell's Australian Colonies Act was passed empowering the colonies to draw up constitutions for the Queen's approval. Gold was discovered next year in Victoria and self-government followed, just as it did twenty years later in the Cape Colony after the discovery of the diamonds at Kimberley. New South Wales became self-governing in 1854, Victoria in 1855, South Australia and Tasmania in 1856 and Queensland, recently carved out of northern New South Wales, in 1859. Western Australia alone remained under official rule till 1890.

(c) **New Zealand.**—In 1817 British subjects living in New Zealand were made subject to the New South Wales criminal law, that is, if they could be caught and fetched to Sydney for trial, exactly as British subjects in South Africa south of the 25th degree of South Latitude were made subject to the Cape criminal law in 1836. Presently a British Resident was sent to maintain order among British subjects in New Zealand, (1832), just as one was sent to Port Natal, also an independent territory, a few years later. On its annexation in 1840, New Zealand formed part of New South Wales, in the same way as Natal was at first treated as a detached district of the Cape. In 1841, however, New Zealand was given a government of its own, Sir George Grey arrived from South Australia as Governor, the New Zealand Association gave up its charter to the Crown (1850) and, mainly as a result of Grey's efforts, the six districts into which the islands had been divided were formed into a self-governing federation (1852-54). Meanwhile Grey had gone as Governor to Capetown.

(d) **South Africa.**—Economically and politically, the course of events in South Africa was in many ways different from that in Canada or Australia. It has always been so, mainly because of the presence of coloured and native peoples

who far outnumber the Europeans. The policy of the Cape government was to limit the size of the Colony and to avoid contact with the tribes. After 1821, very few immigrants arrived until assisted immigration was again undertaken in 1844. This immigration was cut short by two Kaffir wars but, meanwhile, the Boers like the Australian squatters had spread as far north as the Zoutpansberg. In 1853, the Cape was given a parliament with the restricted powers that the Canadian legislatures had had before 1840, and, in 1856, Natal was given a Crown Colony legislature of one house in which the elected members had a large majority. That was as far as even British Liberalism would go in the case of these colonies but, at the same time, it recognised the independence of the Transvaalers (1852) and of the Free Staters (1854). *Laissez faire, laissez passer.*

This new experiment in colonial government led to many difficulties. The colonies naturally pressed for a control of the Crown Lands, which would make "Wakefield" schemes of colonisation impossible. Ironically enough, it was Wakefield's New Zealand which first got that control, a control which was soon given to other self-governing colonies. Similarly, they demanded the right to control their own trade, in other words, to fix their own customs duties. The Cape, even with its limited parliamentary powers, was able to do this four years before Canada claimed the right formally as part of self-government (1859).

Direction of native policy by the Crown in a self-governing colony became impossible. Since the report of the famous Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons in 1837, the general line taken by the Imperial Government had been to keep that policy out of the hands of colonial legislatures whom, on this point, it frankly did not trust. There were few "aborigines" in Canada; there were few in Australia; in New Zealand and South Africa there were plenty. The problem was solved for the time being by denying the Cape and Natal self-government but, in New Zealand the anomalous position arose of a ministry responsible to the New Zealand parliament making war, and the British ministry responsible to the British taxpayer bearing the brunt of it. Before long the Imperial Government decided that the colonial garrisons must be withdrawn and told the colonies that, if they wanted the services of British

troops, they must pay for them. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, the experiment of colonial self-government answered well.

The United States.—The half of the British Empire which had broken away in 1783 had since grown out of all knowledge. That growth is one of the most amazing things in nineteenth century history. The 3,000,000 inhabitants, black and white, of 1783 had increased to nearly 13,000,000 in 1830, and, helped by a great immigration, to 31,000,000 by about 1860. The area included in States of the Union increased from 850,000 square miles in 1800 to over 2,000,000 in 1830 and still the federal territories and claims grew and grew.

The federal government had gained control of an immense area west of the Mississippi by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Its undefined borderlands overlapped those claimed by Mexico in California and by the British and Russians in Oregon and Alaska respectively. A scuffle with Spain had ended with the purchase of Florida by the U.S.A. (1819). The States and Russia also agreed to take 54° 40' north latitude as the dividing line between their spheres, thereby shutting out the British from the Pacific coast (1824). The British claims also clashed with those of the Americans at the eastern end of the frontier in Maine. The latter question was settled by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), the former, after some clamour in the States for "54° 40' or fight," by another treaty which gave Great Britain British Columbia (1846).

The Missouri Compromise.—New states were carved out of the federal territories in terms of the constitution as settlers flowed westward. Eleven such states were added to the Union between 1791 and 1821; two to the east of the Alleghany mountains (Vermont 1791 and Maine 1820), seven between the mountains and the Mississippi (Kentucky 1792, Tennessee 1796, Ohio 1802, Indiana 1816, Mississippi 1817, Illinois 1818, Alabama 1819) and two beyond the great river (Louisiana 1812 and Missouri 1821).

The request of Missouri to be admitted to the Union raised the issue of slavery. There had never been many slaves in the North but there had always been a good

many in the central states and, in the South, society had been built up on them. Between 1777 and 1793, the tide of opinion ran strongly against slavery, but the makers of the constitution did not venture to touch it. They burked the question, for, if they had not, there would have been no union any more than there would have been a South African union in 1910 had the National Convention tried to settle the native question. Some of the northern states forbade slavery in their constitutions; in others the courts held it illegal as Mansfield had done in England in the case of *Somerset*; others like slave-owning Pennsylvania made provision for gradual emancipation; even southern states like Virginia disapproved of it; only semi-tropical Georgia and the Carolinas, North and South, demanded that the "domestic institution" should be continued. Similarly all except two of the thirteen states had either restricted or abolished the slave trade between 1783 and 1789, and, in 1807, Congress declared it illegal.

This advance of Liberalism was defeated by the Industrial Revolution. In 1787 cotton from the Bahamas was found to do well in Georgia; in 1793, Whitney of Connecticut made a cotton gin which cleaned raw cotton mechanically; the southern states began to grow cotton on a big scale to meet the growing demand of the mills of Lancashire. They also began to demand more slaves to work in the cotton fields. Soon there was trouble between North and South over run-away slaves. Could fugitive slaves be taken back by their masters if they escaped to free soil? If, as many people in the North held, slavery was morally wrong, ought slave states to be admitted to the Union? On the other hand, could the federal government or even a majority of the states, tell a state what the basis of its society should be in a federation where each state retained so much sovereignty? These were ugly questions, for the plantation owners of the Cotton Belt were anxious for more land and, as the quarrel grew more bitter, determined to keep their hold on Congress by forming new slave states each of which, under the constitution, would be entitled to two members in the Senate. In 1820, by the Missouri Compromise, Maine was admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state but, in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase, slavery was forbidden north of

36° 30' N. Lat. South of that line, in "Dixie," slavery might and did flourish.¹

Political Changes.—The political life of the U.S.A. now began to change. Many of the early presidents had been drawn from Virginia and those who came from the North had been of the well-to-do "gentleman" class; the civil service had developed more or less on British lines; the checks on direct popular action supplied by the Senate and other devices in the constitution had worked strongly; the United States Bank had promised to control the local state banks as firmly as the Bank of England controlled those in Great Britain. Hamilton had been the great upholder of a centralising policy in matters of government and finance; but he had been killed in a duel and by 1815 his centralising Federalist party had gone to pieces. After a time parties reformed under new names but, roughly speaking, whatever their names were, one party stood for state rights, the other for the rights of the central authorities.

The U.S.A. only really became a democracy during the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1828–36). Jackson broke the United States Bank and made the U.S.A. what it is to-day, the home of local banks; he introduced the "spoils system" into the civil service, whereby quite humble officials had to go out of office as well as the heads of government departments if a president belonging to another party was elected. This change gave presidential elections as great a reality and fierceness as the same system gave to republican elections in the old Transvaal. The makers of the constitution had tried to make sure that by choosing a committee of delegates to elect the head of the Union, each state would select its best men and leave them free to use their own judgment. This system had already been changing before Jackson became president, and under him it broke down. Delegates were still elected but they were given strict orders as to how they were to vote. The election of the president thus became really a direct vote by the people.

¹ Strictly speaking "Dixie" is south of the southern border of Pennsylvania fixed by two officials, Mason and Dixon, in the 17th century. In 1787 Congress forbade slavery to the north of the Ohio river. The 1820 Compromise extended the "slave-line" still further west.

Industrial Revolution.—In 1830 the bulk of the population was still in the old centres between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, and was still living almost entirely on the land. Only 7% of the people lived in towns of over 8,000 inhabitants though New York had trebled in size during the past thirty years. Then the Industrial Revolution came from Great Britain. The cutting of the Erie canal through the mountains put New York in touch with the Ohio river and the Great Lakes and made it what it has since remained, the commercial and financial capital of the U.S.A. The first railway was opened in 1829; McCormick invented a mechanical reaper which made it profitable to lay out great wheat farms in the Middle West and to finance railway companies with land (1834); Morses's electric telegraph made it possible to work long lines of railway (1835). There were 7,000 miles of line by 1849 and 30,000 of various gauges by 1860.

This vast expansion was accompanied by a rush of immigrants from overseas. Only 450,000 newcomers had arrived during the thirty years after 1800, but 600,000 came between 1841 and 1850, some 1,700,000 during the next decade, and 2,250,000 between 1851 and 1860. Compared with that the immigration to the British colonies was a trifle. Nearly all these people came from Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavia or from famine-stricken Ireland. The Irish were unwelcome to many for the same reasons that they had been unwelcome in Great Britain in the eighteenth century, or in Cape Colony at this very time. The Puritans feared them as Catholics, the rest because they were poor folk who would pull down the standard of living. The Irish who stayed in the towns did much to corrupt local politics, for they were ignorant and easily bribed by the political "bosses" who were coming to the front; but they at least manned the new factories and helped to open up the farms of the Middle West.

Towns grew fast. Only 864,000 souls had lived in towns in 1830; thirty years later, 5,000,000 did so and, of these, 800,000 lived in New York alone. (The European population of the Cape Colony at that time was not quite 200,000.) New York was the centre of the great and growing shipping of the U.S.A. The customs tariff was low as a rule, the demand of Free Trade Great Britain for wheat and cotton

was insatiable, and by 1860 the merchant shipping which flew the Stars and Stripes was greater than that which sailed under the Union Jack.

Nearly all this industrial and agricultural development took place in the North or in the new states of the Middle West. It was there that men invented the electric fire-alarm and the steam fire-engine (a very necessary thing where so many towns were built of wood), the sewing-machine, improved harvesters, and breech-loading rifles (1850-60); it was there, at the end of this period, that great fortunes began to appear alongside of abject poverty, a thing fatal to the old liberty and equality of Washington's day. The brains of the U.S.A. lay mainly in the north-east, centring on New England and its chief city of Boston. The two largest American universities of the time were in New England at Yale and Harvard; New England was the home of the poets Longfellow and Russell Lowell, the essayists Emerson and Wendell Holmes, the novelists Hawthorne and Beecher Stowe, of Henry Ward Beecher the lecturer, Horace Greeley the journalist, Edgar Allen Poe, father of all detective stories, Bancroft writer of a most influential and misleading history of his country, Prescott the historian of the Spanish conquests in Mexico and Peru, Parkman the historian of Canada, and Motley, author of the famous *Rise of the Dutch Republic*. The influence of these men and women of New England, writing in English and taking their inspiration and literary models mainly from Old England, goes far to explain how the vast United States were held together intellectually during the nineteenth century.

The Clay Compromise.—The South could show nothing of this activity. Its coal, timber, iron and water power all lay undeveloped. It was still a land of tobacco, rice and cotton plantations wastefully cultivated by slave labour. By no means all Southerners were slave-owners; in 1860, only some 2,000,000 whites were supported directly by slave labour; nevertheless, the rest of society depended indirectly on the slave-owners who led the South in politics and business. These men were country gentlemen, delightful company, aristocratically-minded men far more like the well-to-do South African farmers of the time or the English

gentlemen who still ruled the British Empire, than the northern "yankees"; but around them lived an increasing swarm of "mean whites," part of the price that has to be paid for servile labour everywhere. South of the Mason-Dixon Line there were, in 1860, only three towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants; only one-third of the railways were there; there were hardly any factories and the raw cotton had to be sent to be worked up in the mills of the North; the South owned comparatively few ships. Yet during the first half of the nineteenth century, the South controlled Congress.

With changing circumstances the political situation became strained. The Northern manufacturers wanted high customs duties to protect their wares from foreign competition; the Southerners insisted on a low tariff so that they might easily import the supplies they needed and send out their cotton in exchange. It was the question of slavery that brought matters to a head. In the North, William Lloyd Garrison inspired by the slave emancipation campaign in England had gathered together a determined band of Abolitionists (1831). In 1836 land to the north of the 1820 Line was added to slave-owning Missouri and the Missouri Compromise was thereby broken. Nevertheless, John Calhoun, the Southern champion, had his way in Congress. Discussion was ended when he declared that the South would not have its social structure touched by anyone.

Then came the census of 1840 to frighten the Southerners. It showed that they were falling behind the North in population so fast that they were already over-represented in the lower House. They, therefore, determined to make sure of a majority in the Senate by having new slave states included in the Union. Moreover, they wanted new lands as the older plantations were becoming exhausted under their primitive methods of cultivation. Texas, a province of Mexico, had recently revolted. At the risk of war, the Southerners secured the admission of Texas as a state of the Union (1845). War arose with Mexico out of a boundary dispute in the new state. Mexico was defeated and, by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the U.S.A. acquired a great block of territory which included nearly the whole of California (1848). Thus, the U.S.A. reached the Pacific in

California just after they had settled their difficulties further north with the British in Oregon (1846).

Meanwhile, in 1846, a religious sect, the Mormons, had trekked from Illinois to Salt Lake in what had then been Mexican territory hoping to found there a church and state of their own. Salt Lake was now U.S.A. territory; gold had been found in California in 1848 and a rush had taken place thither. Mormons and Californians both asked that their territories should be admitted as states of the Union. The request raised the slavery issue once more, for a strong party in the U.S.A. wished to shut slaves out of the territories taken from Mexico. After a fierce presidential election fought on that issue, the matter was settled temporarily by the Clay Compromise (1850). California was admitted as a free state, Utah (Salt Lake) and New Mexico were organised as Territories without any mention being made of slavery, and Congress passed a Law making it easier for owners to recover slaves who had escaped from their own states.

Such was the unsatisfactory compromise that postponed civil war in the U.S.A. for eleven years. The quarrel had almost reached breaking-point for Calhoun had thought of demanding that the Union be divided into two states, one slave and the other free, each with its own president who must agree with his fellow-president before Congress could pass any law. But Calhoun died during the Clay crisis and "Old Glory" still flew over "these United States"; over the North and West, the city of refuge for the poor and the oppressed of Europe, the scene of an utterly unchecked Industrial Revolution, the most perfect product of eighteenth century Liberalism in all its strength and weakness, and over the South as well, a land of seventeenth century Toryism whose slavers swarmed in the Gulf of Guinea. It was a question whether the flag could continue so to fly much longer over a house divided against itself.

Books for Further Reading :

Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, pp. 78-142, and *Nationalism and Internationalism*, pp. 37-79; H. E. Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, pp. 256-80 (Slavery), and pp. 281-335 (Wakefield and Self-Government); G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 253-63 and 309-23 (India); Sir A. Lyall, *British Rule in India*, pp. 271-326; E. Channing, *The United States of America, 1765-1865*; Cecil Chesterton, *A History of the U.S.A.*; J. Clayton, *Co-operation*.
 MAPS.—Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plates 57, 63 and 65.

CHAPTER X.

LIBERALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA 1825-56.

Main Events.—The steamship *Enterprise* had startled the good folk of Capetown in 1825, but the Industrial Revolution only followed in her wake very slowly. The first railway was not built till 1859; in spite of a little copper mining in Namaqualand, South Africa relied upon cattle and on the wool which displaced wine as the chief export during this period. It was only in 1873 after the discovery of gold and diamonds that the Cape government undertook the building of railways seriously; factories have only sprung up in our own day. Liberalism, the other great force that was refashioning Western Civilisation, worked much more quickly. The reformed English criminal law was introduced into the Cape Colony; the Hottentots and other coloured peoples were freed from a semi-servile condition; the slaves were emancipated and an attempt was made to enter into friendly relations with the border tribes (1828-34). This last policy was upset by a Kaffir War and the flight of frontier Boers from the social and political revolution that was overtaking them.

The Great Trek is the central political fact of this period of South African history. Apart from the decaying Portuguese settlements on the east coast and, latterly, of a small group of English ivory hunters at Port Natal (1824), European South Africa had been the Cape Colony. The Trekkers founded republics between the Orange and the Limpopo rivers and in Natal (1836-49). The British annexed the republic of Natal (1843-45) and, for a time, took all the territory between the Orange and the Vaal under their control (1848-54) but, in keeping with the ideas of the time of avoiding the responsibilities which colonies entailed, they recognised the Transvaal Boers and Free Staters as independent, gave the Cape Colony a parliament and made Natal a separate Crown Colony (1852-56). South

Africa was thus divided politically into several states. Socially, it was only less radically divided than the U.S.A. There were no slaves but, on the other hand, non-Europeans were treated differently in three different parts of the country. In the Cape, men of all classes and colours were equal before the law; in Natal, there was equality for all except tribal natives; in the Republics, there was no equality outside the ranks of white men.

Constitutional Reforms.—The Commission of Inquiry began their reforms by arranging for the gradual destruction of the paper money. That currency had first been issued in 1782. Nominally, each rixdollar was worth 4/- but as more and more had been issued its purchasing power had fallen to about 1/6. Great Britain had just got rid of her own paper money and was anxious to make English silver coins current in all her colonies. The paper rixdollar was therefore declared to be worth 1/6 in silver; hard cash was paid out to the troops who, as the largest buyers in the Colony, soon put it into circulation; and the paper money was destroyed as it was bought in. It was twenty years before the last of it was cancelled. At the outset, creditors who had lent rixdollars at their nominal value of 4/- were hard hit when they had to take repayment of loans at 1/6, and to make matters worse, the Loan (Lombard) Bank, a relic of the Company's times, suddenly refused to pay any more interest on the money which people had deposited with it.

Meanwhile, Somerset had spent public money freely and had borrowed right and left at a time when the Cape revenues were falling off owing to bad times, and banks in Great Britain were failing. In the last resort, the British government was responsible for the debts of the Cape government. It therefore stopped all public works and began to cut down official staffs and salaries. It also took steps to check the autocratic powers of the Governor. Five leading officials were given seats on a Council of Advice (1825). Their powers were not great for the Governor could disregard their advice and, in case of emergency, he need not even ask it; but, in either case, he had to give his reasons for so doing to the Secretary of State at Downing Street. Next year Somerset sailed home. His departure was more than a personal matter. It was the end of the old system of rule in the

Colony. Bourke, a much more liberally-minded man than he, took his place, and presently Andries Stockenstrom, for many years landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, became Superintendent-General of the Eastern Province (1828).

The law courts of the Colony were next thoroughly overhauled. These changes were carried out mainly by the two Charters of Justice of 1828 and 1834. The old High Court, an amateur body whose decisions were not very much respected, was replaced by a Supreme Court of professional judges; a Chief Justice and two other Justices who had been barristers either in the United Kingdom or in the Colony. They were to hold office for life and could not be dismissed by the Governor. Any two of them could deal with civil cases and any one of them could decide criminal cases with the help of a jury of nine citizens. The Chief Justice took over the duties of the Vice-Admiralty Court. In certain civil cases, an appeal was to be allowed from the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, the highest court of appeal for colonial cases in the Empire. One judge was to go round the Colony on circuit twice a year, but in civil cases an appeal lay from his decisions to the full Supreme Court. An Attorney-General replaced the Fiscal as public prosecutor and the work of the Orphan Chamber was taken over by the Master of the Supreme Court. In the districts, Resident Magistrates took charge of the judicial work of the landdrosts and heemraden; and the field cornets lost what little judicial powers they had had.

On the other hand, in spite of the advice of the Commission of Inquiry that the English law should be introduced throughout, the Imperial Government followed the course which it had taken in French Quebec. The criminal law was made largely English which, in view of the recent reforms of that law, was a good thing for the Colony, but the main body of the Roman-Dutch civil law was retained.

Big changes were also made in the system of administration. The Burgher Senate was abolished and Capetown was placed directly under the government officials; the landdrosts were replaced by Civil Commissioners; English became the official language in the courts and the government offices.

The exclusive use of English as the official language was a gradual process which had been begun in 1822 at a time when Somerset had expected that the change could be made without any real hardship. The arrival of the 1820 Settlers and of the Scottish predikants and schoolmasters pointed towards the speedy anglicisation of the Colony; since 1813, a knowledge of English had been necessary for men seeking appointments in the civil service, and many of the Dutch in the west were anxious that their sons should learn English. From the purely language point of view, there did not seem to be much prospect of serious competition with English. High Dutch was the language of the Scriptures and of the pulpit, but it was not the spoken tongue of the people; Afrikaans was not yet a literary language. The compulsory use of English from 1828 caused but little hardship to the townsmen but, outside the towns, it was felt to be a grievance, especially in the East.

Freedom of the Press.—1828 is a notable year in South African history for, besides a revolution in the system of government, it saw the freedom of the press won. The struggle had begun in 1823. There had been printing in the Colony for many years but, apart from one or two presses at far-distant mission stations, the only printing press was at the Castle under strict official control. Somerset was opposed to a press free from that control; in Great Britain itself the freedom of the press and of holding public meetings was still limited by the Six Acts of 1817; hence, the Governor tried to baulk the Rev. Abraham Faure and Thomas Pringle the poet when they asked leave to publish a monthly magazine alternately in English and Dutch. Still more did he oppose a similar request made by George Greig, a printer. Greig however found that, though he could not produce a magazine without leave, there was no law against a newspaper. He borrowed a wooden printing press from Dr. Philip and, with the help of John Fairbairn and Pringle, published the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, the first unofficial newspaper in South Africa (1824).

Meanwhile the Secretary of State, Earl Bathurst, had given leave for a magazine, and Pringle brought out his *Journal*. A month later, Faure published the companion

Tijdschrift. Pringle and Greig soon fell foul of Somerset for criticising his policy too freely. Pringle had to give up the *Journal* and watch the Governor do his best to ruin the school which he and Fairbairn had opened, while Greig, who had really broken the terms on which he had promised to publish his paper, was expelled from the Colony for refusing to submit to official censorship. Greig went to London, enlisted the help of leading editors and philanthropists, and returned to Capetown with permission to publish the *Advertiser* once more provided he kept to the terms of his prospectus. Somerset then left the Colony, but was none the less able to have the *Advertiser* suppressed once more.

This time Fairbairn went to London with the support of many Capetown citizens, Greig followed him thither and, after many delays, they at last won the freedom of the press in the Colony. Subject to certain conditions and to punishment under the ordinary law of libel if they went too far, men were now able to publish newspapers printed on sheets which bore a penny stamp (the *London Times* in those days cost 7d.). A crop of newspapers promptly sprang up. Some soon withered away but the *Zuid Afrikaan* and the *Grahamstown Journal* played an important part in politics for a long time to come.

The Legislative Council.—The recent reforms promised to make the courts and the administration more efficient than they had been, but they swept away whatever share the citizens had had in their own government. The new system was as bureaucratic as any of the governments against which European Liberals were striving. On the other hand, the Colony now had a free press; the cry for a reform of Parliament was rising in Great Britain; the Commission of Inquiry had suggested that, once the affairs of the Colony had been put in order and the slaves set free, an elected assembly might well be formed at Capetown and possibly another in the East, even though the Dutch had had no real experience of such things and most of the English settlers in both East and West had never had votes in the Old Country. Again the Dutch Reformed Church, the most important ecclesiastical body in the Colony, was gradually breaking free from state control, for the officials who had hitherto watched the local consistories were now with-

drawn and, in keeping with the reforms in England, full civil rights were granted to Roman Catholics.

All this encouraged those who hoped for more liberty in matters of government ; but there were real obstacles in the way of securing an elected assembly. The Colony was poor ; the Europeans were outnumbered by their slaves and the natives and were scattered over a vast territory with bad means of communication ; they were racially divided, and Tory officials begged leave to doubt whether there were enough of them with sufficient wealth, leisure and education to man an assembly. Moreover, Colonists in those days were not regarded with enthusiasm by the governing class in England. To put the matter quite bluntly, the first question that folk were likely to ask when they heard that a friend was emigrating was "What has he done ?" Unsuitable seekers after official posts used to be told that there was no room for them in the Home civil service, but that something might be found for them in one of the colonies. But the main objection to giving the Cape an assembly lay outside the Colony. Great Britain was having much difficulty in persuading West Indian colonists, who had had assemblies since the seventeenth century, to pass laws improving the lot of their slaves. It was hardly likely that she would set up a similar assembly in the slave-owning Cape Colony.

The agitation for an assembly was closely bound up with the movement for the emancipation of the slaves. In 1826, two members of the Burgher Senate resigned as a protest against certain slave regulations. Citizens of Capetown asked leave to elect their successors and, when this was refused, petitioned Parliament for a representative assembly. That too was refused but, to make up for the coming abolition of the Burgher Senate and other semi-popular boards, two burghers were appointed to the Council of Advice (1827). No one was satisfied with that. Fairbairn raised the cry of "No taxation without representation," bade the Colonists imitate the U.S.A. and allied himself with Brand. These two men hoped that the signs of returning prosperity in the Colony would convince the authorities that the Cape could at least pay its way. This prosperity was not confined to Capetown which was founding a local insurance company and a bank, the South African College, and an Anglican

Cathedral. New villages and churches were springing up in the country districts; in the East, the English Settlers were at last doing well. Albany and Capetown both petitioned for an assembly, but both petitions were rejected, and then the reformers split on the rock of slave emancipation.

Fairbairn was much influenced by Philip, whose daughter he married. He quarrelled with Brand and for a time gave up the agitation for an assembly. Brand, who came of a slave-owning family, founded the *Zuid Afrikaan* as a rival to Fairbairn's *Advertiser* and urged that the Colony be given an assembly which would then co-operate with the Imperial authorities in emancipating the slaves. He even took up the cause of some farmers at Koeberg near Capetown who talked of rebelling against new slave regulations, while Fairbairn supported the stout old Tory Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, who issued a proclamation forbidding public meetings and threatening to deport agitators. But the reforming Whigs were now in office in England. The Secretary of State made Cole withdraw his proclamation and reminded him that British subjects could only be deported from British soil after fair trial. Cole allowed a Capetown meeting to petition the Imperial Government once more for an assembly and, after the Emancipation Act had been safely carried, a new constitution was given to the Cape and a new Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, was sent to put it into working order (1834).

Henceforward, until 1853, the Cape was ruled by an Executive Council consisting of the Governor and four other leading officials, and a Legislative Council which consisted of the same five officials and from five to seven burghers chosen by the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State. Like the old Council of Advice, the new legislature could only discuss such subjects as the Governor chose to lay before it, but the Governor could not make laws now without its consent. Five burghers, all Westerners, were appointed and the first Legislative Council met. It sat at first behind closed doors but newspaper reporters and friends of members were soon admitted to the gallery.

D'Urban.—D'Urban's term of office is one of the most important episodes in South African history. In his person, Whig Liberalism took its seat in the Governor's chair. Not

only was he under orders to establish the new constitution and to "retrench" still further, but he was to set up municipal councils if possible, to carry through slave emancipation and to frame a satisfactory native policy.

Retrenchment, beginning with D'Urban's own salary, was carried out at a time when the control of government on the Eastern Frontier had been weakened by the abolition of the office of Superintendent-General (1833). It meant that no more magistrates could be appointed nor police raised even though they were badly needed. The clue to much that happened on the frontiers and beyond them in the course of the next few years is that, until 1843, the Cape Government was as hard pressed for money as ever the East India Company had been.

The municipal institutions foreshadowed by a British ministry which was reforming the municipal councils in the United Kingdom were delayed by the Kaffir War of 1834-35, but in 1836 towns were allowed to elect boards of commissioners for three years under the chairmanship of the magistrate with power to levy rates and to spend the money on local purposes. Beaufort West was the first town to have a municipal government of this kind (1837); other towns, especially in the East, followed suit and in 1840 Capetown secured its own council.

Hottentots and Slaves.—The question of slave emancipation was closely bound up with that of the Hottentots. The abolition of the Slave Trade had been followed by laws which, whatever could be said for them in other respects, had legalised the position of the Hottentots as serfs whose right to hold land was doubtful. Philip held that the one hope of civilising these people was to give them land which they might not sell, and to place them under the control of officials and missionaries who would prevent them getting the brandy which was playing such havoc with them. Otherwise, the Hottentots would remain a poverty-stricken degraded class, a drag on society instead of the support they might become if their wages and general style of life were raised.

In other words, Philip looked on the existing system as inhumane and thoroughly bad business. He went to London and the Secretary of State, Huskisson, ordered

Bourke and Stockenstrom to take the matter in hand. They prepared a report on which was based the famous 50th Ordinance (1828). That Ordinance cancelled the laws of 1809-19, put Hottentots, Bushmen and other free coloured folk on the same level as Europeans in the eye of the law, and gave them the right to hold land if they could get it. Philip and Fowell Buxton, the leader of the slave emancipationists, secured the addition of a clause which forbade the Cape government to alter the ordinance without leave of the King-in-Council, that is, of the British ministry. Philip then published his *Researches* in which he made some mis-statements and a good many more overstatements about colonial affairs, but which none the less had great influence in England.

Emancipation.—Philip had forced the pace because it was clear that the freeing of the slaves was only a question of time. If the abolition of the trade had been followed by practical serfdom for the Hottentots, what, he asked, would follow Emancipation? In spite of Somerset's reforms, Bathurst had obliged Bourke to adapt the Ordinance regulating the treatment of slaves in Trinidad to Cape conditions. Times were bad, the value of slaves was falling, men feared a slave rising if any changes were made, and out of the agitation against these regulations arose the demand for an elected assembly (1826). There had already been talk of setting free female slaves, in return for compensation; now, the slave-owners of Graaff Reinet, where refugee Bantu (Mantatis) were beginning to meet the demand for labour, proposed that all female slave children should be freed so that in course of time there would be no more slave women to bear slave children; in Capetown, a small society with the help of a government grant, bought a few slaves their freedom. Then, in 1830, the British Government issued fresh regulations, including the entry of all punishments given to slaves in books which were to be inspected regularly. The *Zuid Afrikaan* organised a petition offering to free female slave children in return for the grant of an elected assembly; Graaff Reinet asked for a government subsidy of some £8,000 a year for ten or twelve years to pay for this kind of emancipation; on the arrival of still further regulations from London, the Koeberg farmers threatened to rebel (1832).

Nothing came of these schemes for gradual emancipation, for, in 1833, the Emancipation Act was passed. The news was taken quietly but, as in other parts of the British Empire, slave-owners began to look round for a supply of labour to take the place of the slaves over whom they were so soon to lose their control. They demanded a Vagrancy law to check the movements of the Hottentots. Most of the Hottentots were either at work on the farms or in the mission reserves from which many went out to work, while a considerable number were under missionary control at the Kat River Settlement which Cole and Stockenstrom had set up for them and the half-breeds (1829). Perhaps one-fourth of them were moving about, mainly near the Eastern Frontier, living on their more industrious kinsmen or robbing the farmers. It was here that the cry was raised that the Hottentots were thievish, lazy, unwilling to work for the old rates of pay and in league with the Kaffirs.

Soon after D'Urban's arrival the Council by a small majority carried a vagrancy law empowering even field cornets to arrest Hottentots suspected of being tramps and to send them to the public works unless they gave surety that they would wander no more or go to work on the farms under contract. Philip roused the mission stations to protest and told the Governor that, if there must be a vagrancy law, there must also be land on which vagrants could be trained to work properly. The ordinance was redrafted in a milder form, but this time D'Urban suspended it and the British Government disallowed it. Hence, there would be no vagrancy law to limit the movements of the Hottentots or of the 39,000 slaves who were about to become apprentices to their former owners before gaining complete freedom in December, 1838.

The Emancipation Act came into force in December, 1834. Three weeks later the Kaffir War began delaying the work of assessing the amount of compensation money due to each owner so gravely that the matter was not finally settled till June, 1836. Then came the news that, instead of the £2,824,224 at which the slaves had been valued, only £1,235,000 would be paid. The news was serious for, in the West especially, slaves were an important part of the property of the Colonists and had been heavily mortgaged. Creditors foreclosed and many slave-owners were ruined.

Moreover, the compensation money was to be paid out in London. Farmers, unable to collect the money there themselves, had to sell their claims to speculators at a loss. Some farmers were so angry at this that they trekked without cashing their claims.

Frontier Policy.—D'Urban's reforming policy was wrecked by the Kaffir War but even without that, it would have been a difficult policy to carry out. The Colony and its problems were very different from what they had been when Somerset had left the Cape. The story of the Colony was opening out into that of South Africa.

For some years before D'Urban's arrival, the Bantu tribes beyond the borders had been in turmoil. The great chief Chaka had set up a military despotism in Zululand and had thence raided his neighbours far and wide, slaying the warriors and adopting the boys and girls into his own tribe. He had sent the Angoni and Shangaans flying northward as far as Lake Nyassa sweeping away the clans that lay in their path in what is now Portuguese East Africa, and had either slain or driven away the natives of Natal. A runaway Zulu chief, Mosilikazi, had wasted the southern and western Transvaal and set up his own kingdom near the Marico river driving the Bechuana tribes into the Kalahari desert. Some of those tribes had already been badly mauled by the Mantatis, a mixed swarm of people who had been driven from their old homes in the north-eastern Free State by Hlubis flying from Chaka. After doing much damage these Mantatis had been broken by Griquas and Batlapin led by Robert Moffat and Melville, the London Missionary Society missionaries at Kuruman (1823). One section of them, the Makololo, had then fought their way northward to settle on the middle Zambesi, others had returned to the Caledon river valley, others again had drifted into the north-eastern Colony to take service on the farms.

As Bantu drifted into the Colony, so Europeans went out into the lands of the tribes. They were the usual frontier vanguard: hunters, traders, runaways and missionaries. The number of missions had grown steadily. The Rhenish missionaries were busy in the dorps of the Colony, the Glasgow and Berlin men were with the Xosa, the Wesleyans had a line of stations right through Kaffirland,

the Paris Evangelical mission had just reached the Basutos (1833), the London Missionary Society were with the Hottentots on the east and the Griquas to the north-east of the Colony.

The farmers too had been steadily moving north-eastward now that their road eastward was blocked by the Xosa, and, in 1824, the boundary of the Colony had been extended to the middle Orange to keep pace with them. On the further side of the great river were three little Griqua states, all more or less under the guidance of London Missionary Society missionaries. Andries Waterboer, the ablest of these chieftains, ruled at Griquatown (Klaarwater) to the west of the junction of the lower Vaal and the Orange; a little to the north of him was Cornelis Kok at Campbell; to the east of the lower Vaal, Adam Kok ruled at Philippolis. Adam Kok's lands lay right in the track of the advancing Boers, some of whom, by 1833, were living there and driving their cattle to the Basuto borderlands in dry seasons.

The Boers were driven from behind. The government, in keeping with the Gibbon Wakefield policy of making the most of the Crown Lands, had given notice that in future Crown Lands would have to be bought at auction (1832). This was ill news to men with sons to be provided for, men who found free grants on quitrent a burden, who had always been cattle farmers and meant to remain so, and who heard behind and around them the pattering feet of sheep and the creaking of ploughs as the 1820 Settlers and farmers from the west encroached on their grazing grounds. It was the story which was repeated again and again as the frontiers of settlement went ever westward in the U.S.A.; first the rancher, then the sheep grazier, then the agriculturalist, and trouble at every change. Landless Boers asked for the annexation of what is now the northern Free State; long before the Kaffir War, three *commissie treks* rode out and came back with the news that there was fine empty land to the north beyond the Griquas and to the east behind the coast Kaffirs in Natal. Gerrit Maritz and Piet Retief began to arrange for a trek thither (1834).

From the time of Somerset's arrangement with Gaika in 1819, the story of the Eastern Frontier had been one of cattle-thefts and reprisals and the eating-up by both black and white of the Neutral or Ceded Territory between the

Fish and rusty men (ama rivers. Some of the clans did not steal cattle most, but others did, and among these Macomo's people on the Kat river were notorious. On the other hand, chiefs sometimes restored stolen beasts, and patrols of troops and farmers re-took others or Kaffir cattle in place of them. It is hard to say which side lost most. In any case, the patrol system was liable to abuse. Those were the days before fencing, when men neither kraaled their cattle regularly at night nor watched over them by day. The temptation for a farmer to report that strayed cattle had been stolen was strong; less scrupulous men might report imaginary losses and secure the services of a patrol. Such things happen on all frontiers. In any case, Bourke would not let patrols go into Kaffirland unless the stolen cattle were in sight, which meant that stolen cattle were gone for good once they had entered the bush on the banks of the Fish river; Cole allowed patrols to go in but not to take Kaffir cattle if they failed to find their own.

Much more serious than the continual quarrelling about stolen cattle was the question of land. It was so between the New Zealanders and the Maoris; it was so on the Eastern Frontier; it would have been a miracle had it been otherwise. The two races were in close contact with one another in the Ceded Territory which the Xosa claimed on the ground that in 1819 Gaika had given away what had not been his to give. The restlessness of the frontier tribes was partly due to the pressure from behind by other tribes edging away from the Zulus. More than once such tribes were pushed over the frontier and had to be chased back, and in 1828 there had been a rumour that Chaka was coming. Troops and burghers had, therefore, marched into the heart of Kaffirland to the banks of the Bashee river and had broken up a fierce horde whose survivors became Fingos, "dogs" of the Xosa. Cole had then driven Macomo out of his lands on the Kat River and planted a Hottentot colony there, carried the frontier up to the line on which Fort Beaufort stands, told the chiefs that they only held their lands in the Ceded Territory so long as they behaved themselves and stationed troops in the southern part of that territory (1829). Frontier farmers drove their cattle far into Kaffirland to escape the drought; Macomo repeatedly crept back to Kat river and was repeatedly driven out.

Port Natal.—In the background loomed the growing problem of the south-east coast. For three hundred years past, the Portuguese had held small stations on either side of the Zambesi centring round Mozambique. These squalid little towns were inhabited by a few European and half-caste officers, black soldiers and Banyan (Indian) traders. The main sources of such wealth as there was were the slave trade and illegal traffic with British and American whalers who put into Delagoa Bay, the finest natural harbour on that fever-drenched coast. The Portuguese fort of Espirito Santo (Lourenço Marques) commanded the north shore of the Bay, but the claims of Portugal to the rest of the harbour were so weak that Captain W. F. Owen was able to make treaties with local chiefs securing those coasts for Great Britain (1823).

Great Britain made no use of these treaties at the time but, meanwhile, a private British settlement was being made further south at Port Natal (Durban). In 1824, Somerset gave leave to two men, Farewell and King, to trade there. Farewell bought a large block of land from Chaka, who claimed to be king of the country, and was presently joined by other traders and ivory hunters. These men lived at the Port on sufferance of Chaka, just like the Portuguese up the coast or the English at that time in Maori New Zealand. The scare caused by the rumour that Chaka was coming through Kaffirland, the arrival in the Eastern districts of traders coming overland from Natal, and talk by American whalers of annexing the port on behalf of the U.S.A. led the Cape Government to consider occupying it themselves in the interests of Colonial trade and as a military base in the rear of the Kaffirs. The Secretary of State suggested that Cape criminal law should be extended over British subjects in Natal, but the salary offered to the official who should have gone to enforce that law was so small that nothing was done (1829). Nevertheless, Cape merchants petitioned D'Urban on his arrival to annex Port Natal to the Colony.

The Waterboer Treaty.—D'Urban had thus many points of native and frontier policy to consider beside those which arose on the Eastern Frontier. He was under orders to find a substitute for the commando system and also to

send trusty men (on very small salaries) to live as Residents with the most prominent chiefs on the borders and persuade them to keep the peace. It was a system something like the Indian subsidiary treaties of the day and, in carrying it out, D'Urban was much influenced by Philip.

Philip was afraid that, if Europeans continued to go into Griqualand, they would soon get the land, ruin all the missionaries' hopes of civilising the Griquas and thus destroy the base from which he hoped to send missionaries far northward into Darkest Africa. He therefore urged D'Urban either to annex the three little Griqua states and safeguard native lands or make Waterboer chief of all the Griquas and bind him by treaty to keep the peace in the valley of the middle Orange. In either case, the Griquas would serve to keep out hostile tribes from the north and to hold the Colonists back within the borders of the Colony; for they were already half Europeanised, they lived in compact villages and not scattered all over the countryside like the Boers, and yet they fought with muskets on horseback in Boer fashion. D'Urban did not go so far as Philip wished but he made a treaty with Waterboer by which that chief, in return for a salary and a few muskets, received a Resident and undertook to keep the peace on the north-eastern frontier from Kheis to Ramah (1834). It was the first of the Treaty States.

The Kaffir War.—Philip could not speak so certainly on the policy to be pursued towards the Kaffirs for he knew less about them; but he told the Governor that he had no objection to him annexing everything from the Keiskamma to Delagoa Bay always provided that he safeguarded the tribal lands. That was the vital point in all his native policy at a time when "annexation," to most people, meant not only taking over the government of the tribes but taking land as well. All that D'Urban could do at the moment was to give orders in the time-honoured style that no one was to cross the frontiers without leave and to let Philip go to the Xosa to tell them that he was coming to make new arrangements with them.

It was a dangerous moment. The frontier was in a restless condition. The Kat River Hottentots were excited; Macomo and his brother Tyali, who had been given leave to

return to their lands at Kat river, poured out all their grievances to the young Xosa warriors who met in arms at Burnshill; traders were being molested in Kaffirland; Hintsá, the great chief of all the Xosa, moved back well away from the lower Kei river. Philip told the chiefs that the Governor was coming, but D'Urban never came. Philip had to go home, and the commander of the frontier troops sent out patrols to recover cattle.

The result of this display of energy was war. Macomo and Tyali called on their men to leave their crops unreaped and dashed into the Colony (December, 1834). For a fortnight, 12,000 Kaffirs had it all their own way in the eastern districts, but Colonel Harry Smith arrived followed by reinforcements and the Governor himself and, by May, 1835, the Colonial forces had advanced beyond the Kei. Smith then annexed all the country that lay between the Kieskamma and the Kei as the Province of Queen Adelaide, sent Macomo as a prisoner to Robben Island, and obliged Hintsá, who had been acting as "receiver" of looted cattle, to promise to pay a large indemnity in cattle.

This May settlement caused the trouble that followed for, not only was Hintza shot next day while trying to escape, but the proposal to drive all the hostile clans out of Queen Adelaide, to "exterminate" them in the old meaning of that word, aroused the opposition of Philip and Fairbairn who had hitherto supported the Governor. The "extermination" policy could not be carried out. Smith tried hard but the Xosa raided the Colony in his rear and, in September, D'Urban made peace with them on quite different terms. Reserves were to be marked out for the tribes who were to live there as British subjects under Colonial law, the chiefs were to be held responsible for cattle-thefts, missionaries and government officials were to live at the chiefs' kraals, no Kaffir was to enter the Colony without a pass. At the same time D'Urban proposed to settle Europeans at Kingwilliamstown and round the line of forts which Smith was building right across Queen Adelaide (Sept. 1835).

D'Urban's General Settlement.—Queen Adelaide province was only one part of the general settlement which D'Urban attempted to carry out. He allowed loyal clans to remain in the Ceded Territory; alongside of them he

settled the Fingos who had come out of Kaffirland with thousands of Xosa cattle; he proposed to give out the rest of that Territory as farms and, to the north-east, he annexed a block of land between the Stormberg mountains and the Kraai river where Boers were already living. During the war he had also entered into friendly relations with the Tembus and the Pondos who lay between the Xosa and Port Natal, permitted Captain Allen Gardiner, a naval captain turned missionary, to go to the court of Dingaan, Chaka's successor in Zululand, and asked the explorer Dr. Andrew Smith to come to terms for him with the Griqua and Bantu chiefs beyond the Orange.

Gardiner failed to persuade Dingaan to allow him to set up a mission station in his country but he did secure from him the promise of the southern half of Natal including the Port on condition that runaway Zulus were sent back from the Port to Zululand. At the Port itself he took the lead, organised the little township of Durban, and asked the Governor to annex the territory as the District of Victoria (1835). D'Urban was willing, for he saw the military value of the Port and was worried by the news that American missionaries had arrived in Zululand, but the Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg, would not allow him to annex. Meanwhile, Dr. Smith pushed northwards as far as the kraals of the Matabele on the Marico river. He gave all the chiefs he met medals and reported to D'Urban that they now looked on themselves as being in alliance with "the White King." At Mosilikazi's request, the Governor entered into a treaty of friendship with the Matabele (1836).

The Stockenström Treaty System.—Glenelg did not approve of the annexation of Queen Adelaide. D'Urban had little money and few troops with which to defend a new frontier, as long as the old one though less bushy and a hundred miles further to the east; it was going to be a difficult matter to rule tribal natives under the Roman-Dutch law and, as a matter of fact, Harry Smith was keeping order of a kind by means of martial law and a law of his own making. Moreover, Glenelg was a philanthropist and was much impressed by the protests which Philip had sent home against the May "extermination" policy. When he received D'Urban's own report on that policy, he warned

him that Queen Adelaide might have to be given up. Thereafter, except for a sketchy statement of the actual peace terms agreed to in September, D'Urban left his chief in the dark for many months.

On the other hand, Andries Stockenstrom, a man who had been a landowner and a frontier official since 1808, appeared before the Aborigines Committee which the House of Commons had appointed to draw up a policy for dealing with native tribes in all parts of the British Empire. Stockenstrom challenged some of Philip's statements and gave much good advice on the way to settle Hottentots and Kaffirs alongside of Europeans; but he also gave an unvarnished account of the working of the reprisal system, of the neglect of frontier farmers to look after their cattle, and of the behaviour of that proportion of ruffians of all colours and races which has always been found on such frontiers the world over. In face of this evidence and of d'Urban's silence, Glenelg gave orders that Queen Adelaide was to be abandoned before the end of 1836, but he added that, if D'Urban could show him that abandonment would be a mistake, he was to stand fast, report and await further instructions (December, 1835).

It was not until the end of 1836 that D'Urban sent the expected report. Meanwhile the Aborigines Committee heard further evidence, some of it friendly to the Colonists, some of it hostile, especially that given by Philip and his native and half-breed followers, and, since D'Urban and the Easterners had asked either for the removal of the capital to the East or for the appointment of an official to take charge of frontier affairs, Glenelg appointed Stockenstrom Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province. Stockenstrom arrived at Capetown in July, 1836. D'Urban arranged with him that he should carry on with the existing system until further orders came from Downing Street; but before any such orders came, he cancelled martial law in Queen Adelaide and thus paralysed both Smith and Stockenstrom, quarrelled with Stockenstrom (never a difficult thing to do) and finally ordered the complete abandonment of the Province.

In December, 1836, the Stockenstrom System was set up on the Eastern Frontier. The Xosa in Queen Adelaide became independent once more; the Colonial frontier was

moved back to Cole's line of 1829; the tribes in the Ceded Territory remained British subjects under the rule of their own chiefs while troops were forbidden to "scour the bush" or to go into Kaffirland in search of missing cattle, and Europeans who did go in were told that they did so without the right of claiming the protection of Colonial law if they got into trouble. On the other hand, no armed Kaffirs were to enter the Colony and an elaborate system of rules was drawn up for the recovery of stolen cattle, rules which could only answer their purpose if both colonists and chiefs were willing to carry them out wholeheartedly.

Causes of the Great Trek.—Meanwhile, the Great Trek had begun. In a sense it was a continuation of the steady drift of the cattle farmers which had been going on for nearly a hundred and fifty years. Conditions were changing in the frontier districts from which practically all the Trekkers came. Closer settlement, sheep, quitrent tenure, sale of Crown Lands by auction, prolonged drought, all were making the old *lekker leven* impossible. The Colony, as Retief admitted, was becoming too small. The frontiersmen must find more room elsewhere and, thanks to the *commissie treks* of 1834, they knew where to find it. When the time came, some trekked because the leading men in their neighbourhood trekked, some because they could not remain isolated once their neighbours were gone, others because they had always lived a roving life.

But in a vital sense the Trek was different from anything that had happened before in South Africa. It was more highly organised than earlier treks; it was on a bigger scale; above all, it was inspired by a new spirit which was strong enough to make many men abandon substantial houses or sell them at a loss and quit the Colony for ever. Hitherto trek-boers had taken the Colony with them, but the Trekkers of the Great Trek were determined to have nothing more to do with either the Colony or its government. They meant to set up republics and to rule themselves in their own way, just as the Mormons did when they trekked to Salt Lake ten years later. It was the spirit and intention that made this trek the Great Trek.

The causes that gave rise to this novel spirit were legion. There was, of course, the usual crop of wild rumours

about the intentions of the far-distant government at Capetown that had always preceded rebellion on the frontier since 1795. But that was nothing. Fundamentally, the causes were those which had moved the men of Graaff Reinet to declare their independence of the Company; objection to a government which failed to protect them but which yet interfered in their dealings with the tribes and with their Hottentot farm servants. Everywhere the cry went up that there was no security on the frontier, that quitrents were too high, the issue of title deeds slow, the risk that farmers might be charged twice over for survey serious, and that there were too few magistrates to make it easy for burghers who wished to comply with the law to do so. The expense of travelling to distant magistracies was great; the irritation if the journey had to be made to answer a charge brought by a Hottentot was still greater. Government, moreover, was slow to pay for stores requisitioned during the recent war, and now that there were to be no grants of farms in Kaffirland, colonists, both Dutch and English, expected that the Government would make good their war losses to them. The upsetting of D'Urban's frontier settlement rankled sorely especially as it was carried out under a stream of what the Boers felt to be "unjustifiable odium" poured upon them by London Missionary Society missionaries and others who had the ear of the authorities in England while their side of the story was not known.

Comparatively few of the Trekkers had owned slaves but those who had had resented the "vexatious laws" which had preceded emancipation as much as the Koeberg farmers had done; later on, the losses caused by the inadequate compensation and the way in which it was paid served as an additional grievance, while even those who had owned no slaves objected to emancipation as part of the "ungodly policy" which put Hottentots and ex-slaves on "an equal footing with Christians." If any one cause can be pointed to as *the* cause of the Trek, it was that fear of equality. There was something like religious enthusiasm on that point especially among the women. "We rather withdrew," wrote Anna Steenkamp, "in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity." Emancipation, coming as it did on the heels of the 50th Ordinance, shocked the Boers' pride of blood and race. "It is our determination," wrote Piet

Retief, "to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant," that is, between white and black.

The Great Trek.—The causes given above did not all apply to each individual Boer who trekked, and grievances like slave compensation and the Stockenstrom policy were only felt after the Trek had already begun. The Trek is usually said to have begun when Louis Triegard, who had been living with a group of Boer families in Kaffirland for some years past, moved off across the Orange river with another party under van Rensburg (October, 1835). The two parties moved slowly north to the Zoutpansberg and there separated, the van Rensburgs to be slain by the tribes, the wrecks of Triegard's party, decimated by the lowland fever, to stagger on to Delagoa Bay.

The first parties which set out from within the Colony started in February, 1836, just as rumours were spreading that D'Urban's policy was to be upset. One party was led by A. H. Potgieter, and with it went the boy, Paul Kruger; the other party consisted mainly of Liebenbergs who had been moving from place to place within the boundaries for some months. Both parties followed in Triegard's tracks as far as the northern Free State where Potgieter obtained from Makwana, a petty Bataung chief, a cession of all the land between the Vet and the Vaal river save a small reserve on Coal Spruit. Potgieter then went on to the Zoutpansberg where he met Triegard. On his way back he heard that the Liebenbergs had been slaughtered by the Matabele in the valley of the Vaal. He himself beat off a serious Matabele attack at Vechtkop, but he lost all his draught cattle and waggons and had to be brought back to Thaba Nchu in transport sent by Moroko the Barolong chief of that place and the Wesleyan missionary, Archbell.

At Thaba Nchu, Potgieter was joined by a party led by Gerrit Maritz who had left the Colony in August just after Stockenstrom had taken charge of frontier affairs. Maritz was a man with more experience of legal affairs than most of the other leaders; hence, when the combined parties drew up a form of government at Thaba Nchu, he was elected landdrost and with six others similarly elected formed the court of justice, legislature and council of war ^{com}river,

with power to carry out such laws as might be accepted by Het Volk, that is, by the men of the trekking parties (December, 1836).

This done, Potgieter and Maritz rode north with a commando and a few native allies, and fell upon the Matabele at Mosega. They returned with the waggons and cattle that had been lost at Vechtkop and with a party of American Presbyterian missionaries who had tried to establish themselves among the Mosilikazi's people. In memory of this victory, they founded the town of Winburg in the middle of Makwana's cession (January, 1837). It was the capital of the first Trekker republic.

Retief.—In April, 1837, Piet Retief joined the main body of the Trekkers with a party from the Winterberg. He had found the new frontier system unbearable and, after publishing his reasons for trekking, he had trekked. He was the ablest of all the early Boer leaders, and soon took the lead over Potgieter and Maritz. In June the united parties drew up the Nine Articles based on the Thaba Nchu constitution. The executive was divided from the legislature-bench for, though Maritz was still to be landdrost and *voorsitter* of the Volksraad, Retief was elected Governor and Commandant-General with a Council of Policy to help him. He organised the church by appointing Erasmus Smit, a mission teacher, to conduct the services, issued instructions to the field commandants and made treaties of friendship with neighbouring chiefs. While he was thus busied Jacobus Uys and his better known son, Piet, came up followed by another party under Jacobs. By September, 1,000 waggons and some 2,000 Trekkers were scattered over what is now the Free State—and still they came. 1837, the year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, was the great year of the Trek.

The Trekkers found vast grass lands open before them: the central and northern Free State, part of Bechuanaland, the central and southern Transvaal and, beyond the Drakensberg mountains, Natal. The native inhabitants of this open country had either been slain or driven off by the Zulus, Mantatis or Matabele. It was good country for the Boer style of fighting either in laager or on horseback. of bat from the Matabele beyond the Vaal and the Zulus

next to Natal, there was no really dangerous native foe to be faced ; but there were likely to be other complications for, all around on the edges of the open country, lay native or half-breed tribes many of them under the guidance of London Missionary Society, Wesleyan or Paris Evangelical missionaries.

Retief in Natal.—Retief now proposed to settle accounts with the Matabele, but the quarrels of his subordinate leaders spoiled that plan. Potgieter wanted to trek away far to the north out of reach of the Cape Government and to find a port on the east coast ; Piet Uys and his followers refused to recognise Retief's authority and talked of going to Natal ; Retief himself determined to make sure of Natal and its port and, from that point of vantage, to bargain with D'Urban for a recognition of the Trekkers' independence.

D'Urban for his part was in a quandary. He had just begun to frame a frontier policy when the frontiersmen had disappeared into the waste spaces of the Interior, taking all the problems of the frontiers with them. Since martial law was gone, there was no legal bar to their trekking and, even had there been, there were no police to enforce it. At the same time, the Boers could not legally throw off their British citizenship unless they chose to become subjects of the chiefs in whose lands they settled. Many of those chiefs regarded themselves as allies of the Colony since Dr. Smith's visit and all of them would hold the Cape Government responsible for the doings of British subjects. Stockenstrom and some of the missionaries urged D'Urban to follow up the trekkers and control the trek since he could not stop it ; but he had no troops to spare for that, and he knew that the British government was resolutely opposed to annexing any more territory in Africa. Glenelg, on the other hand, forbade him to recognise the Boers as independent and told him to make the best use he could of the new Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act, which made all British subjects guilty of crimes committed south of the 25th degree of south latitude liable to be tried in the courts of the Colony provided they could be brought thither. And how to do that was a puzzle.

The Trekkers were thus free to take their own line. Potgieter and Uys routed the Matabele on the Marico river,

drove them into what is now Matabeleland and claimed all the country that had been subject to Mosilikazi as their own by right of conquest (November, 1837). Retief meanwhile rode off to Port Natal. There he found that Gardiner, who had recently arrived as magistrate under the Punishment Act, had sent a missionary to Dingaan's kraal and had secured a cession from the chief of the southern half of Natal without the proviso that he must send back Zulu refugees. The English traders, however, had repudiated Gardiner's treaty, defied his magisterial powers and declared their independence. One or two of these men went on with Retief to Ungungundhlovu. There Dingaan promised to give Retief land in Natal if he would recover Zulu cattle which had been stolen by Sikonyela, a chief living on the western border of Basutoland.

Retief recovered the cattle and went back to Ungungundhlovu to receive his reward while his followers flocked over the mountains into northern Natal. For some time past, Dingaan had been alarmed at the doings of the Boers. He coveted the guns and horses with which they had overthrown his great rival, Mosilikazi, and he had no intention of allowing white men to build houses in his country. He signed a deed granting Natal to Retief and then slew him and all his party, white and coloured, and sent his impi to wipe out the Boers in their laagers (February, 1838). The warriors killed many at Weenen but elsewhere they were beaten off. Potgieter and Uys came down from the High Veld to the rescue, but Uys was slain and Potgieter withdrew; a force of English and natives from the Port was wiped out on the Tugela, and the Zulus dashed down to the Port and drove the English and American missionaries and other survivors to seek refuge on board ship.

The Republic of Natal.—News of these disasters led to British intervention. D'Urban made way for Sir George Napier who offered the Trekkers compensation for their war losses and security of land tenure if only they would return to the Colony. This they declined to do, and Napier, fearing that the uproar in Natal would set the coast tribes in motion one against the other till the nearest were pushed over the Colonial frontier, got leave to send a few soldiers

to Port Natal to restore order. In December, 1838, a hundred men occupied the Port.

They were too late to stop the Boers. Maritz was now dead, but Andries Pretorius had come from the Colony to take the lead. He defeated the Zulus at Blood River (December, 16), found the royal kraal burnt and recovered the deed of cession from Retief's body. Peace, mediated by the officer commanding the troops, was then made. Dingaan acknowledged the Trekkers' right to Natal and promised to restore all captured arms, cattle and horses. But this peace was only a truce. Dingaan did not carry it out; the Natal Volksraad clamoured for the southern half of Zululand; Pretorius came to terms with Panda, Dingaan's brother, and, as soon as Napier had withdrawn his soldiers, led a joint Boer-Zulu force against the king. Dingaan was finally overthrown and Panda, having promised to pay a large number of cattle to the Boers, was recognised as Prince of the Zulus ruling the southern half of his country, including St. Lucia Bay, as a vassal of the Republic of Natal (1840).

The Republic of Natal was much larger than the Colony which afterwards arose upon its ruins, for it stretched from the Umfolusi river in the east to the Umzimvubu in the west. Its constitution was based on that drawn up at Thaba Nchu and Winburg and on further rules added during 1838. The Volksraad of twenty-four members was elected annually by all the burghers and sat at Pietermaritzburg four times a year. It was legislature, court of appeal and, in many ways, executive as well. Retief, as Governor, had been practically President, civil head of the state as contrasted with the military office of Commandant-General. In Natal there was no Governor nor Council of Policy but only a Commandant-General and a Krijgsraad. There were landdrosts at the capital and the new villages of Weenen and Congella at the Port; in each ward there were the usual field cornets and at each village a consistory but, as yet, no ministers.

In October, 1840, this republic formed a loose federation with Winburg and the new republic north of the Vaal which Potgieter had just formed at Potchefstroom (November, 1838). North of the Drakensberg, Potgieter remained Chief Commandant but he had to report to Pretorius as Commandant-General, while the Winburg-Potchefstroom

Volksraad became an Adjunct Raad subordinate to that of Natal. When matters concerning the whole body of the Trekkers were to be discussed, members of the Adjunct Raad were to be given seats at Pietermaritzburg.

The story of republican Natal is the story of all the later republics in miniature. Natal was a republic of cattle farmers with a little commerce at the Port. Land and cattle were wealth and there was plenty of land. Each married man who had entered the country before the end of 1839 was entitled to two farms of 3,000 morgen each and an erf in one of the villages; each unmarried man and all later comers were entitled to one farm and an erf. That was the rule, but the leaders soon accumulated anything from ten to forty farms apiece.

Village life centres round the churches for which the Natalians vainly tried to find ministers. The Dutch Reformed Church of the Colony, which found it hard to fill its own pulpits, disapproved of the Trek. It regarded it as defiance of the powers that be, and feared that it would lead the farmers away from the paths of civilisation. For some years David Lindley, one of the American missionaries, ministered to the spiritual needs of the Trekkers single-handed. It was only after British authority had been extended over Natal and, later, over the Orange River Sovereignty north of the Orange that regular clergy settled among the Trekkers, and even then the Transvaalers had no minister of their own till 1853.

The native policy of the Natalians was that which the frontiersmen had wished to carry out in spite of Dutch, Batavian and British officials, and, in its main outlines, it was that which lasted till the end of the Republics in 1900. It was a High Tory policy based on the possession of land and, if not of blue blood, at least of white man's blood. It does not matter for the purposes of history whether that policy was right or wrong; what matters is the policy itself. Natives and coloured folk were regarded, just as they were regarded by many folk in the U.S.A., as children of Ham, definitely inferior to Christian white men, hewers of wood and drawers of water like the Gibeonites in that Book of Joshua which the Trekkers felt anticipated so much of their own story.

Retief had laid down the main lines which their native policy followed. Treaties were made with independent chiefs which might, as in the case of Natal itself, include the cession of the open country to the Boers. As a rule the Boers claimed no authority over such chiefs except where they were definitely their vassals like Panda. Labour was shared equally, at any rate in theory, and no one except the Commandant-General was allowed to have more than five native families living on his farm. Vagrancy and cattle thefts were checked by a pass law such as D'Urban had failed to give the Colony in 1834. Blacks must carry passes and enter into contracts to work within two weeks of leaving their last master, but in no case sign on for more than a year at a time. No black might carry a gun without a permit. Apprentices were to be registered by officials, indentures were not to change hands privately, apprentices were not to be exported and could only be imported by leave of the Volksraad.

Something very like slavery went on in the wilder parts of the Transvaal in touch with the slave-owning Portuguese, but in Natal, where the main body of the Trekkers and those the most orderly were settled, there was nothing of the kind. Slaving would have meant immediate British intervention and, besides, there was no need for it. The labour supply was almost too plentiful; indeed, one of the troubles of Natal and of the later republics was that natives who had fled from their enemies began to come back to their old lands as soon as the Boers had established order. At the start there had been perhaps 6,000 Boers in Natal and some 20,000 natives. Native refugees from Panda began to stream in across the Tugela. Native captains in Natal were therefore ordered to report the arrival of "foreign" natives under pain of death; such natives were forbidden to build their huts on or near a Boer farm (no easy rule to keep as the Boers were widely scattered); when they became too numerous, the Volksraad tried to push them into empty parts of the country. It was this policy of segregation which, more than anything else, led to British intervention for the second time.

British Annexation of Natal.—Pretorius, having organised his republic, asked Napier to recognise its inde-

pendence and to give it the trading privileges of a British possession. Napier had orders to reoccupy the Port or some position close by in view of the scramble for cattle and apprentices which had accompanied the recent campaign against Dingaan. He was a keen philanthropist but he was in no hurry to move his troops again for he thought that a friendly alliance with the Natalians would be the best thing. Besides, the state of the Eastern Frontier was causing him anxiety.

Soon after his arrival at the Cape, Napier had visited the drought-stricken frontier and found it in confusion with the Trekkers pouring out, Kaffirs pouring in, Fingos wandering about in fear of the Xosa whose cattle they had stolen during the late war, and Stockenstrom so harassed by his public and private enemies that he could not give his mind to the working of the treaty system. The Lieutenant-Governor had then gone to England leaving Colonel Hare to do his work. Now, in 1840, Hare and his subordinates were more inclined to return to the old reprisal system than to use the treaties; a strong body of frontiersmen centring on Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort clamoured for the annexation of all Kaffirland up to the frontier of Natal; the garrison had been reduced; the Kaffir police were a mere handful and, though some of the chiefs kept the treaties, others did not. Those who did began to grow restive as the list for claims for cattle grew and grew. Such alarming reports reached Capetown that Napier hurried to the Frontier expecting war. On his arrival he found that matters were not really serious and he easily persuaded the chiefs to agree to changes in the treaties which would make it easier for owners to recover cattle.

Then came bad news from Natal. Some Natalians, against the instructions of the Volksraad, had fallen upon Ncapai, a chief on the western border of the republic, and carried off cattle and apprentices. Faku, a neighbouring Pondo chief, on the advice of a Wesleyan missionary, appealed to Napier for protection. Ncapai was admittedly a public nuisance but Faku had been a "friend" of the Colony since 1835 and pressure by the Boers on tribes which lay behind the Xosa was the thing above all things that Napier dreaded. He therefore sent

a small body of troops to the Umgazi river to watch the Pondo-Natal frontier (January, 1841). A few months later the Volksraad tried to segregate Zulu refugees in the coast belt, part of which was claimed by Faku. This move, following on the news of constant quarrels among the leaders in Natal and the clamour of Grahamstown men that coal, lead, indigo, cotton, and tobacco ought to be exploited in Natal now that the Zulu power was broken, led Napier to order the troops to reoccupy Port Natal. This they did in May, 1842.

War ensued for the Natalians had just been encouraged to expect help from the Netherlands by one, Smellekamp, representative of a Dutch trading company. The troops, sorely provoked, tried to surprise the Boer laager at Congella by night, but were beaten back and besieged in their camp. Dick King rode from the Port to Grahamstown with the news, and in June a relieving force arrived by sea and raised the siege. In spite of opposition from Boers from beyond the mountains, the Volksraad submitted (July).

For three troubled years, the dying republican government sat at Pietermaritzburg while the troops held the Port. In 1843, Henry Cloete came from Capetown as commissioner to make a settlement provided there was no legal inequality between white and black, no encroachment on native lands and no slavery. He consulted the Natalians on the form which their future government should take, made arrangements which he hoped would give Boers and natives alike their fair share of the land, secured St. Lucia Bay for the Crown by treaty with Panda, and then withdrew.

A long delay followed during which Zulu refugees poured in and the Boers, finding that there was no more security of the kind they wanted in Natal than there had been on the Eastern Frontier, began to trek away. It was only in August 1845 that Natal was formally annexed as a district of the Cape Colony bounded by the Tugela and Umzimkulu rivers. A Lieutenant-Governor and a few other officials were appointed; Cloete became judge of a court administering the law of the Cape Colony subject to appeals to the Supreme Court at Capetown and the assistance of a jury in criminal cases; the claim of suzerainty over Panda was dropped and the claim to St. Lucia Bay was not enforced.

Transorangia.—For a long time the Cape Government had allowed matters north of the Orange to drift. It was now compelled to pay attention to what was happening just beyond its north-eastern border. North of the Vaal was Potgieter's republic of Potchefstroom; between the Vaal and the Vet was Winburg; between the Vet and the Orange there was no European government at all. In all three areas the Boers were fewer and of a rougher type than those in Natal and mixed with them were the ruffians who haunt every frontier.

The growing confusion was worst in and around Philipopolis. Adam Kok the younger ruled the Griquas there but he could not rule the 700 Boers who had leased farms from Griquas against his wishes and those of his missionary advisers. These farmers were in a very trying position. Their titles to their farms were weak; they resented the fact that Griquas, emigrants from the Colony, were treated as independent while they themselves were not; they wanted the Griqua boundaries defined.

Similar troubles were arising a little to the north-east in the valley of the Caledon river, where Moshesh, chief of the Basuto clans, lived to the east of the river on his flat-topped mountain of Thaba Bosigo. He claimed a strip of land to the north as far as the upper Vaal because the remains of the tribes who had occupied it before the great slaughters were living under him in Basutoland awaiting an opportunity to reoccupy their old homes. To the south he claimed land between the Orange and the Caledon where he had agreed that the Trekkers might graze their cattle till they were ready to move on. Moshesh's really important claims, however, lay to the west of the Caledon. For the same reason that he claimed land to the north, so here he claimed a belt of land forty miles to the west of the river. It was a valuable strip because the rainfall from the mountains was sufficient to grow corn whereas, in the rest of what afterwards became the Free State, corn could only be grown by irrigation from the *fontains*. Some of Moshesh's men were already living in that strip side by side with half-breed Hottentot and Bantu clans under their own chiefs.

The most important of these chiefs was Moroko the Baralong of Thaba Nchu. He and his neighbours had arrived in 1833 under the guidance of Wesleyan missionaries.

Moshesh and his old enemy, Sikonyela, had given them leave to settle on the usual Bantu terms; but now the Wesleyans claimed that they had bought outright large areas at Thaba Nchu and so on for their Society, and, illogically enough, that Moroko and the rest were independent chiefs ruling their own territories. Hence, no love was lost between the Wesleyans and the Paris Evangelicals who advised Moshesh. The struggle for the possession of the cornlands of the Caledon valley is the key to the mutual history of Basutoland and the Free State and it really began with a missionary quarrel.

The Touwfontein Treaties.—Out of this growing confusion, reports drifted down to Capetown that stray Boers were hunting Bushmen children. Philip, after a visit to those parts, urged Napier either to annex the territory or to make treaties of the Waterboer pattern with Adam Kok and Moshesh. Meanwhile some of the Boers talked of proclaiming a republic in Transorangia, but they were forestalled by Judge Menzies who proclaimed the sovereignty of the Queen over all Africa east of the 22nd longitude and south of the 25th latitude saving the territories of Portugal or of native sovereigns (1842). Napier had to disclaim this annexation though he thought it was the only right solution, especially as the pro-Colony Boers had called upon Cloete to come up from Natal and take over Transorangia as well. Napier first sent up 1,000 soldiers to show the strength of the government on the banks of the Orange and then made "Waterboer" treaties with Kok and Moshesh defining Kok's southern boundary along the Orange and all Moshesh's frontiers along the Orange and far to the west of the Caledon (1843).

So matters stood till Napier had made way as Governor for Sir Peregrine Maitland. Adam Kok then brought matters to a head by arresting a Boer. The Transorangia Boers declared themselves subject to Winburg, skirmishing and cattle lifting broke out between them and the Griquas, and at last Maitland sent up dragoons who scattered the Boers at Zwartkopjes (1845).

Having asserted his authority, Maitland tried to make a general settlement. He met the Transorangian chiefs at Touwfontein and proposed that each should divide his land

into two parts. One part was to be an inalienable native reserve but the other could be leased to Europeans. A British Resident was to control the Europeans, send criminals to the Colony for trial and have the right to call upon the Europeans and the chiefs for help in keeping the general peace. Most of the missionaries and their chiefs were too jealous of one another to agree but Kok, well under London Missionary Society control, allowed his land to be divided along the line of the Riet river. The lands to the south were not to be alienated but those to the north might be and there, at Bloemfontein, Major Warden took up his post as Resident (1846).

War of the Axe.—Maitland's arrangements failed to bring peace to Transorangia. His arrangements on the Eastern Frontier brought war. The Stockenstrom system was steadily breaking down. There were no proper police to enforce it, the officials carried out only one half of the treaties and the colonists clamoured for a return to the old system, the power of the great chiefs was waning, and the tribes believed that the colonists meant to have their lands. Napier had, with the approval of Sandile the Gaika chief paramount, expelled one chieftain from the Ceded Territory and posted troops once more at Fort Willshire on the Keiskamma to check the cattle thefts (1843). Now, Maitland came to the Frontier and, after an interview with some Wesleyan missionaries who gave him a gloomy picture of the growing demoralisation among the Xosa, he suddenly turned the frontier system topsy-turvy. He made an alliance with Kreli the Galeka in the hope that he would overawe the Gaika Xosa from the rear; he made a "Waterboer" treaty with Faku the Pondo further east recognising him as ruler of a large territory on the western frontier of Natal; then, supported by dragoons, he obliged the Gaikas to submit to a serious whittling away of the treaties (1844).

The frontiersmen hailed these changes as the beginning of a policy which would make Kaffirland their's; the Gaikas took the same view and leagued themselves together for defence lest they should be broken up as the Hottentots had been. Maitland built a fort in the Ceded Territory and persuaded Sandile to lease him ground for another at Block Drift on the Tyumie just on the border of Kaffirland.

Sandile did so in the hope that if cattle stealing was checked, there would be less chance of a war which must end in the loss of his lands. But the war party among the Gaikas gained the upper hand; military surveyors mistook their orders and began to survey the Kaffir side of the river at Block Drift; Sandile beat up his men; troops were sent to the frontier; Xosa warriors rescued a fellow tribesman who was under arrest for stealing an axe and murdered a Hottentot on British soil; Hare went in with a mixed force and burnt some huts. The Gaikas therefore attacked him, destroyed half his waggon train at Burnshill and invaded the Colony (1846).

The War of the Axe was exhausting and expensive. 14,000 men, troops, burghers, Fingos and friendly Gaikas and Tembus took the field, by far the largest force that had ever assembled on the frontier; but commandants quarrelled with regular officers and Maitland, after quarrelling with Stockenstrom who led the Eastern Commandos, had to depart with the work only half done. His place as Governor was taken by Sir Henry Pottinger. Traders sold ammunition to the Xosas; others raised largely imaginary native levies and drew supplies for them from the Imperial stores; burghers away from the frontier were slow to turn out on a campaign for which they partly blamed the frontiersmen; the frontiersmen held that the Imperial authorities must fight and pay for wars arising from their own frontier policy, especially as it was known that there would be no grants of Kaffir land as farms at the end of it all. Maitland had already had to give up the old custom of requisitioning transport and supplies; he and Pottinger had to pay heavily for both and hire expensive volunteers and irregulars for the fighting; but the war was really over when Sir Harry Smith arrived as Governor (December, 1847).

Smith acted promptly, perhaps too promptly. He annexed the Ceded Territory as Victoria East, gave the Fingos a reserve under missionary control in the northern half, sold the rest for farms and defended its frontier with military villages. He annexed British Kaffraria (Queen Adelaide) as a colony separate from the Cape. There the chiefs were to rule as British subjects but magistrates were to override them if necessary and, beyond the Kei, Kreli had to recognise the sovereignty of the Queen over the waggon road which

led to the chief mission stations. Here was an end to the old policy of keeping the whites and the blacks apart. Smith meant to try to rule both.

Orange River Sovereignty.—To the north of the Colony, Smith annexed everything up to the Orange and then crossed that river with a few troopers to settle affairs in Transorangia and Natal. He was in a good position to do so for, besides being Governor of the Cape, he was also High Commissioner, a new office which gave its holder wide powers outside the Colony. He was, moreover, liked by the Boers, and he certainly liked them. He made Adam Kok give up all attempt to rule Griquas outside his inalienable reserve, but he failed to come to terms with Moshesh on whose borders stray Boers and Sikonyela's people were harassing the Basutos. He then rode on through the decaying republic of Winburg and met Pretorius coming out of Natal with most of the Natalians.

The chief grievances of the Natalians were that the terms laid down by Cloete for getting farms were too hard, that Zulu refugees were too numerous and that Pottinger had refused to attend to their complaints. Smith gave them farms on easier terms and induced some of them to remain in northern Natal where they were presently joined by others from beyond the mountains, but the majority moved away to Potchefstroom or to the new republic which Potgieter had just founded at Andries-Ohrigstad (Lydenburg) or across the Buffalo river into what was afterwards organised as the republic of Utrecht.

Smith then asked Pretorius to find out if the Transvallars would welcome rule by the Queen and, believing from what he had seen and heard on his way through Transorangia and Winburg that British rule would at least be welcomed there, he proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty over all, white, coloured and black alike, between the Orange and the Vaal and rode back to Capetown. Pretorius was furious at this annexation of Winburg, many of the Winburgers were also opposed to it and, between them, they gently expelled the Resident from Bloemfontein. Smith came up with a strong force, scattered Pretorius's commando at Boomplaats after a stiff fight, and once more proclaimed the Orange River Sovereignty (August, 1848).

The Cape Parliament.—Harry Smith's annexations were not welcomed by the Whig ministry in Great Britain for they, more even than the Tories, looked on South African colonies as a burden always excepting the Cape Peninsula, the halfway house to India. Earl Grey, the Secretary of State, accepted the Orange River Sovereignty in the belief that its people wanted the Queen's rule and would pay for their own government but he told the Cape burghers that, as they were soon to have a parliament of their own, they must not expect the British taxpayer to pay for another War of the Axe.

From time to time since 1834, Brand had urged that an elected assembly should be set up in place of the nominated Legislative Council; Godlonton had made the same demand in his *Grahamstown Journal* and asked also for Separation, that is, a government for the Eastern Province as a separate colony, and, once the Masters and Servants Ordinance had put coloured people on the same footing as Europeans in legal questions arising out of employment or breaches of contract, Fairbairn came to their help in his *Commercial Advertiser*.

In 1846, Grey decided that the Cape was strong enough financially and settled enough politically to have a parliament of its own. The debt for the paper money had been wiped out, revenues and trade were improving as the Colony grew and the Trekkers opened up the Interior and the slave compensation money got into circulation. Merino and Angora wool had taken the place of wine as the chief export and were soon to outweigh in value all the other exports put together; guano from Ichaboe Island and copper from Namaqualand had come to vary the list of Cape products (1845-46).

Representative local government gave a solid foundation on which a parliament could be built. Many towns now had municipal councils; the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church had been freed from all control by the Government (1843); the appointment of Robert Gray as Bishop of Capetown gave the Anglican Church a greater measure of local freedom than it had had before; under the scheme for the reorganisation of the schools drawn up by Fairbairn and Sir John Herschel, the famous astronomer, boards elected by local subscribers had to provide the school

buildings and supplement the meagre salaries paid to the teachers out of the government grant. Similarly, a central Road Board began a much-needed revolution in the building of main roads, while divisional road boards each of four elected members and the civil commissioner looked after local roads and helped to pay for them (1843).

After the delay caused by the War of the Axe, Smith asked William Porter, the attorney-general, to draft a constitution knowing that he and some of the other officials were in favour of parliamentary institutions. Porter's draft was duly sent to London and then came disaster. In view of the road-building and other public works, there was a shortage of labour. The Cape had rejected the offer of juvenile and military convicts but Earl Grey now offered to send out convicts, many of them prisoners taken in the abortive Irish rebellion of 1848, if the Colony would like to have them. The Colony did not want them as it feared that escaped or released convicts might take to bushranging among the tribes; but, before this news could reach London, Grey had despatched convicts on board the *Neptune*.

An Anti-Convict League was at once formed and thousands in East and West pledged themselves to have nothing to do with the ship or its cargo (1849). Smith promised that not a convict should land and thus satisfied many, but Fairbairn and Brand headed the extremists who demanded that he should defy the Secretary of State. Four legislative councillors resigned as a protest against the convicts and, to save the Council, Smith appointed three new councillors. A mob hustled two of these men, damaged their property and, by frightening them into resigning, broke up the legislature for that year. When *Neptune* actually anchored in Simons Bay the leaders tried to boycott the Government. There was some rioting, Fairbairn was assaulted in his own house, but *Neptune* sailed on to Van Diemen's Land and the immediate crisis ended (1850).

Smith then asked the municipal councils and divisional road boards to elect men from whom he might choose enough, in eighteenth century style, to fill up the vacancies on the Legislative Council. He duly chose the first four on the list, the "Popular Members," Brand, Fairbairn, Reitz and Stockenstrom; but he passed over the rest and, to give the East fair representation, chose Godlonton who was at

the bottom of the poll. The new Council was asked to fill up the details of the draft constitution which had, on the whole, been approved of in London; but the Popular Members demanded what was really responsible government and, when Smith tried to pass on to business not connected with the draft constitution, resigned in a body (1850).

A Kaffir War broke out to delay matters still further, Smith had to go to the frontier, a new conservative majority in the Council raised the proposed franchise to shut out as many of the poorer white and coloured voters as possible, and a Tory ministry took office in England. For a year no further move was made, but then the Whigs came back and made haste to send out the Order-in-Council setting the Cape Parliament (1853).

Eight members for the Western Province and seven for the Eastern were to be elected to the Legislative Council by all who were entitled to vote for members of the House of Assembly. Four members were to retire every five years unless the Council was dissolved with the lower house. There was to be a House of Assembly of forty-six in which the West was to have two more members than the East, to sit for five years unless it was dissolved either with or without the Council. The low franchise advocated by Porter and the Popular Members was adopted. All men, regardless of colour, were entitled to a vote provided they either occupied premises worth £25 a year or received a salary of £50 or of £25 with board and lodging. It was a civilisation and not a colour franchise and it set the seal on the policy of equality which had been started by the 50th Ordinance.

In spite of the efforts of the Easterners, the Colony was not to be divided for, in the eyes of the Imperial Government, the creation of the buffer colony of British Kaffraria had removed the Kaffir danger from the Eastern Frontier proper. Nor was the form of government given to the undivided Colony full responsible government on the Canadian model. Some heads of the big government departments had seats in Parliament but they had no votes and, conversely, they could not be voted out of office, for their salaries were on a reserved list which could not be touched by Parliament. They were not ministers but heads of departments; they did not form a cabinet but sat in

the executive council; they were not responsible to the houses but to the Governor. It was a very liberal form of the system under which the Old Thirteen had been ruled in the eighteenth century.

The first Cape Parliament met in June, 1854, and passed an Act ensuring freedom of speech for members. A motion by two of the Popular Members in favour of responsible government was also set aside, partly to give the new system a chance and partly to allay the fears of the Easterners that they would be squeezed financially by the Dutch West, and Godlonton's motions in favour of Separation or the removal of the capital to the East were repeatedly defeated. Instead, elected Divisional Councils were set up to take over the duties of the road and school boards (1855). The arrival of good times and of a tactful Governor in the person of Sir George Grey, and Godlonton's departure for England ended the cry for Separation and Self-government for the time being.

Troubles in the Orange River Sovereignty.—Meanwhile Smith's hastily constructed machinery for controlling the Trekkers had fallen to pieces. In 1848 British authority extended in some shape or form over the Cape and British Kaffraria, the Sovereignty and Natal. Nominally it also extended over the Transvaalers. The Sovereignty was the keystone of the arch. Its stability depended on four things: the willingness of H.M. Government and of its own burghers to uphold it, peace on the Eastern Frontier, the attitude of Moshesh, and the conduct of the Transvaalers. All four factors presently combined against it and it fell.

Warden, the Resident at Bloemfontein, ruled the Europeans directly with a few officials and small revenues. He was also responsible for keeping the Pax Britannica in the whole of the Sovereignty with a few soldiers, the burghers and the levies supplied by the chiefs when called on. He had little difficulty with the Bushmen, Koranas and Griquas in the thinly peopled west, and in the south he merely had to watch Adam Kok's Griquas selling their lands in the Philippolis reserve. His troubles arose in the east.

Napier's treaty of 1843 had given Moshesh more land than he had ever claimed between the Orange and the Caledon as well as part of Sikonyela's lands, but, beyond the Caledon,

it had only given him half the strip on which lived Moroko, Taaibosch, and the Platberg Griquas under their Wesleyan missionaries mixed up with Boers and his own dependents. At Touwfontein, Moshesh had been willing to have the undisputed part of his line beacons off and had offered the Trekkers a small wedge of unwanted land at the junction of the Orange and the Caledon. Smith had promised him a boundary beyond which white men should not encroach and had also given back to Sikonyela the land that was his ; but Moshesh was slow to remove his men from it and gradually the cornlands along the Caledon valley became the scene of scuffling between Moshesh and his vassal Bataungs on the one side and Sikonyela, Taaibosch and coloured vagabonds on the other.

Warden now swung over to the Wesleyan view that Moroko and the petty Caledon chiefs were rightful lords of the land they occupied ; he felt that they would be useful as a check on the Basutos : some of his local officials egged on the raiders to make the Basuto outposts draw back so that the lands would be given out for farms. Warden then threatened Moshesh that, unless he agreed to the line he should mark out, he would set the tribes and the burghers upon him. Moshesh reluctantly accepted the "Warden Line" which cut off a large area occupied by Basutos between the Orange and the Caledon and also practically all the cornlands to the west of the Caledon (1849). Officials and others speculated heavily in lands and Sikonyela became such a nuisance to the Basutos that Molitsani, one of Moshesh's vassals, retaliated by sacking a Wesleyan mission station. Warden thereupon called up his mixed levies and, with the help of Sikonyela, fell upon Molitsani.

Kaffir War.—At this stage, the troubled story of the Sovereignty became merged in that of the Eastern Frontier. Much of the land in Victoria East had fallen into the hands of speculators but in the northern parts the Fingos were making good progress towards civilisation under the guidance of a far-sighted missionary, Calderwood. In British Kaffraria, the tribes had been biding their time. Their chiefs resented their loss of power ; magistrates, unable to apply Roman-Dutch law to tribesmen, ruled as best they could ; the tribesmen told one another that the Anti-Convict

agitation showed that the Colonists would not support their own government. At last, Sandile defied Smith who first deposed him, then outlawed him and finally sent troops to catch him.

The column was ambushed in the Boomah Pass and the Gaikas wiped out three of Smith's costly military villages (December, 1850). Half the Tembus joined the Gaikas, Kreli spurred them on from behind, and Hottentots from the mission reserves at Kat River, Theopolis and Shiloh followed Willem Uithaelder who taught them from the Scriptures that they were an oppressed people who must strike for national freedom. Even some of the Hottentot Cape Corps went over to the enemy. Luckily, the Ndhlambi Xosas, the western Hottentots and the Fingos fought on the Colony's side, for the burghers, having no interest in British Kaffraria, turned out badly. The work had to be done once more with volunteers, irregulars and the Imperial reinforcements which presently came pouring in.

In the Sovereignty, Warden came to grief. He called on his burghers to try conclusions with Moshesh but, as in the Colony, the majority of the burghers were weary of these frontier bickerings and refused to move. Warden was severely checked at Viervoet and had to stand on the defensive till Smith should be free to send him reinforcements. Some of the Sovereignty Boers bargained openly with Moshesh to leave them alone and to harry the farms of those who had obeyed the Resident's summons, others called on Pretorius for help, and Earl Grey told Smith that, unless the Sovereignty men supported their own government better the Queen's authority would have to be withdrawn. At the same time Grey sent Smith reinforcements, some of whom went down standing to their arms on *Birkenhead* off Danger Point, but he also sent two commissioners, Hogge and Owen, to examine the condition of the Sovereignty (1851).

Sand River Convention.—The commissioners found the Sovereignty in a parlous state and its Legislative Council asking for annexation by the Cape. Their first step however was to ward off any possible Transvaal interference. In 1844, Pretorius had led many of the Natalians to Potchefstroom. There they and the followers of Potgieter had

repudiated all connection with Natal, claimed all Bechuanaland and accepted a revised constitution, the Thirty-three Articles. Next year Potgieter had moved away and established himself at Andries-Ohrigstad out of reach of the Punishment Act and in touch with the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay. His followers had been content with his personal rule tempered by themselves as *Het Volk*, but presently a large number of Natalians had joined them under J. J. Burger and tried to make the Volksraad supreme as it had been at Pietermaritzburg. Quarrels broke out at once, but, generally speaking the Ohrigstaders favoured local republics and, curiously enough, union in church matters with the Cape Synod.

At Potchefstroom, Pretorius tried to carry out Retief's policy of uniting the Trekker republics under a much more centralised form of government than anything they had as yet had, finding a port on the south-east coast preferably at St. Lucia Bay, and securing recognition of independence by the British. Partly because he felt that the church of the Colony had treated the Trekkers badly, partly because he feared that the Union Jack would follow the Cape clergy, he wished to have no connection with the Cape Synod. At last, in the absence of Potgieter's supporters, he agreed with the Ohrigstad Volksraad party at Derde Poort that there should be one Volksraad for the whole Transvaal (1849). Potgieter therefore moved further north to Schoemansdal in the Zoutpansberg while the Ohrigstaders abandoned their fever stricken village and founded a new town at Lydenburg.

The united Volksraad met and it was seen that an executive was necessary. Pretorius was elected Commandant-General but the Lydenburgers insisted that there should be four such officers: Pretorius in Potchefstroom, Rustenburg and Marico, Potgieter in Zoutpansberg, W. F. Joubert in Lydenburg and J. A. Enslin also in Marico (1851). Enslin soon died and his place was not filled. Meanwhile Andrew Murray, minister of Bloemfontein, put Pretorius in touch with the British Commissioners and, in spite of an outcry from Winburgers who said they were being abandoned, the Potchefstroom and Lydenburg leaders signed the Sand River Convention (January, 1852). The Transvaalers were guaranteed their independence and an open gunpowder market in the colonies on condition that they did not keep

slaves nor interfere south of the Vaal, while Great Britain gave up all alliances with native chiefs north of the river.

Berea.—H.M. Government had thus given up all pretence of ruling the cattle farmers and elephant hunters, the die-hards of the Trek, who were scattered over 100,000 square miles of territory far out of reach beyond the Vaal. The Sovereignty was a different matter and the commissioners tried to save it. They dismissed a few officials and condemned the Warden Line as unjust to the Basutos; but Hogge died and Owen had to meet elected delegates alone while the scuffling along the Basuto border grew worse and worse. The delegates unanimously asked for a Volksraad, an Imperial garrison and leave for field cornets to exact reprisals, and half of them also demanded that a settlement should be made with Moshesh and that no further part should be taken in inter-tribal squabbles. Owen then dismissed Warden for giving gunpowder to some half-breeds, and Sir George Cathcart, the new High Commissioner, marched up to the Sovereignty with 2,500 men to impose peace.

Cathcart had just ended the Kaffir War by dint of offering the Colonists a share of the captured cattle and threatening to withdraw the troops if they did not turn out. He refused to present the swollen list of claims against the Basutos but he did order Moshesh to pay 1,000 horses and 10,000 cattle within three days, an impossible task for any Bantu great chief. Some were paid and Cathcart went into Basutoland to take the rest. He was checked at Berea (December, 1852). Moshesh, always anxious to stand well with the Queen, was diplomatic and Cathcart, who had taken roughly the number of cattle that he had demanded, was able to say truly enough that peace reigned at the moment. The troops marched back to the Eastern Frontier to dictate terms to the Kaffir chiefs.

The Bloemfontein Convention.—Long before the Berea, H.M. Government had decided to give up the Sovereignty as soon as peace had been made and the interests of the Queen's allies safeguarded. They were weary of Kaffir wars which only seemed to benefit land speculators and shopkeepers who naturally liked a large garrison; the Sovereignty was worthless in their eyes and the European situation was threatening.

A special Commissioner, Sir George Clerk, was therefore sent to "adjust" matters at Bloemfontein. There he met elected delegates, three-fourths Dutch, who asked for a settlement of land disputes with Kok and Moshesh, compensation for losses and a promise that neither the Queen's native allies nor the Transvaalers should make trouble over land if the Sovereignty was abandoned. Clerk was unsympathetic, for he held that the Warden Line was unjust and he knew that officials were winking at raids on the Basutos and other tribes by Sikonyela, Taaibosch and white men. At last, Moshesh killed Taaibosch, drove out Sikonyela and took the lands of both. Clerk did not settle the border question since Moshesh claimed the Napier Line of 1843 and the frontiersmen were content to have no fixed border at all. Meanwhile, the independence party was growing and Clerk, ignoring the remains of the original delegation, met a committee of these men, gave £50,000 as compensation for losses and signed the Bloemfontein Convention (February, 1854).

This treaty was very much like the Sand River Convention except that H.M. Government merely stated that it had no treaties with native chiefs north of the Orange other than Adam Kok and that it had no intention of making any that would hurt the Free Staters. Clerk really left Adam Kok to his fate, told Moshesh that the Warden Line was "a dead horse" but did not add that the Napier treaty was equally dead, and then marched away with the little British garrison (March, 1854).

The Republican Grondwets.—The provisional government of the Free State summoned a specially elected Volksraad to draw up a constitution. This was done with the help of a summary of the U.S.A. constitution and resulted in the most elaborate republican constitution yet made in South Africa. There was to be the usual Volksraad of twenty-nine members, half of whom were to retire each year, elected by all European men who had been in the state for six months. But there was also to be a President and an executive council for the first time since Retief's experiment in 1837; there was to be no permanent Commandant-General to compete for power with the civil head of the republic; the bench was separated from the legislature by the creation of a circuit court of three landdrosts. Presently, an appeal was allowed to the President and the executive

council. In September, 1854, J. P. Hoffman was elected President.

The death of the two rivals, Andries Pretorius and Hendrik Potgieter cleared the way for constitution-building in the Transvaal (1853). Internal troubles forced the question to the front. A minister from Holland, van der Hoff, the first minister to settle north of the Vaal, had arrived at Potchefstroom in 1853. Much against his will, he had been induced to agree that there should be no connection between the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal and the Cape Synod. This led to a fierce dispute between the Pretorius party and the Lydenburgers, in the course of which the weakness of the existing system of government was fully revealed.

A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and, again with the help of the American constitution, it produced a document which with a few later alterations became the famous Rustenburg Grondwet. There was to be a Volksraad of twenty-four, members of the state church, elected by European manhood suffrage, half retiring each year, legislating by a three-fourths majority. There was to be a Staats President at last, a burgher of five years' standing elected for five years, with an executive council of two officials and two Volksraad members including the Commandant-General who was practically elected for life. A High Court of three landdrosts was to hear appeals from landdrosts' courts, in criminal cases with the help of a jury. The Hervormde Kerk was to be specially protected; there was to be no equality in church or state between black and white; Pretoria was to be the capital and Potchefstroom the chief town. The constitution was adopted, the new Vierkleur flag was hoisted and Marthinus Pretorius was installed as President (January, 1857).

Crown Colony Natal.—The abandonment of the Sovereignty cut Natal off from the Cape. Natal's revenues were small and drawn mainly from native hut tax and customs duties; its industries, mostly tropical products, were still in the experimental stage and ivory from Zululand and the Transvaal was still the chief export; there were only 8,000 Europeans as against 150,000 Bantu in the whole country.

Native policy was in the able hands of Theophilus Shepstone. Many natives remained outside the reserves

which had been set aside for them, but those who dwelt therein were controlled by Shepstone without money or police. He did it in the only way that was open to him by reviving the tribal system where it had broken down and then keeping a hold on the chiefs by tact and force of character. After a great struggle with Judge Cloete, he had native custom recognised in the courts as the law by which tribal natives were to be tried. That was the outstanding feature of the Shepstone system, utterly unlike anything elsewhere in South Africa then and for long years to come.

The colonists tried hard to break up the reserves for the sake of labour (1852) and, though they failed in this, they were full of hope, for they knew that sugar would do well if only labour and capital were forthcoming, and they were gradually breaking free from control by the Cape. The grant of power to the executive council to pass local ordinances and to some towns to elect municipal councils, the cutting off of appeals to the Supreme Court at Capetown, the right to trade directly overseas and not merely to the Cape ports, all stimulated the demand for an elected assembly similar to that in the Cape (1847-55).

That was too much to ask but, in 1856, a royal charter gave Natal its own Crown Colony constitution: an executive council as before and a Legislative Council of four officials and twelve other members elected by ballot (the first thing of the kind in South Africa) on a low franchise without a colour bar. The executive had to get the consent of this council to all new laws and taxes; but the legislature could not refuse to pay the salaries of the higher officials or the £5,000 set aside annually for the natives, and the Crown had wide powers of vetoing laws. Next year, a Supreme Court of three judges was set up and Natal embarked on a political career of its own to the envy of every Separatist in the Eastern Province of the Cape.

Books for Further Reading :

G. Pröller, *Piet Relief and Voortrekkermentse*, vol. i, ii and iii; Sir George Cory, *Owen's Diary* (Van Riebeeck Society No. 7); *Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith*, pp. 359-468 and 582-651; G. W. Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents*, pp. 25-57, 77-87, 107-125, 143-188, 218-220, 227-242, 260-312 and 349-420. Also G. M. Theal, *History of South Africa since 1795*; Sir G. Cory, *Rise of South Africa*; E. A. Walker, *Political History of South Africa*.

MAPS.—E. A. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, plates 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

CHAPTER XI.

NATIONAL STATES, 1852-72.

Main Events.—In 1851, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, Prince Consort of Great Britain, organised the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park to celebrate not only the achievements of the Industrial Revolution in his adopted country with its fast-spreading railways and telegraphs, its penny postage and its new submarine cable linking Paris with London, but its achievements in other countries too. For Americans had done as much as Englishmen to perfect the telegraph, and Frenchmen and Germans were making huge strides in chemistry and physics. Albert also meant his Exhibition to witness to the benefits of the Free Trade policy which Great Britain was adopting and which had been largely adopted in the U.S.A. So, he hoped, might mankind be taught to enter the paths of peace and plenty in a cosmopolitan world, a world which each man might regard as his city as truly as he himself did.

The Western world was destined to move on quite other lines. The twenty years which followed the Exhibition were full of great wars. Nationalism overcame Liberalism except in states which were already national like England and France and could, therefore, afford to take Nationalism for granted. In Europe and North America great national states were either formed or held together at the point of the sword. Italy became a united kingdom, most of the German states joined a federal union headed by Prussia, a desperate war was fought in the U.S.A. to save the federation, a royalist revolution in Japan cleared the way for the westernising of that country as the only hope of withstanding the European forces that were pressing upon it. The movement within the British Empire was more peaceful but it was the same movement. An attempt to federate most of the States of South Africa failed, but the British North American colonies were successfully federated at the very

moment that Great Britain herself was given a democratic franchise for the first time.

Crimean War.—During the period 1852-1872 the affairs of the chief European states were so interwoven that it is useless to try to deal with those of each state separately. Fortunately the story centres round two men. Till 1864, Napoleon III was the central figure; thereafter his place was taken by the Prussian minister, Bismarck.

As a Bonaparte, Napoleon stood for security at home and glory abroad; as a believer in political nationalism, the idea that each nation ought to have its own state government unless France would thereby be endangered, he was a living protest against the unnational arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15. He had to face many difficulties. He was a newcomer raised to a throne by doubtful means; his very name smelt of blood and gunpowder; at home he was tied fast to the clerical party by his Spanish wife, Eugenie, and by the fact that French bayonets upheld the Temporal Power of the Pope at Rome; he was dreaded by the Liberals for the way in which his officials interfered with the legislature, the elections and the press; he was reviled by the Socialists on account of the financier-politicians who haunted his court. Nevertheless this parvenu among princes was soon able to pose as the arbiter of the fate of Europe.

In those days, Russia, overshadowing three continents from the Baltic Sea to the undefined borders of Canada, bulked very large on the map and in men's imaginations. All Central Europe was a rubble of little states; the U.S.A., the British Dominions, the Central and South American republics counted for less than they do to-day; Japan was still in the Middle Ages. With one hand Russia had just restored the power of Austria in Hungary, with the other she threatened the British in India, while she threw her main weight more and more upon Turkey.

Napoleon challenged the Russian giant. Pushed on by his Clericals and a desire to increase French influence in the Levant, he quarrelled with Czar over the control of the Christian churches in the Holy Land, still a part of the Turkish Empire. The quarrel grew. The Czar practically claimed a protectorate over the 12,000,000 Orthodox Greek Christians in the Sultan's dominions and sent his troops

into the Danubian Principalities. Great Britain, nervous of this movement of Russians towards Constantinople, sent a fleet to joint the French in the Dardanelles; the Russians sank Turkish ships at Sinope; the British public, after a long peace of forty years, was spoiling for a fight, and so the Crimean War began, the first serious European conflict since Waterloo (1854).

The French, British and Turks besieged Sebastopol, the Russian naval base in the Crimea; they won costly victories at the Alma, Inkerman and Balaclava; they used armoured ships for the first time, and found them very useful against forts. The wastage on both sides was terrible but, at last, the fortress was stormed and peace was made by the Treaty of Paris (1856). That treaty marked a great step forward in the history of international law. The Black Sea was closed to all warships; an international board was appointed to secure the free use of the Danube to all nations; privateering was abolished and rules for the conduct of blockades laid down; the Powers made themselves jointly responsible for the dealings of the Sultan with his subjects by admitting him to the Concert of Europe; Russia was obliged to give the Danubian Principalities part of Bessarabia at the mouth of the Danube. Presently, these Principalities became practically independent of Turkey, elected a ruler and called themselves Rumania (1862). Thus Russia was checked, a new little national state called into being and Napoleon's prestige established.

Italian Unity.—Napoleon used his power and prestige to drive the Austrians back in Italy. Since the collapse of the Italian revolutions in 1849, Mazzini had preached republicanism from London, but most Italians saw that the Austrians would never be driven out unless the King of Sardinia took the lead and secured foreign help. Cavour, prime minister of Sardinia since 1852, had pressed on with Liberal reforms of all kinds and, much against the wish of parliament, had taken part in the Crimean war. Sardinians had there shown the red, white and green flag alongside the Union Jack and the French eagles, and, at the Congress of Paris, Cavour had told Europe that there was an Italian question and that he represented it.

After the Congress Cavour had looked for help from England. But England was in no mood for fighting after the strain of the Crimea and was ruled by a pro-Austrian court. France remained and, by the Compact of Plombières, Cavour agreed to give Nice and Savoy to Napoleon in return for help. Lombardy, Venice and the northern parts of the Papal States were to be added to Sardinia which should then be federated with Tuscany, Naples and the remains of the Papal States under the nominal presidency of the Pope (1858). So would Napoleon drive the Austrians out of Italy without destroying the Temporal Power or making Italy strong enough to be a peril to France.

War was declared and the Austrians were beaten at Magenta and Solferino; but the French losses were very heavy; Prussia, angry at the defeat of a German power, mobilised on the Rhine, and Napoleon made terms with Austria at Villafranca (1859). Sardinia was allowed to keep Lombardy, but Napoleon took Nice and Savoy, Austria kept Venice and Sardinia was told that she must federate with the other Italian states as arranged.

But Napoleon had let loose forces which could not be restrained peaceably. Cavour resigned in protest; Central Italy demanded union with Sardinia; some Sicilians rose against the hated rule of Naples and Cavour, back in office once more, allowed Garibaldi to go to Sicily with his famous Thousand. Garibaldi's redshirted volunteers carried all before them, beat the Neapolitans at Calatafimi, took Palermo, crossed over to the mainland and entered Naples by train. They were however checked at Gaeta. Cavour decided to risk French intervention by taking control of what had hitherto been a glorified "Jameson Raid" on a friendly Power for, if Garibaldi was beaten, all was lost, and, if he won single-handed, he would make a dash for Rome and force Napoleon to come to the help of the Pope. He raced south with Victor Emmanuel, swept aside the Papal troops at Castelfidardo and took the campaign against Naples out of Garibaldi's hands. Garibaldi retired into private life, all Naples and Sicily voted for union with Sardinia and, in 1861, a parliament assembled at Turin representing all parts of Italy except Venice and the district round Rome (the Patrimony of St. Peter). Four months later, Cavour died.

Rise of Prussia.—The addition of Venice and the Patrimony to united Italy were direct results of events north of the Alps. In 1853 the prestige of the Prussian monarchy had fallen very low. It had been worsted in diplomacy by Austria and had lost whatever confidence German Liberals had had in it. On the other hand, Prussia had two enormous advantages over other German states. In that very year it had completed its Zollverein, a customs union which included all the German states except Austria, a great free-trade area centring on Berlin. Secondly, the University of Berlin had become the intellectual centre of the German-speaking peoples.

At the time of the French Revolution, Germans had comforted themselves with the thought that, if the British ruled the sea and the French the land, they at least had "the empire of the air, an empire of mind and reason." That was not a vain boast for in 1789 there lived in Germany the musicians Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven; the philosophers Kant, Hegel and Fichte; the writers Lessing, Goethe and Schiller. In the next generation, the brothers Grimm (best remembered for their fairy tales), the legal historian Savigny, Niebuhr the historian of ancient Rome, and von Ranke whose ambition it was to write history in such a way as to show "exactly how that was," laid the foundations of the systematic, scientific study of law, language and history. It was an immense heritage of learning and it duly impressed a people which, unlike some others, took its professors seriously. The idea of intellectual leadership, of the superiority of German *Kultur* (thought, way of looking at life) over those of other nations, spread through the generation of young men who flocked from all parts to the Prussian universities.

It was easy to go on to believe that this *kultur* could be spread by the sword in a kind of intellectual Crusade. That view was preached at Berlin from 1853 onwards by the great Prussian School of historians, pupils of von Ranke. Momms von Sybel, Droysen, and von Treitschke, those were the men who really made the German Empire, for it was they who supplied the spirit without which Bismarck must have failed. At the back of their version of history was the



Map No. 10.

idea of the philosopher Hegel that "bloody human battles are only at bottom the struggles of moral energy¹; hence, war meant progress, and nations less advanced in civilisation ought to be suppressed. Presently, the book of an English biologist came to reinforce these doctrines. Men gathered from Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* and the works which followed it that the Law of Nature was a struggle in which the fittest would survive. The intellectually Prussianised Germans were already convinced that they were the fittest. They proposed to survive. But they needed a leader. The Prussian historians pointed to the King of Prussia as that leader.

Bismarck.—William, the "Cartridge Prince," became regent of Prussia in 1858 and King in 1861. He was not popular but he was an honest Prussian soldier, a strong believer in the Divine Right of kings and the destiny of the Prussian monarchy to be God's instrument for the unification of Germany. He summoned von Roon and von Moltke to reorganise the army by increasing the number of regiments and enforcing universal service. The Liberals in the Landtag refused to vote the necessary money. Twice the Houses were dissolved and twice the Liberals came back stronger than ever. William nearly abdicated in despair but, at the last moment, he called in Otto von Bismarck as first minister.

Bismarck was a Pomeranian Junker (squire), one of a class of hard riders, hard drinkers and hard workers, who ruled their peasants paternally with a rod of iron, and held fast to the opinion that the army which they themselves officered should be the king's affair and not the Landtag's. Bismarck had had enough experience of the ways of parliaments to make him distrust them; he had learnt to despise South Germans and to hate Austrians in the Diet of the Bund; he had since served as ambassador at St. Petersburg and Paris. "Smells of blood," the late king had noted, "will be useful later." Such was the man who, a short

¹ The American, Russell Lowell, put the point more simply in his *Biglow Papers*—

"I do allow that warfare's horrid,
The thought of bay'nita makes me start;
But civilisation *doos* git forrid,
Sometimes upon a powder-cart."

year after the Liberal Cavour had died, was called into make the Prussianised German Empire, a national but hardly a liberal state (1862). He at once told the Landtag that Prussia and Germany were to be saved, not by votes but by blood and iron. He gave Prussia strong and efficient government, collected what taxes he wanted in spite of the Liberals and suppressed newspapers, officials and private persons who protested, while the generals reorganised the army. But he only won the approval of the Prussian people later by his successful foreign policy.

Mexico.—Bismarck turned to foreign affairs in 1863. The situation was complicated. Italian patriots were clamouring for the southern Tyrol (Trentino) which was held by Austria, and for Rome where the Pope still sat surrounded by French soldiers. Garibaldi had just tried to seize both but had been beaten off from Rome at Aspromonte by Victor Emmanuel who knew that any attack on the city must mean war with France (1863). Napoleon, thoroughly distrusted now by every Italian, was losing the dominant position which he had held in Europe in 1856 and, by his hints, was unsettling all his neighbours. He occupied New Caledonia and hinted that he might seize part of Australia; he hinted that Spain might annex Portugal if she gave France Catalonia north of the Ebro, he hinted that France, Great Britain, Spain and Austria should partition the Turkish Empire.

Napoleon at last took a definite step. The U.S.A. were fighting a desperate civil war and the British governing class sympathised with the revolted southern states. He recognised the Southerners as belligerents and, now that the Monroe Doctrine was temporarily in abeyance, proposed to find in Mexico compensation for the loss of Louisiana which his uncle had had to sell to the Americans. If he could get control of Mexico, he could exploit its gold mines, cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panama and check the expansion of the heretic Yankees.

An opening was easily found. Since 1821 the republic of Mexico had endured a chaotic independence, government by revolution and counter-revolution. Both the Clericals and the Liberals had borrowed foreign money freely. The Liberals under Juarez, who were in power for the time being,

stopped paying interest on the loans. A joint Anglo-Franco-Spanish squadron tried to frighten Juarez into paying up. The British and the Spaniards soon withdrew but the French invaded Mexico. The Swiss financier, Jecker, had lent the Clericals much money and had promised one of Napoleon's ministers 30% of anything that might be recovered if the Liberals were driven out. The French after hard fighting forced their way into Mexico City and set up an Austrian archduke, Maximilian, as Emperor.

The victory was delusive. The Peninsular campaign had been the turning point in the fortunes of the first Napoleonic Empire; "Duke Jecker's War" in Mexico, another Spain, was the turning point in the career of the second. Maximilian's authority ended with the range of the French guns and, to maintain him at all, Napoleon had to lock up thousands of soldiers in Mexico who would have been invaluable to him in Europe.

The Danish War.—Lack of troops prevented Napoleon from sending help to the Poles who revolted from Russia (1863). He thereby angered his Liberals and his Clericals who were anxious to help fellow Catholics struggling to be free. Bismarck, on the other hand, allied with Russia as "one of two allies threatened by a common danger," a Polish rising. Having thus secured his rear, Bismarck took the lead of the *Kleindeutsch* (Little German) party which aimed at shutting Austria and her dependent non-German states out of a united Germany.

One of the periodical disputes about the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein gave Bismarck his opportunity. It is sufficient to say of this complicated dispute, which runs through German history from 1460 onwards, that Holstein was a member of the Bund and Schleswig was not, that both were bound by law to be under the same ruler, and that Frederic VII of Denmark was duke of both. Danish democrats persuaded Frederic to incorporate Schleswig, with its largely Danish population, in his kingdom (1863). German Holstein appealed to the Bund which set up another claimant as duke in both duchies. Napoleon tried to arrange for a plebiscite in the duchies which he expected would lead to their annexation by Prussia for, at that time he approved of Bismarck and his policy of shutting Austria

out of Germany ; but, to cut a long' story short, Austria and Prussia crushed the Danes and took charge of the duchies themselves (1864). Austria administered Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig.

The Seven Weeks' War.—The reorganised Prussian army had worked well. It was soon to show that it could do much better. Napoleon, at the cost of angering his Clericals, tried to regain the friendship of Italy by withdrawing the French garrison from Rome and assisting Victor Emmanuel to move his capital from Turin to Florence halfway to the forbidden city (1864). But Bismarck outbid him. He made a commercial treaty with Italy and followed it up with a political alliance against Austria. No one in Prussia wanted war with Austria except Bismarck. Nevertheless, he began to pick a quarrel with Austria over her administration of Holstein. The signal for war was given by Italy. She demanded Venice and began to arm ; Austria armed in reply ; Prussia armed because the Austrians were arming and, at the same time destroyed the German Bund by withdrawing from it and threatening war on all German states who voted against her. Accordingly Austria and a number of south and west German states declared war on Prussia.

The Paris press was jubilant at the news, for the war promised to be a long one and Napoleon expected to act once more as arbiter of Europe at the end of it. Actually the war lasted seven weeks. The Prussians, armed with the new "needle-gun" and carried on their new railways (the first lines to be used for war on a large scale in Europe), overthrew the South German states and broke the Austrians at Sadowa. Under the Peace of Prag, Bismarck let Austria off lightly but the Bund was gone forever and Austria had been driven out of Germany at the point of the bayonet. Italy, on the other hand, had been beaten by the Austrians at Custoza by land and at Lissa by sea. But Sadowa gave her Venice. Rome alone remained to be won (1866).

Reconstruction in Central Europe.—The victorious Prussians built up a great state in Central Europe. They annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover and other territories of defeated states and formed all the states of the Zollverein

north of the river Main into the North German Confederation under the Presidency of the King of Prussia (1867). It was the real foundation of the German Empire for Bismarck also made military treaties with the south German states of Bavaria, Baden and Wurtemberg. Bismarck was popular at last. Sadowa had wiped out the memory of his struggle with the Liberals in the Landtag. "A King," cried von Treitschke, "who so quickly brought about so fine a stroke, is right against everybody." The battle did more than that. "The cannon of Sadowa," wrote Acton, the great Cambridge historian, himself half German, "were . . . the most serious blow which the principle of representative government has yet received." For there is nothing that succeeds like success, and Bismarck's absolutism had succeeded.

The defeated Austrians turned their backs on Western Europe and made terms with the Hungarians. Under the Compromise of 1867, their Empire was reorganised as the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The King-Emperor, the Foreign Office and the army were common to the two countries, but, apart from that, each state was to have its own ministry and parliament. The two parliaments were, however, to send delegates alternately to Vienna and Budapesth, there to carry on business in writing and, in case of prolonged disagreement on any matter, to meet together and vote in silence. At first sight this arrangement was a victory for Liberalism, but really it was a victory for Nationalism of a narrow type. The Magyar Hungarians were now free to bully their subject Slavs and Rumanians.

The Liberal Empire.—France after Sadowa had received nothing but disappointment. Napoleon had not mobilised when the Seven Weeks' War had begun, but, after Sadowa, he demanded compensation for France since Prussia was growing so fast. He asked for Mainz and the Palatinate in the Rhine land, or Belgium, or at least the fortress of Luxembourg which commanded the road from Germany into France down the valley of the Moselle. Bismarck refused pointblank and Frenchmen cried out, "It is France which has been conquered at Sadowa."

They were right, but how stop Germany from uniting further? Bismarck was flourishing like the green bay tree,

the Napoleonic laurels were withering¹ in the sun and sand of Mexico. "Duke Jecker's War" ended in disaster. At the close of the Civil War, the U.S.A. reasserted the Monroe Doctrine, the French troops had to evacuate Mexico, and Juarez shot the unhappy Emperor Maximilian (1867). That was the customary way of passing a vote of no confidence in the Mexico of those days, but the volley shook the Second Empire to its foundations.

In Europe, Napoleon's position was becoming more difficult. He had to reoccupy Rome and to beat off the irrepressible Garibaldi at Mentana. There, the *chassepots*, the new French rifles, "worked wonders," but they did not make Frenchmen more popular in Italy. Nor were Napoleon's Clericals really satisfied. The Pope had just declared that he could not make terms with progress or Liberalism or modern civilisation, and that was the very thing that Napoleon was trying to do. French business men liked the new railways, roads, ironclads and the Suez Canal engineered and largely financed by Frenchmen; but some resented the commercial treaty of 1860 which lowered the protective duties in favour of British goods, and others had burned their fingers in speculations in which members of the Imperial court were interested. The Liberals, who numbered the best political brains in the country, were against the Emperor and were growing in strength. Better schools and employment on the public works at the capital which have made modern Paris the most beautiful of Western cities failed to appease the Socialists. Rents and prices were rising faster than wages and the new straight streets were not so easy to barricade as the old.

Yet, in face of all this, from 1860 onwards, Napoleon tried to put into practice the "legend of St. Helena" the Liberal Empire. The press, political meetings and Parliament were freed step by step till Napoleon had practically adopted the British cabinet system. France approved of these changes by plebiscite, but the changes came too late to save the Empire.

The Franco-German War.—After his failure to get "compensation" from Bismarck after Sadowa, Napoleon tried to buy Luxembourg from its duke, the king of Holland. He thereby aroused such a storm of protest in Germany

that the Concert of Europe had to arrange that Luxembourg should be neutral territory like Switzerland and Belgium (1867). Henceforward, the newspapers on both sides of the Rhine talked of the coming Franco-German war while the Liberal opposition in France thwarted Napoleon in his attempts to reorganise his army.

Napoleon then looked round for allies. He asked Italy for an alliance, but Italy demanded Rome and this he dared not give. He had no hope of getting help from England. England was standing aside from Continental quarrels; the Queen, the court and most of the educated classes were pro-German, for Carlyle in his *Cromwell* and *Frederic the Great* had taught them to reverence "one-man rule," and the Oxford School of historians, Stubbs, Freeman and Green, held that the origins of English liberties were to be found in Germany of the Barbarian Invasions, and saw little good in Latin races like the French. Napoleon hoped for more from Austria who wanted revenge for Sadowa, but Austria could not take the field till 1871. Bismarck therefore determined that war should come in 1870.

Bismarck first secured his rear by promising to help Russia to tear up the treaty of 1856 which closed the Black Sea to Russian warships, and then picked a quarrel with France. That was not difficult, for Paris and the French government were in a quarrelsome mood. Spain, after a series of revolutions, was looking for a king. With Bismarck's secret support, the junta in power offered the throne to a Catholic member of the Prussian House of Hohenzollern. France, fearing to be ringed round with Hohenzollerns, protested, and the Prussian candidate withdrew. It was a diplomatic victory for France but the Empress and the hot-heads were not content. The French ambassador at Ems asked William of Prussia to promise that the "Hohenzollern candidature" should never be renewed. William refused civilly enough, but Bismarck published the news in such a fashion that it read like a challenge, and revealed the French demands for "compensation" after Sadowa. German national feeling flared up and, though France as a whole did not want war, Paris and the war party pushed Napoleon into war to save French prestige and the Napoleonic dynasty.

The war was not a long one. South Germany rallied to the North and the German hosts poured into eastern France. The French were inferior to them in numbers, in leadership, in preparedness, in everything except courage and machine-guns (mitrailleuses). One French army was soon cooped up in Metz; the other led by Napoleon and Marshal MacMahon was forced against the neutral Belgian frontier and captured at Sedan; the Empire collapsed, and Gambetta and Faure proclaimed a Republic. Paris was closely besieged, Strassburg fell, Metz fell, and at last Paris was starved into surrender (January, 1871). Peace was made on hard terms at Frankfort. France promised to pay an indemnity of £200,000,000 and to support an army of occupation till it was paid, and gave up Alsace and that part of Lorraine which contained the fortress of Metz and all the then known iron mines.

The German Empire, the Third Republic and Rome.—Paris surrendered not to the King of Prussia but to the German Emperor. During the siege the princes of South Germany had joined those of the North to hail William in the palace of Versailles as *Deutscher Kaiser* (January, 1871). The constitution of the new Empire was merely an enlargement of that of the North German Confederation. The twenty-five states recognised the King of Prussia as *ex-officio* Emperor. The central parliament was to legislate on all matters of common interest. The upper house, the *Bundesrath*, was to be composed of nominees of the state governments, but Prussia held the balance. Fourteen votes could block any amendment and Prussia alone had seventeen. The lower house, the Reichstag, was elected for three years by manhood suffrage but it was to have no control over the executive. Ministers were to be responsible to the Chancellor who was also to preside over the Bundesrath, and, needless to say, the Chancellor was Bismarck. All the states kept their existing civil services; Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg kept their own armies but, in time of war, all the armies were to be put at the disposal of the Emperor. Such was the federated German Empire and such it remained in all essentials to the end.

France, on the other hand, very nearly passed back under the rule of a king. The tide ran strongly in the direction

of monarchy just after the war, but the Bourbonists could not agree with the Orleanists and both were eager to leave to the provisional republican government the hateful task of surrendering Alsace-Lorraine. Thiers, the head of the government, though an Orleanist by conviction, held on till France should be free of her enemies.

Thiers' task was made harder by a Communist rising in Paris. Paris and the towns of France were furious at the terms of peace; the break-down of trade and industry hit the poorer classes hard; many men held the communist doctrines which were being spread from London and Germany. It is hard to say exactly what the Paris Communists aimed at beyond dividing the country into thousands of self-governing *communes* but, in any case, they won over the National Guards and took control of the city. At first they behaved with moderation towards their opponents, but the peasantry and middle class of France were terrified of communism, the government at Versailles had to regain control of the capital, the soldiers were wild with rage that such a rising should take place under the very eyes of the scornful Germans. Weeks of fierce fighting in the streets took place and, at the end, the scum of Paris, the *petroleuses*, burnt the palace of the Tuileries and other public buildings. At last the movement was stamped out in blood, and Thiers was able to set to work to get rid of the Germans.

Thiers paid off the indemnity in 1873, long before Bismarck had thought it possible. France then adopted a new constitution: a parliament of two houses, the Senate elected by all Frenchmen who had ever served as representatives in parliament or in local councils, the lower house elected by universal suffrage. The two Houses sitting together elected the President and, if necessary, altered the constitution; the prime minister, appointed by the President, and the other ministers were responsible to parliament. Local government remained what it had been and the army was reformed on the basis of universal service. This done, Thiers resigned and MacMahon became President avowedly to restore the monarchy, but once more the Bourbonists and Orleanists quarrelled and the Republic continued till men had grown used to it.

Meanwhile, as the French troops had marched out of Rome in 1870 to defend their own country, the Italian troops had marched in, and the Pope had retired as a voluntary prisoner to his palace of the Vatican. So ended the Temporal Power of the Papacy. Victor Emmanuel planted his uneasy throne in the Eternal City threatened on the one side by Mazzini's republicans and, on the other, by the immense prestige of a Pope who, in the very year of the fall of the Temporal Power, had presided over a Council at the Vatican which claimed that his formal decrees on points of belief and morals were infallibly right.

The War of Secession.—While the national states had thus been taking shape in Europe, the great federal state in North America had almost fallen to pieces. The War of Secession was not fought, as is sometimes said, to free the slaves, but to prevent the Southern States from breaking away from the Union. The question of slavery was, however, so closely bound up with that issue that, in the course of the struggle, the slaves were set free.

The makers of the American constitution, like the framers of the South Africa Act long afterwards, left many points unsettled. Great patriots like Jefferson and Jackson held that the states did not owe an unlimited obedience to the central government, but that in cases where the constitution did not lay down definite rules, each state must act as it thought best.

This question of State Rights had been raised from time to time by both northern and southern states and once, in 1833, there had almost been war over the customs tariff. So far the trouble had always been tided over but the slavery issue was too big to be tided over any longer. After the Clay Compromise of 1850, Fugitive Slave Laws were passed and the federal officials were obliged to hand runaway slaves over to their masters. Free states cried out that state rights were thus being infringed; some of them tried to block the slave laws by passing local laws guaranteeing personal freedom; enthusiasts, moved by the sorrows of the slaves described in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, organised rescues of slaves by the "underground railway."

Then came the struggle over Kansas-Nebraska. These were territories in the Louisiana Purchase to the west of

the Mississippi which asked to be admitted as states of the Union. For some time past, the Southerners had been growing anxious. There were only 8,000,000 whites and 4,000,000 blacks in the South as against 19,000,000 whites in the North and West. They were outnumbered in the House of Representatives and were losing their hold on the Senate; for, since 1830, only three slave states (Arkansas, 1836, Texas and Florida, 1845) had been admitted as against six free states (Michigan, 1837, Iowa, 1846, Wisconsin, 1848, California, 1850, Minnesota, 1858, and Oregon, 1859). The Southerners were anxious to increase the number of slave states and claimed that new states created beyond the Mississippi should have the right to be slave or free as they chose, regardless of whether they fell to the north or the south of the 1820 Slave Line. Many Northerners agreed with them and, in Kansas, the rival parties fought for the control of the local government.

At the presidential election of 1856 the opposing forces began to line up. The newly-formed Republican party carried all save four of the northern and western states against the South, which voted solidly Democrat and in favour of State Rights. Next year Taney, chief justice of the Supreme Court, decided in the Dred Scott case that a slave on free soil did not become free and that the right of a master to own his slaves anywhere in the Union was guaranteed by the constitution. If that were so and slaves could be held in the North, all past compromises were worthless. In the course of an election in Illinois, one of the candidates, Abraham Lincoln, a farmer's son turned lawyer, boldly declared that the Union could not go on if it was to be half slave and half free.

The first shots were fired in 1859. John Brown, a simple, headstrong man who had taken a leading part in the civil war in Kansas, tried to raise a slave rebellion in Virginia. He was hanged by the federal authorities as a rebel, as indeed he was, but in the war that was coming his soul went marching on before the armies of the North. For war was coming. At the presidential election of 1860 three border states voted for a candidate of their own, but the whole of the North and West voted Republican and, to the dismay of the South, returned Lincoln in triumph.

Emancipation.—Lincoln at once declared that he would not touch slavery where it already existed, but that all the vast U.S.A. territories to the west must be closed to it. Thereupon, South Carolina declared that the federal contract was at an end and, in the name of State Rights, seceded from the Union (December, 1860). She was joined by the other states of the "cotton belt," Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. These seven declared that slavery was "a physical, philosophical and moral truth," formed themselves into the Confederate States of North America and elected Jefferson Davis as President. Lincoln then said that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of any state but that the Union was perpetual and could not be set aside in this fashion. So matters stood till South Carolina fired on the Stars and Stripes flying over Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour (April 1861).

The war began with that symbolic act, a single state attacking the unity of the nation. Four more states seceded: Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Arkansas, but slave-owning border states like Maryland and Kentucky stood by the federal authorities, who already had the solid support of the North and of the new West full of newcomers who cared little whether they were men of Iowa or of Ohio, but a great deal that they were Americans, citizens of something bigger and, they hoped, freer than the bickering states of Europe which they had just left. For a short war, the Southerners had the advantage. Man for man they were better fighters than their opponents, they were desperate, they began to conscript men at once, they had interior lines and an easily defended country, they found in Lee a general who, as a soldier, ranks with Napoleon I and, as a gentleman, immeasurably above him. The Northerners were ill-prepared, their generals were bad, they could not venture to conscript till 1863 and then only at the cost of serious riots; but in a long war, their numbers, wealth and resources of all kinds were bound to tell.

The war lasted for four years (1861-65). Most of the fighting took place either near the rival capitals of Washington and Richmond, or along the Mississippi. The Northerners tried to get control of that river and thus cut the Confederacy in half. They took New Orleans, their *Monitor*

Map No. 11.



beat the ironclad *Merrimac* off from her attack on their defenceless wooden warships in what was the first sea-fight in the world between ironclads (1862) and, thereafter, they tried to blockade the South completely. They had to face trouble with foreign Powers. Both France and Great Britain recognised the Southerners as belligerents; Napoleon sent his expedition to Mexico and twice the U.S.A. were on the verge of war with Great Britain. The ruling class in England and in many of her colonies, notably in the Cape Colony, sympathised with the Southerners but the mass of the British people supported the North in the belief that it was waging war to free the slaves.

The slaves were only freed very gradually. Slavery was first abolished in the Federal Territories (1862); then, after Lee's attempt to conquer Maryland, Lincoln declared all slaves free in such Confederate territory as should be occupied by Northern troops (1863). That area rapidly increased in size. Lee was beaten at Gettysburg just as the capture of Vicksburg gave the North complete control of the Mississippi. Soon the South was fully blockaded, Sherman marched through it "from Atlanta to the sea," and Lincoln stood for re-election pledged to carry the famous 13th Amendment of the constitution abolishing slavery throughout the Union (1864). Lincoln was re-elected and, in April, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomatox.

Reconstruction.—The Civil War had cost the U.S.A. 1,000,000 lives; the finances of the North were in chaos; the South was squeezed dry. Lincoln had, however, already begun the work of reconstruction. He had no intention of giving the newly-freed slaves the franchise at once. All that he asked of the defeated South was that one-tenth of the electors in each state should take the oath of allegiance and accept the new anti-slavery laws, whereupon that state would be re-admitted to the Union. Three states had already been reconstructed in this way when, a week after Lee's surrender, a Southern fanatic shot Lincoln dead.

It was a worse disaster for the South than Appomatox. Under the constitution, Vice-President Johnson, a man distrusted by both North and South, stepped into Lincoln's place. Congress met; the extreme Abolitionists got the upper hand, thrust Johnson aside and, when he resisted,

impeached him. All the Southern states had reconstructed their governments as Lincoln had proposed but some of them were passing vagrancy laws similar to that which the Cape Colony had tried to pass in 1834. Congress refused to admit their representatives, overturned what had been done, practically disfranchised the Southern whites and carried the 14th and 15th Amendments giving the ex-slaves the vote and forbidding either central or state governments ever to disfranchise them or their descendants. It thus put the Southern legislatures (and their treasuries) at the mercy of Northern "carpet-baggers" and ignorant negro voters, backed by the unwilling bayonets of U.S.A. soldiers. Southerners, banded together in the secret Ku Klux Klan, replied by terrorising the negroes from exercising their new-won powers. It was a policy that destroyed respect for the majesty of the law in Dixie but, like Bismarck's forceful policy, it succeeded. The whites recovered control of their states, the last "rebel" state was readmitted to Congress in 1871, and five years later Grant as President was able to recall the last of the Federal troops from the South.

Democratic Reform in Great Britain.—Great Britain shared in this world process of nation-building. It was not so dramatic a share as fell to some other countries, but it was none the less real. It was the bringing together of the "Two Nations" of whom Disraeli had written twenty years before, the workers in the towns of the Industrial Revolution and the more fortunate classes who had held political power since the Reform Act of 1832.

The British parliamentary system was in its hey-day in the "sixties." The cabinet system worked well especially after the death of the Prince Consort, the one man who, as a permanent official with something of the "divinity that doth hedge a king," might have restored real political power to the Crown (1861). The two parties were clearly defined. The Whigs and Radicals were beginning to call themselves Liberals and to follow the lead of William Gladstone; the Tories, alternately led and driven by Disraeli, were beginning to think of themselves as Conservatives. The Liberals were prepared to move faster in the direction of political reform than their rivals but, generally speaking, both parties carried out what Continental nations would have considered

a liberal policy. Jews were admitted to Parliament; the Liberals introduced a bill to extend the franchise and, when it was thrown out by some of their own followers, Disraeli "stole their clothes" and carried the Reform Act of 1867.

This Act gave the vote on easy terms to the great mass of men in the towns, many of whom had long been trained for political action in the trade unions and friendly and co-operative societies. Disraeli thus brought the "Two Nations" together on a democratic footing. That was his policy, for he despised the middle class and believed that the Conservatives with their ideas of paternal rule and regulation had more in common with the rank and file than had the *laissez-faire* Liberals.

The Reform Act was followed by important reforms. The Irish Church was disestablished and the franchise for local councils were made more democratic. The great public schools were reformed, men of any religion or of none were admitted to the ancient Universities of Oxford, and Cambridge, London University gave women degrees and Girton, a college for women, was built at Cambridge. The Universities, new and old, started extension lectures to keep men and women outside their walls in touch with learning, and state-aided schools were set up under elective School Boards to give compulsory inspected elementary education. Trade unions were at last recognised fully, a maximum of 56 hours per week was laid down for factories, and Plimsoll, whose name should be gratefully remembered by all who go down to the sea in ships, carried the Merchant Shipping Act which forbade owners to load their vessels down in the water below a certain line, "the Plimsoll mark" (1867-75).

Self-government in the British Empire.—During this period, colonial self-government became more and more a reality. Western Australia was closed to convicts in 1867. Great Britain, tired of waging Maori and Kaffir wars and anxious, for sound military and financial reasons, to concentrate her scattered garrisons nearer home, began to withdraw her troops from her "colonies of settlement." The policy led to some talk in New Zealand of joining the U.S.A., but by 1870 all the Imperial battalions had left Australasia. Some remained at the naval bases in Canada and a considerable garrison in South Africa; on the other hand, the

discovery of the diamond fields gave Cape Colony wealth, and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) made the Peninsula less vital than it had been as the half-way house to India. The Cape was, therefore, given responsible government on the usual terms (1872)

The really great constitutional development, however, was the formation of the Dominion of Canada. The idea was not a new one. Earl Grey had attempted to federate the Australian colonies in 1847; New Zealand was already a federation of six little provinces; Sir George Grey had tried to federate the British South African colonies and the Free State (1858-9).

There were three groups of British colonies strung out along the northern border of the U.S.A. At the mouth of the St. Lawrence were the Maritime Provinces; Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, all small, poor and self-governing. Upstream were French Quebec and British Ontario. Each had equal representation in parliament by law, and by custom in the cabinet. Quebec controlled the ports and wanted high customs duties to avoid having to tax her farmers; Ontario wanted low customs to encourage trade. French Catholics and Nonconformists disliked supporting each other's schools out of the revenues; the dual majorities in parliament and the cabinet made government very difficult; but the real cause of the deadlock which forced on federation in the Two Canadas was that, as population grew in Ontario, that province found herself under-represented. To the west of Ontario stretched the vast and empty territories of the Hudson Bay Company and beyond these lay British Columbia.

The War of Secession checked the tide of population which was flowing towards the vacant lands from the U.S.A., but "peaceful penetration" from the south was certain to come sooner or later. Though French Canadians feared the puritan New Englanders, and the British were still largely United Empire Loyalists, there had been some chance of the Two Canadas joining the U.S.A. after 1854 when Great Britain had stopped giving preference to colonial goods and the U.S.A. had given Canada reciprocity. In 1864, however, the U.S.A. refused to renew this treaty and, at the same time, the Maritime Provinces discussed union among

themselves as the only way of raising a loan overseas for a railway which should link them with Quebec.

Then two events happened which quickened the movement towards federation. Raids by Irish Fenians from American soil strengthened Canadian national feeling and, far away on the Pacific coast, British Columbia asked for a railway which should link her up with the other two groups of colonies in the east. The Conservative Macdonald joined hands with Cartier of Quebec and John Brown the Ontario Radical; they found a willing helper in the Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon; delegates from the various colonies met in private and drafted a scheme of federation which the Imperial Parliament passed as the British North America Act.

By that Act the Two Canadas, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were federated as the Dominion of Canada under a Governor-General appointed by the King, a Senate appointed for life by the Dominion ministry, and an elected House of Commons. Each province kept many local powers and exercised them through a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General and an elected legislature. The new Federation grew rapidly. It bought the Hudson Bay Company's territories and created the new province of Manitoba; British Columbia came in on the promise of a railway; poverty drove Prince Edward Island to do the same (1869-73). Newfoundland alone stood out and still stands out. Meanwhile, the Russians sold Alaska to the U.S.A. (1867) and, by the Treaty of Washington, the British and Americans accepted the arbitration of the new German Emperor in the matter of the boundary between Vancouver Island and the U.S.A. (1871).

Europe in Asia.—The liberal policy shown by the British government towards the colonies of settlement was shown again at the end of a great crisis in British rule in India. After the annexation of the Punjab, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, tried to extend direct British rule in India itself, for he believed that rule by Indian princes was a bad thing. He added Rangoon and Pegu to British Burmah (1853), ended the tyranny of the Nizam by annexing Oudh (1856) and made a treaty with the Afghans against Russia. Meanwhile, he applied English law to Indian principalities and treated all those in which there was not

a son to succeed the dead prince as "lapsed" to the Company (Rule of Lapse).

Like Harry Smith in South Africa, Dalhousie carried forward the liberal reforms begun by Bentinck with a rush. He tried to carry out, in Macaulay's words, "the reconstruction of a decomposed society." So far Indians had shown more interest in purifying Hindu religion than in drainage and political economy. Dalhousie determined to carry through his work over their heads. He made British rule more centralised and autocratic than it had been, handed over the government of Bengal to a Lieutenant-Governor, summoned representatives of the provincial governments to his Council which strengthened its position as the one legislature for British India, founded a survey and forestry department and planned a department of education, swept away cumbrous boards and replaced them by single officials responsible to himself, began the present system of training civil servants, finished the great Ganges Canal, organised a postal system and built railways and telegraphs.

All this was excellent but it was most unsettling to Indians: The ill-judged missionary zeal of certain officials who went about "with the order-book in one hand and the Bible in the other" taught masses of humble folk that the government was threatening their religion and the "rule of lapse" alarmed the princes. India was in a ferment when Canning succeeded Dalhousie but there was no real danger till the Indian troops mutinied.

The Sepoys were well trained and armed and they outnumbered the British soldiers by eight to one. The issue of the new Enfield rifles which were to replace the old "Brown Bess" muskets brought matters to a head. It was said that the ends of the cartridges, which had to be bitten off before loading, were greased with the fat of the cattle sacred to the Hindus and of the pig, the abomination of the Mohammedans. The Sepoys at Meerut shot their European officers and the troops rose all along the valley of the sacred Ganges (1857). They proclaimed Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moguls, as Emperor at Delhi and cut off all the Europeans on whom they could lay their hands at Cawnpore and elsewhere. The British hurried in troops from the Cape and other parts, called on the eager Sikhs and the Gurkhas from the northern mountains to attack

the men of Bengal, stormed Delhi, slew the Mogul and broke the back of the Mutiny.

In spite of the efforts of "Clemency Canning" the struggle was waged with the utmost fierceness on both sides. But at last it was over, the long reign of "John Company" came to an end and the Crown stepped into its place as ruler of British India. Canning became first Viceroy responsible directly to the Secretary of State in London, a fifth member was added to his Council, legislative councils were set up in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, and progress was made with the codification of Indian law. But apart from these things little radical change was made by Canning in the machinery of government. His successor, John Lawrence, reorganised the army (1864-69). The Company's military and naval forces were disbanded, the artillery was put almost entirely into the hands of Europeans, and British regiments of cavalry and infantry were hired to the Indian government in the proportion of one European to two Sepoys in Bengal and three elsewhere. Thus in civil and military matters India was brought into close touch with England, a touch made still closer by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

In foreign affairs, the British Viceroys pursued a policy of "masterly inactivity." They held that Russia would be a safer neighbour than the unruly tribes of the North-West, and therefore stood aside while the Czar annexed Turkestan up to the Chinese frontier (1864-73). Europe was pressing hard upon Asia at this time. Russia annexed the great Chinese province of the Amur and founded there the naval base of Vladivostok on the Pacific (1858); France annexed Cochin-China in that part of the world where Chinese and Indian civilisations meet (1862); trouble at Canton and the murder of a French missionary led French and British troops to storm the Taku Forts, to sack the Summer Palace at Peking and to force the Chinese Emperor to pay an indemnity, cede Kowloon opposite Hong-Kong to Great Britain, open further treaty ports to the "foreign devils" and admit their ambassadors to his court and their traders and missionaries to the interior of his Celestial Empire (1858-60).

Further east, this pressure had more startling results. Many of the European and American traders who had recently

forced their way into Japan were not the best specimens of their kind. Japanese gentlemen signified their disapproval of some of their methods with their swords. One of the victims was a British subject ; a British squadron, therefore, bombarded Kagoshima. A noble, whose private fort commanded the Straits of Shimonoseki, fired on foreign vessels and was bombarded in return by a joint British, French, Dutch and American squadron. This flotilla then anchored off Kioto and compelled the helpless Japanese Shogun to open his ports to the trade of the world (1865).

The prime minister made the treaty without consulting the Mikado, and therefore had to bear the blame for the affront to Japanese national pride. The royalists rallied to their Emperor and, after a short civil war, abolished the office of Shogun, gave back to the Mikado the powers his ancestors had lost, and set up the imperial throne at Tokio (1868). The civil war was followed by a social revolution. Japan set to work methodically to make herself, as far as might be necessary, a Western power capable of standing up to the powers of the West. The nobles (daimios) and their Samurai retainers gave up their privileges, a new army was organised on the German model, a modern navy was begun, railways were built, even vaccination and the European calendar were adopted (1871-3). It was a mere beginning but it meant that the Industrial Revolution and all that it stood for in peace and in war was no longer the monopoly of Europeans. The Japanese revolution is one of the most important events in modern world history.

Summary.—The formation of so many large national states in Europe, North America and the Far East was not a coincidence. General economic causes lay behind it all. It was convenient to have the largest possible areas free from customs barriers and subject to one government, one law and one currency ; the borrowing powers of big states in the world's money market was much greater than that of small ones. Business considerations such as these played a large part in Canadian federation ; the German Empire was built on the Zollverein ; a war of tariffs with Austria helped to rally the Italians round Sardinia. Conversely, the trading jealousies of New South Wales and Victoria long postponed Australian federation and, later on, the same thing happened

in South Africa. What Kipling has called "the ties of common funk" also played their part. Canada federated partly from fear of being absorbed by the U.S.A.; fear of Austria drove the Italians together; fear and jealousy of France helped to consolidate Germany; the North forced the South to stay in the American Union lest the way should be opened for "entangling alliances" with European powers and European intervention like that of France in Mexico; Japan revolutionised herself as the only hope of beating off foreign interference. The enthusiasm for the *idea* of a united Italy inspired by Mazzini and Garibaldi, the fiery teaching of the German poets and professors and the war fever worked up by Bismarck helped to make Italy and the German Empire; the work of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, Bismarck, Lincoln, Macdonald and the Japanese "Elder Statesmen" show that, without leaders at the right time, opportunities might have been lost forever. But it was similar circumstances which gave these great men their chance each in his own country. The movement was general, the result, fundamentally, of the Industrial Revolution.

Books for Further Reading :

- Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe*, pp. 293-486; Ramsay Muir, *National Self-Government*, pp. 108-168; H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*, Lectures V and VI; F. M. Powicke, *Bismarck*; G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy and British History in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 324-369; F. L. Paxson, *The American Civil War*; H. E. Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, pp. 361-375; Sir A. Lyall, *British Dominion in India*, pp. 327 onwards; J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870-1900*, pp. 1-154.
- MAPS*.—Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas*, plates 9, 13, 14, 17, 21, 22 and 23; Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plates 56, 57 and 62.

CHAPTER XII.

BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1854-72.

Main Events.—While the States of Central Europe and North America were drawing together, two attempts were made to unite the scattered states of South Africa. Sir George Grey tried to federate the British colonies and the Free State; Pretorius tried to unite the Free State and the republics beyond the Vaal. Grey failed completely; Pretorius was only partially successful. Thereafter, South Africa had to face bad times financially and steady pressure by the Bantu tribe from Damara-Namaqualand right round to Zululand. The Cape abandoned the Transkei, the Transvaal withdrew from most of the Zoutspansberg, and the Free State had to fight two heavy campaigns against the Basutos, campaigns which ended with the annexation of most of Basutoland by Great Britain and, later, by the Cape.

The discovery of gold and diamonds in the interior radically changed South African life and politics. The inrush of new men and new money made it possible for the Cape to achieve self-government, but the annexation of the Diamond Fields and other territory further north (Keate Award Area) alienated the Republics from Great Britain and her colonies, at a time when European powers were beginning to take an interest in South Africa and the prospect of railway construction promised to raise all sorts of difficulties between the Republics and the Colonies. By 1872, South Africa began to pass into the railway and mining stage, the modern stage of its development.

The Rhenoster River Raid.—On succeeding his father as Commandant-General at Potchefstroom, Marthinus Pretorius had set out to unite all the Trekker republics. He had first tried in vain to persuade Panda to give him St. Lucia Bay, and to induce the republicans of Utrecht to join

his republic. He then tried to raise a revolution in the Free State before Hoffman could take office but, in spite of the support of many Winburgers, he failed here also (1854). He was more successful north of the Vaal and, in January, 1857, was elected President of the South African Republic. Zoutpansberg, however, repudiated the new Grondwet and Lydenburg declared itself an independent republic. Pretorius blockaded Zoutpansberg and once more tried to force the Free State into union. Hoffman had been driven from office and his successor, J. N. Boshof, was not securely in the saddle; revenues were very small and many Winburgers and others on the Basuto border wanted union with the Transvaal. Pretorius came to Bloemfontein and claimed authority as the son of Andries and, after he had been driven out, came back with a large commando. The Free State forces faced him on the Rhenoster River but the expected battle never took place. Each republic recognised the other's independence, Pretorius gave up all claim on Winburg and the rival commandos rode home (1857).

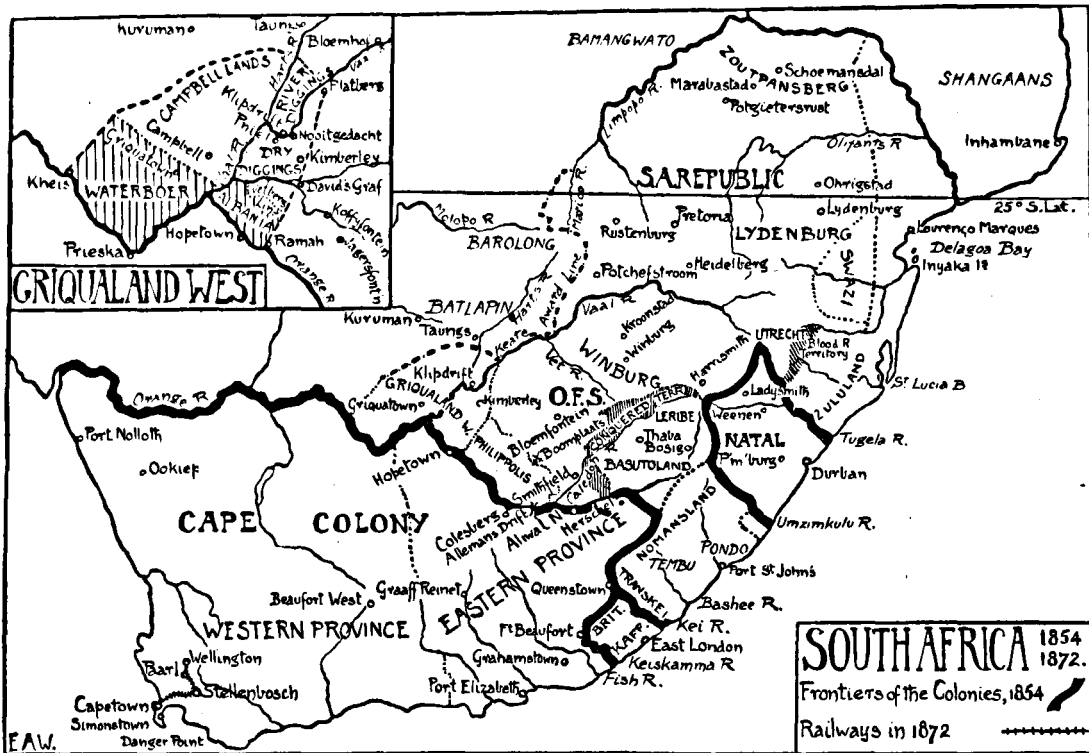
Grey's Federation Policy.—Sir George Grey (1854-61) had come as Governor to Capetown determined to carry out a sound native policy and to federate as much of South Africa as possible. South Africa was then more divided politically than ever before or since. There were three British colonies and virtually five republics. All these states were poor and thinly peopled; if they remained unconnected with one another, their laws and customs must drift further and further apart; they must quarrel over boundaries and trade routes; it was doubtful whether some of them could stand alone against the Bantu.

The outstanding fact was that the Europeans were stretched in a thin line from the Eastern Frontier through the Free State (the weakest link in the chain) down to the sea at Durban. They thus encircled the solid native territories of Basutoland and Kaffirland, while beyond the Vaal the Transvaalers were scattered among the tribes. Everywhere the tribesmen had more guns than hitherto. Some of these weapons were poor but others were as good as those of the Europeans, for as yet breech-loading rifles and cannon had not given the white men a great superiority in armament.

Grey's first duty was to establish peace on the borders of the Colony. He found that Shepstone was about to lead 50,000 Zulus from Natal into Nomansland, an empty strip at the foot of the Drakensberg mountains which Faku the Pondo had offered to Natal. Shepstone's plan was to relieve Natal of the pressure of some of its natives, but Grey stopped this trek. He could not have Zulus settling among the coast tribes, lest they cause trouble which must drive the Xosa over the Eastern Frontier. Besides, he meant to settle Europeans in Nomansland and thus cut off Basutoland from Kaffirland. Moshesh the Basuto was growing in power, gathering neighbouring chiefs under his sway and trying to get Faku to give him Nomansland. After the fall of Hoffman, matters became so strained on the Basuto-Free State border that Grey went north and persuaded Boshof and Moshesh to sign the Smithfield Treaty which laid down rules for the recovery of stolen cattle (1855). He then turned to deal with the Eastern Frontier itself.

At the end of the late Kaffir War, Cathcart had given the confiscated lands of the rebel Hottentots within the colonial border and the parts round Queenstown to Europeans and had enlarged the reserve of the loyal Fingos. His policy in British Kaffraria had been that of Philip Stockenstrom and, at the last, of Harry Smith: to leave the tribal lands untouched, to rule the tribes through their chiefs with magistrates as advisers and to trust to time and intercourse with Europeans to civilise them. He had raised mounted police, the first of the kind in South Africa, to keep order.

Grey feared that war would come before the system had had time to take effect. He persuaded the Cape Parliament to raise more police, to organise volunteer regiments and to vote £10,000 annually towards the cost of the Imperial troops, while H.M. Government gave him an annual grant of £40,000 for expenses in British Kaffraria. His general policy was very like D'Urban's second policy in 1835 and his own in New Zealand. He meant to replace rule by chiefs with rule by magistrates and to settle Europeans between the native reserves. He was opposed by some of the Kaffrarian officials but he was helped by cattle-sickness. The cattle in which the fines of justice had to be paid were dying. The chiefs were therefore willing to take small salaries instead of levying these fines and, having no direct



interest now in criminal cases, left them to magistrates who did the best they could with a mixture of Colonial law and common sense. The chiefs still heard civil cases while Grey encouraged them to use ploughs, to irrigate their lands and to make roads. He himself set up industrial schools and a hospital at Kingwilliamstown as civilising centres.

The Xosa and the Tembu cleared the way for Grey's colonising policy by their own folly. Stirred up by prophets and by Moshesh, they slew their cattle and destroyed their crops in the belief that on the appointed day a whirlwind would sweep the white men into the sea, the dead heroes would arise and out of the ground would come wonderful cattle and mealies. The appointed day passed and starvation followed (February, 1857). The population of British Kaffraria was reduced by two-thirds. What the losses were beyond the Kei, no man knows.

This disaster coming after two long wars broke the power of the frontier tribes. Grey let Sandile the Gaika keep part of his old reserve under the care of a magistrate, but he confiscated the lands of the other chiefs who had killed their cattle and thus tried to drive their people into war with the Colony, pushed the remains of Kreli's Galekas back behind the Bashee river, and kept the Transkei between the Kei and Bashee empty by patrols of Cape police. He then settled the confiscated Kaffrarian lands with men of the German Legion discharged at the close of the Crimean War, persuaded the Cape Parliament to vote money for other immigrants to the Colony, and looked forward to linking up Natal with the Colony by settling Europeans in the Transkei and Nomansland.

So far, Grey had carried out his Kaffrarian policy in constant dread of war between whites and blacks in some part or other of South Africa, a war which might easily spread far afield. There had been a panic in Natal that the Zulus were coming; the Rhenoster River Raid had been unsettling; Moshesh had egged on the Xosa to kill their cattle because he believed that war was coming between himself and the Free Staters and, in that case, he meant to stop the Colonists from coming to the help of the Republicans by giving them occupation nearer home.

Grey disliked the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions, which prevented him from dealing with South Africa

as a whole, forbade him to sell ammunition to the tribes and also forbade him to cut off powder supplies from the republicans even when rival Presidents asked him to do so. He held that this put the tribes at the mercy of the republicans and drove them to make anti-European alliances among themselves. Moreover, constant reports reached him that the Transvaalers were dealing in slaves, that they were claiming all Africa north of the Vaal and that they were oppressing native tribes.

The native policy of the Transvaalers was really an enlarged edition of that of republican Natal. Natives who did not belong to any chief had to work under contract. Vassal chiefs held their reserves so long as they behaved themselves, supplied labour when called upon and had no arms or horses. Missionaries were forbidden to go into the reserves without leave. The Boers as a body were not hostile to missionaries as such, but they all hated the London Missionary Society, for some of its men were apt to act as political advisers to the chiefs and some, like David Livingstone, gave them guns. The elder Pretorius had tried so hard to get control of the Missionaries' Road which ran along the borderlands of both republics to the Zambesi that he had involved himself in a struggle with Livingstone (1851). Livingstone was now gone on his famous journeys along the Zambesi, but the bad name he had helped to give the Transvaalers remained. In some parts that bad name was deserved. The intentions of the Transvaal government were good but its authority in the borderlands was *nil*. It failed to limit the number of guns which elephant hunters might give to their black followers; it failed to stop the traffic in the apprentices who were even sent into the north-eastern Cape Colony, and the "blackbirding" by men in the Zoutpansberg who were in touch with the slave trading Portuguese.

Grey rightly paid no attention to some of the stories of the misdeeds of the Transvaalers, but he decided that the Transvaal must not get control of the Free State. The failure of a Free State campaign against the Basutos gave him his opportunity. Boshof had foolishly accepted as a vassal Jan Letelle, a noted cattle thief and Moshesh's personal rival. Moshesh made this an excuse for reprisals, the burghers marched against Thaba Bosigo, the Basutos invaded

the Free State, and the commandos broke up (1858). Grey, weakened though he was by having to send so many of his troops to fight the Indian mutineers, hurried north and mediated peace. By the First Treaty of Aliwal North, both sides dropped their claims for compensation and accepted the Warden Line as a boundary with a small extension in favour of the Basutos between the Caledon and the Orange.

Grey found that some Free Staters were clamouring for union with the Transvaal, others for union with the Colony. He warned them that a republican union would mean the modification of the Conventions. Boshof and his Volksraad, therefore, asked the Cape to consider federation, and Grey, going beyond his instructions (not for the first time), raised the matter in the Cape Parliament. Lytton, the Secretary of State, fearing that Great Britain was about to be saddled with another O.R. Sovereignty, dismissed him (1859).

Economic Conditions.—Grey was presently reappointed on condition that no more was heard of federation. He was, however, well justified in believing in 1859 that federation was possible. Population, wealth and means of communication were all increasing in South Africa. In spite of some set-backs, times were very good. Europe and North America gave war prices for wool, the great Cape export; important new banks like the Standard Bank were opened in South Africa; better ocean mails were provided and the Cape issued its famous three-cornered stamps; colonists poured into the Colony and British Kaffraria; Natal imported Indian coolies to develop the sugar plantations which soon became her chief asset; Durban opened the first South African railway, two miles long, in 1860, while between 1859 and 1864, companies built railways from Capetown to Wellington and Wynberg. Even the distant republics shared in the prosperity and looked for the roads which were being pushed up towards them from the colonies.

On the other hand, it is doubtful whether Grey's federation could have stood the strain of the bad times which soon came. From 1862 till 1870 there were droughts; English cloth manufacturers wanted long wool instead of the short wools of the Cape; the Lancashire cotton mills

closed, the American wool market collapsed at the end of the War of Secession, there was a run on the Bank of England. All these things hit South Africa hard. Local banks and merchants failed and men began to emigrate to New Zealand or the U.S.A., or to the republics in the hope of escaping the drought and taxation. As early as 1857 the Transvaal had begun to pay its way with paper "good-fors"; by 1865 the Free State had been forced to issue paper and the Cape very nearly followed its example.

Annexation of British Kaffraria.—The High Commissioner who had to face the bad times was Sir Philip Wodehouse. He was a much more able and upright man than he is sometimes said to have been but, quite apart from the drought, he was unlucky. He was a much less charming man than Grey and he had to do what Grey had avoided doing, and that is to tax. He was also under strict orders to avoid military expenditure and to incorporate British Kaffraria in the Colony.

This was easier said than done. The Easterners centring round Grahamstown wanted to incorporate Kaffraria in a separate Eastern Province; the Kaffrarians wanted to become a separate colony themselves and to incorporate the Transkei and Nomansland; the Westerners and many of the Eastern Dutch wanted neither Separation nor Kaffraria, for Separation would mean that they would lose their share of the customs revenue of Port Elizabeth, the port of entry for goods going up-country, and Kaffraria would be expensive to defend. Some of the Westerners, led by John Molteno wanted responsible government but many others feared that that would mean the withdrawal of the Imperial troops.

The weaknesses of the Cape constitution were shown in the disputes which ensued. Wodehouse had to go to Parliament for laws and money; the majority in Parliament disapproved of his policy and, since they could not get rid of him and his officials, they obstructed business. Much the same sort of thing happened in the Legislative Council of Natal and in both colonies the constitutions drifted towards a deadlock.

The Cape Parliament repeatedly refused to annex Kaffraria, but in 1864, Wodehouse got some of the taxes he wanted by dint of holding the session at Grahamstown,

giving the Eastern Province a court of its own, and offering to give out farms in the Transkei. The frontiersmen held that the terms were too hard and some of them tried to persuade Wodehouse to push Krelis's Galekas back behind the Umtata river so that they might safely settle on all up to the Bashee; but Wodehouse, seeing that Krelis was really cramped for room as it was, let him come westward into the coast belt of the Transkei and offered the inland parts on easier terms to Colonists. He was, however, ordered to abandon the whole of the Transkei to the tribes. He still tried to induce the Fingos and some of the Tembus to give up their old reserves to farmers, but, though these tribes cheerfully occupied their new lands east of the Kei, they held on to their old lands to the west. Short of using force and causing a war, the Governor could not move them (1864-5).

The abandonment of the Transkei and the stoppage of the Imperial grant convinced some of the Kaffrarians that they must enter the Cape Colony. The Imperial Parliament passed an Act which empowered Wodehouse to incorporate it, if the Cape Parliament refused to move. Wodehouse was thus able to carry his annexation bill at last (1865). The Kaffrarians came up for the 1866 session pledged to work for responsible government but conditions were so bad that no one ventured to bring that suggestion forward seriously till 1871. It then came forward with the blessing of H.M. Government for, by 1871, many things had happened in South Africa.

Transvaal Civil War.—The failure of Grey's federation scheme threw the Free State into the arms of the S.A. Republic. In spite of his failure at Rhenoster River, Pretorius had persuaded Zoutpansberg to accept the Grondwet, while little, unruly Utrecht had joined the rival republic of Lydenburg (1858). Two years later Pretorius came to terms with Lydenburg-Utrecht and thus completed the formation of the S.A. Republic on paper. At the same time he had himself elected President of the Free State in the hope of uniting the two republics (1860).

Pretorius was defeated in the end by the opposition of the eastern Transvaalers and the diplomacy of Moshesh. The one thing that Moshesh feared, other than a quarrel

with the High Commissioner, was a union of the Free State and the Transvaal against him. Nevertheless, he refused to stop his subordinate chiefs from stealing cattle until Pretorius should keep his thievish vassal, Jan Letelle, in order. Pretorius tried to make some arrangement with him but, before he could do so, he had to hurry back to the Transvaal.

There the members of the state church were quarrelling with the Doppers who had just obtained a minister for themselves and had found a champion in Paul Kruger. The Lydenburgers in the Volksraad had also decreed that the President of the Free State could hold no authority in the Transvaal. Pretorius therefore resigned his Transvaal presidency. Schoeman, the leading man in the Zoutpansberg, then summoned Het Volk, ordered the election of a new Volksraad and gave Pretorius a year's leave but, once he had become acting-president, Schoeman summoned the old Volksraad and prosecuted his opponents for sedition. Kruger called out a commando to uphold the lawful government and Pretorius dashed north once more in time to avert bloodshed and to arrange for a new Volksraad election.

On his return to Bloemfontein, Pretorius found that the situation there was improving. Adam Kok had sold the remains of his Philippolis reserve to the Free State and was preparing to trek to Nomansland where Grey had offered him land; Moshesh's people had beaten Letelle soundly; a Free State commission had pleased Moshesh by declaring that Letelle and his European confederates were more to blame for cattle thefts than the Basutos. Pretorius was thus set free to go to Capetown to ask for the Free State's share of the customs revenues collected at the Cape ports, and to ask Wodehouse to define the Basuto boundary and to arbitrate between the two republics in their quarrel over their mutual boundary on the upper Vaal (1862). All that he got was a promise from Wodehouse to arbitrate the Basuto line if Moshesh was willing.

Moshesh was not willing. It is true that he had never questioned the southern boundary which Grey himself had marked out, but he had not given up his claim to the belt of farms which lay fifteen miles to the west of the Warden Line. Meanwhile, he had sent one of his sons

into Nomansland and asked Adam Kok to settle there as his vassal.

Moshesh was more obstinate than ever, because civil war had broken out in the Transvaal. The new Volksraad had elected C. J. van Rensburg as acting-president. Schoeman and Pretorius's supporters in Potchefstroom refused to recognise him, even when Kruger with the men of Rustenburg and Lydenburg bombarded them in Potchefstroom. Pretorius who had just entered that town, had to flee back south of the Vaal while three landdrosts and a jury banished his chief supporters, and a handful of burghers elected van Rensburg President and Kruger Commandant-General. Pretorius, fearing to lose his hold on the Transvaal altogether, resigned the Free State presidency; whereupon Moshesh pushed his old claims to the uttermost and demanded a line northward to the Vaal which would have cut off half the Winburg and Harrismith districts.

Fortunately, at this stage, the civil war in the Transvaal came to an end. Hitherto it had not been serious but now the friends of Pretorius refused to abide by yet another election which made van Rensburg President. Some of them rashly attacked Kruger near his headquarters at Rustenburg and this time Kruger shot in good earnest. That ended the war. Pretorius regained the Presidency and, with Kruger as Commandant-General, began to give the Transvaal something like a settled government (1864).

Basuto Wars.—Civil war in the Transvaal and the growing power of Moshesh had ruined the respect which the Bantu had had for the Europeans. They began to press upon them all along the line. While the coast tribes were flooding the Transkei, a fierce struggle arose in Namaqua-Damaraland, where the Bantu Hereros threw off the yoke of the Hottentots and, in the confusion, obliged some of the Rhenish missionaries and white traders to leave the country. On the western borders of the republics, Griquas and Batlapin claimed lands which the republicans regarded as their own; continual scuffling between the tribes and white ruffians began to drive the Transvaal authorities out of the Zoutpansberg; Kruger had to mass a strong commando near the south-eastern border, because the Zulu Cetewayo had gathered his impis to regain land along the Blood River which he and his father

Panda had ceded to the Transvaal in 1861. It was at this moment that Moshesh forced his quarrel with the Free State to a crisis.

The Free State had found a strong President in J. H. Brand, son of the Cape Speaker (1864). Brand had at once asked Wodehouse to arbitrate between him and Moshesh. This Wodehouse did, to Brand's great satisfaction, upholding the Warden Line, except at one point where he gave the Basutos a little extra, and marking out the line personally. Moshesh could not make war over the boundary now, but he did not mean to give up his claims to what lay beyond it. His nephew Lesoana (Ramanela) tempted a commando to attack him, other Basutos went to his rescue, and Brand was obliged to declare war (1865).

The war, fought in the centre of South Africa, at once threatened to involve all the South African states. Lesoana raided Natal and seized cattle which he said were Free State beasts and captured Transvaal waggons on Free State soil. Natal clamoured for war and the Transvaalers promised to help the Free Staters as soon as they could. The Free Staters as they advanced, declared all the Basuto grass and cornlands annexed and plainly stated that they meant to break up the Basuto tribes just as D'Urban had tried to do with the Xosa in Queen Adelaide long ago. But two attempts to storm Thaba Bosigo failed, Moshesh offered his country to the Queen, the Free Staters raised the siege of the Thaba, and Brand left patrols to watch the valley of the Caledon where they were presently joined by a force from the Transvaal which did little more than collect cattle and horses and retire home to restore order in the Zoutpansberg.

Wodehouse tried to limit the scope of the fighting. He managed to keep Natal out of it as soon as he discovered that her claim for compensation was grossly exaggerated; but Natalians and Cape Colonists were taking part in the war privately, Brand was calling for volunteers, Basutos were already seeking refuge in Colonial native territories, neighbouring independent tribes were taking part on one side or the other, and the Volksraad, against Brand's advice, was ejecting the Paris missionaries from the Conquered Territory and thus raising a storm in Europe. Wodehouse warned Brand that, if he raised volunteers in the colonies, he would

cut off gunpowder supplies, and begged the Secretary of State to give him leave to annex Basutoland. Brand, however, unexpectedly called out all his burghers and defeated Molapo, chief of Leribe, the northern part of Basutoland. By the Treaty of Imparani, Molapo promised to rule Leribe as a vassal of the republic and, to gain time, Moshesh signed the Treaty of Thaba Bosigo, ceding the Conquered Territory to the Free State (1866).

A little later Moshesh repudiated the treaty. The commandos therefore began to destroy the crops and drive the tribesmen out of the Conquered Territory. To save the crops, Letsie, Moshesh's heir, and some other chiefs asked to be taken over as Free State subjects. This was done and the burghers advanced once more against Thaba Bosigo (1867). Half the Basutos sat still growing corn, the rest harassed the commandos, Moshesh and Letsie asked to be taken over by Natal and, at last, Wodehouse was given leave to arrange with Moshesh for the annexation of Basutoland by Natal and the fixing of a definite boundary.

He decided to act at once. Refugees were pouring into the Colony; war had broken out again in Namaqua-Damara-land and was spreading to the northern Colony; in the background, the Transvaal authorities had abandoned Schoemansdal in the Zoutpansberg. The Basuto war was only the storm centre of a general uproar. The Basutos were short of powder, but the Free Staters could not garrison the thabas they had stormed, Thaba Bosigo still stood and, though food was scarce in some parts, there was plenty elsewhere and the Conquered Territory was still full of Basutos. But if the Free Staters were able to break up the tribes, there was a real danger that they would send them flying into the Colony or Kaffirland or Natal. If that happened there was no knowing where the trouble would end. Wodehouse went beyond his instructions, cut off powder supplies and annexed Basutoland (March, 1868).

It was some time before the ultimate fate of Basutoland was decided. The Free Staters were angry with Wodehouse for stopping the war when they had had the enemy "on the run," the Secretary of State because he had exceeded his instructions, the Paris missionaries and the Basutos because he would not give them back all the land they had lost. The Cape Assembly censured his policy;

Natal asked for all Basutoland provided it could pay its own expenses and provide land for white settlement; rival chiefs and white scallywags raided each other's cattle on the Basuto borders; there was fighting with Hottentots in the northern Colony; Wodehouse had to send a gunboat to Walfisch Bay in the hope of ending the fighting in Damaraland, and Bismarck asked inconvenient questions about the amount of protection that Great Britain was prepared to give German subjects in those parts.

After long months of negotiation, the Basuto trouble was settled on better terms than the Free State Volksraad had expected, and, by the Second Treaty of Aliwal North, the much-debated cornlands were divided between the combatants (1869). A little later Moshesh died, leaving what was still a substantial kingdom to his son Letsie; Leribe was reunited to Basutoland and, rather than see the territory go to Natal, the Cape took over the government of the whole (1871).

Meanwhile peace was restored in Damaraland and, in the Zoutpansberg, Swazis and Shangaans ended the fighting by destroying some of the mountain clans. Nevertheless, the Transvaal authorities abandoned Potgietersrust. Wodehouse then departed leaving an acting-Governor to face the new problems which were already arising.

Gold and Diamonds.—In 1867, at the darkest hour of the depression when every one was expecting that the speedy completion of the Suez Canal would ruin the trade of the Cape, a diamond was picked up on Colonial soil near the point at which the Missionaries' Road to the Interior crossed the middle Orange. Other stones were soon found further to the north, but at first men took the gold which had been discovered at Tati, also in 1867, more seriously than the diamonds.

These mineral discoveries gave the Interior a value which it had never had before. Two questions stood out clearly. Who was to control the rush to Tati along the Road? Did Delagoa Bay, the port nearest to the gold-fields, belong to Portugal or to Great Britain?

Pretorius was first in the field. In the hope of saving the finances of his republic whose paper money was fast falling in value and much of whose land was mortgaged to

creditors in the colonies, he proclaimed a western boundary which took in Tati and half Bechuanaland and, on the east, a thin strip down to Delagoa Bay (1868). He had to draw back in face of the protests of the annexed chiefs, Portugal and Great Britain, but next year he made a commercial treaty with the Portuguese. Great Britain and Portugal, for their part, presently referred their claims to Delagoa Bay to the President of the new French Republic (1872).

The dispute for the control of the Missionaries' Road had begun long before the gold and diamond discoveries. It involved the western borderlands of both republics, those of the Free State to the south of the lower Vaal and those of the S.A. Republic to the north. The Free State quarrel arose with the Griquas. In 1855, the Free State had recognised Nicholas Waterboer as sovereign ruler of Griquatown to the west of the lower Vaal, and also of a wedge of land to the east of the river and south of the Vetberg Line which Adam Kok marked out to divide the claims of Waterboer and Cornelis Kok of Campbell. Cornelis had then given his possessions to Adam who, in 1861, decided to sell his Philippolis reserve to the Free State. Adam's agent had swindled him by selling also the lands of the late Cornelis, that is, the Campbell Lands west of the Vaal and whatever claims there might be to the east of the river. Before trekking to Nomansland, Adam, on the advice of David Arnot, a clever law-agent, publicly denied that he had ever sold Cornelis's bequest.

Arnot, who was the moving spirit in the whole of the dispute, then became agent to Waterboer and claimed for him all that is now Griqualand West, that is, the Campbell Lands and a block of territory north of the Vetberg Line as well as the lands Nicholas had inherited from his father, Andries. It was this block north of the Vetberg Line which afterwards became so important for it was there that the famous Dry Diggings were discovered. The territory claimed by Arnot was bounded on the east by a line running through Ramah, David's Graf and Platberg, which had been agreed on in 1838 by the elder Waterboer and Adam of Philippolis, and on the north by a line cutting just above the junction of the Vaal and Harts rivers where the River Diggings were presently found.

In those days, the Cape archives were in confusion and the history of South Africa was not so well known as it is to-day, but, even so, Arnot's case could be shown to be wrong on many points. It rested mainly on the claim that Cornelis Kok had been a vassal of the two Waterboers and had held his land from them. But Cornelis had really been an independent chief; the O.R. Sovereignty had merely recognised his right to *own* land east of the Vaal and not to rule it; the Free State had taken the same line and had long exercised jurisdiction right up to the Vaal. Brand, moreover, held that it was absurd to claim a huge territory thinly-peopled with Europeans, Koranas and Batlapin, on behalf of a chief who ruled a few Griquas in one corner of it. He would not discuss any claims to the lands east of the Vaal, but, as his own claim to the Campbell Lands was shaky, he asked Wodehouse to arbitrate thereon (1864).

Wodehouse was willing to arbitrate, but Arnot managed to shelve the matter and presented the claims of the Batlapin chief, Mahura, against the Transvaal. The Transvaal claimed much more land on the west than its burghers occupied; Arnot, on the other hand, claimed a line from Platberg up the Makwassie Spruit and round to the sources of the Harts and Molapo which would have cut off large settled portions of the republic. The Basuto wars interrupted the dispute but Pretorius's attempted annexations in 1868 revived it in a worse form than ever. Other chiefs beside Waterboer and Mahura put forward claims to large areas, notably Montsioa the Barolong who lived near the sources of the Molapo with his adviser, the Wesleyan Ludorf.

Then came the discovery of the River Diggings round Klipdrift on the north bank of the lower Vaal in territory claimed by the Transvaal, the "Molapo" chiefs and Waterboer (1870). Brand, alarmed at the rush of diggers, asked Wodehouse to arbitrate on the Campbell Lands. It was too late. That just man was on the point of sailing home and, as he sailed, Pretorius "upset the applecart" by giving a monopoly of diamond digging to three men. The diggers at Klipdrift at once proclaimed the River Diggings an independent republic.

Annexation of Griqualand West and the Keate Award Area.—River diggings were soon discovered on the

Free State side of the Vaal at Pniel and the two republics tried to come to terms with their opponents. A conference at Nootgedacht broke down, Waterboer asked to be taken over as a British subject, and Brand proclaimed the Campbell Lands Free State territory and sent a magistrate to Pniel. At this crisis, diamonds were found at Dorstfontein (Dutoitspan) right on the Ramah-Platberg Line where Kimberley now stands. A cry arose in the Colony that the Cape as the strongest state in South Africa must take charge of these Dry Diggings, on the ground that many diggers were from the Colony and they might set up another little republic and plunge the valley of the Orange into the confusion from which it had just emerged at the end of the Basuto wars.

These appeals were supported by Richard Southey, the colonial secretary, who was anxious to check the republics as far as possible. Hay, the acting-High Commissioner, listened to him and sent a magistrate to control British subjects at Klipdrift. Sir Henry Barkly, the new High Commissioner, then arrived and went north to visit Pretorius. He arranged with him that the Transvaal land claims should be referred to an arbitration court at Bloemhof with Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, as final umpire. Keate had just settled the old quarrel between the two republics over the upper Vaal boundary in the Transvaal's favour, but Brand was not willing to have him as umpire in this new dispute. He asked for foreign arbitration on the Campbell Lands since the British officials were really parties to the case. Barkly refused, for he feared foreign intervention in a country where Great Britain had held the first place for so long.

To make matters worse, trouble arose at Pniel; Brand sent up a commando with guns and Barkly sent Cape police to Klipdrift. That crisis passed and, when diamonds were found at Bultfontein next to Dorstfontein, Brand offered to submit even the land east of the Vaal, on which the Dry Diggings stood, to foreign arbitration. Barkly again refused and pressed the Secretary of State to let him take over Waterboer and his territory, especially the Dry Diggings where the diggers threatened to come to blows with the syndicates which owned to diamond-bearing farms. Stones were then found at Vooruitzicht close by; Brand sent a magistrate thither and, a week or two later, the richest

finds of all were made on this very farm at Colesberg Kopje, afterwards the famous Kimberley Mine.

The British Government was still unwilling to annex any more land in South Africa, but, before the discoveries at Colesberg Kopje, it had given Barkly leave to annex whatever territory might really be Waterboer's provided the Cape would rule it. The Cape Assembly approved by a majority of one, on the understanding that no republican territory was annexed, and unanimously left it to the High Commissioner to maintain order till a final settlement could be made. Meanwhile, the Bloemhof court had failed to agree on Pretorius's claims. Keate had to give the final decision. On the evidence submitted to him, evidence which had been skilfully given by the advocates of the tribes and hopelessly mishandled by Pretorius, he gave the natives the line they claimed along Makwassie Spruit. He also mentioned Platberg as Waterboer's north-eastern beacon. This gave Barkly something definite to go upon. He promptly annexed Griqualand West and proclaimed the Keate Award line (October, 1871).

The republics were thus pushed well back from the Missionaries' Road. The Transvaalers refused to accept the Keate Award, forced Pretorius to resign and tried to persuade Brand to become president of both republics even if that meant the cancelling of the Conventions. Brand refused. He feared that it might lead to a war which would fatally divide the Europeans in face of the tribes and he believed that, when the true facts were known in England, "alles sal reg kom." The Transvaalers therefore elected T. F. Burgers, an unorthodox predikant from the Cape, in the hope that he would make a better diplomat than Pretorius (1872). Brand was left to press for a settlement of his claims on the Diamond Fields, a settlement which was only made in 1876.

Meanwhile, in Griqualand West itself the British officials were soon faced with all the difficulties that the Free State had been spared. Real power lay in the hands of elected Diggers' Committees; as soon as the republican colour bar was removed, trouble arose over the holding of digging licenses by non-Europeans; the riff-raff of half the world gathered round the diggers; the output of stones increased so fast that prices fell. On one thing the mixed

population of the Diamond Fields was agreed; it did not want to be annexed by the Cape and it rioted joyfully when it learnt that the Cape Parliament would not take over Griqualand West after all. A Crown Colony government was therefore set up at Kimberley (Dutoitspan) under Southey, and H.M. Government found itself saddled with an expensive and unwanted colony far up in the Interior (1873).

Self-government in Cape Colony.—Politically, the discovery of diamonds was disastrous, but economically it gave new life to South Africa. The Free State was given a market which set it on its feet; Natal prospered on the traffic through Durban and began to import Indian coolies once more for her sugar-fields; the far-distant Transvaal plucked up hope; the Cape Colony secured responsible government.

There had really been no chance of securing self-government since Grey had left the Cape. Revenue fell, the tribes swarmed on the borders, and both Governor and Parliament begged H.M. Government not to withdraw the garrison nor to ask the Colony to pay more than it was paying for such soldiers as remained. The garrison was only reduced very gradually while Molteno resisted further taxation and tried to cut down the civil service. Wodehouse, on the other hand, tried to reform the constitution by abolishing the unpopular Legislative Council and giving officials seats in the Assembly as in Natal.

Something of the sort had recently been done in self-governing Jamaica and, as the Cape had just annexed British Kaffraria with its tribes and might soon annex Basutoland, Wodehouse and many others felt that it would be more like Jamaica than colonies of settlement, such as Canada, which alone could be trusted with self-government. In 1869 the Assembly reached a deadlock with the executive and the upper house on matters of finance. Wodehouse dissolved the Assembly and appealed to the country. The electors rejected his "Jamaica reforms" and the new Assembly threw out most of his money bills (1870). Wodehouse then retired; but the long drought had broken, gold and diamonds were known to be realities, ostrich chicks had been hatched artificially for the first time, a boom in feathers had set in

and, since the Colonists would not allow themselves to be governed, the British government sent Barkly to set up responsible government so that they might rule themselves.

Barkly's officials were against the change; Easterners were against it unless it was accompanied by the separation of the East from the West; many Westerners were against it for fear of the expense and the possibility that the Colony might undergo at the hands of "carpet-baggers" and ignorant coloured voters, the kind of "reconstruction" that the defeated Confederate States in North America had barely survived. On the other hand, the Kaffrarians and most of the Westerners supported Molteno when he introduced the necessary bill (1871). The bill passed the lower house only to be rejected by the Legislative Council. It was brought forward again next session as a government measure and, in view of a bounding revenue and the prospect of acquiring the Diamond Fields, it duly passed both houses side by side with another bill which gave the East as many seats as the West (1872). Molteno became first prime minister and carried the constitutional reforms still further. He appointed J. H. de Villiers, a Colonist born, chief justice, cut up the old Eastern and Western Provinces into seven "circles" each returning three members to the upper house, and began to push on a state railway towards the Diamond Fields. The railway era had begun.

Books for Further Reading :

- A. P. Newton, *The Unification of South Africa*, vol. i, pp. 1-16; G. W. Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents*, pp. 59-64, 127, 194-7, 224-6, 246, 314-36, 420-37. Also G. M. Theal, *History of South Africa since 1795*; E. A. Walker, *Political History of South Africa*.
M.A.P.S.—E. A. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*,—plates 13, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19.

SECTION III.

CHAPTER XIII.

IMPERIALISM, 1872-1905.

Main Events.—The great political changes of the years 1859-72 ruined the work of the Congress of Vienna, solidified the rubble of states in Central Europe into two big states north and south of the Alps, and shifted the centre of power on the Continent from Paris to Berlin. The new German Empire took a leading part in settling the affairs of the Turkish Empire after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and thus set the stage for the drama on which the guns of 1914 rang down the curtain.

It is convenient to divide that drama into two parts at about the year 1905. Up to that time the Western world grew rapidly in wealth and in numbers. An uneasy peace was maintained among the Big Powers by the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, and the Dual Alliance of France and Russia with Great Britain standing aloof from both. In spite of the efforts of Nihilists to weaken or even to abolish governments and states, governments everywhere grew stronger and less easy to overturn so long as they had their armies on their side. The national states, new and old, became Imperialistic.

Great nations like the British, American and German manufactured and traded on a hitherto unheard of scale, and all of them, except the British, protected their home industries against foreign competition in seventeenth century style. Most of them also built up overseas trading empires for the more or less exclusive use of their own people, while Great Britain occupied large areas to keep them open to Free Trade. The Western world scrambled for the economic control of Africa, a scramble in which South Africa was involved, and then for control of the Far East. There they

were checked when Japan heavily defeated Russia (1904-5). The disasters of the Russo-Japanese war led to a revolution in Russia. It was a warning that the West, which had hitherto expanded so lightheartedly, must look to its own internal condition.

Political Situation in Europe.—The guiding principle in the formation of the great states had been Nationalism, the idea of One Nation, One State. In theory, these states rested on unity of race, on a common language and on common traditions, economic interests and sentiment: but, in fact, only seven states fulfilled all those conditions and all of these were small except Italy. Others contained minorities like the Irish which did not share the national feeling of the majority of their fellow citizens. The German Empire contained many Poles, Danes and Frenchmen and shut out the German Austrians; the empires of Austria-Hungary, Russia and Turkey contained many peoples. There was a very real danger that these minorities might be denied their rights as citizens because they were not part of the nation. One of the problems of the period was how to avoid this sacrifice of Liberalism to Nationalism.

It was a problem seen at its worst in the Dual Monarchy, for in Austria rival national groups made parliamentary institutions almost unworkable, and in Hungary the Magyars rigged the elections and ruled their subject peoples as they chose. Nevertheless Liberals could boast of having done much in "Old Europe." By 1872 Russia and Turkey alone were frankly despotic monarchies and, even in Russia, the reforming Czar Alexander II had freed the serfs, made the law courts independent of the executive and set up district councils. Everywhere there was a fuller freedom of the press and of speech and more religious toleration than there had been in the palmy days of the Holy Alliance. Great Britain's prestige stood high; her political institutions had been widely copied. France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and an increasing number of British colonies had parliaments of two houses and responsible ministries; other states like the German Empire and the Scandinavian kingdoms had democratic franchises but no ministerial responsibility to parliament; in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Serbia and Rumania power lay nominally with the legislature, but, owing to the

illiteracy of the electors and the powers of corruption and pressure wielded by the officials, it really lay with the executive.

The Eastern Question.—After the Franco-German war, Bismarck wanted peace in which to consolidate the empire he had built up. The main principle of his policy was never to run the risk of war with France and Russia at the same time. He knew that France looked forward to *La Revanche*, the return match for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. He therefore revived the Holy Alliance in the *Dreikaiserbund*, an informal agreement between Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary to keep the general peace and to check revolution (1872). Next year he made an alliance with Russia. Thus the military powers of the East and Centre overshadowed the Liberal powers of the West: defeated France and isolated Great Britain.

Bismarck supported the republican party in France in the belief that a republic would be more peaceful than a monarchy; but in 1873 the French unexpectedly paid off the war indemnity, got rid of the German army of occupation and began to reorganise their own army just as the German government, faced by a financial crisis brought on by over-speculation on the strength of the French war indemnity, found itself involved in a struggle with the Catholic Church for the control of education. At a hint from Bismarck, German newspapers ("the reptile press" as he used to call them) talked of war so loudly that Great Britain and Russia had to warn him to let the French alone (1875). Bismarck passed the incident off with a laugh, but he did not forgive the Czar.

Meanwhile the *Dreikaiserbund* had arranged to act together in South-eastern Europe. Bismarck had stood aside in 1871, as he had promised, while Russia tore up the clauses of the Treaty of Paris neutralising the Black Sea, launched her warships on that sea and refortified Sebastopol. A nationalist Panslav movement had been gaining strength in Russia for some time past, and the Panslavs urged their Czar to go to the rescue of the Southern Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula who were still being misruled by the Turkish Sultan. The "Young Turks" led by Midhat Pasha replied by organising a Panislam movement to fight all westernising

influences. The Slavs of Herzegovina then rebelled against the Sultan, fierce fighting took place, and the Concert of Europe asked the Sultan, who had just gone bankrupt, to reform his government.

The difficulty was to make him do so. The Powers were jealous of one another. Alexander dreaded the thought of Austria-Hungary at the great port of Salonica; Austria feared to see the Russians at Constantinople and could not very well help the Slavs in Turkey without encouraging other Slavs who were being repressed by the Hungarians. France did not want to see either of these Powers drawing near to Egypt and Syria where she had great financial interests; Great Britain, the traditional enemy of Russia, ruler of millions of Indian Moslems who looked towards the Sultan as Commander of the Faithful, and owner of half the shares in the Suez Canal, was determined to uphold the Turkish Empire as a barrier to Russia. Besides, Disraeli, the British premier, was a Jew by birth with no love for Russia, the oppressor of the Jews. Like so many of the older men of that time, he believed in blood and race rather than in nationality and held that it was good that men of various races should live together under one government, even that of the Sultan. The alternative, in his eyes, was "the break-up of existing empires with no likelihood of anything but chaos to take their place," in other words, what we call "Balkanisation."

The Sultan cheerfully promised reforms, but he would not have the joint Moslem-Christian committee of supervision which would alone have ensured their being carried out. The Serbians took up arms, volunteers from Russia came to help the rebels and, in the confusion, the French and German consuls at Salonica were killed. The Central Powers repeated their demands for reform and threatened to take action; whereupon Disraeli sent a British squadron into Turkish waters for a time. A series of palace revolutions then placed a new Sultan, Abdul Hamid, on the throne. He defeated the Serbians and massacred the revolted Bulgarians to such an extent that Gladstone, leader of the Liberal Opposition at Westminster, demanded that the "unspeakable Turk" should be bundled out of Bulgaria "bag and baggage."

Disraeli took a cooler view. He persuaded Abdul to allow a meeting of ambassadors to take place at Constantinople and made a speech which the Turks read as a promise of British support. Abdul summoned a Turkish parliament, allowed the Conference of Ambassadors to break up helplessly and then turned to face the Czar (1877). Alexander allied with Rumania and declared war. The Turks put up a fierce resistance at Plevna, but, at last, the Russians came down to the gates of Constantinople and, at San Stefano, dictated terms of peace which spelt the end of Turkey-in-Europe and the establishment of Russian paramountcy in the Balkan peninsula.

Treaty of Berlin.—Austria-Hungary in alarm called for a conference of the Powers, while Disraeli called out the army reserves and sent to India for troops. At this crisis Bismarck stepped forward as "honest broker." Russia drew back and a conference of the Powers met at Berlin. There, the vital decisions were taken by Bismarck and Disraeli over their cigars (which Disraeli loathed) at a tête-a-tête dinner. The Treaty of Berlin radically modified the San Stefano terms and left Turkey a good half of the Balkan peninsula. Bulgaria, which was to have been the big state in the Balkans, was deprived of much territory that she had expected, and had to admit a Turkish garrison to her southern province of Eastern Rumelia. Montenegro was merely given a port on the Adriatic commanded by Austrian guns, and Austria-Hungary took over the rule of Bosnia-Herzegovina as nominally part of the Turkish Empire, and garrisoned the "corridor" of Novi Bazar which cut Serbia off from the Adriatic and kept the road to Salonica open for herself. Serbia was recompensed with lands that Bulgaria claimed; Rumania gained her independence, gave up rich Bessarabia to her late Russian ally and received other territory which she did not want and which Bulgaria did. Greece had taken no part in the fighting. In 1864, Great Britain had given her the Ionian Islands and she was now promised a little more territory, which she presently got in Thessaly; but she was not given Crete or Constantinople or the other wide lands in the Balkans and Asia Minor which her patriots claimed. Meanwhile, before the signature of the treaty, Disraeli, with Bismarck's approval, had arranged

with the Sultan that Great Britain should hold Cyprus so long as Russia held Turkish Kars and Batum.

Such were the public terms of the Treaty of Berlin. Disraeli called it "peace with honour," but in truth it was a bad compromise which paved the way to the war of 1914. Each of the little Balkan states had been given something that its neighbours coveted. Rumania under its Hohenzollern prince, Charles, and a parliament controlled by the big landholders, hated Russia for the loss of Bessarabia and feared the Bulgarians. Alexander of Battenberg, the new king of the Bulgars, presently turned the Turks out of Rumelia, beat Serbia when she demanded compensation at the point of the sword (1885) and tried to get rid of Russian control. Russian officers kidnapped him and forced him to resign but his place was taken by Ferdinand of Coburg who set himself up as a barrier to the advance of Russia towards the Bosphorus. Russia had thus lost her hold on the Southern Slavs and left them to turn the Balkans into a cockpit.

Nihilism.—The effects of the war and the treaty on Russia herself were disastrous. Since the close of the seventeenth century, Russia had been ruled by an autocratic Czar and a bureaucracy staffed largely by foreigners and organised on German lines. The nobles, a large class, formed part of this bureaucracy; the middle class was small and lived for the most part in the non-Russian Baltic Provinces; the vast mass of the people were peasants, poor, ignorant, priest-ridden and out of sympathy with their governors except for a pathetic faith in the Czar as their "Little Father." The "intellectuals" of the middle classes at the universities were denied the common European rights of free speech, and were inexperienced politically. They listened eagerly to the teachings of Nihilists who argued that private property was theft and that government and the state itself were evils which must be got rid of. The government that they knew was an almost unmixed evil, and their leaders told them of the freedom of London or Paris or Geneva where they had lived in exile.

Nihilists were not necessarily men with ragged beards, red ties and large bombs. The leaders of the party were Bakunin, a noble who had been exiled to Siberia, and, later,

Stepniak. In the early days the movement was peaceful enough. University students went among the peasants and tried to win them to their views. That effort failed and then came the mismanagement of the Russo-Turkish war and the shame of the treaty that followed it. Nihilists became Anarchists. They tried to stir the peasants up to seize the lands of the big landowners and murdered the liberal Czar, Alexander II (1881). That mad act helped Russia as little as the murder of Lincoln had helped the Confederate States. "The Bullock," Alexander III, a peasant crowned and throned, became Czar. He reversed as much of his predecessor's liberal policy as he dared and left his police and the so-called "Holy Band" of ruffians to fight it out with the Nihilists. The fight was too one-sided to last very long. The middle class feared the Nihilists more than they feared the police; the peasants simply did not understand what they were talking about; government with its railways, telegraphs and machine-guns was not to be overthrown by a handful of desperate men. Soon Stepniak led the Nihilists away from physical force and set them to work preaching Socialism.

The Triple and Dual Alliances.—The Treaty of Berlin was followed by a whole series of treaties planned by Bismarck. He saw no hope of appeasing France for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and, at the same time, he realised that Russia and Austria were rivals for the control of the Balkans. He, therefore, determined to isolate France and, if possible, to keep on good terms with Russia but, if the worst came to the worst, he was prepared to help Austria-Hungary against the Czar. That was the meaning of these treaties. Most of their terms were not published till 1920 but they explain a good deal that happened before the outbreak of the Great War. Bismarck first made a secret treaty with Austria-Hungary in 1879. If either Germany or Austria were attacked, its ally was to remain neutral unless the attacker was Russia. In that case, each must help the other. This treaty was the basis of European diplomacy henceforward, and it was in terms of it that Germany entered the war in 1914.

Bismarck, however, did not mean to quarrel with Russia, for he renewed the *Dreikaiserbund* with her and Austria to

uphold the recent Balkan settlement. At the same time it was secretly arranged that Austria might annex Bosnia-Herzegovina whenever she chose, and that Bulgaria might drive the Turks out of Rumelia if she could (1881). Then in 1882 Italy joined Germany and Austria in the well-known Triple Alliance, apparently without being told the details of the treaty of 1879. Italy's trading connections with Germany were growing closer; she was, moreover, furious that France should have annexed Tunis in which her own business men were deeply interested. She and Germany agreed to help one another if either was attacked by France; all three allies were to help if one of them was attacked by any two other Powers, but Italy said that in no case would she fight against England (1882). Next year Rumania joined the group by making alliances with all three Powers.

The Triple Alliance was renewed publicly in 1887, but, secretly, Bismarck agreed to give Italy a free hand in North Africa if France touched either Tripoli or Morocco, while Italy and Austria agreed that, if either of them annexed any territory in the Balkan Peninsula, the other should share equally in the spoils. Meanwhile, Bismarck had reinsured himself in 1885 by a treaty binding Germany and Russia to remain neutral if either were involved in war, unless Russia attacked Austria or Germany attacked France (1885).

That last clause showed which way the wind was blowing. France and Russia were beginning to draw together. Soon Russia was borrowing French money to build state railways and drifting further and further away from Germany. The old Kaiser William and his son Frederic died in quick succession, William II became German Emperor and startled all Europe by flamboyant speeches to his army and navy, and in 1890 the cautious Bismarck fell. Nevertheless the new German Chancellor, Caprivi, settled outstanding boundary disputes with Great Britain in Africa, while the Kaiser welcomed an international Labour Conference at Berlin, invited French artists thither and talked of visiting Paris himself. But Deroulède's League of French Patriots raised such a storm of protest that the visit had to be abandoned and, at the same time, the Reinsurance Treaty between Germany and Russia ran out.

That Treaty, on which so much depended, was not renewed. Instead, Russia began to treat her Poles better to please the French; a French squadron visited Russian waters and the Czar of All the Russias stood to attention while the band played the *Marseillaise*, the battle hymn of the Revolution; military agreements were drawn up; thrifty French investors poured their savings into Russian loans, and in 1895 Nicholas II, the last of the Czars, found himself allied to the French Republic. The vital point of this Dual Alliance was that, if Germany attacked either of the allies, the other would go to its help. The plain meaning of it all was that the old Balance of Power was gone. Europe was divided into two armed camps, the East and West against the Centre. The Great War did not begin till 1914 but the rival armies were marshalled as early as 1895.

Protection and Modern "Great Industry."—Long before the real war broke out, a war of trade and industry had begun. Great Britain had adopted Free Trade about the time of the Exhibition of 1851 for two main reasons. In the first place Free Trade suited her. Her industries in those days were unrivalled. They had grown rapidly as restrictions had been removed; capital had accumulated fast in the hands of active, plain-living employers, many of whom had risen from the ranks and had no other idea of what to do with their money than to put it back "into the business." The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny had strained her resources, but that was more than made up for by the destruction of foreign capital in the European and American wars of the 'sixties and the demand for loans, shipping and goods at war prices. Free Trade and the telegraph had made London the financial centre of a growing world; by 1870, Great Britain was laying more and more railways with the cheap and tough new Bessemer steel rails; her factories were turning out masses of solid, well-finished and cheap goods and her new iron ships were carrying them to the four corners of the earth.

In the second place, Great Britain had hoped that other nations would adopt Free Trade too and thus do away with the tariff wars, the scramble for colonies and close markets, and other commercial causes of so many of the wars of the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus the day would come nearer of which Tennyson so finely sang :

"When the war-drum thro' d no longer and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

For a time it seemed that the dream would be realised. The U.S.A. had already greatly reduced its duties on imported goods, France made a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and the German Zollverein went far in the direction of Free Trade.

In the late 'seventies a reaction set in. This was the natural result of Nationalism combined with the spread of the Industrial Revolution. State after state began to protect its own manufacturers and farmers by levying high duties on foreign goods coming into the country. Protectionists argued that if employers were encouraged to open up new industries and men were thus given employment, emigration would be checked, the government would have plenty of taxable subjects, the army would be sure of recruits and the nation would not be dependent on its neighbours for supplies in time of war. Free Trade, they said, might be all very well in time of peace but not in time of war ; if the nation was to be the political unit (the state) it must as far as possible be the self-contained economic unit too. They began to talk of trade, not as an exchange of goods and services which benefitted both parties but as a kind of peaceful war.

Manufacturers in the U.S.A. had long asked for an "educative" tariff which could be abolished as soon as their "infant industries" had learnt to stand against stronger foreign rivals and their workmen had been educated to work efficiently. During the War of Secession, heavy duties were levied as a means of raising revenue ; new industries sprang up under their shelter ; the owners and employees all had votes ; after the war there was less talk of "education" and none at all of reducing the duties. The infant industries became Peter Pans who obstinately refused to grow up and, presently, great combinations of companies, the Trusts, arose behind the tariff walls. The customs duties were raised or lowered somewhat according as a Free Trade Southern Democrat or Protectionist Northern Republican became President, but, with the presidency of McKinley, the U.S.A. was committed to a policy of high Protection (1897).

Meanwhile, France had long ago returned to her traditional protectionist policy; most of the other European states followed suit; even parts of the Free Trade British Empire, like Canada and some of the Australian colonies, set up protective tariffs against Great Britain and the rest; above all, the new German Empire became protectionist. At first, Bismarck had pursued a Free Trade policy, but he disliked *laissez-faire* as a British or even a cosmopolitan thing; he wanted to reconcile the bigger states in the German federation to Prussian control by reducing direct taxes on land and incomes, and the only way to do that was to fill the gap by levying indirect taxes; the manufacturers and Prussian junkers were crying out for Protection for their iron and steel and corn. Bismarck, reflecting that the Imperial treasury and not the state treasuries would receive customs revenues, swung round, levied duties and began to give subsidies to shipping lines to encourage German commerce (1879-80). The duties were increased fourfold in the course of the next twenty-five years.

In the later 'seventies, France and Belgium, Germany and the U.S.A. began to compete keenly with each other and with Free Trade Great Britain. France had excellent roads and canals which linked up Paris with the coal-fields in the northern districts and in Belgium; she built railways so fast that by 1883 she had more of them than Great Britain herself; her people were what they had always been, hard-working, frugal and ingenious; her government tried to encourage shipping, steel, and plain woven goods. Yet France was not so serious a competitor with Great Britain in these things as was Belgium. The French had never produced masses of cheap goods. Their tradition was what it had been before the Revolution, the production of light, finely-finished, artistic goods such as the luxurious courtiers had liked to have and the mass of the people had been too poor to buy. To-day Paris lays down the law in ladies' fashions while London lays it down for men. Moreover they did not take kindly to the factory system. Men with money preferred to put their savings into government loans rather than into industries; they hesitated to build expensive factories which might have to be sold when they died so that all their children should have a share of their wealth as the law required. Family ties were very strong and the

poorer folk disliked the factory system which broke families up; perhaps, too, the fact that they ate little explains their distaste for heavy continuous work. Certainly, contractors found that they worked better as navvies on the railway works when they were fed in English fashion. There is much to be said for beef and pudding and even beer when it comes to heavy digging.

Till 1850, Germany, hopelessly divided, had lagged far behind her neighbours in industry; but she began to gain ground after the Zollverein had been completed and still more after the Empire had been formed. Already, at the close of the Franco-German war, her railways were longer than those of Great Britain and, though she lost much of the French war indemnity by over-speculation, enough of it remained to give her new "great industry" a fair start. Railways and canals and the deepening of the Rhine linked up the port of Hamburg with the iron mines of newly-conquered Lorraine, with the coal of the Ruhr valley just opposite and with the Swiss towns further south. They also linked the Rhine valley with Berlin and the ports on the Baltic and with the iron districts of Saxony and Silesia. The Empire contained half the known coal-fields in Europe; it had a virtual monopoly of potash; it was lucky in that the richest provinces of its seven neighbours lay right against its borders; it had a huge "home-market" and it soon had commercial treaties with Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy and Rumania. Central Europe became more and more a Free Trade area with its centre at Berlin.

Germany's "mass production" of goods was not so artistic as the French nor so solid and well-finished as the British, but it was immense, cheap and scientifically produced. Thousands of students passed over the railways with their low fares from university to university and gave the Fatherland more highly trained and low-paid scientific workers than any other nation. These men were quick to work out the ideas of their own and of other peoples, and manufacturers had the wit to make use of their work. Soon Germany deservedly had a monopoly of many synthetic products, of dyes from coal-tar, of scientific glass, and of other products essential to modern civilisation.

The industry of the modern U.S.A. is as different from that of France as it well can be, for it aims at producing

standardised goods, all of the same pattern and make, for an immense home-market, the biggest Free Trade area in the world. The U.S.A. only began to develop seriously as an industrial power shortly before the war of Secession. Once the Alleghany Mountains had been crossed, the settlers found themselves on an immense plain stretching away to the western desert and the Rocky Mountains and, beyond them again, to the rich Pacific Slope. It was all virgin soil needing no manure, good for wheat in the north and for maize in the south. From 1845 onwards, immigrants had flowed into the U.S.A. in an ever-growing stream. The more adventurous of the Easterners, including many of the best mechanics, moved off westward leaving their places to be taken by the newcomers; the miners and farmers of the West made it worth while for companies to build railways and to give cheap freights. During the Civil War, the westward expansion went on unchecked and the conquering Northerners relaid the old railways all to one standard gauge and built new ones. By 1870, the U.S.A. had nearly as many miles of line as Great Britain; by 1890 it possessed half the mileage of the world, and had become one of the great producers of wheat, iron, steel and coal as well as of cotton.

On the other hand, it had lost the great place it had held as a carrier of goods overseas. Iron ships supplanted the old wooden vessels; railways, bridges and machinery ate up all the iron the U.S.A. could produce so that there was little to spare for ships; the policy of Protection may have benefitted industry and trade within the Union, but it made it more difficult for Americans to compete with Free Trade Great Britain for oversea commerce. Big cities sprang up in the Middle West and on the Pacific Slope, but the mass of population and industry still remained in the north-eastern corner of the country in touch with New York and Europe. The railways and telegraphs made it possible for financiers and industrialists to live in the East and yet to keep control of the West.

As industry expanded there was a continual demand for new capital and for new hands. Profits were usually high so the capital was always to be had; the growth of population by natural means, added to the stream of immigrants, supplied the labour. The 50,000,000 citizens of 1880 had

increased to 62,000,000 ten years later with the help of over 5,000,000 newcomers. For a long time, Englishmen, Scots and Germans did the skilled work in the factories and the bulk of the immigrants came from north-western Europe, but, later on, the demand for highly-skilled men became less and even the semi-skilled Irish were displaced by floods of cheap but fairly intelligent labourers from south-eastern Europe, Jew and Gentile.¹ As early as 1890, Americans were talking of limiting the number of poor Italians who might come in, but nothing was done. The great mass of the newcomers settled in the eastern cities and, by 1910, one large section of New York was entirely occupied by Jews, for the most part poor men.

In any case, the total wealth of the U.S.A. increased by leaps and bounds. Americans showed great skill in invention and in organising industries; capitalists were not hampered by an income-tax till 1913; there was little need to spend much on defence, for America was still far from Europe, and as late as 1890 the central government could be content with an army of 25,000 men, a navy smaller than that of Chile, and no fortifications at all on the long Canadian frontier. Nor were industrialists checked by factory acts or trade unions to anything like the same extent as some of their European rivals. In many parts of the U.S.A. to-day, the Industrial Revolution is still in its raw and wasteful stage.

Communications.—These great and expanding homes of industry in Europe and North America were steadily drawn nearer to one another and to other parts of the world. The Suez Canal altered the trade-routes and brought East Africa, India, Asia and the South Seas closer to Western Europe than ever before. The first cable message passed from England to the U.S.A. in 1858; a few years later the Anglo-American cable was in full working order; by 1879, Great Britain was linked by cable with Australia, New Zealand and the Cape; Bessemer steel gave men cheap ships, rails, locomotives and railway waggons and, therefore, the power to move bulky goods like wheat and timber over

¹ Between 1881 and 1890, nearly 5,250,000 immigrants entered the U.S.A. 72% came from north-western Europe and 18.3% from south-eastern Europe. Between 1901 and 1910, over 8,750,000 came and the percentages had been practically reversed.

long distances for the first time. It began to be possible to form and to hold together great empires on a continental scale like that of the U.S.A.

Between 1870 and 1880 iron ships began to give way to ships of steel, and steel not only wears better but makes it possible to build very big ships which will yet not be too heavy. The compound steam-engine and means for condensing fresh water for ships' boilers out of sea water also made it possible for men to drive bigger ships along with less expenditure of coal than formerly and without carrying great supplies of fresh water. The coal and water space thus saved could be set aside for cargo. All these changes spelt speed, cheapness and power to carry on a large scale. Again, ships began to fit up cold-storage chambers on board. That meant that it was worth while for men to raise cattle in South America and many of the British colonies for the European markets, or to send butter, milk, bacon and cheese, the sort of products that come from small farms. In other words, closer settlement overseas became profitable.

Looking at it from another point of view, cold-storage, tinned foods and the advances in medical knowledge and in sanitation made by such great men as Pasteur, Koch, Ross and Bruce rendered life in tropical parts much more healthy and pleasant for white men. The Iron Horse also laughed at the tse-tse fly and other scourges which made the tropics deadly to draught animals. But war hath her victories no less renowned than peace. The machine-gun, the breech-loading rifle and the revolver gave Europeans a vast advantage over savage or semi-civilised enemies whose territories they might wish to invade. As von Ranke had remarked to the Prussian King, "You are the master since you have the army."¹

Money or rather capital was plentiful in the 'eighties when British home industries were somewhat depressed. Men with money to invest were pleased to invest it overseas, especially in British colonies. Colonial and other governments in new countries were eager to borrow for their railways and other public works. Moreover, in Great Britain first and then in other countries, laws were passed

¹ Belloc notes the same fact in *The Modern Traveller*—

"Whatever happens, we have got
The maxim-gun and they have not."

This is not so true to-day as it was in the 'nineties.

which made it much safer for men to invest their savings in big companies. At one time, if a company went bankrupt, the shareholders had to pay off all its debts with their own property even though they might only have invested a small part of their fortunes in that particular company. But in 1855 the Limited Liability Act was passed and now, if the company failed, shareholders could not be made to pay any more after they had paid the full price of their shares. In 1862 the same privilege was given to banking companies.

Companies became larger and more confident and, between 1884 and 1889, the British, Portuguese and Germans formed great Chartered Companies which, like those of the seventeenth century, occupied and ruled vast territories. Such were the Mozambique Company of Portugal, the German East African Company, and the North Borneo, the Royal Niger, the East Africa and the British South Africa Companies. There was, however, this difference, at least as far as the British companies were concerned. The old seventeenth century companies had had a monopoly of the trade in their particular areas; the new companies were forbidden to set up anything of the sort.

The new chartered companies were a sign of the times. The Western World was looking for overseas possessions. None but the very largest of them like the U.S.A., which had half a continent of its own to open up and to settle, were now big enough to find employment for the masses of capital that were piling up within their borders. Since 1815, all the world had believed that colonies were a bad investment. Great Britain had had a practical monopoly of the outer world for many years and yet she had annexed comparatively little of it. After all, why should she? So long as trade was free there was no need for her to undertake all the expense and risk of ruling. Nevertheless, Great Britain held India and a chain of Crown Colonies and coaling-stations round the world; her self-governing colonies were flourishing. She loomed very large in the world's affairs and other nations not unnaturally wanted empires as big as her's. But that was not all. Their capitalists wanted colonies under their own flags in which to invest their money; their manufacturers wanted them as places from which they could be sure of getting raw materials and to which they could send their finished goods; and since

they had neither the shipping nor the experience of the British and since also the Protection which helped them in their home markets made it hard for them to compete with Free Trade Great Britain overseas, they wanted colonies from which foreign competition should be shut out as far as possible. In other words, the Western world prepared to return to the seventeenth and eighteenth century scramble for colonies as close markets.

The parts of the world in which they could scramble were not so many as in the old days. The British navy protected the Australians and New Zealanders who had earmarked their countries for themselves. The Monroe Doctrine barred European powers from the Americas. American and British traders were busy in Mexico and other stormy Central American republics, and Italians and Germans were settling in large numbers in the more orderly states of South America like Brazil and the Argentine. But traders and settlers there were under the local governments; there was no question of their mother countries annexing these states as colonies. Africa, Asia and the South Sea islands remained. It was there that the scramble took place.

The Scramble for Africa.—At the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851, little was known of the interior of Africa. Mungo Park had already travelled along parts of the Gambia and Niger rivers; Oudney and Clapperton had reached Lake Chad; Landor had been up the Benue river; Caillé had travelled from the Niger to Morocco by way of Timbuctoo (1795–1827). In the south, traders, Transvaal Boers and French and British missionaries had reached the Zambesi but, as a whole, Africa was still the “Dark Continent.” As late as 1875, the possessions of European powers were confined to the islands and the coasts except in the north where the French held the solid mass of Algiers, and in the south where the British held the Cape Colony and Natal, and the Boers, republican emigrants from the British colonies, occupied much of the land between the Orange and the Limpopo.

But now men knew more of what lay behind the coast belts. Between 1849 and 1876 David Livingstone, half missionary and half explorer, journeyed along the Zambesi, the Shire river and some of the Great Lakes and shed a



glamour of romance over the exploration of Darkest Africa ; Frenchmen like du Chaillu and Faidherbe went up the Gaboon and Senegal rivers, the Germans Barth, Schweinfurth and Nachtigal explored the Benue and the White Nile and the lands bordering on the Sahara desert ; Englishmen and Scots went everywhere, Cameron from Zanzibar to Benguella, Joseph Thomson to Mount Kilimanjaro in the Masai country, Speke and Grant up the Nile as far as Khartum, Baker still further up the valley to Lake Albert Nyanza ; finally, the U.S.A. were represented in this truly international work of exploration by Henry Stanley who explored the Congo and the Great Lakes.

Hitherto, most of the Continental states had been occupied too busily with troubles nearer home to go seeking empires in Africa, and such annexations as Great Britain had made had been carried out almost without exception in the interests of and usually as a result of pressure by her own colonists. In due course, Great Britain handed over the Guano Islands, Basutoland, British Kaffraria and Griqualand West to the Cape Colony ; she hastily annexed the Transvaal in 1877, partly to help on a scheme for the federation of the South African States but partly also because Natal and the Eastern Province feared that a railway would be built from Delagoa Bay to the Transvaal before their own lines thither were finished ; on the breakdown of the federation scheme, she restored a modified form of independence to the Transvaal (1881).

Egypt.—The real scramble for Africa did not begin in the south, but in the north and in the basin of the Congo. Africa is twofold. The northern coast belt from Morocco to the Nile delta belongs to the Mediterranean world ; tropical, black Africa lies away to the south of the wind-swept, sandy wastes of the Sahara ; the Nile valley links the two areas together.

In North Africa in 1880, Morocco was still independent, Spain held Ceuta and France Algiers, while Tunis, Tripoli and Egypt owed a nominal allegiance to the Turkish Sultan. Ismail, the third of the line of Egyptian Khedives, still ruled Egypt, the Sudan and the Equatorial Provinces far up the valley of the Nile. There had been a great demand for Egyptian cotton while the American supplies

had been cut off during the War of Secession, and Ismail, a man of expensive tastes, had built luxurious palaces, laid down railways and invested heavily in Suez Canal shares. He also borrowed widely but not well, chiefly from French and British creditors. When American cotton began to compete once more and his credit was exhausted, Ismail sold his Suez Canal shares to Great Britain and squeezed his own subjects for taxes.

At length, Ismail's creditors put in the broker's men. An English official saw to the collection of the revenue and a Frenchman to the expenditure, the creditors once more received their interest, and Bismarck urged Great Britain to annex Egypt possibly in the hope of embroiling her with France. The Egyptian government grew weaker and weaker; the harvests failed; the Sultan deposed Ismail in favour of his son, Tewfik (1879); the payment of debts to foreigners of all nationalities, who lived in Egypt under the jurisdiction of their own consuls and, therefore, out of reach of the Egyptian courts, was intensely unpopular. Army officers led by Arabi Pasha raised the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians" against the Europeans and the Turks, the Sultan, hoping to recover his power, stirred up Mohammedan enthusiasm, and 400 Europeans were killed in a riot at Alexandria. Arabi hoped that the Powers would be too jealous of one another to intervene, especially as France had just annexed Tunis which Italy coveted. France, indeed, declined to help Great Britain to restore order and the British Government itself was not anxious to intervene; but the British admiral on the spot bombarded Alexandria. The Sultan then declared Arabi a rebel, British troops were sent to Egypt and, after a stiff fight at Tel-el-Kebir, Cairo was taken (1882).

The Khedive ended the Dual Control by Great Britain and France. He put his finances completely under British officials who really ruled the country through him, much hampered by the international law courts which the French insisted upon having. The British declared that their occupation of Egypt would only be for a short time; but it is often easier to get into a country than to get out again. If they withdrew there would probably be a rising against the Khedive and, in the confusion, the foreign creditors of Egypt would suffer and the tribes of the Sudan would invade

the country, not for the first time in the age-long history of Egypt. As it was the Mahdi, one of the fighting leaders who have arisen from time to time among the Moslems of North Africa, had appeared in the Sudan and destroyed two Egyptian armies. General Gordon was therefore sent to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan. Instead, Gordon tried to hold the country. He was slain at Khartum, the Anglo-Egyptian forces fell back to defend the new Egyptian frontier at Wady Halfa and the Sudan was left to the Mahdi (1885). The British meanwhile prepared to evacuate Egypt on condition that they might reoccupy it if their withdrawal led to anarchy; but the Sultan was against the scheme, France and Russia would not hear of the right of reoccupation, and so the British remained.

Tropical Africa.—The abandonment of the Sudan left the Khedive's Equatorial Provinces isolated. They fell in the area of tropical Africa for which the scramble had already begun. In 1875, in those parts, Portugal had held a long coast strip in Angola and, on the east coast, a few posts on either side of the mouth of the Zambesi; Spain owned Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea; France possessed Senegal and the Gaboon and, off the east coast, the Comoro Islands, some posts in Madagascar, and the island of Réunion; Great Britain held Gambia, Sierra Leone, posts on the Slave, and Gold Coasts including those which she had recently bought from Holland and Denmark, further posts in the delta of the Niger (Oil Rivers) and in the Cameroons, as well as the islands of St. Helena and Mauritius.

Stanley had revealed the basin of the Congo as a rich storehouse of the raw materials which the industrial world of the West was most in need of: palm oil, ivory, rubber, copper. It and the rest of Central Africa were known to be the scenes of the abominable Arab slave trade. Stanley offered all his discoveries to Great Britain. Her traders were strong on both coasts of Africa; she had just obliged the Sultan of Zanzibar to declare the slave trade illegal in the territories over which he claimed to rule in what afterwards became British and German East Africa; nevertheless she refused Stanley's offer. -Leopold II of Belgium then stepped in. He summoned an international conference at Brussels to discuss ways and means for the speedy civilisation of the

vast Congo basin (1876). It is doubtful how far this very shrewd man of business ever expected that the work could be done internationally but, as ruler of a little state whose neutrality was guaranteed by more powerful neighbours, he had to be careful how he made large annexations in Africa. In any case, in spite of his financial help, international effort failed and the real work was done by the national committees which the Brussels Conference had appointed.

Many things were done in the ensuing scramble that civilised men would gladly forget ; in the early days especially there was, in some parts, too much exploitation and too little civilisation of the natives ; but much of the work was well done and, in any case, had to be done somehow. Of course, the Powers might have proclaimed Africa a closed land into which no white man should go, or else have turned their backs and allowed the continent to be "opened up" by unchecked private enterprise. Both these alternatives were utterly impossible. How could a ring-fence be set up round a continent ? Would it have been right from the world point of view to leave the vast resources of Africa to run to waste when they were so much needed by other continents ? Were the tribes to be left indefinitely to the chances and cruelties of tropical African life, to famine, plague, war, murder, Arab slave-traders and, in most cases, to debasing religious and social customs ?

As for unchecked private enterprise, how could any decent government, with the memory of the results of the early stages of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America fresh in its mind, allow private individuals to go absolutely unwatched into tribal Africa in search of wealth, armed with gin, machine-guns and all the other resources of civilisation ? That course had been tried in the South Sea Islands, it was actually tried in certain parts of Africa. In both cases, the results were abominable. Some sort of official control there must be, but that meant rivalry between national governments and, therefore, the risk of war. Conflicts between explorers and officials in the heart of Africa might easily lead to a first-class war in Europe, especially as all the governments except that of Great Britain treated their shares of Africa as more or less close preserves for their own traders, settlers and investors.

Congo Free State.—The diplomats at the Congress of Berlin had talked of colonial expansion in Africa as a kind of lightning-conductor to distract attention from home affairs and the "peace with honour." Bismarck especially encouraged France to seek for an empire in Africa as a compensation for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. The scramble opened with a rush by Stanley to secure the Congo basin for Leopold's Congo Association, and by de Brazza to secure it for France (1879). Both men paid little heed to Portugal who claimed territory on both sides of the mouth of the great river as well as a huge belt right across Africa from Angola to Mozambique, because her explorers had found the coasts in the fifteenth century and her subjects had held a few scattered posts there ever since.

Great Britain upheld some of the Portuguese claims against France. France was the most rigidly protectionist of all the colonising powers; she had already shut foreigners out of the Gaboon; she would certainly shut them out of the Congo if she could. Great Britain recognised Portugal's claim to territory far up the Congo valley, declared the river free to the ships of all nations and invited other Powers to help her and Portugal to control the river internationally like the Danube. Meanwhile Stanley signed treaties with most of the Congo chiefs while de Brazza gained a footing for France on the north bank of the river. Elsewhere in Africa, the French advanced rapidly. They secured the upper valley of the Niger, proclaimed a protectorate over the north-west coast of Madagascar, and occupied Obock at the entrance of the Red Sea. Not to be outdone, Italy annexed Eritrea next to Obock (1882-3).

At this stage, Germany entered the lists. The explorers, missionaries, merchants and manufacturers of the "Colonial party" had long been anxious to have a German overseas empire. Bismarck had been a "no-colony" man, but he now came round to the views of the "Colonials." There was friction between British and Germans in the Pacific lands; a Reichstag election was due and Bismarck wanted the help of the "Colonials" against the Social Democrats (Socialists); Great Britain was entangled in Egypt and was still suffering from the loss of prestige due to the failure of her confederation policy in South Africa. Bismarck therefore annexed Togoland and the Cameroons on the Gulf of

Guinea and helped forward the German company which was busy in East Africa. He also tried to secure a footing in Zululand and drove Great Britain to annex St. Lucia Bay, the only passable harbour in that country; he did annex Namaqua-Damaraland as German South-West Africa, and thus led Great Britain to annex British Bechuanaland and to declare a protectorate over the rest of Bechuanaland to prevent the Germans from joining hands with the Transvaalers or with the Portuguese in the valley of the Zambesi.

Bismarck's main move was to join with France in repudiating the Anglo-Portuguese Congo treaty. Acting once more as "honest broker," he summoned a conference of the Powers which drew up the famous Berlin Act of 1885. The Congress recognised most of the lands drained by the Congo and its tributaries as the Congo Free State under the personal rule of Leopold of Belgium. Portugal had to be content with a small area to the north of the Congo estuary; France kept most of what she claimed on the north bank and was given the right to make the first offer if ever Leopold should wish to sell his interests in the Congo Free State (right of pre-emption). The boundaries of the new state were defined bit by bit later on, but the whole state was at once declared to be neutral territory and the slave-trade and the granting of exclusive "national" monopolies within its borders were forbidden. The Congo, the Niger and, on the east coast, the Shire and lower Zambesi rivers were declared to be free trade areas open to the ships of all nations on equal terms.

No one seems to have thought of making regulations to safeguard the lands of the tribes or to prohibit European governments from raising large black armies, but two rules were laid down which went far to prevent war between the competing Powers in the later stages of the Scramble. First, an area in which a given Power was generally held to have claims and interests superior to those of any other was called a "sphere of influence," a new term in politics; secondly, no Power was to say that it had "occupied" territory, at any rate on the coasts, unless it had really sent its officials and so on into it and told the other Powers formally that it had done so.

The jealousies of the Powers for one another gave Leopold and his financial friends a free hand in the Congo Free State.

The Belgian people and parliament were not responsible for what happened there, for they had no control. Non-Belgian officials were dismissed, foreigners were kept out as far as possible, and concessions were granted. It is true that the slave-trade was abolished and roads and railways were built, but all land not actually occupied by kraals and gardens was declared to be government property and the natives, thus deprived of most of their lands, were forced to collect rubber at the bidding of officials and black soldiers. As the officials were paid according to the amount of rubber collected, Congo rubber soon earned the title of "red rubber." In the French Congo, the rubber was not red but the same exclusive policy was pursued there as in the Free State. Meanwhile, at the Brussels Conference, Great Britain persuaded the other Powers to prohibit slavery and the sale of firearms and spirits in practically the whole of tropical Africa (1890).

So matters drifted on. Bismarck, having won his election and gained all that he had hoped to gain overseas, returned to his old friendly attitude towards Great Britain; but the German and British companies jostled one another in East Africa and the French tightened their grip on the North-West. What was really happening was that each of the leading states was trying to push a wedge of its own territory across Africa from sea to sea, so that its trans-continental railway and telegraph line should be the main lines and those of other states mere branches. The Portuguese tried to stretch across from Angola to Mozambique, the Germans from South-West to East Africa, the French from Cape Verde to Obock. Cecil Rhodes in the Cape Colony tried to drive a British wedge between the Portuguese and German territories and to link up the railway and telegraph systems of South Africa with those that the British were building in Egypt. Great Britain, still anxious to avoid responsibility in Africa, left him to do it through a chartered company, the British South Africa Company.

H.M. Government cleared the way for Rhodes by settling its boundary disputes with Germany and frightening the Portuguese out of the way with an ultimatum, but it was Rhodes's Pioneers who occupied Mashonaland (1890) and it

was his Volunteers who took the lead in breaking the Matabele and thus establishing Southern Rhodesia (1893). With the help of the British government, the Chartered Company extended its rule over North-Eastern Rhodesia as far as Lake Tanganyika; a British protectorate was proclaimed in Uganda on the head-waters of the Nile, and Leopold ceded a strip of land to Great Britain which linked the Great Lakes with Uganda. This strip would have given an "all-red route" for Rhodes's Cape-to-Cairo railway, but France and Germany compelled Leopold to withdraw the concession (1894). Meanwhile gold had been discovered in vast quantities on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal republic, and all the South African states had become economically dependent on the gold-mines. Rhodes tried to form these states into a federation which should also include Southern Rhodesia. Difficulties arose between the Transvaal authorities and the newcomers (Uitlanders) on the Rand; Rhodes feared foreign intervention in the republic; the B.S.A. Company wished to be quit of the task of ruling Rhodesia. Hence Rhodes tried to hasten on federation by attacking the Transvaal with his company's forces (1896).

Sudan.—The failure of the Jameson Raid ruined Rhodes's schemes in southern Africa. In the north, the British had steadily developed the resources of Egypt till that country had become one of the most fruitful and densely populated in the world. They had helped the Italians to extend their sway over part of Somaliland and watched them claim suzerainty over the semi-civilised state of Abyssinia, a claim which ended with the defeat of the Italians at Adowah (1896). The British also reorganised the Egyptian army and pushed slowly up the Nile valley building railways on the Cape gauge as they went, while the French raced eastward to reach the upper valley before them. Kitchener with his Anglo-Egyptian army was too quick for the French. He overthrew the Khalifa at Omdurman, took Khartoum, and acting in the name of the Khedive, obliged a small French force to withdraw from Fashoda on the upper Nile (1898). War nearly broke out between Great Britain and France, but the crisis passed and a joint Anglo-Egyptian rule was set up in the Sudan.

South Africa.—This left the British government free to turn its attention to South Africa. There, a long correspondence had been going on with the Transvaal authorities over Uitlander rights and other matters. The quarrel ended in the annexation of the two South African republics after a long and exhausting struggle (1899-1902). Thus, by 1902, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal had partitioned all Africa except Morocco, Tripoli, Abyssinia and the negro republic of Liberia, and, even so, the finances of Liberia were controlled by the U.S.A. No nation had gained all it had wanted in this continental "Balkan peninsula," but at least the work had been done without a first-class war.

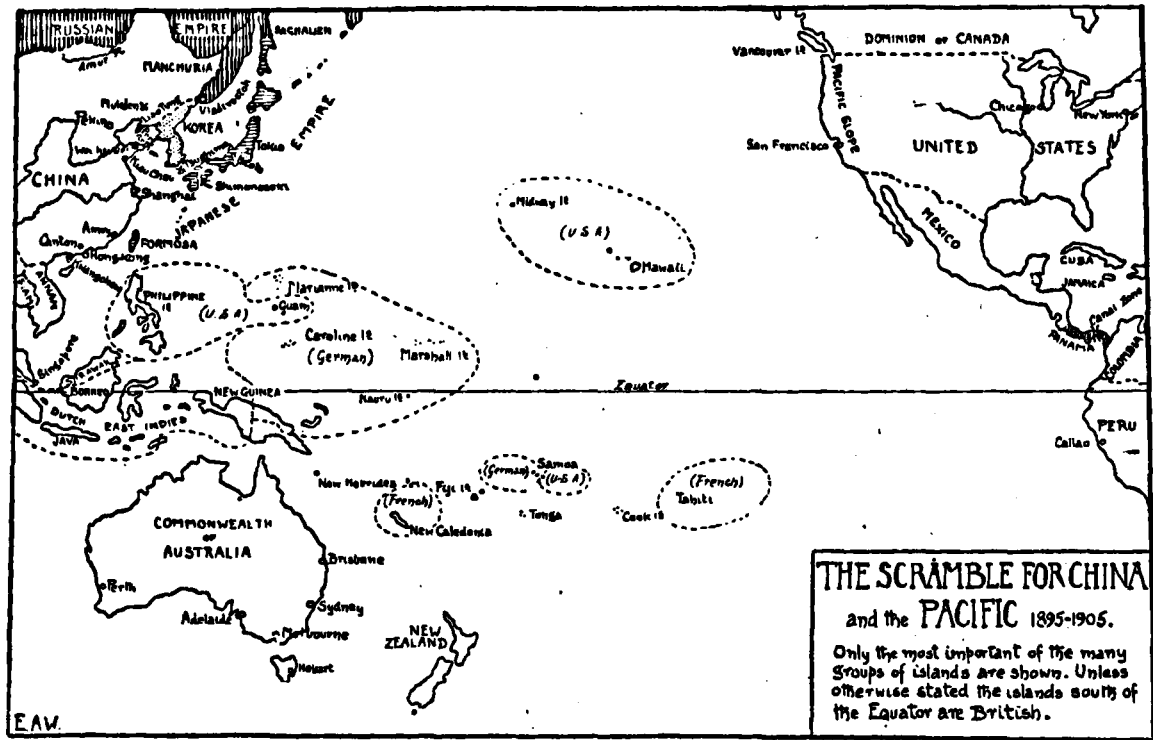
The South Seas.—Side by side with the scramble for Africa, another scramble had gone on for markets and coaling stations in the islands and coasts of the southern Pacific. From 1876 onwards British residents were placed at the courts of the rajahs of the little states in the Malay Peninsula, and, presently, they were followed by a British Protectorate; the Cocos Islands, the halfway house between India and Western Australia, were annexed (1886); a British protectorate was extended over Sarawak, Brunei and the territories of the North Borneo Company. New South Wales and Queensland also provisionally annexed most of New Guinea, but Great Britain refused to press their claims and merely took the south-eastern shores leaving the north-eastern to Germany (1884). Between 1874 and 1902 the islands away to the east were shared out. Many of these islands were rich in copra; some of them would make good naval stations; they were full of missionaries, traders and "blackbirders," that is, recruiters of labour for the plantations round the Pacific from South America to Queensland. In the end Great Britain secured Tonga, the Cook Islands and many other little groups far on the road to South America; Germany took the Caroline, Marshall and Marianne Islands as well as most of Samoa; Great Britain and France extended a clumsy joint-rule over the New Hebrides; the U.S.A. annexed the rest of Samoa and Hawaii and took Guam and the Philippines from Spain (1898-99).

The Panama Canal.—The Philippines and Hawaii were stepping-stones between Asia and America. The U.S.A. was investing its surplus wealth not only in Central America and the West Indies but also in eastern Asia. Hence, Americans desired to cut a canal through the isthmus of Panama to link up the great centres of trade and population on their Atlantic coasts with their own Pacific slope and their growing interests beyond the Pacific. The idea of such a canal was as old as the gold-rush to California in 1849. The physical difficulties were great, the political obstacles almost as serious. The U.S.A. had long ago recognised that the isthmus was part of the republic of Colombia and in 1850, they and the British had signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty which provided that any such canal should be neutralised and managed internationally. For some years after 1878 a French company tried to cut a canal through Panama and, though financial difficulties and yellow fever defeated it, it kept its claim over the best route for the canal.

Meanwhile, Americans tried to persuade the British to agree that the canal should be purely American. Great Britain's refusal caused such bitterness that the two nations were brought within sight of war in 1895 when President Cleveland intervened in an old boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela and practically claimed the overlordship of all the Americas for the U.S.A. That danger passed, but the U.S.A. was soon involved in war with Spain.

From time to time since 1868 the people of Cuba had rebelled against their Spanish rulers. The neighbouring "Latin" republics and the U.S.A. sympathised with the rebels and, once or twice, the Americans had nearly intervened on their behalf. At last, another serious rising took place in 1895; men and money were sent across to the Cubans by the people of Latin America; Spain sent a strong force which began to crush the rebels and, in the confusion, the American cruiser *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbour. How it was blown up is still a mystery, but the American public was told that it had been done with the connivance at least of the Spanish authorities. They clamoured for war. The Spaniards were beaten by land and sea and were obliged to give up Cuba and Porto Rico in the West Indies and Guam and the Philippines off the

Map No. 14.



coast of Asia (1898). A few years later the U.S.A. handed Cuba over to an independent republican government under an American protectorate, but the other islands it kept.

The U.S.A. had thus eliminated a European power from American waters and strengthened its own hold at the eastern outlet of any future Panama canal. Meanwhile Great Britain had given way and, by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, agreed that the canal should be American (1901). The French company was bought out and only Colombian sovereignty stood in the way. The forceful American President, Theodore Roosevelt, thrust this aside. The Colombian executive agreed to give the U.S.A. a lease of a canal strip for 100 years, but the legislature refused to ratify this arrangement. The American government therefore encouraged a revolt in the Colombian district of Panama, sent warships which prevented Colombian troops from landing to put it down, recognised the independence of Panama under an American protectorate, and got the cession of the canal strip a fortnight later (1903). The canal was undertaken forthwith, a new medical and sanitary knowledge overcame the yellow fever and in 1914 the canal was opened.

India, China and Japan.—The Panama Canal promised to put Western Europe and Eastern America, the most highly-industrialised parts of the earth, in much closer touch with Eastern Asia. The control of European powers over the mainland of Asia had increased steadily since 1875. Russia, furious at the check which Great Britain had helped to give her in the Balkans in 1878, pressed down towards the North-West Frontier of India and took the Amir of Afghanistan under her protection. The British therefore sent a force to Cabul and Candahar and set up a pro-British Amir. Later on, the occupation of part of Afghanistan by the Russians almost led to war and, as late as 1895, the British occupied Chitral in reply to the Russian occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs; but to the end Afghanistan remained as a buffer state between the Russian and the Indian Empires. Meanwhile British and Russian business men competed for the economic control of Persia; the British annexed Upper Burma, the French took Annam and Tonkin which had hitherto been vassals of China and, after

some risk of war, the two Powers divided independent Siam into spheres of influence (1885-96).

From 1895 onwards the centre of interest shifted to China itself. Europeans of all kinds spread far and wide over the vast and rich Empire. Side by side with them went Japanese. A latter-day miracle had happened in the Land of the Rising Sun. After the revolution of 1868 mediaeval Japan had transformed itself into a modern Western state so thoroughly that it had a Stock Exchange, an army and Parliament modelled on those of Germany, a navy of the British pattern, and such good law courts that resident Europeans soon gave up their right to be tried only by their own consuls (extra-territorial jurisdiction). Modern Japan was a proof of what education can do in a generation to change the outlook of a great people.

Japan soon showed that her armed forces were fully up to the civilised standard. Korea, a densely-populated kingdom with a civilisation akin to that of China, lay across the sea-road to Peking, the Chinese capital. Both China and Japan had great commercial interests in Korea and both claimed suzerainty over it. Japan attacked China, overthrew her antiquated armies and forced her to give her trading privileges in various ports and to cede Formosa and the Liao-Tung peninsula with Port Arthur, the finest naval harbour in those waters (1895).

Korea was left nominally independent but the rise of Japan alarmed Russia. Russia had occupied the island of Saghalien to the north of Japan, developed Vladivostok as a naval base as far as her corrupt officials would let her, and begun the Trans-Siberian railway to link up that port with St. Petersburg. She now persuaded France and Germany to join with China and herself in checking Japan. The Japanese had to give up Port Arthur and withdraw to the islands while the king of Korea, a refugee in a Russian consulate, gave the Czar a practical protectorate over his kingdom. China moreover allowed Russia to run her Trans-Siberian railway through Manchuria, to police it with troops and to run a branch line into the coveted Liao-Tung peninsula. She also gave great powers to the Russian Bank and timber and mineral concessions to Russian subjects in Manchuria (1896).

So the partition of China began. In 1897 two German missionaries were murdered. The German Emperor, with the remark that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Empire," forced China to pay the expenses of a punitive expedition and to give Germany a long lease of the harbour of Kiauchau and great railway and mineral concessions in the province of Shantung opposite Korea. At the same moment, Russia secured a lease of Port Arthur itself. Great Britain and France promptly demanded naval bases from which to watch the Russians and the Germans. Great Britain was given a lease of Wei-hai-wei for so long as Russia might hold Port Arthur; France obtained Kwang Chow with a sphere of influence behind it in the neighbourhood of British Hong-Kong. The Chinese government, however, stiffened its back sufficiently to refuse to give Italy anything (1899).

Hitherto the helpless "Son of Heaven" at Peking had passively watched his empire falling to pieces, but his aunt, the Dowager Empress, was a better man than he. She took charge of the government, and, to say the least of it, winked at the spread of the anti-foreign Boxer movement. In 1900 the Boxers slew as many "foreign devils" as they could, and besieged the houses of the foreign ambassadors at Peking. The siege was raised by an international force of Germans, British, French, Russians, Americans and Japanese. This time the invaders took no territory. They merely levied an indemnity which China had to borrow from Western financiers on the usual terms.

Russo-Japanese War.—After the Boxer rising, France, Germany and Russia kept foreigners as far as possible out of their respective spheres. Russia finished her great railway and refused to withdraw her troops from Manchuria till "order" had been restored. Great Britain and the U.S.A. pressed in vain for the "Open Door" for traders of all nations. Then, in 1902, Great Britain took a decisive step. She was anxious to put some check on the advance of Russia in the Far East and, at the same time she wanted to keep as many of her warships as she could in European waters, for Germany had just shown unmistakably that she meant to build a big navy. Great Britain made an alliance with Japan. Each Power agreed to remain neutral if its

ally had to defend its interests in China or Korea against any other single Power, and to go to its help if it was involved in war with two or more.

The treaty marked an epoch in modern political history. Great Britain gave up her old attitude of "splendid isolation"; Japan was recognised as one of the great Powers of the earth. The treaty was published and thus served as a warning to other Powers which might have wished to join in the war which broke out between Russia and Japan. Japan attacked Russia suddenly lest she should dig herself in at Port Arthur and in Manchuria too strongly to be moved (1904). The war was waged in China over the heads of the helpless inhabitants. It was the first war in which the losses of a great army in battle were heavier than those from disease; for, not only had the Japanese an excellent medical service, but they forced the pace regardless of their losses. They were short of money; they must win quickly before the Russians, ill-led and swindled as usual by their own officials, could make their full weight felt. They took Port Arthur, destroyed the main Russian fleet which had sailed half way round the world to meet them at Tsushima, and won a fearful battle at Mukden. Roosevelt, the American President, then mediated peace between the weary antagonists. Russia gave Japan the southern half of Saghalien and all her rights in Liao-Tung and Port Arthur, evacuated Manchuria and left "independent" Korea in the Japanese sphere of influence (1905).

Japan's victory over the Power which had for so long been the bugbear of Europe, and the Anglo-Japanese alliance which was extended to cover the interests of both allies in India and Eastern Asia, ended the partition of China. Japan was left free to exploit northern China on her own account. She annexed Korea outright in 1910 and, in the first year of the Great War, took Kiauchau from Germany and forced China to give her immense commercial privileges (1914-15). Her victory stimulated a Liberal movement in China and the Nationalist movement which had already begun in India, and helped to produce an agitation in defeated Russia which shook the throne of the Czar to its foundations. Revolution and the disorganisation of the Russian armies relieved Germany for a time of all fear of attack from the east and left her free to pursue the forceful

policy in North Africa, Asia Minor, the Balkans and on the High Seas which led directly to the war of 1914.

Federation within the British Empire.—Growing pressure by foreign Powers all the world over, the economic forces which were pushing states towards union with their neighbours, and the changed outlook on colonial matters which accompanied the new Imperialism everywhere led to attempts to federate groups of colonies within the British Empire, and then to federate the whole of the self-governing colonies with Great Britain. As far back as 1848, Lord Elgin had urged Englishmen to stop talking of colonial self-government as the halfway house to independence, but, for a long time, he was a voice crying in the wilderness. The British public continued to take but little interest in colonial matters; during the 'sixties and 'seventies Great Britain's relations with her "colonies of settlement" were often strained; these colonies set up protective tariffs against her and against each other; even in the 'nineties, Great Britain gave Western Australia and Natal the self-government which pointed to independence, and set up a partially elective legislature in Southern Rhodesia.

But already the tide had turned in the direction of closer union. British emigrants were flowing in ever greater streams to the new wheat fields which the transcontinental railways were opening up in Canada, to the gold-fields of Western Australia (1873-85), to the diamond and gold-fields of South Africa (1870-95). Steamships, cheap postal rates and the cables brought the scattered portions of the Empire closer together; cheap newspapers and the spread of universal elementary education at least gave the mass of people in Great Britain and in the colonies a chance of knowing what was going on elsewhere; similar political institutions, similar social customs and traditions, and common possession of a great literature expressed in the most widely-spoken language in the world, all helped to hold the British together in all the lands bordering on the Seven Seas.

Quite apart from sentiment, the self-governing colonies saw that there was profit in being members of a rapidly-growing empire which opened to free trade all those vast areas which were ruled directly from London and which

turned the old mercantilist Colonial System topsy-turvy, since the Mother Country furnished troops on occasion, paid for the navy which defended the whole Empire, gave the colonists easy loans and interfered neither with their internal affairs nor with their trade. The federation of Canada as a Dominion pointed the way to still greater liberties and cleared away many points of friction between the Home and Colonial authorities. Hence, attempts were made to federate the Australian colonies and the states of South Africa.

(a) **Australia.**—The Australian problem appeared to be simple. There were only a few feeble native tribes; there were none of the political and racial divisions which complicated the problem in South Africa; after 1859 all save one of the colonies were self-governing and, therefore, on an equal footing constitutionally. But Australia was very large and far from the rest of the world, her population was small, and local patriotisms were so strong that the colonies built their railways on different gauges. Nothing was done till the arrival of the Germans in New Guinea and of the French in the New Hebrides awakened Australians to the fact that they now had neighbours (1883). They began to discuss a federal council, a common system of defence and the need for annexing the surrounding islands; the Imperial Parliament passed an Act which permitted the colonies to federate, but still nothing definite was done for a long time. Protectionist Victoria could not agree with Free Trade New South Wales, and the smaller colonies feared that they would be swamped politically by these two big ones.

But changing circumstances were too strong for such jealousies. Western Australia developed gold and self-government (1890) and asked for a railway to link her with the eastern colonies; bad times came and made even Australians wondrous kind to one another; the Labour party took office, undertook many public works and, in the name of "White Australia," checked the influx of Asiatics into the northern territories just as Japan beat China and took Formosa, a long step on the way to Australia (1895). Conferences of premiers discussed closer union and gradually pieced together a federal constitution. The first attempt to carry this by a referendum was defeated by New South

Wales, but that colony, which owned the all-important harbour of Sydney, was promised most of what it wanted, Australian patriotism was stimulated by the part played by Australian troops in the South African war, and the second referendum was a success. All the Australasian colonies except New Zealand federated as the Commonwealth of Australia (1901).

Under the Commonwealth Act, each state kept its elective legislature and its Governor appointed by the Crown, but there was now to be a Governor-General and a federal Parliament of two houses: a Senate to which each state sent six members and a House of Representatives elected for three years more or less on a population basis. In the division of sovereign powers, the Commonwealth followed the American rather than the Canadian example, for the states merely handed over certain carefully specified powers to the Federal government and kept the rest.

(b) South Africa.—The federation of South Africa was a much more difficult matter. Lord Carnarvon's attempt to federate the colonies and the republics ended in war (1880); Rhodes's attempt failed with the failure of the Jameson Raid (1896); the attempt of the Imperial authorities to clear the way for federation led to the South African war of 1899. At the close of the war all the British possessions south of the Zambesi, including the annexed republics and Southern Rhodesia, were formed into a Customs Union (1903) but it was only in 1910 that four of these colonies united to form the Union of South Africa.

(c) Imperial Federation.—Meanwhile the idea of an Imperial federation had taken shape. In the 'seventies Disraeli had taught that the Empire ought to be united for trade and defence under a council in London representing all its parts. "England," he said "has outgrown the European continent . . . England is the metropolis of a great maritime Empire extending to the boundaries of the farthest Ocean." A little later, Joseph Chamberlain and the growing body of Imperialists took up the idea of an Imperial Zollverein, that is, a customs union which should include the whole Empire. Within the Empire there was to be something like Free Trade and on the borders there was to be a customs barrier at which foreign goods must

pay duty. Such a policy would give British and Colonial manufacturers Protection from foreign competition, enable the government to bargain with other Powers by offering to give them good trading terms provided they would do the same for British subjects (Reciprocity), and give the self-governing colonies solid financial reasons for remaining within the Empire.

The first Colonial Conference was held in London in 1887 and, there, an attempt was made to combine the questions of trade and defence. The South African, J. H. Hofmeyr, proposed that the revenues drawn from the duties paid by foreigners should be used to pay for the navy, but this Conference and still more the Conference held at Ottawa in 1894 showed up the weaknesses of the Zollverein idea. Unlike the U.S.A. and Germany, the British Empire was scattered all over the earth along the sea-routes; each colony had its own local interests and local patriotism; the products of some were so much like those of others that they were trade competitors rather than allies; they were jealous of each other and frightened of British competition; above all, Great Britain was much the biggest self-governing part of the Empire and did far more trade with foreigners than with her own dependencies. Great Britain's trade and industry were organised to suit Free Trade and, if she levied duties on the foreign goods that came to her, she would send up prices against her own people without getting anything like all she wanted from her colonies.

Nevertheless, the scheme was not abandoned. Foreign pressure, the Scramble for Africa and Asia, the sight of other empires consolidating themselves on a trade basis, the idea of Imperialism fostered by writers like Rudyard Kipling, the enthusiasm for the Queen stirred by the Jubilee of 1887 and roused to a passion by the Diamond Jubilee ten years later, all pointed towards closer union. Other Conferences were held in London in 1897 and 1902. On both occasions Chamberlain, who had become Colonial Secretary in the hope of drawing the links of empire closer, proposed that there should be an Imperial Council representing Great Britain and the self-governing Colonies. But the Colonies feared that this would limit their freedom. Cape Colony set an example to the rest by making a small annual contribution to the cost of the navy (1898) but the question of

Imperial defence was not yet pressing. The main developments were in the sphere of trade. Canada first, and then the other colonies charged British goods lower customs duties than foreign (1897); a South African customs union was formed in 1903 and gave a similar preference; the colonies and Dominions began to give each other Reciprocity and, in 1903, Chamberlain felt strong enough to try to persuade Great Britain to give up Free Trade and to offer Preference to colonial goods. He thereby split the Tory party. The mass of the British electors felt that his policy would simply be Protection under another name. They returned a Liberal ministry to office with instructions to pay more attention than the Tories had done to home affairs (1906). Throughout Europe, from Russia to Great Britain, there was much that needed to be set in order.

Books for Further Reading :

- Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe*, pp. 486-523; Ramsay Muir, *National Self-Government*, pp. 169-229, and *Expansion of Europe*, pp. 143-233; H. E. Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, pp. 376-406 and 451-530; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 370-424; J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870-1900*, pp. 155 onwards; Scott Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*, pp. 114 onwards; Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Colonisation of Africa*.
- MAPS*.—Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas*, plates 24, 25, 32, 33, 34 and 36; Ramsay Muir, *New Historical Atlas*, plates 52, 63 and 64.

CHAPTER XIV.

GOLD AND RAILWAYS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1872-1902.

Main Events.—The outstanding fact of the period from 1872 to 1902, roughly one generation, was that South Africa was flooded by new men, new money and new ideas from Capetown to the Zambesi river and beyond it. The British colonies and the S.A. Republic at once began to build railways; Continental Powers more and more turned their attention to South Africa. The British Government set on foot a scheme for the confederation of the republics and the colonies (1875). That policy failed disastrously and called forth a strong nationalist reaction on the part of the conservative Afrikaners against the world forces that lay behind it. In 1884 the problems of South Africa were complicated by the German annexation of Namaqua-Damaraland, and in 1886 by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand. The Transvaal began to take the place of the Cape Colony as the economic centre of South Africa.

At this point, we are asked to devote our attention mainly to the constitutional development of South Africa, that is, to the building of the machinery by which the Union is governed to-day. This we will do in the last chapter, but, before doing so, we must state as shortly as possible the story of the twenty-five years of railway and customs tariff wars which followed the discovery of gold in the Transvaal and in Southern Rhodesia, a struggle embittered by enmity which sprang up between the mass of the British and of the Afrikaners as South Africa was drawn into the general European Scramble for Africa. The occupation of Southern Rhodesia, the Jameson Raid and the South African war were all episodes in that scramble. We cannot understand this period of South African history if we forget that fact for a moment.

The Need for Confederation.—The Diamond Fields, the gold reef at Tati, and the alluvial gold-fields found at Eersteling in the Transvaal and, presently, at Lydenburg, called for improved means of communication. The call was answered. The opening of the Capetown docks in 1870 made Table Bay safe for shipping during the winter months; Durban tried to remove the sand bar which blocked its fine harbour; the Union and the Castle lines ran weekly mail services to England in twenty-five days and soon built bigger ships which did the run in three weeks. Capetown was linked by cable to London by way of Aden in 1879, a great convenience to the overseas shareholders in the joint-stock companies which took the place of the individual diggers on the Diamond Fields; the colonial governments bought out the telegraph companies and carried the wires far and wide. Roads and bridges were built up to the republican borders; the Cape government bought out the railway companies and began to build trunk lines to the Diamond Fields from Wellington, Port Elizabeth and East London; Natal did the same and the S.A. Republic tried to build a line from Delagoa Bay to the Lydenburg gold-fields. Big banks like the Standard Bank swallowed up the local banks steadily just as big banks were doing in Western Europe; a considerable amount of English law, especially commercial and maritime law, was worked into the Roman-Dutch law of the Colony and even of the Republics under the influence of de Villiers, chief justice of the Cape; the examining University of the Cape of Good Hope, modelled on the lines of London University, began to admit candidates from the other states to its degrees.

All this pointed to the need for some sort of political union if friction between the states was to be avoided. Troubles which would merely have shaken the simple, rural South Africa in times past might have much more serious consequences now that life was becoming more complicated. As early as 1871, a few men in the Cape like de Villiers and J. H. Hofmeyr, then a rising journalist, talked of federation as the only safe course; President Brand and other prominent Free Staters were in favour of it provided the Griqualand West dispute were settled fairly; Burgers, the new President of the Transvaal, wanted to make South Africa an independent federation. The Liberal British ministry

had discussed federation in 1871 and, though the annexation of Griqualand West had made it impossible at the moment, the idea had not been lost sight of. In 1874 the Conservative leader Disraeli became Prime Minister with an active and well-informed Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, who had recently helped to federate Canada.

Carnarvon's Confederation Policy.—The Imperial government had stopped Grey's scheme of federation. It now took the lead in pressing forward a similar scheme. Times had changed. It was anxious to withdraw as many of its troops as possible but, unless South Africa was united, it could not do so. It is true that the Cape Peninsula was not so valuable to it since so much of the traffic to India was going through the new Suez Canal, but Bismarck had recently shown an interest in Namaqua-Damaraland, the new Colonial party in Germany was talking much of the Transvaal and of what is now Southern Rhodesia, the question whether Delagoa Bay belonged to the Portuguese or the British had just been referred to the French President.

Moreover, if South Africa could be federated, Natal and the Eastern Province could be given self-government for local purposes, and the two Republics might be induced to step down to a similar level in a confederation based upon the Cape Colony which was in those days the largest, richest, most thickly peopled and most settled part of South Africa, besides being the owner of what were then the best ports. But Carnarvon's main reasons for pressing his policy so hard were that confederation was the only hope of setting up a sound native policy for all South Africa and of getting the British government out of the tangle into which some of its colonists and local officials had pushed it in Griqualand West and the Keate Award Area.

The native problem, as usual, lay at the root of the matter. The native policies of the various states were radically different from one another and becoming more so. In the Cape Colony itself, the rule was legal equality between whites and blacks; the Cape Governor ruled Basutoland as a huge native reserve subject only to a general control by Parliament; there were Cape officials as advisers with some of the native chiefs between the Kei and the Natal border besides missionaries, traders and undesirables who by no

means always helped the officials. The Free State had very few natives to deal with ; the policy of the Transvaal was what it had always been : no legal equality, vague reserves, and, now, an attempt to raise a hut-tax and to use the vagrancy laws as a means of securing some of the native labour which flowed from the North through the republic on its way to the Diamond Fields. Burgers and the Griqualand West officials competed for control of the Keate Award Area, each making treaties with rival chiefs ; Burgers also tried to gain control of Swaziland through which he wanted to run a railway to Delagoa Bay ; his difficulties with the Zulus in the Blood River Territory were growing.

The real storm-centre as far as natives were concerned was Griqualand West, Thousands of natives went there from all parts, learnt to know each other, learnt also evil things from the scum of five continents which haunted the diggings, and returned to their kraals with money and guns. The gun trade of Kimberley was greater than anything of the kind that had yet been seen in South Africa. Attempts by the Free State to stop it almost led to war ; the results of it in Natal nearly led to a general South African explosion. The bulk of the Bantu in Natal still lived in reserves controlled more by Shepstone's personal influence than by anything else, for there were few magistrates, far too little money and no police. Meanwhile the natives were taxed so that they should come out to work. A £5 tax on native marriages excited all the clans. The authorities then tried to enforce the law which forbade natives to have unregistered guns on Langalibalele, a Hlubi chief who lived just where Natal touched Basutoland and the Transkeian territories. Langalibalele fled to Basutoland and all white South Africa stood to its arms ; but the Basutos gave him up, his own and a neighbouring tribe were punished severely and he himself was sent as a prisoner to Robben Island.

Meanwhile the government of Griqualand West, small and inefficient, was in trouble. The syndicates which owned the mining areas demanded high fees from the diggers ; water flowed in as the diggings deepened ; prices fell and the diggers found that the Diamond Fields were no longer the " small man's Paradise " ; land speculators, headed by David Arnot, quarrelled with the Griquas, Koranas and Batlapin ; " Alfred Aylward," an Irishman and an ex-

Fenian, organised an armed Mutual Protection Society against the syndicates and the authorities. Such a colony would be looked after better by its neighbours than by a few Imperial officials; it could not very well be given back to the Free State for many vested interests had grown up there since the annexation but, if it became a province in a federated South Africa, the Free State would share with the rest in the revenues that were drawn from it. Carnarvon therefore sent Sir Garnet Wolseley to Natal to set matters right there and ordered the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly, to summon a conference of all the South African governments to discuss native policy, control of the gun traffic and possibly confederation (1875).

Wolseley induced Natal to give more seats in its Legislative Council to officials till the close of 1880. He then reformed the native administration in some ways well, in others not so well, and departed. Carnarvon's proposals for a conference had already reached Capetown. The Molteno ministry did not welcome them. Confederation might mean many things from the Dominion constitution which Canada had just adopted to a mere alliance such as the republicans wanted but, in any case, it meant that the West would lose direct control of the Port Elizabeth customs revenues at a time when the Colony had borrowed much money for railway building. It also meant that the Cape would be mixed up with the native troubles of Natal and the disputes in Griqualand West as well as having to shoulder the main burden of defence if the Imperial troops were withdrawn.

Above all the Cape ministry looked on Carnarvon's despatch as an interference with their newly-won powers of self-government. They and the majority of the Assembly hurriedly decided to have nothing to do with the conference, just as James Froude, an English historian who had visited South Africa in 1874 and had urged Carnarvon to push forward with his schemes, arrived once more as Carnarvon's unofficial ambassador. Froude found that Hofmeyr's followers in the West and the Eastern Separationists were in favour of confederation; he made up his mind that, so long as Molteno was in office, there was no hope; he, therefore, appealed to the people against the ministry with considerable success.

The need for confederation was becoming more pressing. MacMahon, the French President, gave all Delagoa Bay to Portugal and thereby promised the Transvaal a port uncontrolled by the British. Burgers had already gone to Europe where he raised a railway loan on very hard terms, talked much of the gold in his republic, and asked for treaties with Belgium, Portugal and Germany. In his absence, the executive council at Pretoria tried to settle all outstanding boundary disputes in its own favour. It proclaimed a new boundary in the Keate Award Area, angered Cetewayo by giving out all the Blood River territory as farms and trying to tax the Zulus living there, and claimed to have made the Swazis vassals of the republic. Meanwhile Aylward raised a rebellion at Kimberley which had to be put down by the troops. On the other hand, Burgers told Carnarvon that he was in favour of confederation, the Cape Legislative Council voted in favour of it and the Assembly was on the point of defeating Molteno when an unlucky letter from Carnarvon arrived suggesting a conference in London instead of in South Africa. This gave Molteno a chance of shelving the whole matter with a mere promise to help H.M. Government to settle the fate of Griqualand West (1875).

The way was soon cleared for a settlement there. Judge Stockenstrom declared that Waterboer had never had any right to issue land titles in most of Griqualand West. It followed that he had had no power to hand it over to Great Britain. Brand went to London and gave up all claim to the territory in return for £90,000, which enabled him to buy up the last of the Free State's paper money and to start a bank, and the promise of £15,000 more if the Free State should begin to build a railway soon (1876). Brand, was, however, forbidden by his Volksraad to discuss confederation and Molteno, who was also in London, declined to do so either. Hence nothing came of the meeting of the London Conference directly.

The indirect results of the Conference were important. Natal had been strongly represented and so had Port Elizabeth, unofficially. Both were vitally interested in confederation. Confederation would send up the value of land in the republics and much of that land was mortgaged to their citizens; it would also mean that their railways would get in before the Delagoa Bay line. It is not certain how far

their arguments influenced Carnarvon but, in any case, he gave up trying to use the Cape as the lever with which to press forward confederation and used the Transvaal instead. Griqualand with its diamonds and Natal with its port were already under official control. If the Transvaal with its mineral wealth could be used to link up the two, the hinterland of the Cape and the Free State would be formed into a north-eastern confederation with which Molteno and Brand would have to come to terms.

Carnarvon made up his mind to take a strong line because he believed that the Transvaal government was collapsing and that a big war was coming between the natives and Europeans in South Africa. Burgers was very unpopular with many of the Transvaalers especially with the Doppers, who looked to Kruger as their future President; taxes were coming in badly; the miners and townsfolk cried out against the authorities; a campaign against Secocoeni, a Bapedi chief in the Lulu mountains, ended disastrously; a chief dependent on Cetewayo raided clans in the eastern Transvaal and rumour had it that the Zulus meant to invade the republic. Carnarvon therefore asked Sir Bartle Frere, a great Anglo-Indian official, to go to Capetown as High Commissioner to confederate South Africa. He also gave private instructions to Sir Théophilus Shepstone to annex the Transvaal at once if that was by any means possible.

Annexation of the Transvaal.—A few days after his arrival in Capetown, Frere heard to his amazement that Shepstone had annexed the Transvaal. Shepstone had been welcomed at Pretoria as an adviser. His orders were to annex at once if he found that the Volksraad or a sufficient number of the inhabitants wanted him to do so and, if not, to consult the High Commissioner. He kept quiet while Burgers tried to carry out much-needed reforms. The Volksraad would not pass them; Secocoeni, who had given in, refused to sign a definite treaty; the local bank, hard put to it for money, dishonoured government drafts, and Shepstone declared that he must annex. He wanted to annex partly in the interests of the confederation policy, but partly also because he was still set on grouping as much native territory as possible around Natal and, quite apart

from Swaziland, the whole of the eastern and northern Transvaal was much more purely native territory than it is even to-day. Many townsmen openly and some Volksraad members secretly favoured annexation; the President himself admitted that there was nothing else for it and most of the executive councillors only seemed anxious to keep their seats under the coming regime. In any case, troops advanced to the south-eastern border; Cetewayo's warriors appeared there for a time undoubtedly on a hint from Shepstone, and Shepstone duly annexed the Transvaal (1877).

There was no real opposition in the Transvaal itself for the first six months. The value of land rose, farmers near the capital were pleased to get better prices for their produce, the mass of the Boers waited to see what Shepstone would do expecting to be ruled under the Union Jack in the way to which they had been accustomed. Had Shepstone asked the Volksraad to ratify the annexation, there is little doubt that it would have done so. Unluckily for himself he did no such thing.

Meanwhile, to strengthen Frere's hands, the Imperial Parliament had passed a Permissive Federation Act empowering any two or more of the states and colonies to federate. It was rather a vague Act, but in many ways it anticipated the Act which made the Union a generation later. Shepstone's action had, however, ruined all hope of success. The Free State, frightened for its own independence, washed its hands of the confederation scheme; in the Colony, Hofmeyr, hitherto a supporter of the policy, protested and all that the Molteno ministry would do was to pass an Act empowering the Colony to annex Griqualand West (1877).

Kaffir War.—Shepstone was personally popular with the Boers, but he ruled in a lackadaisical fashion; he packed the civil service with young Natalians; he ran the Imperial government into debt. Frere determined to visit Pretoria himself but, first, he went to the Eastern Frontier. There were many tribesmen within the Colonial border, the border itself was ill-defended and, beyond it, the tribes had recovered in numbers and in spirit since the cattle-killing twenty years back. Frontier farmers also complained that the Kaffirs were buying land in the Colony while they were forbidden

to buy in the native territories. Trouble had already begun between the Fingos and Kreli's Galekas before Frere arrived. Frere attempted to take a strong line and both sides drifted into war.

It was a long and wasting campaign in which the Imperial troops bore the chief burden, and presently Sandile's Gaikas joined in. Frere quarrelled with Molteno, who wanted to confiscate Kaffir lands at the end of the war and actually appointed a commandant-general to lead the Colonial levies independently of the Imperial general who had charge of the whole campaign. At last, after Molteno had threatened to resign, Frere dismissed him. The majority in Parliament supported Frere in what he had done and the new premier, Sprigg, reorganised the defence forces of the Colony and taxed the Western wine-farmers to pay for it.

The Kaffir War ended at last and Frere pressed Sprigg on towards what he thought to be a sound native policy: large reserves, good police, rule by magistrates, no liquor and a light tax to induce natives to go to work. Sandile's Gaika reserve was sold for farms and, within the Colony, the power of the chiefs was abolished. Magistrates with greater powers than hitherto were placed with some of the chiefs beyond the Kei, the West Ponds ceded Port St. John's to the Queen, but apart from that no land was annexed or settled with Europeans in the Transkei. Frere also urged H.M. Government to declare a protectorate over all the tribes up to the Portuguese borders on both sides of Africa, but all that he was allowed to do was to annex Walfisch Bay (1878).

Zulu War.—Meanwhile Boer opposition in the Transvaal was increasing. Immediately after the annexation, Kruger and Jorissen the attorney-general had gone to London to ask for independence. Their request was almost a formal matter and its refusal did not seem to perturb them; but, on their return, they found their followers complaining that Shepstone had not given them the promised legislature, that Secocoeni was up in arms again, this time at the instigation of Cetewayo, and that two expeditions had failed to suppress him. They themselves both lost their official posts and, encouraged by the outcry against the annexation within

and without the Transvaal, Kruger led a second deputation to London to ask for independence (1878).

Matters were also coming to a head in Zululand. Cetewayo was general of a large and disciplined army which was ringed round on two sides by British territory. Frere and many others in South Africa looked on him as the root of troubles with the native tribes everywhere. Natal newspapers and unsuccessful missionaries quitting Zululand talked much of abominations committed there and Shepstone, who as a Natal official had upheld Cetewayo's claims to the Blood River territory against the Transvaal, now turned round and said that it was Transvaal territory. Cetewayo agreed to submit his claims to a commission appointed by the Natal government and Frere, believing that the decision would be given against the Zulus, asked for more troops to overawe him.

Frere came to Natal and took a more serious view of various incidents which occurred on the Zulu frontier than did the Natal officials; but his great difficulty was that the commission gave Cetewayo all and more than all he had asked for. Frere believed that, if the few Boer families who were actually living in the land that must now go to the Zulus were turned out, there might well be a rebellion in the Transvaal; if, on the other hand, they were to stay, the Zulus must be controlled. He therefore published the award side by side with an ultimatum demanding the break-up of the Zulu military system and the virtual control of Zululand by British officials.

In January, 1879, the affairs of the Transvaal and Zululand ran together. Great numbers of Boers met Kruger on his return from London and made a Solemn League and Covenant to recover their independence; British troops marched into Zululand and were heavily defeated at Isandhlwana. The Zulus were stopped from invading Natal by the gallant defenders of Rorkes' Drift, and by their king's orders; Sir Evelyn Wood presently beat them off at Kambula, but the situation was very dangerous for a time.

Everywhere the tribes were excited; a Basuto chief rebelled in Quthing; Secocoeni was still "out"; the Transvaalers were in laager, armed. The Transvaalers, however, remained quiet and Frere was soon able to meet

their leaders in their camp. He promised them self-government in a South African confederation, let Shepstone retire, and set on foot many necessary reforms. The Boer laager broke up but, on that very day, Frere heard that his hopes of carrying confederation had been ruined in London. The Disraeli ministry, faced with difficulties at home and abroad, had censured the policy which had led to the costly Zulu war. At once the agitation against Frere and the annexation of the Transvaal sprang up again in the Colony and the Free State and, in Pretoria, men told one another that the British would soon be gone. Worse still, Frere's powers were divided. Wolseley arrived to take charge of the affairs of Natal, Zululand and the Transvaal.

The Zulu war had been ended just before Wolseley's arrival by Lord Chelmsford's victory at Ulundi. Wolseley divided Zululand into thirteen parts each under a petty chief, and placed John Dunn in charge of a reserve all along the Natal frontier. He then marched on to the Transvaal, subdued Secocoeni, set up a rigid form of Crown Colony government, fortified the principal towns, and began to send the troops home. The Boers then assembled once more and encouraged by Gladstone's attacks on Disraeli's policy, agreed to boycott the authorities and to summon their old Volksraad. Gladstone however became premier, and the Boers stood fast to see what he would do. Gladstone believed that the abandonment of the Transvaal would lead to civil war and that a gold rush was about to take place which would swamp the burghers. He also found that his philanthropic Radical followers led by Joseph Chamberlain would not hear of him leaving the natives to the mercies of the Transvaalers. He asked Sprigg to push forward with confederation in the Cape, but Sprigg had to withdraw in face of Colonial and Transvaal opposition. The confederation policy was thereupon abandoned, Frere was recalled, the 1875 Natal constitution came to an end, and Griqualand West was at last handed over to the Cape (1880).

Basuto War.—The Cape now became involved in war with the Basutos. In 1879, Sprigg had annexed Fingoland and Griqualand East, two of the four big divisions of the Transkeian territories, and had carried an Act which em-

powered him to take away the tribesmen's guns. Many Colonists thought it unfair that the natives should have to give up at the ordinary market rate, weapons for which they had paid fancy prices; nevertheless many of the Transkeian tribes were disarmed. Sprigg then proposed to disarm the Basutos, to double their hut-tax and to take part of Quthing to help to pay the cost of quelling the recent rebellion there. All the chiefs protested against the taking of land and some of them refused to give up their guns and drove out those who were ready to do so. The trouble spread to Griqualand East where it was soon ended, but in Basutoland itself the Colonial forces could do little. At last the chiefs quarrelled among themselves and the new High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, was able to patch up an agreement. He promised that no land should be taken and that Basutos who gave up their guns might have them back on payment of a small licence fee. He thus tried to save the face of the Colonial government, but no man could restore its authority in Basutoland (April, 1881).

The Pretoria Convention.—Meanwhile, the Transvaalers had unexpectedly struck for independence. They had been collecting ammunition for some time, the British garrison had been greatly reduced and now a financial quarrel led to a display of force against the authorities at Potchefstroom. Soon 6,000 Boers assembled at Paardekraal, hoisted the Vierkleur and named Kruger, Pretorius and Piet Joubert as members of a governing Triumvirate. Fighting began at Potchefstroom on Dingaan's Day, 1880; a British force was shot to pieces at Bronkhorst Spruit, and the garrisons of Pretoria, Potchefstroom and other places were besieged. The numbers engaged on either side were small, neither side was anxious to go to extremes, and negotiations for peace began almost as soon as the firing. Sir George Colley, Wolseley's successor, tried to force his way over Laing's Nek to the relief of the besieged garrisons, but he was defeated there and at Ingogo and was finally killed at Majuba (1881).

The British government had already offered to send a commission as soon as an armistice had been made. Kruger, seeing the arrival of British reinforcements, accepted, and the armistice was arranged. A Royal Commission of

three, Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood and Sir Henry de Villiers, made terms with the Triumvirate. At one time it was proposed to cut off the eastern districts from the Transvaal. These districts, which contained the gold-fields, swarms of natives and very few Europeans, would have put Natal in direct touch with Swaziland. In the end Swaziland was made independent and the Transvaal was not reduced in size, on condition that a British Resident at Pretoria should have wide powers in native affairs and the Queen should be able to veto any laws which related to natives. "The Transvaal State" was given self-government subject to the Queen's suzerainty, a vague term which was interpreted to include the right of H.M. Government to conduct the foreign affairs of the Transvaal. The boundaries were marked out on all sides for the first time, the new government was saddled with part of the debt incurred since 1877, and equal civil rights were promised to all Europeans. A specially-elected Volksraad unwillingly ratified the Pretoria Convention, the troops marched out, and the Triumvirate was left to rule as best it might (1881).

The Afrikaner Bond.—Defeat and the abandonment of the confederation policy destroyed the prestige of the Imperial government in the eyes of Republicans, Colonists and natives alike. The Transvaalers were naturally suspicious of everything British and the Continental concessionaires who soon surrounded them played on these fears. Many Englishmen in the colonies were willing to have the Union Jack as a defence against foreign enemies but were prepared to resist anything like Imperial interference in internal matters. Among the Cape Afrikanders, a strong anti-British movement developed.

The anglicisation of South Africa in law, education, language and customs had gone on unchecked till about 1873. Many Afrikanders had been shocked by the annexation of the Diamond Fields, still more disliked the type of "Britisher" who came to the gold and diamond fields in place of the fine Anglo-Indian officials who had spent their leave at the Cape before the cutting of the Suez Canal had made it possible for them to go home to England. The grant of responsible government awakened Afrikanders to an interest in public life for the first time. Then, in 1873,

a few Hollanders and other enthusiasts at the Paarl started a movement to make the spoken Afrikaans a literary language. They were fiercely criticised, not so much by the English as by Hofmeyr and other advocates of High Dutch ; but Carnarvon's attempt to push his confederation policy won them recruits and, in 1875, the Rev. S. J. du Toit of the Paarl founded an association to stand up for "our Language our Nation, and our People," and published his doctrines in a newspaper, *Di Patriot*.

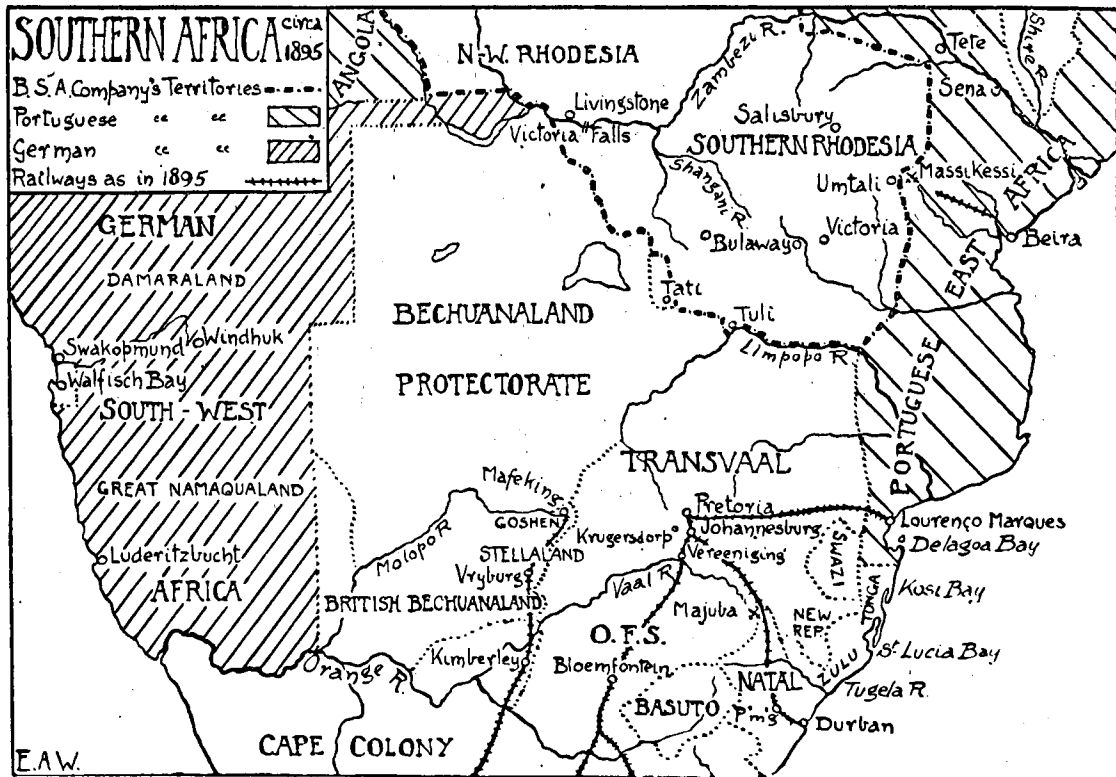
After Frere's censure by the British ministry, du Toit founded the Afrikaner Bond to rally Afrikaners everywhere against all things British and, after the Transvaal war, the Bond spread to the Free State and the Transvaal and du Toit himself went north as superintendent-general of education at Pretoria. Meanwhile Hofmeyr organised the Boeren Bescherminings Vereeniging to oppose the excise on spirits which Sprigg levied to pay for his defence scheme. Finding that the Bond was swallowing up branches of his Vereeniging, he induced the latter to take part in politics by joining in the successful demand that was being made for the use of Dutch in Parliament and the schools. He then united the Bond and the Vereeniging and set to work to gain control. In the course of the next six years he weaned the Bond in the Colony from its anti-British and pro-Transvaal attitude and made it a machine for controlling parliamentary elections and for training the Cape Afrikaners for political life within the British Empire.

Basutoland and the Transkei.—During the stirring times of the confederation campaign, South Africa had prospered. The output of diamonds and ostrich feathers had increased by leaps and bounds, an expensive British administration had been installed at Pretoria and the country had been flooded with Imperial troops and money ; but after 1880 the soldiers and the army contractors departed, the over-capitalised diamond companies began to collapse, the banks refused to lend money readily, disease ruined the vineyards in the Western Province. Then came smallpox, redwater fever, drought, heavy falls of earth in the Kimberley mines and acute economic depression.

Relentless economic pressure combined with native problems and foreign intervention to bring the scattered

states of South Africa together again. The Cape had already annexed half the Transkeian territories and had appointed magistrates with considerable powers in all the other parts except Pondoland. It had taken some of the high ground beneath the Drakensberg (Quathlamba) mountains for European farms but it had left the rest as reserves for the tribes. The chiefs ruled in these reserves under the control of magistrates who administered native civil law, as in Natal and Basutoland, and a specially designed code of criminal law. As in Basutoland, the Governor and his ministers made laws subject only to a very loose control by Parliament. Thus the Cape was framing its present system of native administration which is in most ways the best in the Union, but it failed utterly to regain its lost authority in Basutoland. The Scanlen ministry at one time thought of asking H.M. Government to relieve it of the task of ruling both the Transkei and Basutoland but, in the end, the Colony kept the Transkei. Basutoland was, however, handed back to the Imperial authorities (1884).

Stellaland, Goshen and the New Republic.—The Transvaal had considerable trouble with the tribes after the retrocession, notably with Mapoch in the Lydenburg district, but its main difficulties were on the new western border. Trouble had arisen there early in 1881 and, to make matters worse, the Pretoria Convention boundary cut in half the lands of the little chiefs who had been allies of President Burgers. The rivals in the north were two Barolongs, the "pro-British" Montsioa of Sehuba and the "pro-Boer" Moshette of Kunwana, and, in the south, Massouw, the "pro-Boer" Korana of Mamusa, and Mankoroane, the "pro-British" Batlapin of Taungs. All these chiefs were helped by white men who were to be paid in farms and looted cattle. The Pretoria government mediated peace between Mankoroane and Massouw who gave their European friends land on which they founded the republic of Stellaland with its capital at Vryburg (1882). The fighting was fiercer in the north and Gey van Pittius, Moshette's agent, forced Montsioa to become a Transvaal vassal and to give up much of his land. There, van Pittius founded the republic of Goshen (1882).



Map No. 15.

From the Colony's point of view there was a danger that these little states would join the Transvaal. If they did so, the Missionaries' Road would be blocked, for they straddled right across it. The Transvaal, short of money and owing the colonies no gratitude for their selfish customs policy in the past, had already levied customs duties on colonial products. It had also given concessions of all kinds, mostly to Continentals, in the vain hope of making itself self-supporting, and was staffing its public offices and schools with educated Hollanders and Germans to the exclusion of Cape Afrikaners whom it suspected of being *Engelsgesind*.

The Road, "the Suez Canal of the Interior," as Rhodes, the rising young Cape politician called it, was more important than it had been now that the Scramble for Africa had fairly begun. On the west coast, the Guano Islands and Walvisch Bay were British, and British subjects held many concessions in Namaqua-Damaraland which the Cape had long vaguely regarded as being within its sphere of influence. But nearly all the missionaries and many of the traders there were Germans and, when fighting began again between the Hottentots and the Hereros, Bismarck asked the British government if it claimed jurisdiction. The British government replied in a hesitating fashion; Lüderitz, a merchant of Bremen, bought a tract of land from a Hottentot chief and asked for German protection; a German warship at Angra Pequena (Lüderitzbucht) warned off an intruding British gunboat (1883).

It was under these circumstances that Stellaland arranged for union with Goshen and asked to be incorporated in the Transvaal. Kruger had just been elected President at Pretoria and was anxious to have the Pretoria Convention modified as a step towards regaining complete independence. This was done by the London Convention of 1884. The royal veto on legislation was abolished, the public debt and the powers of the British Resident were cut down, and the western border was extended to take in parts of Stellaland and Goshen. But the Transvaal was not allowed to have the Road. Instead, it was freed from the Queen's suzerainty except that, under Article IV of the new convention, it might not make treaties with any other state than the Free State or with native tribes to the east and west of its frontiers without the Queen's leave.

The Earl of Derby, Secretary of State, hoped that the Cape would take over Bechuanaland including the remains of Stellaland and Goshen. In the meantime he arranged with the Transvaalers that, as soon as the Volksraad had ratified the London Convention, British and Transvaal commissioners should co-operate to keep the peace each on their own side of the Bechuanaland border. He made the mistake, however, of sending up John Mackenzie at once as commissioner. Mackenzie, who was hostile to the Boers, declared a British protectorate over Stellaland, took over Montsioa as a British subject and hoisted the Union Jack at Vryburg. The High Commissioner made him lower his flag and sent Rhodes up to take his place, but Mackenzie's hasty action had angered the Transvaalers and frightened the Upington ministry at Capetown from agreeing to take over Bechuanaland.

Rhodes arrived at Vryburg just as the Transvaal Volksraad ratified the London Convention. He persuaded the Stellalanders to accept Cape rule provided their farms were secured to them, but he failed to stop the fighting in Goshen. There, the wretched Montsioa surrendered practically all his lands to Van Pittius, and S. J. du Toit hoisted the Vierkleur. Du Toit did this on his own authority, but, on the same day, Kruger annexed Goshen subject to the Queen's consent. At once there was an outcry in the Colony and even Rhodes, who had hitherto been anxious to shut out what he called "the Imperial factor" from Bechuanaland, called for British intervention. Kruger made du Toit lower his flag and withdrew his own annexation proclamation, but not before H.M. Government had sent General Warren to lead an expedition to the scene of the trouble.

There was real cause for alarm on the part of the Cape Colonists, for Bismarck had just declared a German protectorate over Namaqua-Damaraland (1884). The Germans were not so exclusive commercially as the French, but, if they joined hands across Africa with the Transvaalers or with the Portuguese in the lower Zambezi valley, or with other Germans who were busily acquiring territory in East Africa, the trade of the Cape and of Great Britain would to a great extent be shut out from the interior. Germans were active in other parts of southern Africa. Port St. John's in Pondoland was already British, but the chief of

the East Pongos was hostile and possessed another harbour at Port Grosvenor. Great Britain, therefore, declared a protectorate over the whole of the Pondoland coast to ward off foreign competitors with the Cape and Natal trade (1885).

She had already taken a still more decided step in Zululand. There was much to be said for Wolseley's scheme of dividing that country into thirteen parts but it had one fatal weakness: there was no power, European or Bantu, to control the rival chieftains. They fought one another with the help of white allies who were paid in the usual fashion in cattle and land. H.M. Government restored Cetewayo to part of his old kingdom, but he was driven out by his enemies to die (1884). The Transvaal could not interfere to end the chaos because of the terms of the London Convention, but a Transvaaler, Lukas Meyer, got together men from the republics and the colonies, crowned Dinizulu, Cetewayo's son, as a vassal king, defeated his enemies and received about half Zululand as a reward. There Meyer founded the New Republic. The new state was to have included St. Lucia Bay, and a German in the service of the Transvaal secured a land concession there which he presently sold to Lüderitz of Bremen; but the British, on the strength of Cloete's treaty with Panda in 1843, annexed St. Lucia Bay on behalf of Natal (1884).

In the west, Warren marched northward with a large British and Colonial force into Bechuanaland. He found no one to fight, but he arranged boundary details with Kruger and Rhodes, and marched on far beyond the Molopo. North of that river, a British protectorate was proclaimed up to the 22nd degree of south latitude and westward to the 20th degree of east longitude, the presumed boundary of German South-West Africa. The Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland was set up to the south of the Molopo, because the Stellalanders were not willing to be ruled from Capetown and the Cape did not want to try to rule them (1885). A British wedge was thus driven in between the Germans and the Transvaalers and the road to the North was kept open for the Colony.

Meanwhile, Bismarck gave up whatever claims he might have had on St. Lucia Bay in exchange for concessions by Great Britain in the Cameroons. He thus made it easier for Great Britain to recognise the new Republic. That little

state had to give up its claims to the Bay and to its suzerainty over the Zulus. Presently, it joined the S.A. Republic as the district of Vryheid; Great Britain annexed the remains of Zululand; the Cape annexed Port St. John's and the rest of the Transkeian territories outside Pondoland. Thus was the South African Scramble, a scramble within the great European Scramble, ended for the time being.

First Steps towards closer Union.—The passage of time and hardships shared in common gradually calmed the "racial" passions aroused by the Transvaal War of Independence. The Afrikaner Bond lost its hold on the republics where there was little need for it, and fell under the control of the moderate Hofmeyr in the Colony. Hofmeyr and Brand, moreover, tried to form a customs union so as secure free trade within South Africa, and the Cape Government asked leave to run its three main lines of railway into the republics.

There were two chief obstacles to any such general railway and customs policy. Natal was the natural economic ally of the Transvaal, which formed her hinterland; hence, she levied customs duties much lower than those of the Colony in the hope of attracting traffic from the Cape ports to Durban. Kruger, for his part, was determined to make the Transvaal as independent of the colonial South as possible and to get a port of his own on the south-east coast. Many Free Staters also were afraid of the Cape railways which might make them politically dependent on the Colony and would, in any case, damage their transport riders. On the other hand, trade was very bad in the Transvaal, the miners clamoured for a railway, the government had no money, and Kruger had to ask the Cape to carry on its railways and to make a customs treaty with him. The Cape ministry, also hard-pressed for money, threw away the opportunity.

The opportunity never came again, for in 1886 the Rand was opened as a gold-field and the Transvaal, with money in its pockets at last, was free to take its own course. The Netherlands Railway Company, a Dutch and German corporation to which the republican government had given the monopoly of building railways, began to lay a line to Delagoa Bay, and Kruger tried to force the Free State to enter his military, railway and customs system. Brand

refused to have his hands tied, but he died, and his successor, F. W. Reitz, made a defensive alliance with the Transvaal whereunder the republics promised to help one another if either was unjustly attacked. On the other hand, the Free State made a Customs Union with the Cape and allowed the Port Elizabeth line to come on to Bloemfontein (1889).

Rhodes.—In those days, before men had learnt how to mine deep down, the Rand was not the chief prize south of the Zambesi. Matabele-Mashonaland were said to be very rich in precious minerals. A strong party in the Transvaal led by Joubert, Kruger's rival for the presidency, wanted to get a footing there, if not for the sake of the gold, at least for the sake of the cattle-grazing. But so did the Portuguese and the Germans who were both pressing in from the coasts towards the centre, and so did Rhodes.

Rhodes was ambitious and wealthy. He held gold-mines on the Rand and was really head of the De Beers Consolidated Company which he, Barney Barnato and Alfred Beit had formed to control the Kimberley mines, far and away the largest producers of diamonds in the world at that time. His schemes were very wide. He saw that other nations were seizing as much of Africa as they could and locking it up for their own benefit. England was slow to scramble on her own account, but, since she was willing to allow chartered companies to trade and rule, he decided to form a company and scramble on her account and his own. He meant to build a railway and telegraph line from the Cape to Cairo and thus open up Central Africa to British trade and enterprise, and give the British form of Western civilisation, which he held to be the best in the world, a chance of prevailing. He also hoped that his work in Africa would be a step towards the formation of a British Imperial Customs Union. His narrower aims were of the same kind. He wanted to unite all Africa south of the Zambesi in a customs union which, like the German Zollverein, might develop into a political federation.

Southern Rhodesia.—Rhodes' policy was bound to lead to difficulties with Kruger's Transvaal, but, for a time, all went well. He and Hofmeyr tried to persuade Kruger to allow the Cape-to-Cairo railway to run through Johannesburg and Pretoria and, when Kruger refused, he arranged

with the Cape government to carry on the line from Kimberley northwards through Bechuanaland. Meanwhile his agents secured the famous Rudd Concession whereby Lobengula, king of Matabele-Mashonaland, gave him a monopoly of all the minerals in his dominions. He then formed the British South Africa Company under a Royal Charter which gave it power to rule and to do many other things in what is now Southern Rhodesia provided Lobengula gave his consent (1889).

Next year, Rhodes became prime minister of the Cape Colony and received full powers to act for the B.S.A. Company in Africa. He also hoped to annex British Bechuanaland to the Colony and to place the Bechuanaland Protectorate under the Company, but here he was checked by the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, who did not like chartered companies and did not altogether trust him. However, Rhodes's Pioneers entered Mashonaland and founded Salisbury (1890). Some little fighting followed with the Portuguese who claimed much of Mashonaland for their Mozambique Company; for a time there was danger of a fight with some Transvaalers who wanted to trek in on the strength of a valueless concession but, in 1893, the Company, with the assistance of Imperial police, overthrew the Matabele and stepped into Lobengula's shoes as ruler of Matabele-Mashonaland.

Kruger.—Kruger had not pressed whatever claims the Transvaal may have had in the North. He was much more anxious to secure Swaziland, where his burghers held concessions and grazing rights, and a port at Kosi Bay in Tongaland between Portuguese territory and Zululand. Swaziland was independent, Tongaland was in the British sphere of influence by treaty, other little chiefs also lay between the Transvaal and the sea, and Kruger could make no treaties with them unless the Queen consented. He repeatedly met Loch, and tried to get leave to annex Swaziland and a railway strip down to Kosi Bay as a reward for standing back in Matabeleland. Loch insisted that, if the Transvaal was given the railway strip and the port, it must enter into a customs union with one or other of the British colonies. This Kruger would not do, so he never got his port.

The difficulties in the way of giving the Transvaal a port of its own were two; first, it would be less inclined than ever to federate economically with the colonies and, secondly, it might let in some foreign power to complicate the politics of South Africa still further. The second danger was not imaginary, especially after 1894 when it was found that the Rand mines could be worked much deeper down than had at first been thought possible. This meant that the mines were immensely valuable. Frenchmen and Germans held many shares in the mining companies; Great Britain's relations with France were very bad and France had a strong force within easy reach of South Africa in Madagascar (which she duly annexed and closed to the outer world in 1896); Germany would have liked to declare a protectorate over the Transvaal if only Kruger would have consented. In the end, Kruger was allowed to rule Swaziland as a native territory and Great Britain annexed Tongaland (1895).

The Jameson Raid.—The Transvaal had to face difficulties at home as well as abroad. Crowds had flocked to the Rand after the gold discoveries. Probably the majority of these Uitlanders were British subjects but many had come from the Free State, Europe and North America. They came in such numbers that the Transvaalers, fearing to be swamped in their own country, made it more and more difficult for them to get the franchise for the First Volksraad and presidential elections. At last they made it almost impossible. The sudden weight of an industrial problem such as the mines on the Rand presented was too much for the simple machinery of government at Pretoria. Hence, many abuses went unchecked. Some of the Uitlanders headed by Charles Leonard, a Cape man, formed the National Union to work peacefully for constitutional and other reforms; but the Volksraad ignored their petitions till even Cape and Free State Afrikaners grumbled that their brothers were treated like foreigners in the Transvaal.

Meanwhile free trade had been arranged between the Cape, the Free State, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia; but by the end of 1894 Rhodes knew that, owing to French and German opposition, he must give up all hope of buying Delagoa Bay from the Portuguese and thus forcing the Transvaal and, therefore, Natal to

enter the customs union. He had other difficulties. His Cape to-Cairo railway was at Mafeking but he was not allowed to carry it on through the Transvaal, the best way from the economic point of view. He had long ago failed to get the port of Beira from the Portuguese, though that was the natural port for Southern Rhodesia, and he now knew that the gold-mines which were to have put the Rand into the shade did not exist in "Charterland." In other words, there was no hope of speedily attracting a population to Rhodesia big enough to take over the government and to leave the B.S.A. Company free to go forward purely as a commercial concern. He therefore determined to push forward his scheme for a South African federation which should include Southern Rhodesia.

The need for some such federation was emphasised by the railway war which broke out between the Cape and the Transvaal. The Cape had lent money to the Netherlands Railway Company in return for the right to take its line across the Vaal into Johannesburg and to fix the rates over it till the end of 1894. The Cape line had soon been finished but, just as the agreement ran out, the Delagoa Bay line reached the Rand and the rival Durban line was fast approaching it. To attract traffic, the Cape cut down its rates as far as the Vaal and, when the Netherlands Company tripled the rates over the line from the Vaal to the Rand so as to force traffic over the Delagoa Bay line, Cape merchants trekked their goods in waggons from the Vaal drifts to Johannesburg.

While all this was going on, Loch retired, and Sir Hercules Robinson came back as High Commissioner, old, ill, and quite unable to check his popular prime minister at Capetown. Rhodes was allowed to annex British Bechuanaland to the Cape and, though he failed to get the Protectorate as well for the Company, he was given a strip of it along the Transvaal border through which to carry on his railway towards Bulawayo. At this juncture, Kruger closed the Vaal drifts to goods from overseas and thus broke the London Convention. There was a general outcry and Rhodes and some of his fellow-ministers secretly arranged with Chamberlain, the new Colonial Secretary, for a joint Imperial and Cape expedition to uphold the Convention. Thus the railway

war nearly developed into real war but, in reply to an ultimatum, Kruger reopened the drifts.

Rhodes then fell back on his alternative scheme for forcing the Transvaal into the customs union. Since 1894, some of the big mine-owners at Johannesburg had joined hands with a few of the leaders of the National Union. Rhodes feared that, if the Uitlanders were left to themselves, the foreign section might set up an anti-British republic; he knew that some of the magnates and Reformers would rather control the republic themselves than see it a member of a customs union controlled by himself from the old Colony or Rhodesia. He therefore promised to support a rising of the Uitlanders against the Kruger government with the B.S.A. Company police under Dr. Jameson, administrator of Southern Rhodesia. Jameson rode in from the Bechuanaland railway strip, but the Uitlander rising broke down utterly and the raiders were captured near Krugersdorp (January, 1896).

Results of the Raid.—The Raid was disastrous in every way to the peace of South Africa. President Steyn of the Free State made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Transvaal and agreed to the formation of a Federal Council to deal with certain matters common to the two republics. (1897). In the Colony, Sprigg became premier and Hofmeyr rallied the Bond which had shown signs of splitting. Some of the Bondsmen still favoured Rhodes, but a good many wanted to work with the federated republics. More and more of the British Colonials joined the new Progressive party in opposition to the Bond. Thus Rhodes's political position was ruined and, for a time, there was a risk that the B.S.A. Company would lose its charter; but, in the end, the Company was left to rule Southern Rhodesia under much stricter Imperial control than before, and checked by a legislative council which included some elected members. Meanwhile the Company had had to fight hard for its hold on Rhodesia against the Matabele and Mashona. It was in the course of this Matabele rebellion that Rhodes made a great name for himself by going in with a few friends and persuading the chiefs to make peace.

Jameson and his officers were punished by the English courts while, in the Transvaal, four of the Johannesburg Reformers were condemned to death and the other leaders

to imprisonment. The death-sentences were not carried out and all the Reformers were gradually released on paying heavy fines and promising to take no part in politics for three years to come; but the Uitlanders were thus muzzled and further away from getting the franchise than ever, the more liberal Boers, who had hitherto urged Kruger to meet them halfway, were silenced and Kruger was given an excellent excuse for arming his republic on what was, for South Africa, a large scale.

These Transvaal armaments were all the more disquieting to the British because, at the time of the Raid, the Kaiser had sent a telegram of congratulation to Kruger and had tried to stir up France and Russia against England to such an extent that war had nearly broken out between Great Britain and Germany. Kruger had also been persuaded not to accept an invitation to go to London to talk matters over with Chamberlain; nevertheless, he naturally hoped to use the prestige which his victory had given him and the false position into which the Raiders had thrust the Imperial government to get rid of the checks which the London Convention put upon his powers of making treaties.

During the long negotiations which followed, each party became more and more suspicious of the other. The Transvaalers suspected that Chamberlain had been behind the Raid; Chamberlain and an increasing number of Englishmen believed that Kruger was trying to whittle away the Convention and, indeed, some of the laws and treaties that he made were technical breaches of it. Uitlanders resented some of these laws; they and investors in Great Britain and on the Continent complained of the high price of dynamite due to a really scandalous monopoly, and of the high railway rates which kept up the cost of living and working costs on the Rand mines.

Milner.—In 1897, Sir Alfred Milner arrived as High Commissioner. His task was a hard one. Economic forces all pointed towards the federation which he and Chamberlain were eager to make, but politics ran on racial lines, Kruger's Transvaal was now the economic centre of South Africa, and political power has a way of following economic power all the world over. However, Milner hoped to come to terms with Kruger, and, at any rate, to

prevent Great Britain from being pushed out of the dominant position (paramountcy) which she had held in South Africa for so many years.

For a full year Milner took no decided step, hoping to win the confidence of the Afrikanders and the moderate British in the Colony. Meanwhile, Rhodes took up his own scheme of federation again. He reorganised Southern Rhodesia, persuaded Natal to join the customs union and, to pave the way for a federation of the British possessions south of the Zambesi, tried to have more seats in the Cape Parliament allotted to the Progressive towns. Milner also called on all Cape Colonists to urge the Transvaal to make its administration and its franchise laws more like those of its neighbouring states. This, in the excitement of the time, was taken as a threat to the Transvaal. The Bond then narrowly defeated Rhodes and the Progressives at a general election, and the new ministry under W. P. Schreiner showed that, as in 1875, the Colony would not move in the matter of federation.

The Progressive South African League therefore encouraged the agitation which had begun again upon the Rand. The Uitlanders still had plenty of grievances in spite of recent reforms and the fact that Kruger was replacing the Continental officials, whom his own burghers did not love, by Afrikanders like Reitz and J. C. Smuts. All this time, too, the correspondence between London and Pretoria on the London Convention had dragged on. At the close of 1898, Chamberlain and Milner decided to bring pressure on the Transvaal to make it give the Uitlanders the franchise on easier terms. If that was done, a great source of unrest in all South Africa would be done away with; but there were two objections to such a policy of pressure. Great Britain had no legal right to interfere with the franchise which was an internal matter, and there was little hope that Kruger would make concessions freely. For Kruger knew that, if any number of Uitlanders got the franchise, they would vote for Joubert or some other candidate and that would be the end of all that he stood for.

War.—The controversy between the Transvaal and British Governments dragged on for many months. It concentrated more and more round the franchise. Kruger offered to give it to Uitlanders after a nine years' and, then,

after a seven years' wait instead of the old fourteen, but he refused to make the term five years as Milner requested at the Bloemfontein Conference (June 1899). Both sides were thoroughly suspicious of one another. The British authorities accused the Transvaalers of trying to dodge the point at issue; the Transvaalers believed that Rhodes merely wanted to get control of their republic; Rhodes and the growing war-party in South Africa and London urged the Imperial government to press on in the belief that Kruger would give way rather than fight. As the crisis approached Great Britain sent troops to strengthen her feeble garrison, the Republics both mobilised (for the Free State stood by its ally), the two Presidents delivered an ultimatum, and so the war began (October, 1899).

From the Boer point of view it was a struggle for independence; from the point of view of the mass of the British all the world over, it was a war to end a corrupt and oppressive system of government; in the eyes of a few who saw further than the rest, it was a forcible means of clearing a way to federation, which indeed it was. The war fell into two distinct stages. From the beginning till September, 1900, the fighting was between organised and fairly large armies. That stage began in favour of the Boers who invaded the colonies and found many supporters there; it ended in favour of the British who overran the republics and annexed them both. The second, longer and much more destructive stage was a period of fighting between the British army of occupation and scattered Boer commandos each under a picked leader. Much of this fighting took place in the Cape Colony where the Boers again found helpers but at last the war was ended by the Peace of Vereeniging (May, 1902). The republics gave up their independence and the way was apparently open to economic and political federation.

Books for Further Reading :

- A. P. Newton, *The Unification of South Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 17-208; G. W. Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents*, pp. 64-76, 88, 129-37, 198-215, 226, 247-59, 342-45, 437-514 and 559 sqq.; J. Martineau, *Sir Bartle Frere*, vol. ii, pp. 161-432; E. A. Walker, *Lord de Villiers and his Times : South Africa, 1842-1914*; J. H. Hofmeyr, *Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr*; Basil Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*; H. Marshall Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia*. Also E. A. Walker, *Political History of South Africa*.
- MAPS.**—E. A. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, plates 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24 and 25.

CHAPTER XV.

THE COMING OF THE GREAT WAR.

State Action.—Protection of industry and government encouragement of commerce were signs of a general revival of state action. In the later nineteenth century the French philosophy of *laissez-faire* lost its hold on the Western world. *Laissez-faire* had aimed at liberty, at sweeping away abuses and the checks upon men's actions. Its work was largely done. Men forgot its good works and looked rather at the undoubted evils which it had brought in its train. Governments tended to be conservative, opposed to radical changes in the structure of society or the balance of political power within their states. They determined that, if changes must come, they should come gradually and under careful control. They had this much at least in common with the Socialists that they insisted on the need for regulated and combined action and not on mere freedom for individuals to scramble as best they could.

Control of trade, industry and education by government was carried furthest in Germany. Bismarck, an autocrat, was the first statesman who really faced the new conditions which had been brought about by the French philosophy and the British Industrial Revolution. At first he had worked with the National Liberal party whose help he needed in the *Kulturkampf*, a struggle with the Catholic Church for control of education in South Germany. He was by no means altogether successful in this struggle, but he checked the power of the Jesuits, secured a hold over most of the clergy by paying them their salaries and kept a veto on the appointment of Bishops. He already controlled the Lutherans who had always been obedient to the state; he controlled many of the newspapers; he controlled the universities by appointing, paying, and, on occasion, dismissing professors; he saw to it that the well-equipped classical and "modern" high schools trained men to take

their places in the state machine. Under him, Germany learnt to "think to order." She gained an empire in Central Europe but she lost her old "empire of the air."

All Bismarck's reforms were in the direction of concentration of power in the hands of the central government: one currency for the Empire, an Imperial Bank, Imperial law courts and civil and criminal codes of law, and the purchase of most of the railways by the state. But the Socialists, the Social Democrats, grew in numbers and some of them were violent. Alarmed at two attempts on the Kaiser's life, Bismarck abandoned the Liberals, made terms with the conservative Catholic party and gave the industrialists Protection (1879). He then set to work to suppress the Social Democrats with one hand and to remove the causes of their discontents with the other. He forbade them to hold meetings or to publish books and newspapers and gave the police power to put them over the frontiers. On the other hand, he showed that Socialism need not be democratic but might be very autocratic indeed. He used to say that two things had made him a Socialist: the sight of *laissez-faire* England and the teachings of the Socialist, Lassalle. He obliged workmen to join trade unions and similar bodies and drew up a scheme whereby government, employers and workmen contributed to a fund from which sick or disabled workmen could be paid, and another from which aged people past work should receive a small pension. He kept a tight grip on all of this and naturally failed to please the Social Democrats who knew that workmen who broke the law would lose their benefits under these schemes. But, until his retirement in 1890, Bismarck kept Social Democracy strictly within bounds.

Bismarck's policy was imitated more or less in other countries. Something had to be done, for the Industrial Revolution was moving forward steadily, the nationalist enthusiasms of 1859-71 had died down, and all the Western world was in the depth of a slump which lasted from 1873 till 1886. In Great Britain, for instance, laws were passed to give workpeople better houses, to make employers pay compensation to workmen who were hurt, to provide better sanitation in factories and safer working conditions on the railways (1875-93). Later, attempts were made to provide work for the unemployed and Old Age Pensions were given

as in Germany, Denmark, Australia and New Zealand. Elementary education was made free and compulsory in 1890; later on more free secondary education, medical inspection and free meals for poor school children were provided (1902-6). Side by side with this development of the schools went the growth of universities in cities like Manchester and Liverpool, where higher education was given to thousands who could not afford to go to the older universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The carrying out of many of these laws was left to locally-elected committees under the general control of government departments which paid them a "grant-in-aid," if the work was properly done. In Great Britain, there was much less direct action by the central authorities than in Germany.

Socialism and Communism.—The movements which can be most conveniently grouped under the name of Socialism had played little active part in the politics of Europe since the failure of the Communists in the Paris revolution of 1848. Communism had flared up in Paris in 1871, but it was only in 1878 that the Socialists became strong enough to alarm the government. French Socialists held to the teachings of their early masters, looking forward to a sudden revolution to be followed by a newer and a better world organised by government; but Socialists in Germany and Russia listened more and more to the teachings of the middle-class German Jews, Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle.

Marx was far and away the most important man of this school of thought. He had learnt his Socialism in Paris of the 'forties and spent much of the rest of a long life working in the library of the British Museum. He stated his doctrines in a massive book, *Capital (Das Kapital)*. Shortly put, his doctrine was that, since the value of a given article came from the amount of labour put into it, all the reward in wages and profits should go to the labourers. Marx also believed that history showed that a struggle for wealth and control of the "means of production" had always gone on, was going on and must go on till everything was owned by a few capitalists and nothing except their power to work by the Proletariate, the mass of the people. A time would come when the Proletariate would rise and

seize the means of production. History to him was a machine grinding on to an inevitable end; he threw aside the French revolutionary ideas of democracy; human affairs, in his eyes, were a struggle for power to be settled by force. He did not suggest how the Communist state was to be organised after the rising of the Proletariate, for he had a great contempt for builders of Utopias from Plato downwards; nevertheless his book had and still has great influence.

Lassalle reached his conclusions independently, but to him, also, the possession of private property was a mere stage through which civilised society must pass till the time should come when Capital and Labour would be in the same hands. He, too, was no democrat. "For these reforms," he said, "I look to a socialist Kaiser." Lassalle did not live to see that Kaiser arise in Bismarck for he was killed in a duel in 1864, but his work was carried on by another German, Bebel. It was Bebel who founded the Social Democratic party in Germany. That party was weak at first, but it grew in strength after Bismarck had adopted Protection and thus sent up prices against the poorer folk in the industrial towns; it grew still stronger when the new Kaiser, William II, took off many of the restrictions which Bismarck had laid on it and, by 1898, it held fifty-six seats in the Reichstag representing 2,000,000 voters. Meanwhile Marxism had spread to France and Great Britain and was already strong in North Italy.

British Socialism.—There was very little of this revolutionary kind of socialism in Great Britain. The trade unions were not socialist. They had been fully recognised as lawful organisations and, generally speaking, they aimed at shortening the hours of work, securing a greater share in the management of the works and mines and better pay, and, in some cases, obliging all workers in a given industry to join the union. After the great strike of dock labourers in London (1889), steps were taken to organise unskilled workers in unions till, on the eve of the Great War, 4,000,000 of the 11,000,000 people who worked with their hands were members of unions. But much remained to be done to organise women who worked in

their own homes, and men in ill-conducted "sweated" industries.

The trade unions had important political results. Leaders were trained to manage complicated affairs, to handle great masses of men, to note the effect of new laws on society, in short, to take part in politics. The trade unions met in congress, a kind of Labour Parliament, for the first time in 1890; two years later four men were returned to Parliament itself definitely as Labour members; in 1895, the Independent Labour Party was formed to work through Parliament for Socialism. By no means all trade unionists belonged to it, but the Socialist L.L.P. set to work to get control of the unions.

Apart from the small Marxian Social Democratic Federation, British Socialists hoped to bring about the changes they wanted by winning seats in Parliament and on local councils. This was especially true of the middle class Fabian Society which included Bernard Shaw, Lord Olivier and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb (1883). The Fabians held that there must be no violent revolution, that private owners must be compensated when the means of production were taken away from them and, above all, that the mass of the people must be educated and trained to work together while the change was taking place, otherwise the change of masters would do more harm than good. The Fabians had much influence at the Universities and over many members of the Labour Party. Their principles lie at the back of most of the social and industrial reforms of the period.

Syndicalism and Bolshevism.—In Great Britain, France, the U.S.A. and elsewhere, trade unions steadily recruited all the workers in each particular industry and then linked unions together in national and even international federations. In France and Italy particularly this movement took the form of the Syndicalism advocated by the French writer, Georges Sorel. Sorel looked at the state as a collection of industries (syndicates) each controlled by those who worked in it. He taught that the representatives of these industries must form the government after the workers had swept away the old order by going on strike as one man (General Strike). Sorel thus gave up all hope

of reforming society through the existing parliamentary machinery.

Sorel's teachings combined with those of Marx were worked out in Russia in the form of Bolshevism. The Russian Social Democrats split in 1903. The Mensheviks (minority) still hoped that democratic parliaments and county councils would bring men happiness; but the Bolsheviks (majority) followed Lenin who declared that democratic government was a fraud, and that all local bodies must be strictly controlled by the central Communist government which was to be formed by representatives of groups of workers (Soviets). The Industrial Revolution had spread to Russia. It was largely a foreign thing, managed by foreigners often for the benefit of foreign shareholders; masses of peasants were drawn into the factories which were not regulated by law as they were in more civilised countries.

The shame and shock of the Japanese war gave the reformers of all kinds their chance. The minister of police was murdered and the cry was raised for free speech, trials at least according to the forms of law, more power for the local councils (*Zemstvos*) and finally for a parliament. Troops fired on a procession of workmen on the way to speak to the Czar. There followed burning of houses by town mobs, seizing of land by peasants, massacres of Jews instigated sometimes by the police themselves, and a general strike (1905). The Czar promised reforms and summoned an elected parliament, the Duma. The majority, the Cadets, were moderate but, when they asked for more power, the Duma was dissolved. A new one was elected and this time the Socialists made various demands. The Duma was again dissolved and the franchise altered so as to throw power into the hands of the big landholders. Thus all that Russia had gained was a dummy parliament which was not even democratic. The Bolsheviks blamed the middle class for the failure. They bided their time in exile in Switzerland and elsewhere, but their time did not come till the Russian government and armies had broken down under the strain of the Great War (1917).

Instability.—During the ten years before 1914 the whole Western world drifted unsteadily towards disaster. The structure was unsteady at its centre in Europe. In

1870 Europe had been more or less able to feed itself. In the thirty years that followed a most unusual thing happened. The food supplies sent in from the New World increased faster than the population, though population was increasing very fast.¹ Prices fell as trains and ships put Europe in touch with the great new cornfields of the U.S.A., the Argentine and South Russia. Outwardly, there was a great peace; the governing classes had more or less the same tastes and traditions; all the states had currencies based on gold which made commerce safe and easy; there was great freedom of movement for men and goods and ideas. Nevertheless Old Europe was becoming more and more dependent on the outer world for its life; it had to export manufactures to pay for its food; the industrialised towns grew out of all knowledge and had to be fed from the country districts or from overseas.

Then, about 1900, population began to catch up the food supply, not only in Europe but in North America; prices and rents rose; the very social reforms which governments instituted increased the burden of taxation and were often accompanied by hated restrictions on the liberty of those who benefitted by them. Discontent increased rapidly. Everywhere the foundations of society were shaken, in France, Austria, Russia, Germany, Hungary, the U.S.A., South Africa, China, Japan, Portugal, Turkey and Mexico. The British railway men struck in 1907 and, though the crisis was tided over, nothing was settled. In 1911 there was an international strike of seamen, big strikes of textile workers in Massachusetts, of miners in Wales and of British transport workers, and a lock-out by the British cotton-mill owners; in 1913 serious strikes took place on the Rand; in 1914 a general strike on Syndicalist lines was attempted in South Africa and, in the same year, nothing but the outbreak of the Great War stopped a strike of the "Triple Alliance" of the coal, railway and transport workers in Great Britain.

¹ Population of	1870	1892	1914
United Kingdom	31,000,000	—	46,000,000
France	36,000,000	—	39,500,000
Germany	40,000,000	—	68,000,000
Austria-Hungary	—	40,000,000	50,000,000
Russia-in-Europe	—	97,000,000	150,000,000

Decay of Parliamentary Government.—One of the most hopeless facts about these social troubles was that they proved that masses of men had lost faith even in those systems of government which were supposed to be democratic. Many countries had set up Parliaments more or less on the British model after 1872 and, in the early twentieth century, Parliaments appeared in such unlikely places as Russia, Turkey, Persia and China. Other states like Holland, Belgium, Serbia and Austria had made their franchises more democratic, but in most states Parliaments worked less and less satisfactorily.

Parliamentary rule answered fairly well in North Italy, less well in the Centre, and not at all in the South, the home of secret societies like the Camorra and Mafia; but in all parts men blamed the parliamentarians for their corruption. In France also men used the words "les politiciens" as a term of contempt. From the first, the French Parliament had been split up into groups so that the prime ministers, who followed one another with bewildering rapidity, were never sure of having a party majority in the Houses for long at a time. The Clericals, Republicans and Socialists quarrelled bitterly over the control of the schools and Church property, and almost came to blows during the trial of Captain Dreyfus for espionage, for his case raised a storm of anti-Jewish feeling. The German Reichstag was also divided into groups; it had no effective control over the executive; it was scorned by the civil and military officials and the intellectuals who worshipped force. In Austria-Hungary parliamentary rule was a farce. The national parties in the Austrian Parliament cancelled each other, unless the German Austrians combined with the Poles and Jews of Galicia to outvote the rest; in the Hungarian houses, the Magyars had a majority which they used to "Magyarise" their subject Slavs and Rumanians.

Even in the country where modern parliamentary government had had its origin, the system showed itself ill-fitted to cope with the immense problems which crowded in upon it. The story of the British Parliament may serve to show the difficulties which beset all such legislatures in the years immediately before the War.

The two outstanding features of the British system had been the two-party principle and cabinet responsibility.

Both these principles were gradually weakened. So long as cabinets had been small, men knew where the responsibility lay for anything that went wrong; so long as business was not too complicated the Commons could keep a real check on the executive. But cabinets now became bigger and more vague, the business of government much more difficult and, therefore, the need for expert knowledge much greater as the state undertook all sorts of social and economic reforms. Ordinary members of Parliament could not have that knowledge. They were at the mercy of ministers who got it from the growing civil service. The Commons became too big a body to debate matters satisfactorily; so much work had to be done that the sessions grew longer and longer, and elaborate rules had to be laid down for pushing business through and pushing private members into the background.

The party machinery was tightened up. The funds subscribed for election purposes were controlled by the party leaders; candidates stood little chance unless they could get the support of the leaders and of the newspapers that supported them; the ministers could, therefore, make their followers vote as they wished by threatening to have Parliament dissolved and forcing them to face an expensive new election. Electors, on the other hand, complained that they had no real freedom at election times, for each party put up nominees and, in effect, gave the electors the choice of voting for the men they disliked least or of not voting at all.

Again, under a system in which each constituency returned only one member, it might happen that many men of one party would be elected by a very small majority; yet they would all take their seats leaving the large minority quite unrepresented. A small change over of the total number of votes cast in the country from one side to the other might and sometimes did give the successful party a number of seats out of all proportion to its strength in the country.

This danger of a sudden change was all the more serious because the power of the Press was growing enormously. In the early nineteenth century, when the Press had had to fight for its liberty against the governments, newspapers had been small and expensive. They had often been owned

by the men who edited them, and written by amateurs; they had been read by a comparatively small number of people. Times had changed. Wealth increased; printing machinery became heavier and more expensive; the means of distributing papers rapidly were vastly improved; men were massed in cities within easy reach of the newspaper boy; for the first time in history, whole nations had money to spend on papers, ability to read them and the direct interest in politics which votes give. Newspapers were now bought or started by joint-stock companies; journalists became professionals; proprietors looked more and more for their incomes to those who paid them for publishing advertisements rather than to those who bought their papers; in short, journalism became more of a business.

Numbers of papers fell into the same hands. In 1914, Lord Northcliffe, head of the Harmsworth group, controlled in London alone the famous London *Times* and six other cheaper but more widely-read papers, including the *Daily Mail* which was published simultaneously in London, Manchester and Paris. In the U.S.A. the papers of the Hearst group were fully as widespread and powerful. The way in which news was collected from the ends of the earth, the rapidity with which it was set before the public, the general accuracy of that news written by men working in a hurry in the small hours of the morning was a miracle of energy and organisation; but the system had its dangers.

Some newspapers took their own line, but many in all countries frankly supported one or other of the political parties or the ruling officials or their opponents, as in Bismarck's Germany or Kruger's Transvaal. It was sometimes said that editors had to take their orders from the owners of the papers. Such things have happened, but there is no need to believe it of the more reputable papers. On the other hand, owners did not appoint an editor unless they knew that he was in sympathy with their political or economic opinions, whatever those might be, and, if a paper changed owners, it usually changed editors as well.

There were many checks on an editor's freedom. He could not write merely his own personal opinions in a leading article. He had to be guided by the policy of the paper, that is, by the view that it had taken on a given point in earlier issues; in many cases several men combined to

write the same article. Again there was a risk of offending advertisers or of embarrassing a political party if the editor told the whole truth. In that case the temptation was to tell the truth only as far as might be prudent. Some of the baser papers were frankly sensational. They found that there was nothing like a war or rumour of war to make the public buy, not merely one edition in a day, but several. They exploited that discovery.

But whatever the nature of the paper, the power of the press to sway public opinion was immense. The printed word constantly repeated to masses of people who had to read in a hurry, who had not been taught to criticise what they read and who, for the most part, did not know the events that had led up to the matters under discussion, made and unmade ministries. The press became the "Fourth Estate of the Realm," wielding power without responsibility to King, Lords, Commons or People.

In Parliament itself the two-party system gave way to something like the Continental group system. So far there had always been two parties at Westminster which had not differed violently from one another on matters of life and death or religious belief or the ownership of property; but in 1877 an Irish Party appeared pledged to put the affairs of Ireland before everything else and, in the 'nineties, the Independent Labour Party took shape to uphold first and foremost the interests of the town workers. Sometimes one or other of these new groups held the balance between the older parties, and then ministers had to play for its support.

Friction between the two Houses increased. In 1884, Gladstone had given the vote to the humbler country folk. That step had been followed by the creation of elected county, district and parish councils (1888-94). The extension of the franchise had enhanced Great Britain's reputation for Liberalism, but its effect for many years was to strengthen the Conservative party which relied on the landed gentry, country clergy and farmers and the brewers who were closely in touch with the farms from which they got their malt and hops. This movement towards Conservatism was strengthened by the House of Lords which threw out Bills whenever the Liberals were in office. The Lords resisted the Reform Bill of 1884, defeated Gladstone's attempt in 1893 to give Ireland Home Rule, and tried in

vain to stop the direct taxes which Sir William Harcourt and his secretary, Alfred Milner, laid on the property of the well-to-do to pay for the increased navy on which the Conservatives had insisted (1894).

In 1906, the Liberals, Labour men and the Irish routed the Tories. The two first parties insisted on domestic reforms, the Irish on Home Rule. The government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and then under H. H. Asquith, tried to appease the Irish and to disestablish the Church of England in Wales; they succeeded in giving the Transvaal and the Free State self-government and encouraged the Union movement in South Africa; but the Lords thwarted their social legislation and, when David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to tax the property-owning classes to pay for social reforms, they disregarded the customary rule which forbade them to touch taxing measures and threw out the Budget (1909). Two general elections followed and, in the end, the Parliament Act was passed cutting down the life of the House of Commons from seven years to five, but enabling it, under certain limitations, to pass Bills against the wishes of the Lords (1911).

This struggle raised the whole question of the reform of both Houses and of the powers and duties of Parliament. Parliament was overwhelmed with work. As an Imperial legislature it had to deal with matters which more or less affected the whole Empire; as a British Parliament it had to consider the separate interests of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, as well as a mass of county and municipal affairs which, under a federal system, would have been referred to local bodies. Many Englishmen supported the idea of Home Rule for Ireland, and even for Scotland, as the only way of getting time to attend to the affairs of England. Meanwhile, women were demanding the franchise and some of them, the Suffragettes, smashed windows, burnt buildings and made noisy demonstrations within and without the walls of Parliament.

Ireland.—The grit which more than all else clogged the British parliamentary machine came from Ireland. During the forty years before the Great War, the British Parliament was plagued by a nationalist vendetta like those that paralysed constitutional rule in Austria. Great Britain's

relations to Ireland in the latter half of the nineteenth century are a first-class example of what happens when a nation with great responsibilities knows little of the history of a dependent neighbour and knows it wrong. Englishmen and Scots in the 'sixties imagined that Irishmen were very much like themselves except that they spoke with a brogue and were apt to get excited easily. For two generations past Irishmen had sat in Parliament as members of one or other of the historic parties helping to pass laws for the United Kingdom as a whole; England and Scotland had shaken down together well enough after their Union and there seemed to be no reason why Ireland should not do the same.

The British did not realise that the mass of the Protestants in Ulster and the Catholics in the remaining three-fourths of Ireland were very different from themselves and poles apart from each other, far further apart than are Afrikanders and British for all that they spoke the same language. The dominant party in Ulster were Presbyterians of the stern unbending seventeenth century type, men who had lived for generations cut off from the rest of Europe and to a large extent even from Great Britain. They were a minority and they knew it. For that reason they dreaded Home Rule as "Rome Rule," rule by a hostile Catholic majority led by its priests, and taxation of Ulster by the ignorant peasantry of the South. Both sides lived in the bitter past. Every July the Ulster Orangemen uproariously celebrated the victory of William of Orange over the Catholics and King James at the Battle of the Boyne, and often ended the ceremony with a free fight with their Catholic neighbours. As for the Catholics, many of them regarded the victories over Philip of Spain, Louis XIV of France and the French Revolutionists in which the British gloried, as so many defeats for their own hopes of liberty. To them the Ulstermen were a "garrison of Black Protestants," and Great Britain herself a heretic Power responsible for all their woes from the Act of Union to the failure of the potato crop.

The Irish peasantry could hardly help living in the past for their present was dingy and their future black. Land laws, which were bearable in industrialised Great Britain, were utterly unbearable to a population of small farmers

and peasants who must have land if they were to live. Tenants had no security of tenure and, outside Ulster, no claim for compensation for improvements made on their farms, if their landlords chose to give them notice to quit. Thousands of Irishmen emigrated every year, most of them to the U.S.A.

It was from America that the ugly side of the Irish question was first driven home to the British public. At the end of the War of Secession, disbanded Irish soldiers formed the Fenian Society and raided Canada. Presently they committed outrages in England. Gladstone took office in 1868 with the avowed object of pacifying Ireland. He at least had grasped the fact that two of the roots of Irish discontent were religion and the land. He disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland and made it a purely voluntary body (1869) and broke with the principle of "freedom of contract," which in those days was regarded almost as sacred in Great Britain, by passing a Land Act which gave to all Ireland the Ulster right of compensation for improvements in case of eviction (1870).

Fenianism died down and Isaac Butt formed the Home Rule League to press constitutionally for Irish self-government. Butt failed and his place as leader of the Irish Party was taken by Charles Stewart Parnell. Parnell was a cold, hard-headed Protestant who had gained the confidence of the Catholic Irish. He induced the Fenians to give up their useless outrages, but he himself organised obstruction in the Commons as one means of forcing Parliament to grant Home Rule, and allied with the Land League which had just been formed to resist the landlords and the law that stood behind them. Evictions were taking place freely and, when the House of Lords threw out Gladstone's Bill providing further compensation for these tenants, the League replied by houghing cattle and "boycotting" (having no dealings with) all who stood by the landlords or the officials.

Gladstone then tried to do what Bismarck was doing to the Social Democrats: repress violence and remove the causes of the discontent. He gave the authorities wide powers of imprisonment under a Coercion Act and passed a Land Act which set up courts to fix fair rents and gave the tenants security in their farms so long as they paid those rents (1881). Parnell was presently imprisoned under the Coercion

Act. This made matters worse than ever and at last Gladstone released him to check violence and to give the new Land Act a chance. He also sent the liberal-minded Lord Frederick Cavendish to Dublin as Viceroy, but hardly had Cavendish landed than he was murdered in Phoenix Park by a gang of terrorists, the "Invincibles."

That murder was as fatal to the cause of Home Rule as the murder of Lincoln had been to the reconstruction of the Southern States. It and the Fenian dynamite outrages which followed it in England infuriated the British public; nevertheless, in 1886, Gladstone tried to give Ireland self-government and Irish tenants the power to buy out the landlords on easy terms. This first Home Rule Bill unluckily made no special provision for Ulster. Ulster threatened to fight if the Union was repealed, and many men in Great Britain said that, if it did fight, Ulster would be right. Chamberlain headed a revolt of Liberal Unionists, threw the Bill out and split the Liberal party for twenty years to come. Later on, Gladstone made one more desperate effort to carry Home Rule; but his ministry was weak, Parnell had fallen, the Irish Party was divided and the great mass of British opinion was sick of everything Irish. The Lords threw the measure out (1893).

For some years to come little more was heard of Ireland while the Tory government tried to "kill Home Rule by kindness." It set up local government on British lines, encouraged the farmers' co-operative societies founded by Sir Horace Plunkett with excellent results, and finally passed Wyndham's Land Purchase Act. That Act carried out Gladstone's rejected policy and ended the long land war in favour of the Irish tenants. Great Britain advanced the money necessary to buy out the big landlords and trusted to recover it in instalments from the tenants. But the Act did not end the emigration of the Irish nor the desire for Home Rule, for authority in Ireland was still in the hands of the "garrison" and Irish national feeling was growing stronger. On the return of the Liberals to power in 1906 the Irish Party under John Redmond demanded Home Rule.

The Liberals having a large party majority of their own and being anxious to push on with social reforms, tried to satisfy the Irish with a half-hearted measure; but after their

successful struggle with the Lords, a struggle which cost them their independent majority, they introduced a more thoroughgoing Bill (1911). There was to have been a bicameral Parliament of the usual kind at Dublin, and most of the departments of state were to have been entrusted to a ministry responsible to it. But not all. Some departments, like the constabulary and land purchase, were to have been "reserved" for control by the officials of the Castle who would have been responsible to the British Parliament. For that reason forty-two Irish members were to have been given seats at Westminster.

In spite of special safeguards, Ulster would have none of it. A dour Orangeman, Sir Edward Carson, organised a Covenant by which Ulstermen bound themselves to resist Home Rule; he gained the sympathy of many Conservatives in Great Britain and the open help of some of them in drilling volunteers, smuggling in arms and hinting at help from "a great Protestant monarch," presumably the Kaiser. The Nationalists also smuggled in arms, blood was shed, some of the army officers in Ireland hinted plainly at mutiny if they were ordered to coerce Ulster and, on the eve of the Great War, the sorely-divided United Kingdom was within sight of a complete breakdown of her democratic institutions, in other words, of civil war.

Internationalism.—The sickness of parliamentary governments was only a symptom of a trouble that lay much deeper. The European world in the middle of the nineteenth century had found that, as the Industrial Revolution advanced and populations grew, the little kingdoms and provinces of earlier days were far too small for political purposes. They tried to reorganise themselves on the basis of One Nation, One State. They failed. In 1914 there were roughly twice as many groups in Europe claiming to be nations as there were governments to represent them.

On the other hand some states, finding that Old Europe was not enough, built up great overseas empires. More and more men realised that the national state did not fit the facts of life. A joint-stock company might own a cloth factory in England or a gold-mine in South Africa, but its shareholders would be scattered over the world under many different state flags; British, French, German and American

scientists helped each other; South Americans or Japanese borrowed money for railways in London, and the financial firm which lent it to them consulted with its colleagues in Paris and New York first; trade unionists from all civilised countries met together and sometimes arranged that, if a strike took place in one country, the unionists in the other countries would help the strikers as best they could; books written in one tongue were translated into many others and published by firms which had their headquarters in one country, their printing-works in another, and their branches everywhere. The whole world was becoming smaller and more closely knit together; motor transport made trade and armies to a large extent independent of railways; in 1909 a Frenchman, Bleriot, flew across the English channel in an aeroplane. Whether men liked it or not, and most of them did not, the world had become international in everything except government. Political machinery did not fit the economic and intellectual facts. And, when that happens, there is danger of disaster:

Yet during the nineteenth and still more the early twentieth century, something had been done to meet the new conditions. The eighteenth century French political thought and the nineteenth century Liberalism which had sprung from it paid no attention to nationality in theory; the new Socialism and Communism which owed a great deal to those teachings were frankly international. Some peoples tried to reach a halfway house between pure nationalism and internationalism. The British Colonial Conferences were a case in point, especially the formal conferences of governments in 1907 and 1911 which did much to make the self-governing parts of that empire a little League of Nations. Pan-American Conferences from 1889 onwards worked in the same direction; the whole "Pan" movement was a confession that local states must come to terms with their neighbours. Pan-Slavism had appeared in Russia before 1872; it was followed by a Pan-Latin movement in Italy, France, and so on, by a short-lived Pan-Anglo-Saxon movement in the U.S.A. and parts of the British Empire, and by a much more vigorous Pan-Germanism in Germany.

Great additions were made to international law from the time of the Congress of Vienna onwards. Switzerland,

Belgium and Luxembourg were neutralised; the Danube was made an international river; attempts were made to neutralise the Black Sea and the Panama Canal when that should be cut; privateering was forbidden and rules were laid down for the more humane conduct of warfare (1815-68). Presently, numbers of states arranged to help one another's posts and telegraphs, to charge the same amounts for carrying letters and so on, and to see that a book which had been protected by copyright in one country was not "pirated," that is, printed without making any payment to the unhappy author, in another.

Arbitration in disputes between governments became more common. Great Britain and the U.S.A. had set the example as far back as 1794; they more and more frequently went to arbitration; other states, and notably France, began to do the same. In 1898, Italy and the Argentine Republic took a further step forward by signing a treaty binding themselves to go to arbitration in case of mutual disputes; Great Britain and France followed suit and soon over 100 such arbitration treaties had been signed by various states. At first these treaties did not cover matters which states regarded as vital; in other words, in matters of life and death, states determined to fight rather than go to law; but in 1914 Great Britain and France signed treaties with the U.S.A. promising to refer all matters to a joint-court under a neutral chairman who must report within a year. Both parties promised not to fight one another till that report had been presented. Germany and Austria-Hungary signed no arbitration treaties of any kind. Together with some of the smaller Powers, they did much to spoil the work of the two conferences which the Powers held at The Hague to limit the size of armies and to set up a permanent court of arbitration (1899 and 1907). As Germany explained, she could mobilise her vast armies within ten days. She and her ally preferred to keep their sword-arms free.

In practice the only machinery the world had for keeping the peace, or at least for delaying the outbreak of war, was the Concert of Europe, the meeting of the ambassadors of the Powers. That Concert worked much better than is usually admitted. It kept the peace in Europe from 1815 to 1854 except in Turkey which did not count as European. From the outbreak of the Crimean War till the Treaty of

Berlin (1854–78) there were wars in plenty, but these were national wars and no Concert on earth could have stopped them. All the Concert could do, and did, was to prevent them from spreading too far. From 1878 till 1914, it kept the peace except in the neglected Balkan Peninsula, and even partitioned Africa and China without a war in Europe. Five times between 1905 and 1913 it faced dangerous crises and kept the peace. Whether it was a good peace or not is another matter. At the sixth crisis it broke down and Europe went to war dragging the whole world with it.

Ultimate Causes of the Great War.—The root causes of the world war of 1914–18 lay in the realm of thought and feeling and not in any material things. The structure of the Western World was fast becoming international; the point of view of the mass of its peoples was still extremely national. For this the educational systems of the various countries were largely responsible. Nearly everywhere, the history taught in the schools and universities was either the ancient history of pagan Greece and Rome or the history of the particular nation to which the child belonged. Even when general history was studied, the tendency was to treat it as a means of teaching patriotism by showing how the childrens' own nation had always been right and other nations wrong though unaccountably successful at times.

Everywhere German ideas had great influence. Between the year of Sadowa and the outbreak of the Great War, two generations of Germans learnt to admire Bismarck's diplomacy simply because it had been successful, to think that their *kultur* was better than anybody else's because Danes, Austrians and Frenchmen had been defeated by Germany, and to believe that the British had only escaped by prudently standing out of the way. This was "Prussianism," the belief that force must be the test simply because force had so often been the way in which past quarrels had been settled. Marxian Communism was the same idea turned round, the belief in the class war and a forcible revolution as the only way of saving the world. Prussianism was not confined to Germany. Other nations, big and little, shared it in a greater or a lesser degree but it was taught most definitely and most noisily in Central Europe. Germany's neighbours

first grew angry and then alarmed. In such an atmosphere, there came a time when the guns went off of themselves.

And the world was full of guns. Every state of importance except Great Britain, whose strength lay in her great navy, and the U.S.A., which had no powerful neighbours, raised its army by conscription; the use of machinery for making weapons and many other things, which in times past had had to be done by hand, set free masses of men for the firing line; improvements in transport made it possible to feed much larger armies than ever before; war became a swifter and more terrible thing year by year; the loss of a day at the start might mean the loss of the campaign; armies and navies had to be continually ready to move. On the eve of the war, five of the great Powers had 2,000,000 men in constant readiness grouped under the flags of the Triple and Dual Alliances.

The Entente Cordiale.—Until a few years ago it was the custom in many countries to blame the Germans entirely for the coming of the Great War, and for Germans to say that it was forced on them by their wicked neighbours. The facts are not so simple as that. Historical facts are rarely simple. In spite of some bickering in Africa and the Pacific, Great Britain's relations with Germany until about 1900 were as good as they had ever been; her relations with the two allies, France and Russia, were as bad as they could be short of actual war. Yet in 1914, Great Britain took the field against Germany side by side with France and Russia, and in 1915 she and they were joined by Germany's old ally, Italy. This revolution in politics has to be explained.

There were four main sources of trouble: the High Seas, the Baghdad railway, Morocco and the everlasting Balkan problem. These must all be dealt with side by side, for they acted and reacted on each other till they produced the explosion of 1914.

There had been signs of strain between Germany and Great Britain as early as 1895. Germany's population was growing fast; she had to import food; her own colonies did not attract settlers and were very expensive; her Pan-Germans coveted the colonies of Great Britain and believed the historian von Treitschke when he told them that the British Empire must fall to pieces because it was not founded on force.

The German navy was small, as it, has always been, and most Germans knew little and cared less about the sea; but in 1895 the opening of the Kiel Canal enabled ships to pass from the Baltic to the North Sea through German territory and, a little later, Admiral von Tirpitz, the Navy League and the Pan-Germans began to agitate for a big navy. A Navy Act was passed in 1898, but the number of ships to be built was not great enough to cause Britain real anxiety. Chamberlain could still talk of an alliance between Great Britain, Germany and the U.S.A. to keep the peace of the world, the *Pax Teutonica*, and Rhodes could set aside some of his Oxford scholarships for Germans.

The real change came in 1900 during the heat of the Anglo-Boer War. Popular opinion in Germany was hotly in favour of the Boers. It welcomed a second Navy Act which doubled the ship-building programme and provided, not merely for coast-defence vessels, but for ships which could fight anywhere on the High Seas. Great Britain had a large navy, but she was not building many ships at the time and the sight of the strongest military Power in the world threatening to compete with her for the command of the sea thoroughly alarmed her. To the great amusement of Berlin, she bought an American submarine (one of the first). Germany replied by building fast cruisers which would be very useful in catching merchantmen in time of war. At the same time Russia, France's ally and Germany's bugbear, was beaten by the Japanese. Great Britain promptly moved over towards France. Largely as a result of the efforts of Edward VII, the two countries settled old disputes in Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Siam and Newfoundland and made an *entente cordiale* (1904). It was not a formal alliance but merely a good understanding and a warning that, if trouble came upon France from Central Europe, France would probably not have to face it alone.

The Baghdad Railway.—The Entente did not lead to a breach with Germany at once, and Great Britain even thought of inviting her to join the Anglo-Japanese alliance. But events were taking place which made any such invitation impossible in future. The Turkish Sultan, head of the Moslem world as Commander of the Faithful, and 6,000,000



Turks, for the most part living in Asia Minor, dominated 14,000,000 Greeks, Slavs, Jews, Armenians and Arabs in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Europeans of all nationalities lived in the empire under their own laws administered by their consuls. France protected Roman Catholics and pushed her commerce in Egypt and Syria; Austria-Hungary had policed Turkish Bosnia since 1878 and coveted Salonica; Russia, with an eye on Constantinople and the Dardanelles, protected Orthodox Greek Christians; Great Britain had long been regarded as the protector of the Turks who held Russia back from the road to India.

From 1895 onwards British influence in the Turkish Empire was gradually displaced by that of Germany. Bismarck had promised that he would never interfere again to protect any of the Sultan's Christian subjects and had sent German officers to reorganise the Turkish army; the Kaiser William II, the first of Christian kings to do so, visited the Sultan in state. A few years later he toured the Holy Land and proclaimed himself in Jerusalem the protector of all Moslems. This in face of the fact that Great Britain ruled more Mohammedans in India and elsewhere than any other Power. (1897). German bankers followed the army officers, and Germans secured the right to build a railway from Constantinople through Asia Minor to Baghdad and the head of the Persian Gulf (1899-1902).

From the purely economic point of view the scheme was excellent. The Persian Gulf was an age-old centre of trade with India; Mesopotamia had been the "Garden of Eden" before its irrigation works had fallen into decay, and might become a garden again if it were settled with Germans like those who had made the Cape Flats fruitful; Asia Minor had been the home of many civilisations; at Constantinople, one of the great natural ports of the world, the railway would link up with the railway systems of Central Europe. That was just the trouble. Germany was already drawing Central Europe round her economically; a customs union might easily become a political federation. Could the other Powers afford to see Germany controlling a railway which would not only outflank the Suez Canal but would hold together a great economic *bloc* stretching from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, a railway out of reach of warships, capable of carrying troops as easily as goods? There was

a great outcry; but Germany, refusing Great Britain's suggestion that the railway should be put under international control, began to lay the rails.

Morocco.—The Baghdad railway helped to embitter the relations of the great Powers during the critical years before the war, but the first real crisis arose in connection with the independent Moslem state of Morocco in North-West Africa. Great Britain was mainly concerned to keep a strong Power out of Ceuta which commanded the Straits of Gibraltar, but France wanted to gain control of Morocco itself for the sake of the peace of her Algerian frontier and the iron with which Morocco abounded.

As part of the Entente Cordiale, Great Britain and France publicly guaranteed the independence of Morocco, but they agreed secretly that France was to have a free hand there in return for leaving Great Britain in peace in Egypt. Spain bargained privately with France for Ceuta. Great Britain then demanded freedom of trade for all nations in Morocco, and France called on the Moroccan sultan to reform his government. After some delay, however, the Kaiser visited the sultan at Tangier, proclaimed himself once more the Protector of the Faithful and practically demanded that Germany should be heard in any settlement of the Moroccan question. (1905). There was a real risk of war, but, though Italy refused to follow Germany and Great Britain promised to support France, the French ministry gave way, Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, resigned and the Powers met at Algeciras. Freedom of trade and the independence of Morocco were guaranteed and French and Spanish officials were put in charge of the customs, banks and police (1906).

Germany had thus made France draw back. But her threats had alarmed all Europe and had failed to shake the Entente, while the very existence of the Entente made Germans fear that they were being encircled with enemies. The growing strain showed itself in the naval estimates. The Germans passed a third Naval Act, the British launched *Dreadnought*, the first battleship fully armed with big guns, and both sides built submarines. Thereafter the new Liberal ministry in London tried to stop the race of armaments by building only a few ships, but Germany would not have it

so in face of *Dreadnought*. She sent a friendly ambassador to London, but she passed a fourth Naval Act (1908).

“Shining Armour.”—At the time that she thus slowed down her naval construction, Great Britain came to terms with Russia (1907). It was not easy to do so, for the two Powers were traditional enemies; Great Britain was the ally of Japan; British Liberals and Labour men did not conceal their opinion of the Czar’s system of government; there were points of friction in Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet. But at last all was arranged. Meanwhile, British and French officers began to discuss details of co-operation in case war should come with the Central Powers.

War nearly came in 1908. This time the trouble arose from the Balkan Peninsula, the political slum of Europe. There jealous nations, thwarted by the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, were packed in upon one another higgledy-piggledy and overshadowed by the Turks and by Russia and Austria-Hungary, rivals for control of the Peninsula. Austria-Hungary already occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina and Novi Bazar and, behind her, stood her ally Germany. A German prince ruled in Bulgaria; the Kaiser’s sister was Queen of Greece; another Hohenzollern ruled Rumania; the German reorganisation of the Turkish army had enabled the Turks to beat the Greeks in a war which Greek patriots had forced on in the hope of winning Crete (1897). The main obstacle to Teutonic control of the Balkans was Slav Serbia, the protégé of Russia. The route for the Baghdad railway lay through Serbia; the best route for a branch line to the port of Salonica did not lie, as had been supposed, through Novi Bazar but through the heart of the Serb kingdom.

Serbia was unspeakably in the way. Austria-Hungary tried to ruin her trade and took part with four other great Powers in policing Turkish Macedonia to the south where Serbs, Turks, Greeks and Bulgars dwelt in inextricable confusion. Serbia helped the brigands who fought the police. Moreover three-fourths of the 11,000,000 Southern Slavs (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) lived in the Austro-Hungarian empire, for the most part under the oppressive rule of the Hungarians. They looked to independent Serbia as their one hope of salvation.

So matters dragged on till the Turkish revolution of 1908. Turkish exiles at Geneva had founded a "Committee of Union and Progress" to reorganise their decaying empire on national and liberal lines and to prevent its partition by European neighbours. Enver Bey, leader of these Young Turks, won over the army and forced the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, to summon a Parliament drawn from all parts of the empire. Abdul presently rallied the Constantinople garrison, sent Parliament flying, and celebrated his victory by massacring the hated Armenian Christians till the surviving Young Turks brought up other troops, stormed the capital and deposed him in favour of his feeble brother, Mohammed V.

Confusion in the Turkish Empire was too good an opportunity to be missed. Crete set up a provisional government in close touch with that of Greece; Ferdinand of Bulgaria came to an understanding with Austria-Hungary and declared himself independent of the Sultan as Czar of Bulgaria; Austria-Hungary withdrew her troops from Novi Bazar, which she no longer wanted, but annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina outright in terms of the secret agreement of 1881 with Germany. Austria had thus taken a long step down towards Salonica and cut off Serbia from all hope of reaching the Adriatic. Serbia called on her big relation, Russia, for help, whereupon Germany came out openly on the side of Austria-Hungary clad, as the Kaiser boasted, "in shining armour." Russia sullenly drew back and Serbia promised the big Powers to be a good neighbour to Austria-Hungary; but both she and Russia reorganised their armies and Russia pushed on strategic railways towards the German frontier (1909).

Morocco Once More.—All Europe was now arming heavily. During the Balkan crisis, the Kaiser had hinted at an alliance with Great Britain; but Great Britain was too suspicious of him for that. Power in the British cabinet passed into the hands of the Liberal Imperialists, Asquith, Earl Grey and Robert Haldane. Haldane, a lawyer and a philosopher turned war minister, set to work to organise the finest expeditionary force in the world, while the Admiralty laid down eight first-class warships with bigger guns than ever to make up for the ground lost to Germany in previous years (1908-9).



Map No. 17.

The storm-centre then shifted back to Morocco. The Algeciras settlement had not worked well. The sultan refused to carry out the reforms which France demanded; French subjects were murdered; France spoiled her agreement to share the profits of public works with Germany by trying to secure them all for herself; Europeans were killed in Fez, the Moroccan capital, and French troops occupied the city, presumably at the request of the new sultan (1911). The troops marched out after restoring order, but not before Germany had sent the gunboat *Panther* to the Moroccan port of Agadir. That act gave rise to a grave crisis. The French were furious at direct German intervention and the British feared that Agadir might become a naval base commanding half the trade routes in the Atlantic. Germany, however, insisted on dealing with France alone. She recognised a French protectorate over Morocco in return for part of the French Congo, but she increased the size of her army, pushed on railways towards the Belgian frontier, began to widen the Kiel Canal so that the largest battleships could pass through it, and passed a fifth Navy Act which provided for more ships and kept 80 per cent. of her navy in constant readiness (1911-12).

In reply, Great Britain concentrated her battle fleets in the North Sea at the price of leaving the Mediterranean in charge of France, and arranged a defence scheme with her Dominions under which Australia and New Zealand began to build small but very serviceable squadrons of their own. Great Britain did however offer to stop building, if Germany would do the same, and sent Haldane to Berlin to reassure the Germans. Haldane found the public frightened that Germany was being deliberately ringed round with enemies, but he found the Kaiser and his Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, peaceably inclined. They offered to check ship-building, to make no new alliances and to remain neutral in any war that might be forced upon Great Britain, provided Great Britain would do the same for them; but, as Germany had all the alliances that she wanted and Great Britain had none at all in Europe, the scheme was too one-sided to be accepted.

Tripoli and the Balkans.—Meanwhile Italy, hearing that the Sultan had given a company a concession in Tripoli which would have put that country completely under

Austro-German control, stepped in first.† She seized Tripoli in terms of the secret agreement of 1887 with the Central Powers, which allowed her to do so if the French took Morocco. Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria then formed a Balkan League and fell upon the Turks. They took the great cities of Salonica and Adrianople and advanced almost to the walls of Constantinople (1912). Austria-Hungary was furious. The League shut her off from Salonica and its victory made her Southern Slavs more restive than ever. When the Serbians advanced through Albania towards the Adriatic coast, she threatened war.

The Powers intervened. The Turks were allowed to keep Constantinople and the Dardanelles; the Balkan allies, who had prudently arranged the division of the spoils beforehand, got most of what they wanted, but Austria shut Serbia out of Albania and stirred up Bulgaria to attack her. Greece stood by Serbia; Russia and France sent the Serbs supplies; Austria gave Bulgaria munitions and tried to persuade Italy to join her in crushing Serbia.

Fortunately Italy refused to move, Germany restrained Austria, and Rumania attacked Bulgaria from the rear. The Second Balkan War ended in stalemate. By the Treaty of Bucharest, Serbia shared Novi Bazar with Montenegro and took territory which Bulgaria wanted, but she had to forego Albania which was made a separate state under a German prince; Bulgaria reached the Aegean Sea at one point but had to give Rumania a strip of territory; Greece kept much-coveted Salonica and admitted Cretans to her parliament. The Turks had already slipped back into Adrianople.

Sarajevo.—It was a horrid business, but worse was to come. All Europe was feeling the strain of its armaments. Great Britain began to build fast battleships with 15-inch guns; Germany, France and Russia increased their armies. But the stationary population of France could not stand that strain for long; Germany had to pay her bill by taking a levy on the capital of her people, and Austria by raising a huge loan. Men, especially men in Germany, said openly that war must come.

The long-dreaded war duly came from the Balkans. The Balkan League had been broken up; the Turks and

Bulgars looked to Austria for protection and revenge upon their foes; Austria had spurned Serbia's offer of railway and other concessions; Serbia therefore made no attempt to stop her subjects stirring up Austria's Southern Slavs.

The best hope of a peaceful settlement of the Southern Slav problem lay in the person of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne and leader of the "Great Austria" party. That party wanted to put the Slavs on an equal footing with Austrians and Hungarians in a federal empire. Serbian jingoes disliked this policy which would have prevented them winning Bosnia by force, but the real opposition came from conservative Austrians and, above all, from the Magyars of Hungary. The Magyars saw in it an end to their domination over Slavs and Rumanians, and it was they who really controlled the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy. On June 28th, 1914, the Archduke Francis and his wife were murdered at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The police had taken no precautions, the murderers were tried in secret, Serbian officials were refused admission to the trial though Serbia was accused of having instigated the murders. Nothing more was heard for a month. Then, in spite of a warning from Russia that an attack on Serbia might mean war, Austria-Hungary gave Serbia 48 hours in which to accept an ultimatum which would have reduced her to the position of a vassal state (July 23).

Serbia agreed to everything except two points which she offered to refer to the Great Powers or to the Hague Tribunal. Austria-Hungary refused even to give her more time to consider, and Germany gave Austria a free hand. By so doing, Germany ran the risk of almost certain war with Russia. Russia could not draw back again, as she had done in 1909, unless she was prepared to abandon the Balkans and all that lay beyond them in the Middle East to the Central Powers. And, if Russia went to war, France must join her. The responsible leaders of Germany did not want war, but they may well have felt that, if war must come, it had better come at once and have done with it. They and their allies could not race Great Britain for command of the sea, and the Dual Alliance for mastery on the Continent indefinitely, especially as the Social Democrats were growing stronger in the Reichstag and making trouble about the

expenditure on armaments. There were positive advantages in having the war, if it must come, in 1914. The alliance with Italy held good till 1915; the German armies were ready; the widening of the Kiel Canal had just been finished; the new German strategic railways were completed and those of Russia were not; the French troops were short of boots and big guns. Great Britain, unfettered by treaties, was hardly likely to go to war for the sake of Serbia; indeed, the pacific British ministry had just come to terms with Germany about the Baghdad railway and the division of the Portuguese colonies, if ever Portugal should wish to dispose of them. And, if by chance the ministry wished to fight, it could hardly do so with Great Britain threatened by a coal and transport strike, and Ireland by civil war and mutiny. Besides there was always the possibility that Russia would draw back after all.

In any case Germany refused Earl Grey's suggestion that the Serbian quarrel should be referred to Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy (July 27). Next day, Austria declared war on Serbia and, on the 29th, Russia mobilised on the Austrian frontier. The Russian War Office secretly ordered general mobilisation, but the partial mobilisation was quite enough to bring Germany in under the secret treaty of 1879 which bound her to help Austria, if ever that country was threatened by Russia. Germany gave Russia twelve hours in which to begin to demobilise. Next day she declared war on her and began to mass troops on the French and Belgian frontiers (August 1).

The French replied by forming up some little distance from the border but Germany did not declare war on them at once. Her plan was to outflank the short and heavily defended Franco-German frontier by attacking through neutral Luxembourg and Belgium, to strike France down quickly and then to turn on the slow-moving Russians. Early on August 2nd the Germans entered Luxembourg and gave Belgium 12 hours in which to make up her mind whether she would give their armies free passage. Belgium, to her honour, refused, and Great Britain, whose fleet was fully mobilised, warned Germany that she would not allow her to attack the French coasts or French shipping in the North Sea or the Channel. Next day Germany declared war on France and, on August 4th, invaded Belgium.

Some of the British ministers resigned rather than fight, but the mass of the nation in Great Britain and in Ireland also closed its ranks for war. The German Chancellor begged the British ambassador not to let his country come into the war for the sake of "a scrap of paper," the treaty of 1839 guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. But it was much more than a scrap of paper. It was a matter of life or death to France and, in the long run, for Great Britain also. The British were bound to save France from being overwhelmed, if the Entente Cordiale meant anything at all. Englishmen in times past had fought hard to keep Spaniards and Frenchmen out of that port of Antwerp which was, in the words of the great Napoleon, a pistol pointed at the head of their country. They would fight again to keep Germans out of it. At 12.15 a.m. on August 5th, Great Britain declared war on Germany. *Si bellum vis, para bellum.*

Books for Further Reading :

- Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, pp. 169-94 ; F. B. Kirkman, *Socialism* ; J. H. Harley, *Syndicalism* ; R. W. Seton-Watson and others, *The War and Democracy*.
M.A.P.S.—Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas*, plates 6, 25 and 26.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE UNION CONSTITUTION.

The South African war cleared away one of the most serious obstacles that had hitherto lain in the road to closer union. The Kruger régime in the Transvaal came to an end and both republics were brought under the British Crown side by side with the two coast colonies. At first the ex-republics were Crown Colonies but, once they had been given self-government, all four colonies were on a same footing constitutionally and could therefore discuss closer union on equal terms.

Before the war there had been two different constitutional systems at work in what afterwards became the Union of South Africa: the British parliamentary system in Cape Colony and Natal, and the republican system in the Transvaal and O.F. State. The parliamentary government of the Union to-day is based mainly on that of the old Cape Colony. That fact can best be understood by tracing the development of the Cape Parliament in the years that went before the outbreak of war in 1899 and contrasting it with the republican constitutions. The year 1886 is a good one in which to begin to take stock of the position, partly because both types of government were well established by that time, partly because the economic forces let loose by the discovery of the Rand mines in that year began to push the divided states and colonies of South Africa together.

The Cape Parliament.—The Cape Colony was a self-governing British colony of the same type as New South Wales or New Zealand, ruled by a Governor appointed nominally by the Crown but really by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Within the Colony the Governor had to follow the advice of his Prime Minister and the rest of the Cabinet, just as the Queen had to do in London. He and his ministers were also the “Governor-in-Council” which passed laws for the Transkeian territories. A strong and

well-informed Governor might have much influence over his ministers if only because he held office more permanently than they and, in his capacity as High Commissioner, knew facts which they did not. Frere and Milner, to name only two Governors, certainly had such influence.

As in Great Britain, the ministers were political heads of the big government departments and members of the Parliament to which they were responsible. The upper house or Legislative Council, lineal descendant of the old Council of Advice of 1825, was presided over by the Chief Justice. There were twenty-one members elected by all who had votes for members of the lower house. Three members were sent up from each of seven Circles or large constituencies to sit for seven years, unless the Council was dissolved sooner alongside of the lower house. (Both houses were dissolved together in 1883 and 1903.) The Council had an equal voice with the Assembly in the making of laws except that, like the House of Lords, it could not interfere with those parts of Bills which dealt with taxation.

The lower house was the House of Assembly with seventy-two members in 1886 and 107 at the time of Union, elected for single-member constituencies by adult male British subjects who fulfilled the low qualifications laid down in 1853. There was no colour bar but, at first, Transkeian natives were not allowed to vote. In 1887, however, they were given the franchise on the same terms as men in the Colony proper but, at the same time, natives who held land on tribal tenure whether in the Colony or in the Transkei were denied the franchise. So many "red blanket Kaffirs" got the franchise that Rhodes and Hofmeyr carried a law which dropped the salary qualification of £25 a year, raised the property qualification from £25 to £75 and imposed a simple education test (1892). This is still the law governing the Cape franchise. The "life" of the Assembly was five years, unless the Governor dissolved the house sooner either with or without the Council. (The Assembly was dissolved alone in 1888, 1893 and 1898.) The Assembly elected a Speaker to guide its debates on the lines followed by "Mr. Speaker" at Westminster.

The Cape Parliament, like those of Canada and the Australian colonies, was a small replica of the Mother of Parliaments. The Assembly in particular had, as far as matters

within the Colony were concerned, all the powers that the House of Commons had in England. It could get rid of ministers in the last resort by refusing to "pass the Budget," or, in parliamentary language, to "vote Supply," that is, to vote taxes for the coming year. Usually it was enough to defeat the ministry on a "question of confidence," some matter on which the ministry had set its heart. Sometimes a mere hint was enough. The weak Scanlen ministry resigned in 1884 after a defeat on a small point connected with phylloxera, an insect pest which was attacking the vines, but it did so to avoid a much more serious defeat on its proposal to abandon the Transkei. "We retired on a bug," said Scanlen's fellow-minister, Rhodes, "but its nasty legs covered the whole of the Transkeian map." Jameson, whose position in the Assembly was very weak, went to the country after a defeat in the Council (1908). On the other hand, ministers could defy Parliament up to a point under special circumstances. Parliament had to meet at least once a year but, during the heat of the South African war, two years passed without a meeting. Sprigg the premier collected revenue by special authority of the Governor (Governor's warrants); but, when Parliament met again in 1902, he had to ask it to pass an Act of Indemnity excusing him for his illegal actions.

The Cape Parliament passed laws in the usual British fashion. A Bill could be introduced in either house and be "read" three times there and three times in the other house or, as parliamentarians call it, "another place." The Governor, as representative of the Queen, would then give his assent or, in very special cases, "reserve" the Bill and send it to London to receive the consent or refusal of the Crown-in-Council, in other words, the British ministry. Bills which involved the spending of money had to be introduced into the Assembly and then only by a minister; otherwise, every private member would be tempted to bring in a little taxing Bill to provide his devoted constituents with a new railway, road or what-not. A majority of one vote was enough to carry a resolution or a Bill through any of its stages. On occasion, the majority consisted of the casting-vote of the Speaker or President of the Council.

The First Reading was a formal matter, the mere introduction of the Bill. The Second was much more important,

for then the principles underlying the Bill had to be discussed whether, for example, it was right to raise the qualifications for the franchise. The Bill would then be sent "into Committee," that is, to the house sitting as a committee with an elected chairman presiding instead of the Speaker or the President. Rules of debate in committee were much freer than in the House and it was then that details were discussed, how, for instance, the franchise was to be raised. The Bill as amended in committee would then go to the house for the Third Reading. Opponents might, if they wished, make a last stand on matters of principle but, if they tried to discuss matters of detail, the Speaker would "call them to order" and they would have to sit down.

The procedure in both houses was practically the same. Sometimes, if a Bill was badly drawn up or if a ministry wished to gain more time or information, it would be referred to a Select Committee of members of one house or of both, usually just before or just after the Second Reading. The Committee would report to the houses but the ministry was not bound to act upon that report. Sometimes a matter would be referred to a Commission but, in this case, the commissioners need not be members of Parliament.

Subject to their own rules of debate interpreted by the Speaker or the President as the case might be, both houses enjoyed absolute freedom of speech. This was secured to them by Act of Parliament. Outside Parliament a man who tells the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about another man may have to face a charge of libel in the law courts. The mere fact that he has told the truth will not help him unless he can convince the jury that it was "to the public interest" that he should have told it. And that is not always easy. It is a great advantage to have one place where the naked truth can be told about a powerful man or body of men without fear of consequences. Even so, a member must use "parliamentary language." If he calls a man a thief or a liar, however justly, the Speaker must call him to order. He will then have to withdraw his words and call him something like "a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles" or "purveyor of terminological inexactitudes," which means the same thing only it takes longer to say.

In 1886 party ties were very weak. There was a rough dividing line between representatives of the country districts and the commercial towns, a division which more or less corresponded to the division between British and Dutch; but it was by no means a clear party distinction for some time to come. Men voted as seemed best to them or to their constituents more freely than they do to-day, and there were even cases of ministers voting against one another without resigning. But the party system gradually grew up. Hofmeyr organised the Bond as a party machine which made and unmade ministries. It was the Bond which maintained Rhodes as premier from 1890 till 1896. Hofmeyr himself only took office once for a few months (1881). He was much criticised for wielding power behind the scenes without responsibility, but he used to explain that his own people were too inexperienced to take office and that, if he himself became premier, they would expect far more of him than he could possibly carry out. He preferred to train them in politics first; hence, without exception, the premiers of the old Colony were men of British birth or descent.

The Jameson Raid consolidated the party system at the Cape. It sent the mass of the Afrikaans-speaking burghers over to the Bond and a very large number of the British to the new Progressive party. This fact explains the bitterness of the politics of the time, but there still remained a large number of moderate British and Afrikaners, the Mugwumps as Rhodes called them, who played the part of peacemakers after the war of 1899. With the party system came the caucus, a private meeting of members of a party, where the line which all would be expected to take in the house on any given measure was agreed upon.

The Cape, like all self-governing colonies at that time, had very little power in external matters. It could make commercial treaties with other South African states and it did make such a treaty with the Free State in 1889; but it could not make treaties with foreign Powers. It was part of the British Empire and control of the foreign policy of that Empire lay in London. If Great Britain went to war or made peace, all her colonies and dependencies did the same automatically. The Schreiner ministry looked round for a way of keeping the Colony out of the South African

war and could find none except secession from the Empire. And that was unthinkable. The same problem faced the Union in 1914 and the same answer had to be given. A declaration of neutrality would have been useless, for the enemy could hardly have been expected to take any notice of it. So long as colonies or Dominions wished to have the privileges of British subjects in time of peace, they had to face the drawbacks in time of war.

Natal.—In 1886, Natal was still a Crown Colony ruled by a Governor appointed by the Crown, an executive council and a legislative council. The executive council consisted of the Governor and the heads of departments who were appointed by him and responsible to him, as in the Cape in the days of Grey and Wodehouse. As “Governor-in-Council,” these men passed laws for Zululand after its annexation by the Crown (1887). Seven officials sat and voted in the Legislative Council but they were not responsible ministers nor could the legislature touch their salaries. The great majority of the legislative councillors were and always had been elected members. In 1886, there were twenty-three of them sent up for four years from single-member constituencies by male British subjects who owned fixed property worth £50, or rented such property at £10 a year, or drew a salary of £96 a year. Coloured folk and free Indians were admitted to the franchise but tribal natives were treated as a race apart. Since 1864–65, Bantu who had only one wife (monogamists) could apply for “letters of exemption” freeing them from Native Law and putting them under the ordinary law of the colony. Men who had been exempted thus for seven years and had lived in the colony for twelve, might get the vote, provided three European electors and a magistrate would sign a request to the Governor and the Governor would agree. Very few natives ever got the vote, and, in 1896, Natal took steps to stop any more Indians getting it either by refusing it to any man coming from a country which did not possess representative institutions, as was the case with India in those days¹.

The Council did its work in much the same ways as the Cape House of Assembly. Its powers were considerable,

¹ The municipal franchise was taken away from Natal Indians in 1924-25.

for the executive had to go to it for new laws and taxes. From time to time, members demanded responsible government in spite of the expense entailed and the risk that the Imperial garrison might be taken away. Self-government was given in 1893 when it seemed that Rhodes's federation policy was about to succeed. The Legislative Council was cut down to eleven members nominated by the Governor for ten years, half retiring every five years, and a new lower house was created, the Legislative Assembly of 37 members elected for four years unless it was dissolved sooner. The powers and procedure of this Parliament were practically the same as those of the Colony and, on the annexation of Zululand by Natal in 1897, it was given power to pass laws for that territory.

The Republics.—The constitutions of the two republics resembled one another closely, but were unlike those of the colonies in many respects. In each state the head of the executive was a President elected by the burghers for five years. He could be dismissed by his Volksraad if he was convicted of a crime by the High Court; in the Transvaal, he could also be tried by a special court by order of the Volksraad. In the Free State, the Volksraad itself could pass sentence upon him by a three to one majority. Apart from such dismissal, death or resignation, the President could not be removed and, at the end of his term, he could be re-elected. Brand was re-elected four times and Kruger three times. A President had to be an active, healthy man for he was bound to visit the towns in his republic once a year to receive petitions and to keep an eye on the local officials. In the Free State, the President could introduce measures into the Volksraad but he had no vote and the Volksraad might refuse to let him speak. In the Transvaal, all laws were introduced by the President or by the members of the Executive Council most concerned, all of whom had the right of sitting and speaking in the legislature, but not of voting. In the Free State, the President appointed officials subject to the approval of the Volksraad; in the Transvaal, the Volksraad made the appointments on the recommendation of the President.

The members of the Free State Executive Council were the President, State Secretary, Landdrost of Bloemfontein

and three Volksraad members ; in the Transvaal, they were the President, Commandant-General, State Secretary, Superintendent of Native Affairs, and two burghers. In both republics, the Presidents and their councils could remit sentences passed by the courts, declare war, make peace and enter into alliances subject to the approval of the Volksraad, though in time of war, the Transvaal Commandant-General could make alliances on his own authority. The burghers of the Transvaal elected a Commandant-General for ten years at a time, but, in the Free State, the field cornets and field commandants, themselves elected by the burghers of their wards or districts, chose one for the duration of the war.

All European men of full age who had been born in the state or who could fulfil certain other conditions could acquire the right to vote at presidential and Volksraad elections. Three years was the longest period that a newcomer had to wait in the Free State, but it was otherwise in the Transvaal. In 1881, the term of probation had been one year; in 1882 it was raised to five; in 1890 it was raised again to fourteen and so hedged round with conditions that it became very difficult for newcomers (Uitlanders) to acquire the franchise except by grace of the government. In 1890 a Second Volksraad was set up. Newcomers could acquire the right to vote for members of this Raad, and even to take their seats therein, on much easier terms than for the First, but its powers were very limited and were subject to interference by the First Raad.

There was a strict colour bar in both states. Non-Europeans could neither get the franchise nor sit in the Volksraads. In each republic the Volksraad contained about twenty-four members elected for four years at a time, half retiring every two years. There could thus be no dissolutions or general elections as in the colonies. The republics, indeed, followed the U.S.A. model: the executive could not get rid of the legislature, and the legislature could not get rid of the heads of the executive without impeaching them. As a rule, a strong President could have his way, if only by threatening to resign as both Brand and Reitz had to do. Kruger was never reduced to that. Time and again he talked the Volksraad round by sheer persistence

and force of character. He was the biggest man among them and members knew it.

The position of President might thus be one of great power, but, like all human devices, it had its drawbacks. The President was an elected official, a mixture of Governor and Prime Minister. If his election was contested—and the disputed Transvaal election of 1893 almost led to civil war—he owed his election to part only of the burghers of the state, and thus ran the risk of being the leader of a faction as Pretorius and Burgers had actually been. Moreover he was personally responsible for policy in a way that the British king or a colonial Governor was not, and yet he represented the unity of the state as much as they did. Under the British system, men could criticise the person who was really responsible for policy, the Prime Minister, as furiously as they pleased without feeling that they were attacking the symbol of national unity. In the republics this was not so. To criticise Kruger's policy was to criticise the state, almost to commit treason.

There are one or two other points of difference between the republican and colonial system of government which ought to be noted. In the Cape the method of electing members and the chief powers of Parliament were laid down in a royal ordinance, and the powers and duties of the Supreme Court in charters of justice; but the bulk of the constitution there, as in Great Britain, was embodied in a mass of statutes, proclamations, judicial decisions and customs, and any part of the constitution could be altered by an ordinary Act of Parliament.

In the republics, the division of powers between the three "limbs of Leviathan," the executive, legislature and bench, was carefully written down in the Grondwets. The Free State Grondwet was a short document but, whereas an ordinary law could be passed through the Volksraad by a majority of one, the Grondwet could only be altered by a three-fourths majority in two successive sessions. The Grondwet was thus a rigid constitution and, to maintain it, the High Court had been given the "testing right" held by the Supreme Court of the U.S.A., the power to take no notice of a law if it was in conflict with the terms of the Grondwet.

The Transvaal Grondwet was a very long and confused document and, towards the end of the life of the republic, a

great dispute arose as to whether it was rigid or flexible. The Volksraad was "the highest authority" in the state; it could pass laws on any subject by "a decided majority" and no special machinery was set up for altering the Grondwet. The Volksraad passed statutes (wetten) by giving the public three months notice of the proposed measure and then voting on it, but, in cases of emergency, it could and did dispense with the three months delay and legislated on the spot by resolution (besluit). These besluits were held to be quite legal by the courts and, until 1897, the judges disclaimed any power to "test." But the chief justice, (Sir) John Kotze, then decided that this was a mistake and claimed that the Volksraad had no power to change existing law by besluit, that his court had the power to "test," and that the Grondwet was a rigid constitution which could only be changed by the sovereign people. In other words, he claimed that the Volksraad was not a sovereign legislature like the British Parliament, but a legislature bound by the letter of the constitution like the Congress of the U.S.A. This decision led to a struggle between the bench on the one hand and the legislature and the executive on the other which only ended after Kruger had dismissed the chief justice (1898).

Law Courts.—The system of lawcourts was very similar in the republics and colonies except that an appeal in certain civil actions lay from the Supreme Courts of the colonies to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, whereas no such appeal lay from the republican High Courts. In the Cape Colony the Supreme Court consisting of Sir Henry de Villiers, chief justice from 1873 till 1910, and two other judges, sat at Capetown; the Eastern Districts Court sat at Grahamstown and the Griqualand West Court at Kimberley, each with a Judge-President and two judges. Appeals in certain cases lay from the two latter courts to Capetown. Since 1857, there had been a chief justice and two judges at Pietermaritzburg; the Free State had set up a similar court at Bloemfontein in 1874, and the Transvaal had done the same at Pretoria in 1877.

In the colonies all the judges held office "during good behaviour," that is, until they died, retired or were dismissed by the Governor at the request of both houses of

Parliament. That has been the rule in England since 1701 and it is the rule of the Union to-day. Similarly, in the Free State, the judges could only be dismissed by the Volksraad after they had been impeached (accused) by the executive, and, in the Transvaal, the same rule applied until 1897 when, in the course of the struggle between Kruger and Kotze, a special law was passed giving the President much wider powers of dismissal.

The main weakness of the system of courts, looked at as a whole, was that there was no appeal court to hold the law and practise of the various courts together at a time when economic pressure was pushing the states and colonies into closer contact. The civil law of all the states was, at bottom, Roman-Dutch and, presently, that system was extended to Southern Rhodesia; many of the judges and advocates in the other states had come from the Cape; all the courts were more or less influenced by the great experience and prestige of de Villiers. But that was not enough. The criminal law of the republics was in many ways different from that of the colonies; their civil law was much less mixed with English law than their's; every court makes a good deal of its own law, and all these courts were making it in their own way. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London was the only link between the courts of the Colony and Natal, and many lawyers disliked sending appeals to a body which was not specially versed in the Roman-Dutch law. That objection was met to a certain extent when de Villiers was appointed a member of the Committee (1897). Various attempts were made to form a federal appeal court for the states of South Africa, but all failed and even proposals to allow advocates and attorneys qualified to practise in one state to practise in others were defeated.

The High Commissioner.—There was another authority in South Africa beside the Presidents of the republics and the Governors of the colonies. This was Her Majesty's High Commissioner. The office had been created in 1846 to deal with affairs outside the borders of the Cape Colony and, except when the office was divided for a short time in 1879, it was always held by the Governor of the Cape until 1901. But, whereas the Governor had to

rule within the Colony as his ministers wished, the High Commissioner was responsible only to the Secretary of State for what he did outside it. His duties were many and varied. The Governor of Natal corresponded with Downing Street through him on all except purely local matters; the Presidents did the same as a matter of convenience; he ruled Basutoland through an Administrator and the Bechuanaland Protectorate through a Resident; after 1890, he had large nominal powers in Southern Rhodesia, powers which were made much more real in 1898; in 1900 he took charge of Swaziland for a time. He was the one official in all South Africa who, by reason of his office, had to keep in touch with all that was happening in South Africa and in London. That is why so much of the political history of South Africa has centred round the High Commissioners.

Milner's Reconstruction Policy.—There is no doubt that that history centred round the High Commissioner from 1900 till 1906. Few people had expected that the South African war would be a long one. Chamberlain had at first proposed to give all alike self-government speedily; but, as the war lengthened out and became more destructive, he decided that the annexed republics must be governed as Crown Colonies for a time. In March, 1901, therefore, Milner went north to Johannesburg as Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony (O.F.S.), taking the High Commissionership with him.

There, Milner at once began his great work of reconstruction while the troops held the commandos back from the railway lines and the Rand. He taxed the gold-mines as they reopened in a way they had never been taxed before; he vastly improved the conditions under which miners and natives worked; he made special arrangements with the Portuguese for recruiting native labour in Mozambique (*Modus Vivendi* of 1901). He had to restart the mines and develop them as fast as possible so as to supply the money for the rest of his policy; for he meant to encourage farming, irrigation and land settlement, to build roads and railways, and to lift not only the ex-republics but the whole of South Africa on to a higher social and economic plane.

Milner also took steps in the direction of federation. He was anxious to achieve this before the newly-annexed

colonies received self-government for, once they did so, he foresaw that they and the older colonies would quarrel with one another over railway and customs policy as in the past. His first attempt was not successful. Just before the end of the war, he tried, with the support of some of the Progressives, to suspend the Cape Constitution. This would have put the Cape under his officials side by side with the Transvaal and O.R. Colony; the Chartered Company was in debt to the Crown for its war expenses and would readily let Southern Rhodesia enter a federation; if the Transvaal entered, Natal would have to do so too. But Chamberlain disliked the idea of touching the constitution of a self-governing colony, Afrikaners and British moderates resisted the suspension policy, Canada and newly-federated Australia declared against it at the Colonial Conference and it had to be dropped (1902).

Meanwhile the war had ended and the ex-republics had become Crown Colonies. By the peace treaty, they were promised self-government sooner or later, assured that there would be no native franchise till that day came, and given £3,000,000 with which to repair the ravages of war. They were also given a large loan on easy terms which enabled Milner to press on with his reconstruction policy and his efforts to bring about federation.

He set up a Supreme Court at Pretoria and staffed it mainly with men from the Cape including our present chief justice, Sir James Rose Innes. This court heard appeals from the Witwatersrand court and from the court at Bloemfontein. He also swept away a tangled mass of obscure laws and replaced them for the most part with laws based on those of the Cape Colony. Thus the law from Table Bay to the Zambesi was made one thing more than it had ever been before. He nominated Legislative Councils under Lieutenant-Governors at Pretoria and Bloemfontein, set up municipal councils in many of the towns, bought out the Netherlands Railway Company and combined the railways of the Transvaal and O.R. Colony as the Central South African Railways, built new lines in all directions, and put the police and the railways under an Intercolonial Council (1903).

Milner also achieved the economic federation of all British South Africa south of the Zambesi. At the Bloemfontein

Customs Conference all the colonies, native protectorates and Southern Rhodesia joined a customs union, gave a preference to goods from the United Kingdom and offered reciprocity to other British dominions (1903). In terms of a resolution passed at this conference, Milner also appointed the S.A. Native Affairs Commission, the first body that ever tried to deal with the native problem on a South African scale (1903-5). Nothing very much came of the report at the time but it has since formed the basis of the Native policy of the Union government.

The Bloemfontein Conference also decided that, in the last resort, indentured Asiatic coolies might be employed on the Rand gold-mines. The mine-owners wanted to develop the mines at full speed and, for that purpose, needed cheap, steady and obedient workmen. Milner also wanted to develop the mines at full speed, first in the hope of attracting to the Rand a rush of people of all kinds who would provide the farmers with a big market and start industries which would flourish after the mines had been worked out and, secondly, with the intention of taxing the mines to pay for reconstruction and development. The supply of native labour for the mines from British and republican territory had never been abundant and, for such a purpose, it was quite inadequate. Milner tried to get labour from many parts but even the Indian government refused to allow its subjects to be imported; he stopped work on the railways and roads for a time so that the natives could be set free for the mines. It was no use, and at last he made up his mind that Chinamen must be imported.

Milner did not want to rely either on the yellow men or on barbarian black labour indefinitely. He looked forward to the rise of a big European society in the Transvaal but, to give that society a chance of rising, he proposed to use the Chinese as a temporary scaffolding. There was much opposition from the advocates of "White Labour", who presently formed the Labour Party, and from the Liberals in Great Britain; but, in 1904, the Chinese coolies began to arrive.

Self-government.—Whatever objection there might be to the use of semi-servile labour on the mines (and Natal imported indentured Indians till 1911), there is no doubt that the gold industry developed mightily while the Chinese

were on the Rand (1904-10). But the tide turned against the Milner policy. Almost from the first the work of reconstruction had been hampered by drought; soon it was still further checked by the post-war slump which descended upon all South Africa.

What is more, the Afrikaners began to recover from the shock of the long war. Hofmeyr reorganised the Taalbond to encourage the use of High Dutch in the Colony (1903); in the ex-republics, Steyn and others founded schools in opposition to the government schools which were taught almost entirely in English; a widespread movement in favour of the use of Afrikaans sprang up. This language movement was a sign of the Afrikaner nationalism which the war had stimulated. Louis Botha, who had made his name as commander of the Transvaalers during the late war, organised Het Volk party to work for self-government in the Transvaal (1905). A little later Steyn and General Hertzog formed Die Oranje Unie for the same purpose in the O.R. Colony.

Meanwhile the more or less British population of the Rand had begun to agitate for self-government just as the Conservative ministry in England began to totter. Milner and the new Colonial Secretary, Alfred Lyttelton, decided to give the Transvaal representative institutions such as the Cape Colony had had before 1872. That system would give the elected members great power but it would leave the last word with the officials and might prevent the Liberals from sweeping away Chinese Labour and giving the Crown Colonies full self-government at once, if they came into office. For Milner was convinced that neither the Boers nor the British in the Transvaal were sufficiently reconciled to one another nor sufficiently experienced in political life to rule each other yet awhile.

The Lyttelton Constitution was duly published and, to give it a better chance, Milner made way for Earl Selborne. But the Lyttelton parliament never met. The Liberals under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman took office at the end of 1905 and forbade the issue of any more licenses to import Chinese. By no means all the things said about "Chinese slavery" during the general election which followed were true; but the system was a bad one, and runaway coolies were keeping the farmers in the neighbourhood in a state of terror.

Bannerman, as he had always promised to do, gave the Transvaal self-government and left it to get rid of the remaining Chinese or not as it chose.

The new constitution set up a nominated Legislative Council of fifteen which might become elective after four years, and a Legislative Assembly of sixty-nine members nearly half of whom represented the Rand, elected by Europeans from constituencies of roughly equal size. Dutch was to be used freely in debate, but English was to be the official tongue. At the elections, the British vote was split between the Progressives, Labour and Independents; Het Volk secured a good majority, and Botha became Prime Minister with Smuts as his Colonial Secretary (February, 1907). A little later the O. R. Colony was given a similar constitution and Abraham Fischer became premier with Hertzog as attorney-general and director of education (December, 1907).

Meanwhile in the Colony, Jameson's Progressive party had narrowly won a general election in 1904, thanks mainly to the disfranchisement of the Cape rebels. But times were very bad, the Progressives quarrelled among themselves, the rebels regained their votes, Jameson was obliged to resign, and a new general election confirmed J. X. Merri-man in power with a ministry of Bondsmen and Moderate Englishmen (February, 1908). Thus the three most important colonies had passed out of the hands of the officials or the Progressives, and all had self-government on British lines. The way was cleared for an attempt to federate South Africa from within and not from on top.

Steps towards Union.—That matter had been under discussion for some time as the bitterness bred of the war died down. Some of the officials brought in by Milner (the "Kindergarten") drew up schemes and collected much-needed information. Lord Selborne published a Memorandum which showed the risks which South Africa ran of a railway war; before the fall of the Jameson ministry a motion in favour of closer union was carried in the Cape Assembly.

Smuts and Merriman at once began to discuss the best way of federating South Africa. There were many reasons why it should be done and that right quickly. Milner's economic federation of 1903 was breaking down. Natal

had long wanted to break away from the customs union and now the self-governing Transvaal announced that it meant to do so. The colonies had repeatedly failed to come to an agreement in the matter of railways. The railway system was, of course, one thing from Capetown to Delagoa Bay and the Victoria Falls, but each colony tried to raise as much revenue as it could from the section which lay within its territories. Moreover, each wanted as large a share as possible of the heavy goods traffic to the Rand, the biggest market in southern Africa. The Cape wanted to charge high customs and railway rates for the sake of revenue, but the Transvaal wanted cheap rates and low customs duties to reduce the cost of living and, therefore, the working costs of the mines along the Reef.

Apart from railways and customs, general economic forces were pushing South Africa towards closer union. The bottom of the depression had been reached in 1907; prices were rising all over the world; a series of financial disasters in the U.S.A. had destroyed the American demand for diamonds just as the Premier mine near Pretoria and the mines in German South-West Africa began to compete with Kimberley. Here was one good reason why the Cape and the Transvaal should "get together" unless they wished to see the prices of stones fall still further and, with them, the revenues drawn from the sales of stones.

The Transvaal and Natal also had a problem which they must face together. Most of the Indians in the Transvaal had gone thither from Natal. The Pretoria government was passing stringent laws against them. Indian immigrants had to pass an education test and leave their fingerprints with the immigration authorities so that they might be easily identified; Indians were already forbidden to own houses or land and, now, under the new Gold Law, they and other non-Europeans were prevented from even leasing land in many of the Transvaal townships. The Indian government raised objections and, in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi organised passive resistance to the new laws.

Natal's relations with her natives also caused anxiety to all her neighbours. Some Zulus had rebelled in Natal itself in 1906 and Imperial troops had been sent down from the Transvaal in case they were needed. Later in the year, a more serious rising had taken place in Zululand, and Natal

had had to borrow help from other colonies before it was put down. In 1907 she declared martial law for fear of yet a third rising.

Again, federation seemed to be the only cure for the troubles of Southern Rhodesia. Since 1898 that territory had been ruled by an Administrator appointed by the B.S.A. Company, an executive council of officials, a legislative council of officials and a minority of elected members, and an Imperial official who commanded the police and had a seat on both councils. Most of the gold-mines had proved disappointing; the railways were not paying their way; tobacco, mealies and cattle-farming were still in their infancy. Jameson and other directors visited Rhodesia in 1907 and promised more economic and political liberty, including a majority of elected members in the legislature since revenue was at last balancing expenditure. But there could be no doubt that the Company would be very glad to be rid of the burden of government, for it was reduced to borrowing money on hard terms and asking the Imperial government for help.

Finally, there were political forces outside South Africa which pointed towards closer union. Steyn was determined to unite the South African Colonies before they were caught up in the war between the British and the German Empires which he and many others believed was surely coming; the Liberal party in Great Britain, which was well-disposed to federation from within South Africa, showed signs of splitting. It would be well to carry federation before it collapsed.

The National Convention.—Closer Union Societies were formed to discuss the rival merits of federation and union; Smuts, Merriman and other leaders made preliminary arrangements privately; a railway and customs conference at Pretoria agreed to carry on the existing railway and tariff rates for one year more, and passed six resolutions in favour of referring the question of closer union to a National Convention representing all parties (May, 1908). There were many difficulties to be overcome. The colonies had never worked together before; local patriotisms were strong; thanks to the gold-mines, the Transvaal was rich and not eager to share its good fortune with three or four needy

neighbours; the Delagoa Bay railway still made the Rand independent of the Cape and Natal ports.

The other colonies were jealous of the Transvaal. The Cape knew that it must lose the leading place which it had held for so long, and feared that the other colonies would not allow its non-European franchise to stand; the Free Staters felt that the Transvaalers had first dragged them into war and had then made peace against their wishes and had since passed an education act which enforced the use of Dutch in the schools much less strictly than did their own; Englishmen everywhere were suspicious of the Free State, partly because it was dismissing British officials right and left and partly because Hertzog was, in their opinion, trying to force the pace towards bilingualism. However, the four Parliaments elected delegates, twelve for the Cape, eight for the Transvaal, and five each for Natal and the O.R. Colony. Southern Rhodesia also sent three but without power to vote.

The National Convention met behind closed doors at Durban (October, 1908) and, later on, moved to Capetown where it did most of its work. The first question to be settled was whether there should be a federation or a union. Nearly all the big states that had been formed during the nineteenth century within and without the British Empire had been federations, and federation had been the traditional aim in South Africa since the time of Grey; but de Villiers, the President of the Convention, Steyn, the Vice-President, Merriman and the Transvaalers were in favour of unification, and the Transvaalers came to the Convention well-supplied with expert advisers and a draft constitution which formed the basis of the South Africa Act. Neither of the two great upholders of the federal idea were present. Hofmeyr had declined to sit; Schreiner had resigned in order to defend Dinizulu, who was accused of complicity in the Zulu rebellion of 1906. The case for federation was put by the Natal members but, in spite of their efforts, the principle of unification was carried at the outset.

Many questions thereafter were settled without difficulty as, for instance, the recognition of English and Dutch as equal official languages, the powers of the two houses of Parliament and the restoration to the O.R. Colony of its old name of Orange Free State. Some questions were only

partially settled, such as the extent to which the provinces (ex-colonies) were to be helped by the Union treasury, a matter which has not been finally disposed of yet. There were still other questions which the National Convention dared not touch. Had they embarked on a discussion of native policy on which the colonists had always held different views, or on education with which the thorny question of bilingualism was bound up, it is safe to say that there would have been no union. There was yet a fourth class of question which had to be faced at the risk of wrecking the Convention. Such were the Cape franchise, the allocation of seats in the Assembly among the various colonies and the site of the capital of the union.

All issues were settled at last, a much closer form of union was arranged than had at first been thought possible and, early in 1909, the draft South Africa Act was published. It was much criticised. South Africans were only human, and men in each colony saw what they they were asked to give up more clearly than what they were to gain; but, after the Parliaments had debated the draft, it was put into its final shape by the Convention at Bloemfontein (May), passed by the Parliaments of the Cape, Transvaal and O.R. Colony, carried at a referendum in Natal, and sent to Westminster. There it was passed by the only legislature in the Empire which, at that time, could pass laws for all South Africa (September, 1909).

Central Government.—The South Africa Act set up a union which was radically different from the federal Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia or the U.S.A. In these federations, certain *sovereign* powers had been retained by the states or provinces, powers which the federal governments could neither exercise nor take away. The Union of South Africa was a legislative union under the Crown. The provincial governments were to have no sovereign powers at all, but were merely to exercise such powers as the Union Parliament chose to give them. For instance, the Transvaal at first took the fees paid by natives for their passes, but in 1922 the Union took these away on the ground that native policy was a matter for the central and not for the local authorities.

Again, unlike the U.S.A. constitution, the Union constitution was *flexible* in nearly all its parts, alterable by Act of Parliament in exactly the same way as any other law; but, on one or two points, it was semi-rigid. The clauses safe-guarding the Cape native franchise (No. 35) and the official equality of Dutch and English (No. 137) were only to be altered by a two-thirds majority of both houses sitting and voting together.

The seat of the executive was fixed at Pretoria. The head of the executive was to be a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, though it is an open secret that nowadays the Union ministry is consulted before such an appointment is made. The Prime Minister and nine (now ten) other ministers were to form the Cabinet with the powers and limitations customary in Great Britain and the old Cape Colony. This meant that the Cabinet would be governed more by custom than by law. For instance, an ordinary minister could resign without the rest of his colleagues, but if the Prime Minister resigned, all the others must resign too. It was in this way that Botha obliged Hertzog to resign when the S.A. Party of those days split in 1912.

The Union Parliament was to consist of the Governor-General and two Houses sitting at Capetown. The upper house or Senate was to contain forty members, eight elected for each Province by the provincial councillors and members representing that Province in the lower house, and eight nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council, of whom four had to be chosen for their special knowledge of native affairs. The Cape practise of making the Chief Justice the President of the upper house was given up and the Senate was left free to choose its own President, in the case of the first Union Senate, President Reitz. The first Senate was not to be dissolved for ten years and, though the house might be dissolved thereafter side by side with the House of Assembly, the nominated members were to keep their seats for the full ten years.¹

The lower house was to be the House of Assembly of 121 members to sit for five years, unless the house was dissolved sooner. (There were two Assembly elections within twelve months in 1920-21). Each Province was to keep its old elec-

¹ This rule was altered in 1926. Nominated members now retire with the rest.

toral laws until such time as the Union Parliament should alter them. Lord Selborne and a few members of the Convention had urged that there should be a "civilisation test" for the franchise throughout the Union, that is, that the vote should be given to all men, white, coloured and black, who came up to a certain standard of civilised life. This would have meant a breach with the traditions of the ex-republics and, to a less extent, of Natal and would have disfranchised many "poor whites." The scheme had to be abandoned; non-Europeans kept the vote in the Cape and were allowed to stand for election to the Cape and Natal Provincial Councils; but, even in the Cape, they were forbidden to stand for election to Parliament.

There had been a big struggle in the Convention between the Cape and the Transvaal over the way in which seats in the Assembly should be allotted to each Province. The Cape, whose white population in those days was nearly as great as that of the other three Provinces put together, wanted seats to be allotted in proportion to the European population of each Province; the Transvaal wanted the numbers of European voters to be taken as the basis, for in the Transvaal all white men had votes, whereas in the Cape and Natal they had to have other qualifications as well. In the end each Province took the basis that suited it best; the Cape received fifty-one seats, the Transvaal thirty-six, and the two smaller Provinces were specially treated and given seventeen apiece for at least ten years or until the total number of members in the Assembly should reach 150. (This has not yet happened).

On the other hand, matters were so arranged that the Transvaal would gain and the Cape lose at the first redistribution of seats after Union. The Convention was anxious to have no more of the fierce struggles over the allocation of seats which had so often embittered Cape and Transvaal politics. It therefore provided for automatic redistribution. The total number of grown-up European men in the four colonies in 1904 was divided by 121, the number of seats in the first House of Assembly. This gave the "Union quota." After the census every five years, the number of European men in each Province was to be compared with what it had been in 1904. If it had increased by the amount of the quota, that Province was to be given one more mem-

ber; if it had decreased by that amount, the Province was to lose a member, and so on. The hardship laid on the Cape by this arrangement was that in 1904 the Colony had been full of refugees who had fled from the Transvaal at the beginning of the South African war and by "birds of passage" who had been attracted by the post-war boom. Most of these people were now gone either overseas or to the Transvaal, to which most of the immigrants who were entering the Union were also going. Hence, the Transvaal stood to gain and, at the first few redistributions it overhauled the Cape much more rapidly than it should have done.

The powers and procedure of Parliament were practically the same as in the British and Cape Parliaments. Special machinery was set up to deal with a deadlock between the two houses. The Senate was not to alter such parts of a Bill as dealt with money matters. If it did, both houses were to meet and vote together without delay. If the Senate rejected or amended any other kind of measure which had been passed by the Assembly, and the Assembly would not accept what had been done, the Assembly could pass that Bill again in the following session. If the Senate once more rejected or amended it, the Bill could be forced through at a joint-sitting of the two houses. (A joint-sitting was held in 1926.)

The law courts of the Union were reorganised. The Supreme and High Courts of the old colonies became Provincial Divisions, and courts like the Eastern Districts Court became Local Divisions of one South African Supreme Court. This meant very little change in practise. The courts still met at the old centres; advocates and attorneys were still limited to practising in their respective Provinces, so that an advocate admitted to the Cape bar did not *ipso facto* get the right to plead in Natal. All could, however, plead before the new Appellate Division. It was the creation of the Appellate Division, the appeal court which had been so often looked forward to in the past, that marked the big advance. It was to consist of a Chief Justice, two permanent Judges of Appeal and two additional Judges summoned from time to time from the courts in which they usually worked. They were to hear all civil appeals coming from the Provincial and Local Divisions and from Southern Rhodesia and, if they themselves gave leave, civil and

criminal appeals which had come up to those Divisions from single-judge courts and circuit courts. (Since 1920, they have also heard appeals from the South-West Africa Protectorate.) In very special cases an appeal in civil suits still lay from the Appellate Division to the Privy Council. The seat of the Appellate Division was to be Bloemfontein but it could and, during the lifetime of the first Chief Justice, Lord de Villiers, it often did meet elsewhere for the convenience of suitors and, it was whispered, of the Chief Justice.

The Union had to honour all treaties and similar agreements made by the colonies before the time of Union, and also take over the harbours and railways and run them on business lines as a separate concern which must meet its own deficits and take its own profits. The railways were no longer to be used as a means of raising general revenue. The Minister of Railways, checked by a standing Railway Board, was to fix rates and build new lines with a view to helping South African farmers, traders and manufacturers.

Provincial Government.—So much for the central government machinery. If that machinery was not to be overwhelmed with detail, the Convention had to set up local bodies of some sort to do work of secondary importance. Divisional Councils, like those in the Cape, might have served the purpose and many of the delegates looked forward to the time when this would indeed be the case; but, at the time, none of the colonies was prepared to see itself cut up into sections or to see its government disappear entirely from its old capital. So strong was this feeling, especially in Natal, that it had been proposed at first to set up small ministries responsible to the provincial legislatures. This plan would have made the Union a federation, for the central government could hardly have taken away powers once granted to a responsible ministry, any more than the Imperial government could take away powers granted to a colony or Dominion. The Provinces would thus have held virtually sovereign powers and provincial ministries would have had to be responsible to political parties in the provincial legislatures.

The majority in the Convention was anxious to avoid all these things but, such was the strength of the minority, that a compromise had to be made by setting up an Adminis-

trator, an Executive Committee and a Provincial Council in each Province.

The Provincial Administrator was to be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council and paid by the Union; he was to hold office for five years, he could only be dismissed by the body that had appointed him, provided the cause of the dismissal was explained to Parliament at once, and he could be reappointed. (Sir Frederick de Waal was twice reappointed as Administrator of the Cape, 1910-25.)

Four men were to be elected to the Executive Committee by their fellow-Provincial Councillors under a system of Proportional Representation, a system of voting which gives a minority a chance of winning some seats. The Convention had at first agreed that members of both houses of Parliament should be elected in this way, but the scheme was dropped at the last moment. Proportional Representation was retained in this one case in the hope that the best men would be put upon the Executive Committees irrespective of party ties. To guard still further against the development of the cabinet system in the Provinces, it was decreed that members of the Committees were to hold office for three years whether the majority in the Councils liked it or not. As a matter of fact, the provincial system has developed along party lines. This fact is not so obvious in the smaller Provinces as in the larger, for practically all the councillors in the Free State are Nationalists and those in Natal, S.A. Party men or Independents. In the Cape and Transvaal, with their bigger populations and more varied interests, the various parties have always fought to win a majority on the Executive Committees. Sometimes the result had been a tie, which has left the last word with the Administrator as chairman.

The members of each Provincial legislature, the Council, were to equal in numbers the seats held by that Province in the Assembly, except that Natal and the Free State were given twenty-five each. Members were to be elected by those who were on the parliamentary voters' roll, to hold their seats for three years without the risk of being turned out by the executive, and to have the same freedom of speech and other privileges as members of Parliament. They were to legislate by Ordinances, which were to have the force of law once they had received the assent of the Governor-

General and been published in the *Provincial Gazette*. The matters on which they might legislate were strictly limited. Far and away the most important duty that fell to them was the care of education "other than higher," a vague phrase which has usually been taken to mean education below university standard.

There have been agitations since Union for the break-up of the provincial system on the ground that it is expensive and cumbersome and that all its work, except care of education, could be done better and more cheaply by councils administering large divisions of about the same size as Natal. If this were done, the Union would have to take control of all education. The issue has been forced to the front by shortage of money. Provincial taxing powers were so strictly limited by the S.A. Act that members of the Convention admitted that the Provinces would have to be helped by grants from the Union treasury. After much dispute, an arrangement was made a year or two later, and, for a time, all went well; but, as the cost of education and of other services grew and war-expenditure increased, the strain on the Union treasury became serious. Various ways out of the difficulty have been tried, but Parliament still votes a very large part of the Unions' revenues away to the Provinces which spend it without much parliamentary control. Many people think that the time will soon come when South Africa will have to make up its mind whether the central authorities are to take away control of education and cut the Provinces up into divisions, or whether the Provinces are to be given such powers of taxation as will make them states in a federation.

Southern Rhodesia and the Protectorates.—The South Africa Act was put into force by Lord Gladstone, the first Governor-General of the Union, on May 31st, 1910. Botha became Prime Minister and formed what was really a federal cabinet: four ministers from the Cape, three from the Transvaal and two each from Natal and the Free State. There was much else that was federal about the new Union. The old colonial capitals and boundaries survived; many of the laws differed from Province to Province, and, in some cases, they still differ. Moreover the Union was incomplete. When the National Convention met, many South Africans

hoped or feared, according to their particular points of view, that Southern Rhodesia and the three Imperial territories or protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland would be incorporated, just as British Bechuanaland had been annexed by the Cape in 1895 and Zululand by Natal in 1897. H.M. Government declined to hand over the protectorates but, as it saw that it might have to do so some day, it asked that a list of rules should be laid down at once providing for their government after they should be handed over. It did not get all the safeguards that it asked for and, to get what it did, it had to warn the Convention very tactfully that it would be quite impossible to carry the S.A. Act through the Westminster Parliament unless some rules were laid down.

These rules are set out in the Schedule attached to the Act. In the main they embody the existing system. The territories are to be treated practically as big native reserves. The Governor-General-in-Council will pass laws which must be shown to Parliament as soon as possible, and will remain in force unless both houses ask that they shall be repealed. As in the old Cape Colony, the Prime Minister will be particularly responsible for the good government of the territories. He will be assisted by commissioners appointed for ten years, holding their seats for that period on the same terms as judges, and empowered to advise their chairman, the Premier, on all matters affecting the natives. The rest of the Union is not to levy special customs duties against protectorate goods, liquor is to be kept out and, above all, tribal lands are not to be taken away.

As for Southern Rhodesia, the desire for union which the Company and a good many Rhodesians had shown cooled off as the sittings of the Convention proceeded. Times improved; the Company decided to take up farming on a big scale and, to cut a long story short, no further steps towards union were taken for some time to come. Nevertheless the Convention looked ahead and provided that Southern Rhodesia and the Protectorates could be incorporated in the Union by an Order-in-Council issued by the Crown in response to petitions of both houses of the Union Parliament. Rhodesians were afterwards assured that nothing would be done without consulting them and the Chartered Company; but, to-day, the Company has ceased

to rule and Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing colony (1924). Similarly the Protectorates are still under the Imperial government and there does not seem to be much prospect of the tribes entering the Union willingly.

Meanwhile, on November 4th, 1910, the Duke of Connaught, uncle of the new King, George V, opened the first session of the Union Parliament. South Africa was thus united constitutionally and economically after many years. It was just in time. Four years later, the world war began.

Books for Further Reading :

A. P. Newton, *The Unification of South Africa*, vol. i, pp. 209-75, and vol. ii ; G. W. Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents*, pp. 217, 347-8, 515 *seq.* ; Sir E. Walton, *The Inner History of the National Convention* ; Hon. R. H. Brand, *The Union of South Africa* ; J. H. Hofmeyr, *Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr* ; E. A. Walker, *Lord de Villiers and His Times* ; Basil Williams, *The Selborne Memorandum*.

MAPS.—E. A. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, plates 21, 22, 24 and 25.

CHAPTER XVII.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS.

A.—The League of Nations.

The Great War.—Few people in 1914 imagined that a modern first-class war could last long. There had been no great war in Europe since Prussia's wars forty years back, and those wars had all been short and sharp. The Russo-Japanese war had shown that war was a much more terrible thing than it had been in 1870, and, during the ten years that had passed since 1904, weapons had become much more powerful and costly. No one rightly knew what the actual effect of these weapons would be; but they believed that war would be so costly in blood and treasure that no nation could stand the strain for more than six months. The war was fearfully costly; nevertheless, it lasted for more than four years (August, 1914–November, 1918).

1914.—At the outset, the Germans swept through Belgium and Northern France as far as the river Marne, but there the French and British turned on them and drove them back to the valley of the Aisne. The British raced them successfully for control of the ports on the English Channel, and then both sides dug themselves into long lines of trenches behind barbed wire from the coast of Belgium to the neutral Swiss frontier. On the eastern front, the Germans drove an invading Russian army out of Prussia, but they had to watch the Russians pour westward across Austrian territory. Meanwhile, the British secured command of the sea and destroyed the one effective German squadron outside the North Sea off the Falkland Islands, thereby relieving South Africa of all serious external danger. In the Far East, the Japanese took the German naval base of Kiauchau. By the end of 1914 the Central Powers were virtually besieged.

1915.—During 1915 the Germans repeatedly tried to force a decision on the main western front before the new armies, which Great Britain was raising, could take the field against them. They were held; Italy joined the Western Allies; Union troops conquered German South-West Africa. On the other hand, the British were severely checked in Mesopotamia. They also failed to force their way through the Dardanelles to get into touch with Russia, which had men in abundance but very little equipment; the Germans helped the Austrians to drive the Russians back far within their own borders and, in the Balkans, Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and assisted them to crush Serbia.

1916.—The 1916 campaign opened with a series of fierce German attacks on the French fortress of Verdun. In May the only great naval battle of the war was fought in the North Sea (Battle of Jutland). The German fleet escaped with difficulty and never ventured out again as a battle-fleet. The British in France then struck heavily on the line of the Somme. It was in the course of this struggle that the South African brigade gained great glory by its defence of Delville Wood. Other South African troops were engaged in a long and dreary campaign in German East Africa. At the close of the year, Rumania joined the Allies, but she never received the help she expected from Russia and was overwhelmed by the Central Powers.

1917.—There followed talk of a peace by negotiation, but the Allies were determined to win the war outright. They expected to do so in 1917. That year was a year of disappointment for them. Much had been expected from Russia, but in March the Czar was dethroned, moderate revolutionists seized power, and the Russian armies began to crumble away. At sea, Germany's submarines began to sink merchant ships of all nations which ventured near her enemies' coasts. The U.S.A. thereupon entered the war on the side of the Allies; but many months would have to go by before the Americans could put effective troops into the field. Meanwhile, the Germans evaded a British thrust by suddenly withdrawing, and then beat back a great French attack so decisively that the organisation and morale of the French were shattered for that year. The British therefore

had to throw away hundreds of thousands of men in the mud of Flanders to keep the Germans occupied. In October, the Central Powers broke the Italians at Caporetto and, though the Italians rallied with the help of French and British troops, the weary British had to draw the Germans off once more by attacking at Cambrai. In November, power in Russia passed to the Bolsheviks (Communists) who presently made peace with the Central Powers. To offset these disasters, the British overcame the submarines and entered Baghdad and Jerusalem.

1918.—In 1918 the Germans nearly won the war. With troops set free from Russia, they broke the thinly-held British front, but they were stopped in the nick of time. The Allies, united at last under the supreme command of Marshal Foch, reformed their line and, behind it, masses of American troops poured in. Their coming restored the confidence of the Allies and discouraged the Germans, and men began to talk of 1919 as "America's year." That year never came. The French smote the Germans by a counter-attack and then the British struck with such effect that the Allies determined to finish the war that season. The Germans fought stubbornly, but Bulgaria surrendered, the Turks gave in, the Austrian Empire and its armies simply fell to pieces, the German fleet mutinied rather than go out to certain destruction and, on November 11th, Germany signed the Armistice.

The Peace Treaties.—Ten million men had been slain in battle but, apart from decreeing that Europe and the Middle East were not to be controlled by Prussianised Germany, the war had settled nothing. Rather it left the nations, weary and impoverished, to face all the old pre-war problems in a form aggravated by four years intensive destruction of life and property. Many men had fought in the belief that the war was a "war to end war," "a war to make the world safe for democracy," and Woodrow Wilson, president of the U.S.A., spoke for millions on both sides of the trenches when he published his famous Fourteen Points. Henceforward there was to be "open diplomacy," the binding of nations only by public treaties openly arrived at, freedom for the ships of all nations to sail the seas on equal terms outside territorial waters, reduc-

tion of armaments by sea, land and air, and, as far as possible, the demolition of customs barriers. But it was all very vague and, in so far as Wilson descended to details, his programme did not meet the real needs of Europe, let alone of the world.

Peace had "broken out" and caught the nations far less thoroughly prepared for it than they had been for war in 1914. All the world was shell-shocked and, as a consequence, the peace treaties fell far short of the generous expectations that had been aroused. Germany was deprived of her colonies which were handed over to France, Belgium, Japan and various states within the British Empire. She also lost much Continental territory, for the most part non-German. France recovered Alsace-Lorraine, and Schleswig went back to Denmark. The revived republic of Poland regained from Prussia and Austria the spoils of the eighteenth century partitions. But Germany was also saddled with indemnities and claims for reparations for war-damages far beyond her capacity to pay or for the Allies to receive without ruining their own industries and finances; the armed forces of Germany and her friends were rigorously cut down, but those of most of the Allies were maintained at a high level. It was only in 1921 that an international conference at Washington took steps to limit the size of navies. The question of land forces has hardly been touched at all.

France, which had suffered cruelly during the war, feared that Germany would seek revenge as soon as she could. She and the other Western Powers also dreaded Russia where the Bolsheviks were seeking to reorganise society, at any rate in the towns, on Communist lines utterly different from those on which their own society was based. Hence, France insisted that Allied troops should occupy Germany up to the Rhine for a term of years and, when the U.S.A. declined to ratify the proposed treaty by which it and Great Britain were to help her to defend her eastern frontier, she made alliances with Poland and other small eastern states as a check on Germany from the rear and a barrier against the unknown forces of Bolshevik Russia. Later on, France temporarily occupied the great German industrial district of the Ruhr beyond the Rhine, to the

great damage of the economic recovery of Germany and, therefore, of all Europe (1923).

The war overthrew the Emperors. The Kaiser fled to Holland, the Czar was murdered, the Austrian Emperor retired into private life. But in spite of the loss of some territory and the destruction of Bismarck's military machine, the Germany of the poets and the Zollverein remained united as a republic, the Reich. Again, Russia's Baltic Provinces, part German, part Slav, became independent states, but the vast mass of Russia held together as a group of Soviet republics. On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was destroyed. Where there had been two large and closely-allied states there were now six small and independent territories. In various parts of Europe other small governments were set up. The makers of the peace treaties by no means recognised all the claims of small groups to be nations; nevertheless, they left more than thirty sovereign independent governments in Continental Europe where there had been only twenty-one.

"Balkanisation" might have answered fifty years earlier when the economic interests of states were less closely interwoven and weapons of war less highly-developed; but now it simply delayed the recovery of Europe and, by the multiplication of frontiers, Foreign Offices and General Staffs, multiplied the chances of war. But most men dreaded the prospect of another war which would certainly be more deadly than the last. Under stress of the Great War many inventions had been made, new and improved methods of producing goods had been found out, medical and surgical knowledge had been greatly extended. On the other hand, the arts of destruction had been mightily developed. The Industrial Revolution applied to war threatened to destroy civilisation. The bravest soldiery in the open had little chance against machine-guns, flame-throwers, poison gas, tanks and armoured cars. Civilian populations behind the lines were helpless in face of bombing aeroplanes and Zeppelins, huge Skoda guns which hurled a ton of steel four-and-a-half miles high into the air, or "Big Berthas" which could shell Paris at a range of fifty miles.

The League of Nations.—Towards the close of the war many people in Great Britain, the U.S.A. and the Dominions

had looked forward to a League of Nations which should banish wars and secure for the world all the good that the Holy Alliance of princes had so signally failed to give to Europe at the end of the Napoleonic War. At the Peace Conference, President Wilson gave way on many points for the sake of inducing the Powers to sign the Covenant of the League of Nations which General Smuts had helped to draw up. Thirteen States joined the League at once. Within five years, fifty-five had done so : all Europe except Germany and Russia, all Asia except Turkey and Afghanistan, all Africa except Egypt, all Australasia and all the Americas except the U.S.A., Mexico and Ecuador.

The League, whose headquarters are at Geneva in Switzerland, functions through a Council, an Assembly and a permanent Secretariate or civil service. The Council consists of ten men. The British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, as the Big Powers or rather the Big Responsibilities, have one permanent representative each ; representatives of six other states are chosen from time to time by the Assembly.¹

The Assembly is formed of three representatives from each state who have, however, only one vote between them. Any self-governing state, dominion or colony may be admitted if two-thirds of the members agree, and any member may withdraw after giving two years' notice. South Africa, the other British Dominions and India have all been admitted on those terms ; Brazil and Spain exercised their right to withdraw in 1926. The Council meets four times a year, and the Assembly annually in September. In both bodies the vote, as a rule, must be unanimous before any decision can be reached. The Secretariate works in Geneva all the year round, and the Court of International Justice, whose judges are appointed by the League to deal with disputes between States, sits permanently at the Hague.

The Work of the League.—The League is important, not so much for what it has done as for what it stands for. It stands for joint action by civilised peoples and a frank recognition of the fact that no state can live to itself alone. Nevertheless, the League is not a super-government. It

¹ Germany now has a permanent seat also, and three additional elective seats have been created. (1926)

has no armed forces of its own ; it can neither levy taxes nor pass laws ; its decisions have to be carried out, if at all, by the state governments concerned. It is, in short, a meeting of representatives of governments, that and nothing more.

The Council and the Assembly met for the first time in 1920. The years which followed were difficult years full of national envy, little wars and rumours of big wars, economic distress and wholesale famine in South Russia. The "Balkanisation" of Europe set many peoples free from oppression and gave them a chance of ridding themselves of the old sense of grievance which they had nursed as subject peoples. But it left them free to oppress smaller groups within their borders and to thwart their neighbours, and many of them took full advantage of this freedom. States claimed territories beyond their newly-defined borders, kept up the largest armies they could, and set up formidable customs tariffs in the heart of a Continent which the Industrial Revolution was making a unity interdependent in all its parts and dependent as a whole on the outer world. As a result, within four years of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Austria and Hungary, cut off from their old sources of raw material and their old markets, had to be rescued by the League from economic extinction (1922-23).

It is under these depressing circumstances that the League has had to justify its existence. Its primary aim is to lessen the chances of war by offering an easily-worked and permanent machinery for the settlement of disputes between States. It registers and publishes all treaties made by its members ; it publishes all its own decisions and reports ; the Council usually debates in public, and the Assembly always. Like the mediaeval Papacy, the League relies on the moral force given by enlightened public opinion. It focusses world opinion on international questions in a way that no other institution does or ever has done. It works in public, and publicity, like fresh air and sunshine, is a cure for many ills and a preventive of still more.

The procedure of the League is by conference. Therein it deliberately follows the example of the British Imperial Conferences, holding that more good can be done by a day's frank talk at a round table than by weeks of correspondence.

For at a Conference men can watch each other's faces and thus learn more than they can from mere ink and paper.

The League's method is delay. States joining the League must refer all their quarrels either to the Permanent Court or to a special arbitration board or to the League itself. They must not fire a shot till three months have passed after the verdict has been given, and not even then if the members of the Council, excluding the states directly concerned in the quarrel, have given a unanimous decision. If a state defies the League and goes to war prematurely, it will be held to have committed an act of war on all the members of the League. In that case, members are bound to have no further financial, commercial or personal dealings with the people of the offending state and to prevent even non-members of the League from having any. It remains to be seen whether the threat of an economic boycott will prevent a big state from going to war, for, in modern mechanical warfare, so much depends on getting in the first blow. It also remains to be seen whether the other governments will be bound by their signatures to enforce the boycott, but, if they are, the boycott will be a powerful weapon in the hands of the League.

So far, the League has stopped several wars between little states, and its influence has been by no means negligible even where bigger states have been concerned. But as so often happens, its secondary aim has been more fruitful of good than its primary. For that aim, "to promote international co-operation," is directly in line with the way the world is developing. The framers of the League were thinking mainly in terms of states and governments, that is, they thought politically; but, in the hard times that have followed the war, men have thought more in terms of peoples and their daily life, that is, economically and socially. Most of the clauses of the Covenant deal with politics and much good work has been done under them; but at the end of the Covenant are three clauses covering social and economic questions. These are the concerns that matter most to mankind and it is under these modest clauses that the most hopeful work of the League is being done.

These three clauses bid the League consider such questions as housing, conditions of labour, just treatment of native races, free trade and free movement, trade in weapons of

war and harmful drugs like cocaine, diseases, and international treaties on such matters as copyright, posts and telegraphs and so on. It is here that the Secretariate of the League has proved itself invaluable. If the Council and the Assembly focus world opinion, the Secretariate focusses world knowledge. Its expert committees are continually collecting information on all kinds of subjects and filing it away ready for use. If this process goes on for only a few more years, Geneva will become the brain, or, at any rate, the organised memory of the civilised world. It will have knowledge that no other body possesses, and knowledge is power.

There are various subdivisions of this League and bodies allied to it, all international, such as the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, which seeks to put authors, poets, philosophers and learned men of all nations in touch with one another. The most effective of the allied bodies is the International Labour Organisation. The I.L.O. consists of delegates appointed by the governments to represent those governments themselves, employers' associations and trade unions. It is the first international body that has ever been formed on which the State, Capital and Labour have been treated as more or less equal partners. As such it is a sign of the times. It has already worked with good effect, but even if it had nothing definite to show for its labours, it has at least proved that the world is economically one as it never was before. South Africa's delegates go from a country where Europeans dread lest cheap coloured labour shall pull down their standard of living, and coloured men fear the still cheaper labour of Bantu and Asiatics. At Geneva they find British workmen, alarmed at the competition of Continentals whose wages are lower and hours longer, and both dimly conscious of competition by Indian industrialists who, in turn, fear the Japanese who, in their turn, fear the low-paid and incredibly industrious Chinese. South Africa's labour problem, then, is part of a world-wide problem which must be dealt with as a whole if it is to be dealt with effectively.

The League's Difficulties.—The fact must be frankly faced that the League and its off-shoots in their present form are very imperfect instruments for dealing with these

political, social and economic problems. To say that is not to condemn the League, still less the idea it stands for, but merely to point out that it must be readjusted if it is to do its work better. The League can only work through the State governments. It has to deal with jealous sovereign, independent states without having the powers of a state itself. It is, moreover, a League of Governments rather than of Nations. In the Assembly, the rule is One Government, One Vote. France and Great Britain, with all their powers and responsibilities, count in a division for as much or as little as Abyssinia and Guatemala. In practise, however, they count for much more; for in the Assembly, as in all deliberative bodies where the party system is not developed, an influential member can carry with him a crowd of lesser lights. Moreover, the Big Powers dominate the Council, and, on many points, the Council has the last word.

There is another difficulty which may become serious. The makers of the League, being for the most part British and American, had in mind only democratic governments. But some governments to-day are bitterly opposed to the Western democratic principle. In Italy, Mussolini and his Fascisti have in large measure suppressed parliament, newspapers and trade unions in the interests of a kind of nationalist syndicalism. Spain, Portugal and Greece have experimented with military dictators; some of the South American republics are really ruled in the same way; in France, parliamentary institutions are far gone in decay. Common action is difficult between men who stand for radically different principles of government. It was only in 1907, when all four South African provinces stood on the same constitutional plane as self-governing colonies, that the path to Union lay clear and open.

Again the League is incomplete. Germany has just been admitted (1926), but Bolshevik Russia stands aloof and the U.S.A. remains outside even though a seat on the Council awaits it. The mass of the American people threw President Wilson and his Covenant overboard, partly because they were determined that their own national sovereignty should in no way be limited. But they have since steadily declined to join the League, because the Covenant binds all its members to defend each other's

independence and territories against aggressors. Most Americans have only a vague idea where Poland and Jugoslavia are ; they have no mind to expend a man or a dollar to defend the sovereign independence of such states.

The U.S.A. has more than once co-operated with the League in economic and social matters, but it fears to be entangled in the political activities of a League which is, in its eyes, too exclusively concerned with the affairs of Europe. Similarly, the British Dominions have interests in common with Great Britain, but they know little and care less about most parts of Continental Europe. Great Britain herself, the most completely " world Power " there is to-day, finds it hard to reconcile the interests of the group of which she is the centre with those which she herself has as a detached portion of Europe. The withdrawal of Brazil suggests that South America does not mean to be entangled too deeply in purely European affairs, unless it is permitted to have a larger say in the affairs of this League than it has had hitherto. Significantly enough, the British Dominions have also asked for a seat on the Council to be held by them in rotation.

The truth is that Continental Europe is not so important as it was in comparison with the rest of the civilised world. The complete supremacy which it held as late as the 'nineties was passing even before the war. That war hastened the process. Europe has been sorely battered ; instead of being owed money by the outer world, it owes money ; it is no longer the sole workshop of the world, for the U.S.A. has developed its industries immensely, the Dominions have begun to manufacture in a modest way, the Industrial Revolution has spread vigorously in Japan and, to a less extent, in India and China. The peoples of the Western world outside Europe are more conscious of their strength and importance than they were, and are even prone to make too much of the relative decline of what is still to them " the Continent." Continental Europe still contains the greatest mass of highly-civilised men in the world ; it has vast natural resources, unrivalled technical skill, and boundless possibilities. But it is hampered by the fact that nearly all its peoples think and have been taught to think in terms of sovereign, independent, national states. Its material recovery is thereby hampered.

There are some thirty states in Continental Europe. Most of them try to behave as if they were independent economic units. Yet in all the world, with the exception of France which has a large tropical empire, and Japan which rules Korea and has great areas in China under her economic control, the states which count for most in the world are not nation-states, but group-states. The British Empire is a scattered state of this kind; the U.S.A. is a compact example; Russia, re-forming from the Polish frontier to the Pacific, is another; India and China may well become states of this type if the Industrial Revolution takes a firm hold there. The U.S.A. contains men of many races; men and goods can travel through it by express train for five days without crossing a customs barrier. On the other hand, post-war travelling in Europe is a kind of steeple-chase over endless frontiers with demands for passports, customs dues, change of money from one depreciating currency to another, and, in many cases, *backsheesh* as well.

Under these circumstances, it is hard to see how Europe can make up for the wastage of the war and regain anything like her old position of influence in the world. There are, however, signs that economic forces will draw Europe together in spite of its governments. Before the war, Germany, by her commercial treaties and her Berlin-Baghdad railway scheme, tried to organise the bulk of the Continent as a single economic whole. In spite of the political break-up after the war, this movement towards economic union has quietly gone on. Manufacturing and financial companies have formed great groups or trusts, many of them international: since the League came to the help of Austria in 1922, Vienna has become the chief financial and trading centre of Middle and Eastern Europe. Its banks, linked up with other great banks in Europe and Great Britain, have branches in all the little states which broke away from the Austrian Crown as well as in many parts of Germany. Politically, Austria counts for very little; economically, she counts for much.

Again, the manufacturers of steel rails in Great Britain and various European countries have agreed to work together; a little later, the steel founders of France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany took steps to reach a

general trade agreement; there is good reason to believe that many Continental states have gone far towards the formation of a customs union. And a customs union is the half-way house to closer political union. Were the states of Europe to form one or more such unions, they would have more time to take an interest in the affairs of the outer world, and, conversely, the states of the outer world would have less reason for hesitating to concern themselves in the affairs of Europe. Both would be in a better position to attend to the problems of this crowded and complicated world of ours.

The Mandates.—In this world which has shrunk so much and become infinitely more complex since *Enterprise* steamed into Table Bay a hundred years ago, South Africa is asked to play a more active part than ever before. Even before the war the Dominions were rising in the scale of political and economic importance. During the war, the Dominions organised and, to a large extent, paid armies which fought in many parts of the world; they signed the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League as individual states within the British Empire. Since the war they have asked for and received a fuller share in the conduct of the diplomacy of the Empire and even of a diplomacy of their own. Some of them, moreover, are trustees on behalf of the League of Nations. Germany's colonies were handed over to the League, which then "mandated" (entrusted) them to various Powers and Dominions. In this way, New Zealand took charge of Samoa, Australia of German New Guinea, and the Union of German South-West Africa.

The South-West African Protectorate is not Union territory, nor can it become so without the consent of the League; but, subject to certain rules laid down in the Covenant for safeguarding native rights, the Union governs it as if it were part of its own territory through an administrator and a partially-elective council. The courts use Union law and such German law as fits in with it; Germans have been offered British citizenship and most have accepted it. South Africa, however, has to report on the condition of the Protectorate once a year to a League Committee.

B.—The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

If the international status of the Dominions has been improved as a result of the war, an equally notable change has taken place in the political condition of India. It is a matter which must be discussed at some length. Over 160,000 Indians live in our midst, principally in Natal and the Transvaal. We cannot wisely determine what our relations to them are to be unless we know something of the changes which are taking place among the millions of Indians who lie behind them. The main fact is simple. Since the war India has taken a huge stride along the road that leads to Dominion self-government and hopes, before long, to take another. It is a revolution that is taking place there, none the less immense because it is, on the whole, peaceful.

During the years that lay between the end of the Mutiny and the outbreak of the War, a few thousand British officials and some 70,000 British troops kept the peace in a vast country of 1,800,000 square miles (nearly four times the size of the Union) which now contains 319,000,000 inhabitants, a population three times as great as that of the Roman Empire or of the U.S.A. They did more than keep the peace of a land which, at their coming, dated passing events from the last raid or the last famine. They laid 37,000 miles of railway and 412,000 miles of telegraph, irrigated 28,000,000 acres with 14,000,000 more to follow, built schools, hospitals and post offices, policed the country, administered even-handed justice and reduced crime to the proportions of England itself, spent Indian revenues exclusively in India, and staffed more than three-fourths of the official posts worth having with Indians. They even dared to build drains till Calcutta, which in 1864 was officially condemned as unfit for civilised habitation, compares well with the average European city.

Of course, Great Britain has benefitted by the connection, for India has been her best single customer in the world for the past forty-five years, but the fact remains that, until the British came, there were no industrial centres outside the courts and camps of the rajahs. Great towns like Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Cawnpore were made by them and, if they have prospered, Indians have prospered too. The

growing financial and industrial strength of India is a proof of that. Again, much has been left undone that might have been done, and those who have had most to do with the work are the first to admit it. Plague and famine, in spite of every effort to check them, killed 14,500,000 people between 1897 and 1914; the influenza of 1918 killed some 7,000,000 more; there is still much to be done in the direction of popular education; but, looking at the size and difficulty of the task, the work of government which the British have quietly done in India is the best they have ever done.

It has been a difficult task. They have had to rule peoples who look on governments as universal providers, to find money for public works, defence and famine-relief in a country whose taxable capacity is low in proportion to its population, a land in which no rain falls for many months and 10,000,000 head of cattle die each year from the drought, a land in which the revenue dries up and famine stalks if the monsoon fails to bring the rain in due season.

The British could never have gained control of the government if India had not been so hopelessly divided against itself, and one of the main arguments, even in the eyes of Indian Nationalists, for maintaining British rule is simply that India is so divided. Geographically, there are three great sections: the "Hills," the mountain belt 100 miles deep in the north; to the south of them, the immense mudflats of the Ganges (one-third of the total population lives there between Delhi and the mouth of the great river); to the south again, the mountainous plateau of the Deccan.

The peoples of the provinces vary more than the landscapes. At first sight it looks an easy matter to divide them into three groups: the 218,000,000 Hindus, 75 per cent. of the total, the 67,000,000 Mohammedans and the rest, Jains, Buddhists, Christians and so on. Really it is not so simple. There are at least three big civilisations, other than the European, overlaying one another in India. The ancient Dravidian civilisation, which held sway throughout when most of Europe was still barbarous, predominates in the south; in the centre and north, there is the "Hindu" culture which was brought in by Aryan-speaking men, fair-haired invaders from the north-west, from about 2000 B. C. onwards; finally, there is the Moslem style of life, again

brought in by invaders in the tenth century A.D. and after. These cultures have mixed with one another in varying proportions in the different provinces.

Similarly there are three main languages: Tamil the non-Aryan tongue of the south, Hindi the main tongue of the north and centre, and Urdu the language which grew up in the camps of the conquering Moguls of the sixteenth century and which is still the official tongue in most of north India. But there are forty-four other important languages with literatures and, in many cases, with scripts of their own. From the point of view of language, Indians are further apart than Englishmen and Russians.

Nor does race help to unite them. There is no "Hindu" race nor "Hindu" language; it is only in the north-west that the fair-skinned "Aryan" type prevails; elsewhere, the dark Dravidian strain comes uppermost mixed with yellow Mongol stock in the north-east. The variety is endless, ranging from men in the jungles, little and dark like Australian blackfellows, to hillmen lighter skinned and bigger built than many a southern European. Nor have the majority of Indians any traditions of political unity since the far-off shadowy days of the great Buddhist king Asoka, 250 years before the time of Christ. Such political unity as they have had has been thrust upon them by the Moslem invaders or, latterly, by the British.

As for religion, the great fact of Indian life, the Moslems are much more united than the Hindus. They are widely-scattered over all India; they are divided by speech and race; only in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal are they the majority; but common faith and common hostility to the Hindus hold them together. On the other hand, the original Hindu beliefs have become so mixed up with older religions, legends of local heroes and so on that Hinduism covers a multitude of different worships. There are, however, two things which all Hindus have in common: reverence for the sacred cows and veneration for the priestly caste of Brahmins. The Brahmins are not an organised body like the monks who have played such a large part in Western history, but they are sacred and all-powerful. They form the highest of the countless rigid castes into which the Hindus are divided. Each caste is self-organised and self-contained; men of one caste may have no dealings with

men of lower castes, and still there is one-fifth of the Hindu population which belongs to no caste at all. They are the pariahs, "the depressed community," "the untouchables," who in southern India, cannot come within forty yards of a Brahmin without defiling him. None the less, they are busily forming castes among themselves.

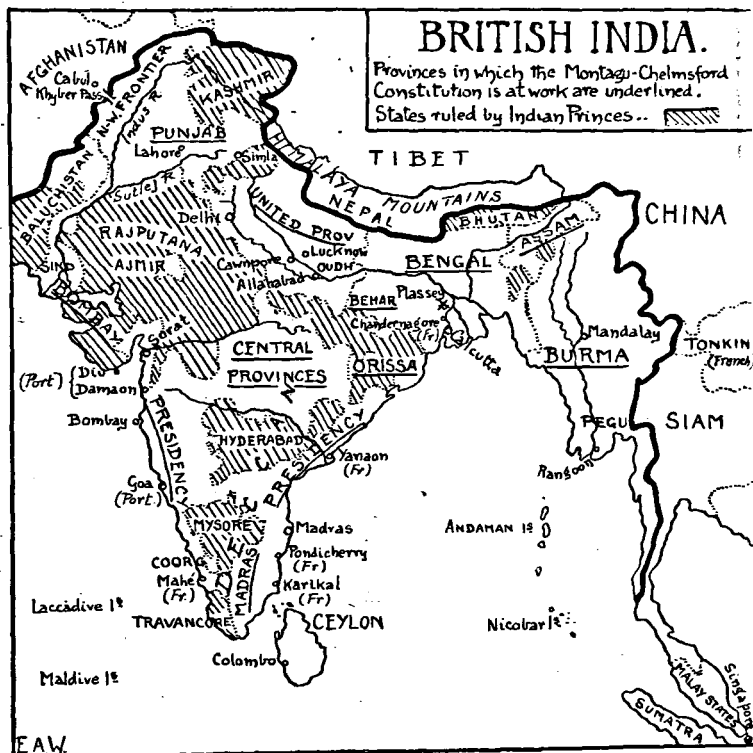
Economically, the 319,000,000 folk of India are, in the words of Lord Morley, "marching in uneven stages through all the centuries from the fifth to the twentieth," but probably the vast mass of them have reached the point that England herself was at on the eve of the Reformation. Politically, the great facts of Hindu life have been and still are the Brahmin priest and the princely Rajah; the Moslems, with a religion which is as democratic as Christianity itself, have never known any other rule than that of a fighting chief. Yet it is in a land such as this that the British are trying a great experiment in self-government.

Prior to the reforms of 1919 which mark the critical step forward, the government of British India was almost purely official. It was a bureaucracy at the head of which stood the Queen who, in 1877, had taken the title of Empress of India, *Kaisr-i-Hind*. Actual power in England was wielded by the Secretary of State for India, responsible to Parliament as a member of the ministry. He was assisted by a dozen councillors appointed for a term of years, most of them men who had served in India for a considerable time and had only recently left it, for, whatever the poets might say, the India Office knew that the East is not "unchanging." The Secretary had to win the consent of his councillors on all points of finance, but, in other matters, he could override them and, on questions of peace and war or negotiations with Indian princes, he could act without even consulting them.

The central government of India used to sit during the winter at Calcutta and during the summer months at Simla in the Hills, but, a few years ago, it abandoned Calcutta in favour of the old Mogul centre of Delhi, where a fine new capital is being built. At the head was the Viceroy (Governor-General) with an Executive Council of six whose advice he might set aside if necessary. The Viceroy himself took charge of foreign affairs, each of his councillors presided

over a big department of state, and together they sat with a few "additional members" as the central legislature.

This government ruled British India, two-thirds of the whole country, through subordinate governments. There



were (and are) nine Major Provinces: Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Behar-Orissa, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, Assam and the Central Provinces, and six Lesser Provinces: Delhi, Coorg, Ajmir, The North-West Frontier, Baluchistan and the Andaman Islands. Each Province was

divided into districts which ranged from those of 2,000 square miles with 1,500,000 inhabitants (practically the white population of the Union) downwards. At the head of each District stood the Collector or some similar official. It was on these men and their assistants, British and Indian, that the workaday task of ruling British India lay.

Most of the remaining one-third of India was ruled by its own Princes, 600 of them, governing more than 62,000,000 souls in states which varied from tiny principalities of a few acres to territories like Hyderabad, half as large again as Greece. The powers and privileges of these Princes varied greatly, but, in all cases, the Viceroy took charge of their foreign affairs, guaranteed them against being dethroned by their loving subjects and expected them to help him to maintain the peace of India. A British Resident was appointed to each court to act as guide, philosopher and friend to the Prince, and British garrisons were kept in the most important strategic positions. Apart from these checks, the Princes ruled much as they chose.

The causes for the changes made in 1919 lie far back. Between 1855 and 1861, the Indian Civil Service began to pick its recruits on the results of examinations held in London; many official posts were thrown open to men who were not regular members of that service and, just at the time that the Cape was setting up the Board of Examiners which was the forerunner of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, three examining universities were founded in India to help forward education on Western lines. These reforms gave the Indian government a bigger supply of educated officials than before, and gave Indians a better chance of benefitting by the promise made by the Queen at the end of the Mutiny that no one should be debarred from the public service on the grounds of creed, caste, or colour. They did more than that. The spreading knowledge of the English language drew educated Indians of all kinds together for the first time, much as Greek had drawn the men of the ancient Mediterranean world; the study of the writings of Liberal philosophers and economists awakened the ideas of political liberty among Hindus, whose patriotism was fired by the use of Indian troops in Egypt and whose keenness to take office was sharpened by the discovery that, with their

retentive memories, they could pass examinations as well as Englishmen and much better than Moslems.

The effect of all this was seen clearly from 1880 onwards. The Viceroy, Lord Ripon, was a Liberal. He encouraged men to talk of political matters which had hitherto not been mentioned in public, gave the "vernacular press" great freedom, did much for primary and secondary schools, gave municipal and district councils power to elect members and, in spite of much opposition, obliged Europeans in certain cases to appear before properly-qualified Indian judges. Presently the Civil Service was reformed again. The higher division was still recruited in London, but Indians could sit the examination there and many did so; the new Provincial and Subordinate Services were almost entirely filled with Indians. "Additional members" were appointed to the legislative councils in the Provinces, many of them Indians representing different social classes or business interests, and the members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council were at least allowed to give their opinions on the annual taxing proposals of the executive.

Meanwhile, some of the tiny minority of educated Hindus and a few Moslems had formed an Indian Nationalist Congress to press for a share in the government. These men admitted that the machinery of government was steadily improving, but they had made up their minds that the best of alien bureaucracies could not be combined with popular liberties. That is how they put it in public, just as the English Parliament in the seventeenth century had talked of defending popular liberties against the King, but they really wanted what most of the Parliamentarians had wanted, power for themselves and their class to control government and to run the Civil Service. Essentially, that is the story of the constitutional struggle in India, the struggle for control of the fortunes of millions of inarticulate Indians between an infinitesimal minority of British officials and a somewhat larger group of educated Indians.

This struggle first became serious when Lord Curzon was Viceroy (1899-1905). Curzon was a most efficient ruler. He remodelled the army and the police, encouraged primary education and put more power into the hands of the professors of the universities, in the hope of thereby checking

the notorious cramming for the examinations on which places in the public service depended. But he had little sympathy with Indian journalists and lawyers, who did much abound; his university reforms alarmed these men and the class from which they were drawn, especially in Bengal; his partition of that unwieldy Province, with its population twice the size of that of the United Kingdom, gave the Nationalist leaders, fired by the victory of Asiatic Japan over European Russia, a good chance of attacking him.¹ There was violent agitation and several Europeans were murdered.

Curzon's successor, Lord Minto, and the new Secretary of State, Lord Morley, carried through reforms which checked the uproar (1909). Two Indians were appointed to the Secretary's Council in London, and one to the Viceroy's Executive Council; the Central Legislative Council was trebled in size, and, though the British officials still had a majority upon it, it was given much greater freedom of debate. Moreover, a number of members were elected to it either by the Provincial legislatures or by special groups of electors (communal franchises) such as Moslems, municipal and district councils, universities, chambers of commerce, landholders and so on. Similarly, the Provincial Legislative Councils were increased in size and, there, the elected members were allowed to have a majority. But neither central nor provincial legislatures could control the executives. These were still to be responsible to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

The process of change could hardly stop short with these Morley-Minto Reforms, but how to go on safely was the difficulty. The bulk of the Anglo-Indian officials and their friends at home, so say nothing of the mass of the European traders and planters in India, were against any weakening of official control, and asked whether anything like parliamentary rule was possible in a country in which less than six per cent. of the people could read and write any language and only a tithe of those few could speak English. The Moslem minority and the "depressed community" in the South were against Home Rule as soon as they saw that it would mean Brahmin rule, for the Hindus, claiming all the pariahs as Hindus for the occasion, demanded seats on the Councils

¹ The two parts of Bengal have since been re-united.

and posts in the Civil Service in proportion to their numbers. The Moslems withdrew from the Nationalist Congress, formed an All-India Moslem League and demanded special treatment for themselves as a minority.

Then came the Great War. Indian troops served by the thousand in Europe and elsewhere; the Indian government gradually stopped the recruiting of Indian coolies for colonial plantations and asked for better treatment of its subjects in lands overseas; for the first time, India was fully represented at an Imperial Conference. Meanwhile, in spite of religious riots among their respective followers, the Indian Congress and the Moslem League joined hands and, after some hesitation, the British ministry promised to give a large instalment of self-government (1917). Montagu, the Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy, drew up a constitution which came into force in 1919.

The Montagu-Chelmsford constitution does not touch the machinery of government in London, nor the relations of the Indian government with the Princes, nor the government of the Six Lesser Provinces, nor the work of the Collectors and their subordinates in the Districts, beyond providing for a steady replacement of British officials up to a certain point by Indians. It affects the Central Government and the governments of the nine Major Provinces. These it alters radically. The Viceroy's Legislative Council has been split into two houses: a Council of State of about twenty officials and forty other members either nominated or elected on a high franchise for five years, and a Legislative Assembly of twenty-six officials, fourteen nominees and 100 members elected for three years on various "communal franchises," as under the Morley-Minto scheme. Every Executive Councillor must be a member of one or other of the houses; the two houses have most of the powers of a British Parliament; but, as yet, they have not full responsible government. They cannot control expenditure on high official salaries, defence and one or two other points and, in the last resort, the Viceroy has the power to "certify" that a rejected tax or law is necessary for the safety of the state and to act accordingly.

Still greater changes have been made in the governments of the nine Major Provinces. Where the administration

had hitherto been in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, executive and legislative councils have been set up and, in every case, half the seats on the executive councils have been given to Indians. Executive Councillors and other officials sit in the Legislative Council of their Province, but at least seventy per cent. of the legislators must be elected members.

The most interesting point in the whole of these reforms is the division of powers in the Provinces. A "Diarchy" or system of rule by two authorities has been set up, frankly based on the principle underlying the Home Rule Bill for Ireland which came to grief on the outbreak of the Great War. Certain matters such as police, justice, land-tax, famine-relief, irrigation and so on are *reserved*, that is, they are left in the hands of the Provincial executive which is responsible, not to the local legislature but to the Viceroy as before. Everything else is *transferred* and for these the provincial executive is responsible to the Legislative Council. In other words, some of the government departments in the Provinces are still under Crown Colony rule and some have passed under responsible government. If all goes well, the rest will be transferred in due time. Even so, the Provincial Governor may order money to be spent on a transferred service in case of need against the wishes of the legislature, but, in that case, he must get the approval of the Viceroy.

The general aim of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution is to free the chief Provincial governments from central control and to pave the way for Indian self-government. The mass of the Indian people take no interest in the great experiment; millions of peasants do not know that it is going on, but the politically-minded minority hope for full self-government when the constitution comes up for revision in 1929. Very few of them want to see the British march out of India altogether, even assuming that the British were willing to go; if the British will supply external defence and maintain internal order and, at the same time, leave them to manage their own affairs, they will be content.

India is thus well on the way to becoming a Dominion in fact as well as in name; Japan is a first-class Power of the Western type; since 1911, China has been a republic, a republic troubled by foreign intrigue and civil war but

none the less a republic. These three Asiatic peoples are on the move. The French Revolutionary Philosophy and the Industrial Revolution which, for better or for worse, have made us what we are, have passed out of our exclusive keeping. They are now shared by the great civilisations of the East. The world has entered upon a new stage of its history and we, at the southern extremity of Africa, lie midway between Old Europe and New Asia.

Books for Further Reading :

The League of Nations. A Survey 1920-25; L. C. A. Knowles, *Economic Development of the Overseas Empire*, pp. 263-96; Sir C. Ilbert and Lord Meston, *The New Constitution of India*.

MAPS.—Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas*, plates 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 42; E. A. Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, plate 26.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Rousseau's <i>Le Contrat Social</i> ; Coal blast furnaces at Carron	1760	Orange River crossed by a European for the first time.
Canal-building in Great Britain	1761	
Peace of Paris	1763	
Stamp Act; Direct rule by English East India Company in Bengal	1765	
American Tea Tax; Hargreave's "Spinning Jenny"	1767	
Arkwright's "Water-frame"	1768	
Watt patents his Steam Engine	1769	
	1771	Death of Rijk Tulbagh; J. van Plettenberg (Gov'r.)
First Partition of Poland	1772	
North's Regulating Act; "Boston Tea-party" ..	1773	
Philadelphia Congress; Quebec Act	1774	
American War begins; Crompton's "mule" ..	1775	
American Declaration of Independence; Smith's <i>Wealth of Nations</i> ; Fall of Turgot	1776	
Surrender of Saratoga	1777	
France intervenes in American War	1778	Van Plettenberg's Beacon.
Spain intervenes in American War	1779	Burgher deputation to Holland; First Kaffir War.
Holland involved in American War; Armed Neutrality Yorktown	1781	French troops in Capetown.
Battle of the Saints; Irish Home Rule; Watt's "rotary motion"	1782	Paper money; Dutch East India Company pays its last dividend.
Treaty of Versailles	1783	
Pitt's India Act	1784	French troops withdrawn from Capetown.
Cotton-spinning by steam; Cartwright's "powerloom"	1785	Burgher deputation to Holland; C. van der Graaff (Governor).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Franco-British Commercial Treaty; Cornwallis in India	1786	Drostdy at Graaff Reinet.
British Association for Abolition of Slave Trade ..	1787	
New South Walcs founded	1788	
French Revolution begins; Washington first President of the U.S.A.	1789	Second Kaffir War.
Civil Constitution of the Clergy in France	1790	Colonists permitted to trade by sea.
Constitutional Act (Canada); Flight to Varennes ..	1791	Recall of van der Graaff.
Beginning of the Revolutionary Wars; France a Republic; Fox's Libel Act	1792	Nederbergh and Fr[ank]kenius at the Cape; Moravian Mission.
Reign of Terror; Second Partition of Poland; Whitney's "cotton-gin"	1793	A. J. Sluysken in charge of the Colony.
Thermidorian Reaction	1794	
French Invasion of Holland; Vendémiaire; Third Partition of Poland	1795	J. II. Craig (Commandant); Revolt of Graaff Reinet and Swellendam; First British Occupation.
Napoleon in Italy	1796	
Treaty of Campo Formio; Great Britain's "Black Year"	1797	Lord Macartney (Governor).
Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign; Battle of the Nile..	1798	
Napoleon First Consul	1799	London Missionary Society Mission; Sir G. Yonge (Governor till 1801).
Battle of Marengo; Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland	1800	Government Gazette (first newspaper).
Treaty of Lunéville; Battle of Copenhagen.. ..	1801	
Treaty of Amiens; Treaty of Basscin; The first steam-bout	1802	
Franco-British War; Louisiana Purchase; The first locomotive	1803	Rule by the Batavian Republic; J. W. Janssens (Governor).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz	1805	
Battle of Jena; Confederation of the Rhine ..	1806	Second British Occupation; D. Baird (Acting-Governor).
Battle of Friedland; Treaty of Tilsit; End of British Slave Trade	1807	End of slave importation; Earl of Caledon (Governor).
Beginning of the Peninsular War	1808	
Battle of Wagram; Lamarck's Theory of Evolution	1809	Caledon's Hottentot Ordinance.
Napoleon annexes Holland; British annex Mauritius	1810	
	1811	Circuit Courts; Sir J. Cradock (Governor).
Napoleon's Russian Campaign; Anglo-American War	1812	Cradock's Hottentot Ordinance; Black Circuit; Grahamstown founded.
War of Liberation; English Apprenticeship Acts abolished; Indian trade thrown open	1813	Quitrent tenure instituted.
Congress of Vienna meets	1814	Cape ceded to Great Britain; Lord Charles Somerset (Governor till 1826).
Battle of Waterloo; Holy Alliance; English Corn Laws	1815	Slachter's Nek Rebellion.
Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle; Macadamized roads ..	1818	
"Peterloo" and the Six Acts; First Steamship crosses the Atlantic	1819	The Ceded Territory.
	1820	The 1820 Settlers in Albany.
War of Greek Independence	1821	
Congress of Verona; Young Tories in power ..	1822	Philip's first report to London.
The Monroe Doctrine	1823	Commission of Inquiry arrives; Somerset's slave regulations; Owen at Delagoa Bay.
English Laws against Trade Unions repealed; British skilled workmen allowed to emigrate	1824	Dutch Reformed Church Synod meets; <i>South African Commercial Advertiser</i> published; Farewell at Port Natal.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Huskisson's Reciprocity policy; Machine-made tools; Erie Canal finished	1825	Council of Advice; Silver currency; Steamship in Table Bay.
Opening of Stockton-Darlington Railway	1826	Agitation for Representative Institutions begins.
Repeal of the Test Acts; Lord Bentinck in India ..	1828	Fiftieth Ordinance; First Charter of Justice; English the Official Language; Freedom of the Press; Sir Lowry Cole (Governor). Kat River Settlement.
Catholic Emancipation in United Kingdom; First Railway in U.S.A.	1829	
Revolutions in Paris and elsewhere; Whigs in office in England; French begin conquest of Algiers; "Rocket" locomotive	1830	
Belgian Independence; Mazzini's "Young Italy" movement; Garrison's Anti-Slavery Society in the U.S.A.	1831	
British Reform Act	1832	Crown lands to be sold by auction.
First British Factory Act; Emancipation Act; East India Company ceases to trade; Greece a kingdom	1833	
British Poor Law	1834	Commissie Treks; Sir B. D'Urban (Governor); Legislative Council; Slave Emancipation; Waterboer Treaty; Kaffir War.
Reformed Municipal Councils in Great Britain; Electric Telegraph	1835	Queen Adelaide Province; Trigard's Trek; Gardiner at Port Natal.
	1836	Thaba Nchu Constitution; Stockenstrom Treaty System.
Accession of Queen Victoria	1837	Republic of Winburg founded; Matabele twice defeated by Boers.
Durham's Report (Canada); Chartism in Great Britain	1838	Retief Massacre; Battle of Blood River; Republic at Potchefstroom; Sir G. Napier (Governor).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Belgian neutrality; Beginning of State Control of Education in England	1839	Herschel School System; Republic of Natal.
Union of the Two Canadas; British Penny Postage	1840	Federation of Trekker Republics.
First British Mines Act; Opening of China Tea Trade; Disaster in the Khyber Pass; Webster-Ashburton Treaty	1842	British Occupation of Port Natal.
	1843	Dutch Reformed Church freed from State Control; Road Boards in Cape Colony; Treaties with Moshesh and Adam Kok.
English Co-operative Movement	1844	The Thirty-three Articles; Sir P. Maitland (Govnr.); Treaty with Faku.
Irish Famine; First Sikh War	1845	British Annexation of Natal; Battle of Zwartkopjes; Andries-Ohrigstad Republic founded.
Repeal of the Corn Laws; U.S.A.-Mexican War ..	1846	War of the Axe; High Commissionership created.
Chloroform invented	1847	Sir H. Pottinger (High Commissioner); Sir H. Smith (H.C.); Frontier Settlement.
"The Year of Revolutions"; Gold in California; British Public Health Act	1848	Orange River Sovereignty proclaimed.
British Navigation Acts Repealed	1849	Anti-Convict Agitation; Transvaal Volksraad formed.
Prussian Constitution; Australian Colonies Act; Clay Compromise; Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.	1850	Kaffir War.
The Great Exhibition; Franco-British Submarine Cable; Louis Napoleon's <i>coup d'état</i> ; Gold rush to Australia.	1851	Battle of Vervoeet.
Second Napoleonic Empire; New Zealand Constitution Act; Stowe's <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i>	1852	Sand River Convention; Sir G. Cathcart (High Commissioner); Battle of Beroa.
	1853	Cape Parliamentary Constitution; Livingstone on the Zambesi (1853-56).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Crimean War ; Japan opened to trade	1854	Bloemfontein Convention ; Utrecht Republic organised ; Sir G. Grey (High Commissioner).
British Limited Liability Companies Act	1855	Cape Divisional Councils instituted.
Treaty of Paris ; Bessemer Steel	1856	Natal a Crown Colony.
Indian Mutiny	1857	S.A. Republic accepts Grondwet ; Rhenoster River Raid ; Cattle-killing.
End of Company rule in India	1858	First Treaty of Aliwal North ; Zoutpansberg accepts the Grondwet.
Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> ; Battles of Solferino and Magenta	1859	Failure of Grey's federation policy ; Beginning of Railways.
Garibaldi's Raid on Naples ; Anglo-French Commercial Treaty ; Lincoln President of the U.S.A.	1860	Lydenburg-Utrecht joins S.A. Republic ; Pretorius President of O.F.S. ; Natal imports Indian coolies.
First Italian Parliament meets ; Death of Cavour ; Russian serfs freed ; War of Secession begins.	1861	
Bismarck in power in Prussia ; British Limited Liability Banks.	1862	Sir P. Wodehouse (High Commissioner).
French invade Mexico	1863	
Danish War	1864	Eastern Districts Court established ; Transkei abandoned.
Slaves freed in the U.S.A. ; Murder of Lincoln ..	1865	Basuto War.
Seven Weeks War ; Atlantic Cable laid	1866	British Kaffraria annexed by Cape Colony ; Treaty of Thaba Bosigo.
North German Confederation ; Austro-Hungarian "Compromise" ; British Reform Act ; Fenians active ; British North America Act ; U.S.A. buys Alaska from Russia ; French leave Mexico ; Marx's <i>Das Kapital</i> (1867-83).	1867	Gold at Tati ; First Diamond found.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Revolution in Japan; Social Democratic Party in Germany.	1868	British Annexation of Basutoland.
Suez Canal opened; Union-Pacific Railway from Atlantic to Pacific finished.	1869	Second Treaty of Aliwal North; Ostriches hatched artificially.
Franco-German War	1870	"Dry Diggings" opened; Sir H. Barkly (High Commissioner).
German Empire proclaimed; British Education Act; British Trade Unions legalised	1871	Keate Award; Annexation of Griqualand West; Cape annexes Basutoland.
<i>Alabama</i> Arbitration Case	1872	Responsible Government in Cape Colony.
	1873	Railways; Langalibalele incident; University of the Cape of Good Hope founded; Afrikaans <i>Taal Beweging</i> begins.
	1874	Seven Circles Act.
Great Britain buys Khedive's Suez Canal shares ..	1875	Carnarvon's Confederation despatch; Delagoa Bay Award; <i>Di Patriot</i> founded.
Brussels Conference on Africa; Bell invents the telephone.	1876	Secocoeni War; London Conference; Settlement of Diamond Fields Dispute.
Russo-Turkish War; Parnell leader of the Irish Party; Queen Victoria becomes Empress of India ..	1877	Annexation of the Transvaal; Kaffir War; Sir Bartle Frere (High Commissioner).
Treaty of Berlin; French Scheme for a Panama Canal	1878	Walfisch Bay annexed.
Austro-German Alliance; Germany adopts Protection; Partition of Africa begins.	1879	Zulu War; Afrikander Bond founded.
Big steamships begin to be built	1880	Basuto War; Griqualand West annexed by Cape Colony; Transvaal War of Independence.
Irish Land Act; British North Borneo Company founded.	1881	Pretoria Convention; Sir H. Robinson (High Commissioner).
Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy; British in Egypt; Cold storage in ships.	1882	Republics of Stellaland and Goshen founded.

1875

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Congress of Berlin	1883 1884	Kruger President of Transvaal. London Convention; Germans annex South-West Africa; Cape takes over Walfisch Bay; New Republic founded; British annex St. Lucia Bay; H.M.G. takes over Basutoland.
Canadian-Pacific Railway finished; German East Africa Company.	1885	British Bechuanaland and Bechuanaland Protectorate proclaimed.
First Home Rule Bill (Ireland)	1886	Rand goldfields proclaimed.
First Colonial Conference	1887	New Republic joins S.A. Republic; British annex Zululand.
British East Africa Company founded	1888	Death of President Brand; De Beers Consolidated formed; Rudd Concession granted.
Panamerican Conference; Railways in China ..	1889	S.A.R.-O.F.S. Alliance; Cape-O.F.S. Customs Union; B.S.A. Charter granted; Sir H. Loch (High Commissioner).
Fall of Bismarck; First Japanese Parliament; Responsible Government in W. Australia.	1890	Rhodes Premier of the Cape; Pioneers occupy Mashonaland.
Trans-Siberian Railway begun	1891	
Second Home Rule Bill (Ireland); Women's Franchise in New Zealand.	1892	Cape Franchise reformed; Uitlander National Union formed.
Franco-Russian Alliance; Ottawa Conference; Chino-Japanese War.	1893	Responsible Government in Natal; Matabele War.
European intervention in China; Röntgen discovers X-rays	1894	Glen Grey Act.
Plague in India for the first time; Partition of China begins.	1895	Railway war; Drifts crisis; Cape annexes British Bechuanaland; Jameson Raid (December); Sir H. Robinson (High Commissioner).
	1896	Steyn President of O.F.S.; Matabele-Mashona rebellion.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Greco-Turkish war; Colonial Conference; Dreyfus Case.	1897	S.A.R.-O.F.S. Federal Alliance; Sir A. Milner (High Commissioner).
Spanish-American War; Omdurman and Fashoda; First German Naval Act.	1898	Natal joins Customs Union; S. Rhodesia Order-in-Council; Uitlander Agitation.
Hague Peace Conference	1899	Bloemfontein Conference; South African war begins.
Second German Naval Act; Australian Commonwealth Act; Boxer rising in China.	1900	British annex both Republics.
Death of Queen Victoria; Trans-Siberian Railway opened; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; U.S.A. Steel Corporation (Trust) founded.	1901	Beginning of Milner's policy of Reconstruction.
Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Colonial Conference; Baghdad Railway Scheme.	1902	Death of Rhodes; "Suspension" at the Cape; Peace of Vereeniging.
Irish Land Purchase Act; Panama Canal concession granted.	1903	S.A. Customs Union formed; S.A. Native Affairs Commission meets.
Anglo-French <i>Entente Cordiale</i> ; Russo-Japanese War begins; Nationalist agitation in India.	1904	Chinese Labour; Botha forms Het Volk party; Jameson takes office in the Cape.
First Morocco crisis; Revolution in Russia; Extension of Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Liberals take office in England.	1905	Lyttelton Constitution for the Transvaal; Steyn forms Die Oranje Unie party; Lord Selborne (High Commissioner).
Algeciras Conference; Duma in Russia; <i>Dreadnought</i> launched.	1906	Zulu rebellions; Self-government in Transvaal.
Second Hague Peace Conference; Colonial Conference; Russo-British <i>entente</i> .	1907	Selborne Memorandum; Self-government in O.R. Colony; Fall of Jameson's ministry; Transvaal Immigration Act; Passive resistance by Transvaal Indians.
"Young Turk" Revolution	1908	Transvaal Gold Law (Anti-Asiatic); Pretoria Conference; National Convention meets.
"Shining Armour"; Bleriot flies the Channel; Morley-Minto Reforms in India.	1909	South Africa Act passed; Transvaal-Mozambique Convention.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY.	A. D.	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.
Accession of George V.; Japan annexes Korea ..	1910	South African Union; Lord Gladstone (Governor-General and High Commissioner).
Agadir crisis; Italy takes Tripoli; British Parliament Act; Imperial Conference; Home Rule Bill; China becomes a Republic.	1911	
First Balkan War	1912	Botha-Hertzog quarrel.
Second Balkan War	1913	Natives Land Act; Rand Strikes.
The Great War begins; Panama Canal opened ..	1914	General strike; Smuts-Ghandi Agreement (Indians); War and Rebellion.
	1915	Union forces occupy South-West Africa.
	1916	
India attends the Imperial Conference; Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.	1917	
End of the Great War (November)	1918	
Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution in India; Treaty of Versailles.	1919	S.W. Africa Protectorate "mandated" to the Union by the League of Nations.
First Meeting of the League of Nations	1920	

TABLE OF REFERENCES COVERING MATRICULATION SYLLABUS.

PART A.

- (a) Social and economic conditions at the Cape at the end of the eighteenth century : pp. 74-85.
- (b) Constitutional development of South Africa : pp. 69-74, 125, 128-30, 206-7, 216-22, 235-7, 239, 243, 248-59, 289, 296, 306-7, 366, 369, 384 and Chapter XVI.
- (c) The main facts of our political history : pp. 92-99, 125-30, 143, 197, 199, 222-59, Chapters XII, XIV and XVI.
- (d) Native Policy : pp. 85-92, 96-7, 134-41, 222-33, 240-48, 252-54, 289-305, 347-9, 351-55, 358-59, 363-64, 405-7, 410, 412, 416, 418, 421-26, 430-32.
- (e) Extension of European Boundaries : pp. 78, 138-39, 226, 228, 230-48, 353, 359-66.
- (f) Political Relations of the South African States and Colonies with each other : pp. 239-42, 288-89, 296-305 and Chapters XIV and XVI.
- (g) Dealings with external Powers : pp. 94, 97-8, 128, 243, 361-70, 416, 428, 434, 438, 443, 445-46.
- (h) The influence of economic conditions on South Africa : pp. 74-85, 125-32, 139-43, 216, 220, 222-25, 233, 249-50, 253, 294-95, 306-7, 379-412, 416-22 and Chapter XIV.

PART B.

- (1) The American War of Independence and its consequences : Chap. II.
- (2) The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars and their results : Chapters I and III and pp. 100-12.
- (3) The Industrial Revolution and its results : pp. 1, 2, 9, 117-19, 141, Chapter VII, pp. 169-72, 175-76, 184-88, 195-214, 260 and references given below under Section (15).
- (4) The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine : pp. 108-19.

- (5) The Revolt against the Metternich System and the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 : Chapter VIII.
- (6) How India is governed to-day, with some reference to the last days of the East India Company : pp. 191-92, 283-85, 446-56. [Earlier references to India : pp. 4, 8, 36, 40, 120-24.]
- (7) France during the Second Empire : pp. 172-76, 261-74.
- (8) The Unification of Italy : pp. 114, 116, 168, 177-79, 262-63, 269-75.
- (9) Bismarck and the formation of the German Empire : pp. 112-13, 162, 168, 179-82, 264-73, 310-16, 329-31.
- (10) The growth of the United States in very simple outline : pp. 4, 10, 16, 27-40, 101, 105, 119, 194-95, 208-14, 275-80, 333-36, 434-38, 442-44.
- (11) The growth of democracy in England : pp. 113, 116, 157-61, 184-88, 280-81, 343, 376-88.
- (12) The constitutional development of the Dominions : pp. 29, 40-45, 195, 204-8, 216-22, 281-83, 340-43, 389, 438, 443, 445 and Chapter XVI.
- (13) The Scramble for Africa : pp. 324-33, 392-401, 434, 436, 445.
- (14) The development of modern Japan : pp. 4, 70, 192-95, 285-86, 337-40, 393, 433.
- (15) The influence of scientific and technical inventions in modern times : pp. 269, 271, 273, 279-89, 316-24, 373-79, 388-404, 416-22 and 433-55.
[See also references above under Section (3).]
- (16) The Approach of the Great War : pp. 310-16 and Chapter XV.

INDEX

- ABDUL HAMID II**, 311-2, 393, 398
Aborigines Committee, 207, 232
Abyssinia, 332, 442
Acre, 66
Act, Apprenticeship, 153, 159
 " **Australian Colonies**, 206
 " **British N. America**, 283
 " **Canada**, 205
 " **Constitutional (Canada)**, 42
 " **Emancipation**, 197
 " **Factory**, 174, 184-6, 321
 " **India**, 122
 " **Land (Irish)**, 386-7
 " **Merchant Shipping**, 281
 " **Navigation**, 27-8, 31, 159, 198-9
 " **Navy (German)**, 393, 396-7
 " **Parliament (British)**, 384
 " **Permissive Federation**, 352
 " **Public Health**, 186
 " **Punishment (Cape)**, 237
 " **Quebec**, 33, 44
 " **Reform (1832)**, 12, 158, 187, 281
 " **Reform (1884)**, 383
 " **Regulating (India)**, 121
 " **Six Acts, The**, 114, 218
 " **South Africa**, 275, 423-32
 " **Stamp**, 30-2
 " **Union (Ireland)**, 45
Adams, S., 34
Aden, 173
Adrianople, 401
Aeroplanes, 389
Afghans, 120, 192, 283, 336, 397, 438
Afrikaans, 82, 419-20, 423, 425
Agadir, 400
Alabama, 208, 277
Alaska, 9, 190, 208, 283
Albania, 401
Albany (C.P.), 141, 142, 221
Alexander I. 103, 106-8, 112, 115
Alexander II, 309-14
Alexander III, 314
Alexandria, 326
Algiers, 172, 176, 325, 396
Alliance, Dual, 314, 316, 392
Alliance, Triple, 314-5, 392
Alsace-Lorraine, 7, 55, 109, 273, 436
Amur, 285
Anarchists, *see* **Nihilism**, 313
Andaman Islands, 450
Andries-Obrigstad, *see* **Lydenburg**
Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 338, 393
Anti-Convict Agitation, 189, 250, 253
Antwerp, 21, 58, 60, 404
Appomatox, 279
Arabi Pasha, 326
Arbitration, 390
Argentine Republic, 117, 379, 390
Arkansas, 276-7
Arkwright, 152
Armed Neutrality, 36, 67
Armistice, The, 435
Arnot, David, 302-3, 348
Asquith, H. H. (Lord Oxford), 384, 398
Assam, 192, 450
Assembly, House of (Cape), 251, 406, 425, 427
Australia, 101, 201, 205-6, 267, 341-2, 375, 400, 417, 438, 445
 " **South**, 202, 206
 " **Western**, 202-3, 206, 281, 340-1
Austria-Hungary, 7, 21, 60-2, 66, 103, 106-7, 109-12, 116, 174, 180-1, 268-70, 309-15, 319, 379-80, 390, 395-8, 401-2, 435-9, 444
Austrian Netherlands, *see* **Belgium**
Aylward, A., 348, 350
BADAJOS, 106
Baghdad, 435
Baghdad Railway, 392-3, 397, 403, 444
Bakunin, 313
Balance of Power, 22
Balkanization, 437, 439

- Balkan Peninsula, 391-2, 396-7, 400-2
 Ballarat, 202
 Baltic Provinces, 437
 Baluchistan, 450
 Bantu, 86-91, 223-5, 301, 331
 Barkly, Sir Henry, 304-5, 349
 Barnard, Lady, 125
 Bastille, 52
 Basuto, 226, 244, 248, 253, 257, 289-90, 294, 297-301, 325, 347-8, 354-59, 367, 416, 430-32
 Batavian Republic, *see* Netherlands
 Bathurst, Earl, 141-2, 218, 223
 Batlapin, 225, 298, 303, 348
 Battle of Adowah, 332
 " the Aisne, 433
 " Alma, 262
 " Arcola, 63
 " Argaum, 124
 " Aspromonte, 267
 " Assaye, 124
 " Austerlitz, 103
 " Balaclava, 262
 " Baylen, 106
 " Berea, 256
 " Beresina, 107
 " Blaauwberg, 128
 " Blood River, 239
 " Boomah Pass, 254
 " Boomplaats, 248
 " Borodino, 107
 " Brandywine, 35
 " Bronkhorst Spruit, 356
 " Bunker's Hill, 34
 " Cambrai, 435
 " Camperdown, 65
 " Caporetto, 435
 " Castelfidardo, 263
 " Congella, 239, 243
 " Copenhagen, 67
 " Corunna, 106
 " Custozza, 178, 269
 " Delville Wood, 434
 " Eylau, 103
 " the Falkland Isles, 433
 " Ferrol, 102
 " Fleurus, 61
 " Friedland, 103
 " Gettysburg, 279
 " Ingogo, 356
 " Inkerman, 262
 " Battle of Isandhlwana, 354
 " Jemappes, 58
 " Jena, 103
 " Jutland, 434
 " Kambula, 354
 " Laing's Nek, 356
 " Laswaree, 124
 " Leipzig, 107
 " Lexington, 34
 " Ligny, 108
 " Lissa, 269
 " Lodi, 63
 " Magenta, 263
 " Majuba, 356
 " Marengo, 67
 " Marico, 237
 " the Marne, 433
 " Mentana, 271
 " Mosega, 236
 " Muizenberg, 98
 " Mukden, 339
 " Neerwinden, 60
 " the Nile, 66
 " Novara, 116, 179
 " Omdurman, 332
 " Plassey, 120
 " Porto Novo, 36
 " Porto Praya, 94
 " Princeton, 35
 " the Pyramids, 66
 " Quatre Bras, 108
 " Rivoli, 63
 " Rorke's Drift, 354
 " Sadowa, 269-70
 " the Saints, 36
 " St. Vincent, 65
 " Salamanca, 106
 " Saratoga, 35
 " Sedan, 273
 " Sinope, 262
 " Solferino, 263
 " the Somme, 434
 " Tel-el-Kebir, 326
 " Trafalgar, 102, 117
 " Trenton, 35
 " Ulundi, 355
 " Vechtkop, 235
 " Verdun, 434
 " Viervoet, 254
 " Vittoria, 106
 " Wagram, 106
 " Waterloo, 108
 " Wattignies, 61

- Battle of Wynberg, 98
 " Yorktown, 36
 " Zwartkopjes, 245
 Batum, 313
 Bavaria, 7, 270
 Bebel, 376
 Bechuanaland, 255, 302, 330, 359-
 63, 366-7, 416, 430-32
 Behar, 120, 450
 Beira, 368
 Belgium, 7, 21, 60, 63, 109, 169,
 270, 309, 318, 380, 390, 400,
 403-4, 433, 436, 444
 Bengal, 9, 120-2, 284-5, 448-50,
 453
 Bentham, J., 158
 Bentinck, Lord W., 192
 Bessarabia, 312
 Bessemer steel, 321-2
 Betheldorp, 136-8
 Bethmann-Hollweg, 400, 404
Birkenhead, 254
 Bisnarck, 182, 261, 266-73, 301,
 310-18, 326, 329-31, 347, 361-3,
 373-6, 391, 395
 Black Circuit, 138
 Blanc, L., 171, 175
 Bleriot, 389
 Block Drift, 246-7
 Bloemfontein, 246, 289, 417, 424,
 428
 Bloemhof Arbitration, 304-7
 Blood River Territory, 298, 348-
 50, 354
 Blücher, 108
 Bohemia, 7, 180-1
 Bolivar, 117
 Bolshevism, 377-8, 435-6
 Bombay, 121, 446, 450
 Bond, Afrikander, 357-8, 364, 371,
 409
 Borneo, 193
 Boshof, J. N., 290, 294
 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 311-2, 315,
 395-8, 402
 Boston, 29, 32-5, 212
 Botha, Gen. L., 419-20, 425
 Boulogne Flotilla, 102
 Boulton, 154-6
 Bourke, 217, 222, 225
 Boxer Rising, 338
 Boycotting, 386
 Brand, C., 220-1, 249-50
 Brand, J. H., 299, 300, 303-5,
 346, 350, 364.
 Brazil, 106, 117, 119, 438, 443
 Bright, J., 198
 British Columbia, 282-3
 British Empire, 438, 444
 British Kaffraria, 247, 251-3,
 290-6, 307, 325
 British Occupation, 96, 125, 128
 British South Africa Company,
 323, 332, 366-9, 417, 422
 Brown, J. (Ontario), 283
 Brown, J. (U.S.A.), 276
 Brunswick, Duke of, 56
 Buenos Ayres, 117
 Bulgaria, 311-5, 397-8, 401-2,
 435
 Bund, 109, 112, 179-82, 268-9
 Burgers, Rev. T. F., 305, 346-51
 Burger, J. J., 255
 Burgher Senate, 125, 129, 131,
 217, 220
 Burgoyne, 35
 Burke, 12, 26, 32, 43, 60
 Burma, 283, 336, 450
 Burnshill, 247
 Bushmen, 80, 85-6, 134-6
 Buxton, T. F., 196-7, 223
 CABINET, 13-16, 25, 29, 381, 425
 Cabul, 192, 336,
 Calcutta, 121-22, 191, 446, 449
 Caledon, Earl of, 128-9, 132, 137
 Calhoun, 213-4
 California, 9, 208, 213-4, 276
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H., 384,
 419-20
 Campbell Lands, 226, 302-4
 Canada, 9, 27, 31-5, 40, 200, 204-
 7, 281-2, 344, 417
 Candahar, 336
 Canning, G., 116, 119, 198
 Canning, Lord, 284-5
 Cape Colony, 2, 5, 8, 14-5, 30,
 39-40, 67-99, 103, 108, 125-42,
 154, 189, 195-9, 204-7, 211,
 215-35, 242-56, 279, 282, 284,
 288-95, 299-307, 321, 324-5,
 329-33, 343-72, 405-10, 414-17,
 420-2, 427-9, 451
 Capetown, 72-3, 77, 423-5
Capital (Das Kapital), 375

- Caprivi, 315
 Carnavon, Lord, 283, 342, 347-51
 Carnot, 58
 Carron Works, 153
 Cartwright, 152
 Castlereagh, Lord, 108, 116
 Cathcart, Sir G., 256, 290
 Catherine II, 11, 19-22, 36, 55, 165
 Catholic Emancipation, 44
 Cattle killing, 292
 Cavour, 178, 262-3
 Cawnpore, 284, 446
 Ceded Territory, 141-2, 226-7, 230, 233, 246-7
 Cetewayo, 298, 350-4, 363
 Ceuta, 325, 396
 Ceylon, 68, 84
 Chaka, 225-8
 Chamberlain, J., 342-4, 355, 368-72, 387-93, 417
 Charles X, 53, 116
 Charles Albert, 178-9
 Charleston, 277
 Chartism, 187-8
 Chatham, Lord, 12, 26, 29
 Chelmsford, Lord, 355, 454-5
 China, 4, 192-3, 285, 337-9, 379-80, 441-4, 455
 Chinese Labour, 418-9
 Church, Dutch Reformed, 72-3, 130-2, 219, 240, 249, 255, 258
 Church of England, 73
 Cisalpine Republic, 63
 Ciudad Rodrigo, 106
 Civil Commissioners, 217
 Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 54
 Clay Compromise, 212-4
 Clerk, Sir G., 257
 Cleveland, President, 334
 Clive, Lord, 9, 120-1
 Cloete, H., 243-5, 259
 Coalition, First, 64
 Coalition, Second, 66
 Cobbett, W., 170, 185-7
 Cobden, R., 198
 Cochin-China, 285
 Code Napoleon, 101
 Cole, Sir L., 221, 224, 227
 Colley, Sir G. P. 356
 Colombia, 334-6
 Commission of Inquiry, 143, 216-9
 Committee of Public Safety, 60
 Communism, 171, 175, 274, 377-8
 Compromise of 1867, 270
 Concert of Europe, 390
 Confederate States, 277
 Confederation, *see* Federation.
 Confederation of the Rhine, 103
 Conference, Algeciras (1906), 396, 400
 „ Berlin (1884), 330
 „ Bloemfontein (1899), 372
 „ Bloemfontein Customs, (1903), 418
 „ Brussels (1876), 327-8
 „ Brussels (1890), 331
 „ Colonial and Imperial, 343, 389, 417, 439, 454
 „ Hague Peace, 390, 402
 „ Nooitgedacht (1870), 304
 „ Ottawa (1894), 343
 „ Pretoria (1908), 422
 „ Pan American (1889), 389
 „ Washington (1921), 436
 Congo Free State, 327-31
 Congo (French), 403
 Congress (U.S.A.), 34, 37
 Congress of Vienna (1814-15), 107-8, 111-3, 196
 Conquered Territory, 300
 Constantinople, 165, 262, 311-2, 395, 398, 401
 Continental System, 103-7, 198
 Convention of Bloemfontein (1854) 256-7, 292
 „ London (1884), 361, 368, 370-2
 „ Pretoria (1881), 357
 „ Sand River (1852), 254-5, 292
 Cook, Capt., 75, 201
 Co-operation, 171-2, 187-8, 281
 Coote, Sir E., 36
 Corn Laws, 199
 Cornwallis, Lord, 122-3
 Council of Advice, 216, 220, 406
 Council, Divisional, 252, 428
 „ Intercolonial, 417
 „ Legislative, 219, 221, 223, 250-1, 406
 „ Municipal, 222, 249
 Council of Policy, 71-3, 84

- Council of the Seventeen, 70, 95
 Council, Vatican, 275
 Court, Circuit, 129, 138, 217
 " Commission of the High, 94
 " High, 71-3, 94, 125-8, 217
 " Landdrosts and Heemraden
 71-3, 78, 82, 94, 125-9, 142,
 217
 " Matrimonial, 71, 82
 " Permanent C. of Inter-
 national Justice, 438, 440
 " Petty, 71
 " Resident Magistrates, 217
 " Supreme, 217
 Courts, Union Law, 414, 417, 427
 Cradock, Sir J., 130-2, 137-9
 Craig, 98, 134
 Crete, 312, 397-8, 401
 Crimea, The, 165, 260-2, 390
 Croats, 179-81, 397
 Crompton, 152
 Cuba, 31, 334-6
 Curzon, Lord, 452
 Customs Union (S.A.), 364-72,
 418, 421
 Cyprus, 313
- DALHOUSIE, LORD**, 192, 283-4
 Danton, 52, 56, 61
 Dardanelles, 395, 401, 434
 Darwin, C., 266
 Davis, Jefferson, 277
 Davy, Sir H., 153
 De Beers Consolidated Co., 365
 De Brazza, 329
 Declaration of Independence, 34-6
 Delagoa Bay, 228, 235, 255, 301-2,
 347-50, 364, 367, 423
 Delcassé, 396
 Delhi, 285, 447-50
 De Mist, 126-7, 131, 136
 Denmark, 8, 109, 268, 309, 375,
 436
 Derby, Earl of, 362
 Derdepoort, 255
 Desmoulins, 52
 De Villiers, Lord, 307, 346, 357,
 414-5, 423, 428
 Diamond Fields, 346-8, 421
 Diarchy, Indian, 455
 Diderot, 17
 Dingaan, 231, 238-9
 Dinizulu, 363, 423
- Directory, 61-7
 Disraeli, B., 185, 198, 281, 311-2,
 342, 347, 355
 Dominions, British, 437-8, 443-6
 Donkin, Sir R., 141-2
Dreadnought, 396
 Dred Scott Case, 276
 Dreikaiserbund, 310, 314
 Dreyfus, 380
 Drifts Crisis, 368
 Duma, 378
 Dumouriez, 58-60
 Dundas, General, 135
 D'Urban, Sir B., 221, 224-5, 228-
 32, 237-8
 Durham, Lord, 205
 Du Toit, Rev. S. J., 358, 362
- EASTERN FRONTIER**, 92-4, 99, 138-
 40, 222-6, 242, 246, 253, 290,
 352-3
 East India Co. (Dutch), 14, 69-70,
 79-83, 92-4, 98, 108, 126
 East India Co. (English) 9, 27, 32,
 36, 58, 65, 120, 191, 285
 East India Co. (French), 9
 Edward VII, 393
 Egypt, 63-7, 172, 325-6, 393-6,
 438, 451
 Electricity, 156. *See* Telegraph.
 Elgin, Lord, 205, 340
 Elphinstone, 98
 Encyclopaedists, 16-7
 Entente Cordiale, 392, 396, 404
Enterprise, 55, 143
 Enver Bey, 398
 Evangelical Revival, 60
- FABIAN SOCIETY**, 377
 Fairbairn, J., 218-21, 249-50
 Faku, 242-3, 246, 290
 Farewell, 228
 Fascisti, 441
 Fashoda, 332
 Federation, Australia, 205-6, 281,
 341-2
 " Canada, 204-5, 281-3
 " Germany, 178-82,
 264-74
 " South Africa, 207,
 289-95, 342, 346-57,
 364-72, 416-24

- Federation, U.S.A., 36-40, 53,
208-14, 275-80
" British Imperial, 340-4
Fenians, 283, 349, 386
Ferdinand of Bulgaria, 313, 398
Feuillants, 54-6
Field Cornets, 72-3, 127, 217
Fingos, 227, 231, 242, 247, 253-4,
290, 296, 353-5
Finland, 8, 103, 108
Fiscal, 71, 126, 217
Fischer, A., 420
Florida, 9, 36, 208, 276-7
Foch, Marshal, 435
Formosa, 337, 341
Fort Beaufort, 227, 242
Fort Sumter, 277
Fort Willshire, 141-2, 246
Fox, C. J., 42, 58, 132
France, 4-6, 15-7, 36, 47-68, 172-
6, 261-74, 279, 285, 309-11,
315-8, 326-33, 336-8, 367, 376-
80, 390-2, 395-6, 400-2, 433,
436-8, 441, 444
Francis, Emperor, 56
Francis Ferdinand, Archduke, 402
Francis Joseph, 181
Franco-German War, 271
Franklin, B., 29, 32-3
Frederic the Great, 11, 19-22
Frederic William II, 55
Frederic William III, 113
Frederic William IV, 181-2
Free Trade, 197-8, 317
French Revolution, 21-2, 47-68
Frere, Sir B. 351-5, 406
Froude, 349
Frykenius, 95

GAËTA, 263
Gaika, 135, 140, 246-7, 254, 292,
353
Galeka, 89, 246, 292, 296, 353
Gambetta, 273
Gandhi, 421
Gardiner, Capt. A., 231, 238
Garibaldi, 179, 263, 267, 271
Garrison, W. L., 212
Genadendal, 88, 97, 132
Geneva, 438, 441
George III, 24-5, 30, 44-5, 68, 148
Georgia, 28, 209, 277
German East Africa, 330, 434
German Empire, 273, 309-10,
318-9, 329, 333, 337, 367, 370,
374-5, 379-82, 390-3, 396-8,
400, 404, 422, 433-8, 442-4
German Legion, 292
German South-West Africa, 72, 86,
88, 298-301, 330, 347, 361-3,
421, 428, 434, 445
Germany, 4, 8, 112-3, 162, 168,
179-82, 264-73, 309-16, 329-
331. See German Empire.
Gibraltar, 8, 27, 36
Girondins, 55, 58, 61
Gladstone, W. E., 199, 280, 311,
383, 386-7
Glennelg, Lord, 231-2, 237
Godlonton, R., 249-52
Goldfields, 202, 346, 364-72, 418,
422
Gordon, General, 327
Goshen, 359-63
Graaff-Reinet, 94-9, 134-5, 223
Grahamstown, 139-42, 242-3, 295,
414
Grant, General, 279-80
Grattan, 44
Gray, Bishop, 249
Great Britain, *passim*.
Great Exhibition, 260
Great War, 433-5, 454
Greig, G., 218-9
Grenville, 25, 29
Greece, 165, 309, 312, 397, 401,
442
Grey, Earl, 160, 249-50, 254
Grey, Sir E., 398, 403
Grey, Sir G., 202, 206, 252, 289-97
Griqua, 82, 87, 134, 138, 225-6,
229, 244, 248, 252-3, 298, 302,
348
Griqualand West, 302-6, 325, 346-
52, 355, 414
Grondwet, O.F.S., 257, 413
Grondwet, Transvaal, 258, 413
Guam, 334
Guano, Islands, 361
Guiana, British, 108
Guizot, 175
Gurkhas, 284

HAGUE, THE, 390, 402, 438
Haldane, R., (Lord), 398, 400
Hamilton, A., 37, 117, 210

- Hanover, 269
 Hardenberg, 106-8
 Hare, Colonel, 242, 247
 Hargreaves, 153
 Hawaii, 334
 Hayti, 132
 Hebert, 61
 Heemraden. *See* Courts.
 Heligoland, 108
 Henry, P., 34
 Herero, 88, 298, 361
 Herschel, Sir John, 249
 Hertzog, Gen. J. B. M., 419-20, 422, 425
 Het Volk Party, 419-20
 High Commissionership, 248, 415-6
 Hintsä, 230
 Hlubi, 225
 Hoffman, J. P., 258, 289
 Hofmeyr, J. H., 343, 352, 358, 364-5, 369, 406, 409, 419, 422-3
 Hogge, Major, 254-6
 Holland. *See* Netherlands.
 Holy Alliance, 108-19
 Home Rule, 383-8, 455
 Hongkong, 193-4, 285
 Hottentots, 80-1, 86-8, 134-9, 222-4, 229, 254, 290, 298, 361
 Hudson Bay Co., 201, 282-3
 Hungary. *See* Austria-Hungary.
 Huskisson, 159, 222
 Hyderabad, 123, 451
 Hyder Ali, 36, 122
- ILLINOIS**, 208, 214
 India, 4, 8, 36, 40, 120-4, 191-2, 283-5, 339, 410, 438, 441-56
 Indiana, 208
 Indian Mutiny, 284-5, 294, 451
 Indians, (S.A.), 410, 418, 421
 Independent Labour Party, 377, 383
 Industrial Revolution, 1, 2, 9, 117-9, 141, 144-57, 169-72, 175-6, 184-8, 195, 214, 260, 269, 271-3, 279-89, 316-324
 Intellectual Co-operation, Committee for, 441
 Internationalism, 388-90
 International Labour Organisation, 441
- International Law, 111
 Ionian Islands, 63-5, 68, 108, 312
 Iowa, 276
 Ireland, 28, 36, 40-3, 59, 188-9, 211, 383-8
 Ismail, 325
 Italy, 62-3, 103, 109, 114-6, 168, 177-9, 262-3, 269-75, 309, 315, 319, 329, 332, 376, 380, 390-2, 400-3, 434-5, 438, 442
- JACKSON, A.**, 210
 Jacobins, 52, 56, 60-1
 Jamaica, 197
 Jameson, Dr. (Sir) L. S., 369, 407, 420, 422,
 Jameson Raid, 263, 342, 345, 367-9, 409
 Janssens, General, 126-8, 131-2, 136-8
 Japan, 4, 70, 192-5, 285-6, 337-41, 379, 393, 433, 436, 438, 441-4, 453-5
 Jefferson, T., 35, 119
 Jesuits, 19, 110, 173, 194
 Joint Stock Co., 184
 Joseph Bonaparte, 103, 106
 Joseph II, 19, 20
 Joubert, P., 356, 365, 371
 Jugo-Slavia, 443. *See* Serbia.
- KAFFIR.** *See* Bantu.
 Kaffir War, 224, 229, 246-7, 251-3, 256
 Kansas-Nebraska, 275-6
 Kars, 313
 Kashmir, 192
 Kat River Settlement, 224, 254
 Keate Award, 303-5, 347-8, 350
 Kentucky, 208, 277
 Khartum, 327, 332
 Khyber Pass, 192
 Kiauchau, 338-9, 433
 Kiel Canal, 400-3
 Kimberley, 304-6, 348-50, 414
 King's Friends, 25-6
 Kingwilliamstown, 230, 292
 Kitchener, Lord, 332
 Klipdrift, 303
 Kok, Adam, 226, 244-8, 257, 297-8, 302

- Kok, C., 226, 302
 Koranas, 87, 348
 Korea, 337-9, 444
 Kosi Bay, 366-7
 Kossuth, L., 180
 Kotze, Sir J., 414-5
 Kreli, 246-7, 254, 292, 296
 Kruger, S. J. P., 235, 297-8, 351-4,
 362-72, 405, 413-5
 Ku-Klux-Klan, 280
 Kultur, 264, 373
 Kuruman, 225
 Kwangchow, 338
- LAFAYETTE**, 47, 52-3
 Lahore, 192
 Landdrost. *See* Courts.
 Langalibalele, 348
 Language, Official, 129, 218, 419-
 20, 423, 425
 Lassalle, 374-6
 La Vendée, 48, 60-1
 Lawrence, John, 285
 League of Nations, 437-45
 Lee, General, 277, 279
 Legislative Assembly (France), 54,
 56
 Lenin, 378
 Leonard, C., 367
 Leopold of Austria, 55
 Leopold II, 327-30
 Leribe, 300
 Letelle, Jan, 293, 297
 Lesoana, 299
 Letsie, 300-1
 Liaotung, 337, 339
 Liberalism, 112-5, 127, 143, 260,
 270-1, 309, 373, 383,
 Liberia, 333
 Ligurian Republic, 63
 Lincoln, Abraham, 276-9
 Lindley, D., 240
 Livingstone, D., 293
 Lloyd George, D., 384
 Loan places, 79
 Lobengula, 366
 Loch, Sir H., 366-8
 Lombardy. *See* Milan.
 Louis XV, 19
 Louis XVI, 19, 50-8
 Louis XVIII, 107-9, 113
 Louis Napoleon, 103
 Louis Phillipe, 172-5
- Louisiana, 9, 27, 31, 39, 101, 207-9
 275-7
 Lüderitz, 361-3
 Lüderitzbucht, 126, 361-2
 Luxembourg, 270-1, 390, 403, 444
 Lydenburg, 248, 255, 258, 297-8
 Lyttelton Constitution, 419
 Lytton, Lord, 294
- MACARTNEY, LORD**, 134
 Macaulay, Lord, 192
 MacDonald, J., 283
 Mackenzie, Rev. J., 362
 Mackenzie, W., 205
 Mackinley, President, 317
 MacMahon, 273-4, 350
 Macomo, 142, 227-30
 Madagascar, 84, 92
 Madras, 121-22, 446, 450
 Mahdi, The, 327
 Mahrattas, 123, 191
 Mahura, 303
 Maine, 208-9
 Maitland, Sir P., 246-7
 Makwana, 235
 Malacca, 70, 192
 Malay Peninsula, 333
 Malays, 73, 78, 84
 Malta, 63, 66-7, 102, 108
 Malthus, 158, 200
 Manchuria, 337-9
 Mandates, 445
 Manin, 178-9
 Manitoba, 283
 Mankoroane, 359
 Mansfield, Lord, 131
 Mantatis, 225
 Maori, 203-4
 Maria Theresa, 22
 Marie Antoinette, 50, 55-6, 60
 Maritime Provinces, 282
 Maritz, G., 226, 235-6
 Marseilles, 56, 60
 Marx, K., 175, 375, 378, 391
 Maryland, 28, 277, 279
 Mashonas, 331, 365-6
 Massachusetts, 29, 30, 379
 Matabele, 231-2, 235-7, 332, 365-6
 Mauritius, 65, 70, 92, 109, 195
 Maximilian, Emperor, 268, 271
 Maynier, 96, 97, 135
 Mazzini, 177-9, 262
 Meerut, 284

- Mehemet Ali, 172-3
 Melville, 225
 Menzies, Judge, 245
Merrimac, 279
 Merriman, J. X., 420-3
 Mesopotamia, 395, 434
 Metternich, 108, 112-5, 166-8, 180-1
 Metz, 54, 273
 Meyer, L., 363
 Mexico, 208, 213, 267-8, 271, 279, 379, 438
 Milan, 63, 109, 178, 263
 Milner, Sir A. (Lord), 370-2, 384, 406, 416-20.
 Minorca, 8, 27, 36
 Mirabeau, 53
 Missionaries' Road, 293, 301-5
 Mission, Berlin, 225
 " Glasgow, 225
 " L.M.S., 195, 132, 137-8, 225-6, 234, 237, 246, 293
 " Moravian, 88, 97, 133, 137
 " Paris Evangelical, 226, 237, 245, 299-300
 " Rhenish, 225, 298
 " Wesleyan, 225, 237, 244, 253
 Mississippi, 208, 277
 Missouri Compromise, 208-9, 212
 Moffat, R., 225
 Mogul, 8, 9, 284-5
 Molteno, Sir J., 295, 306-7, 349-53
Monitor, 277
 Monroe Doctrine, 116-9, 267, 271
 Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 446-56
 Montenegro, 312, 401
 Montesquieu, 16, 29
 Montsiaoa, 303, 359-62
 Moore, Sir J., 106
 Morley-Minto Reforms, 449, 453
 Mormons, 214, 233
 Mornington, Lord, 123
 Morocco, 315, 325, 392-3, 396-400
 Moroko, 235, 244, 253
 Moscow, 107
 Moshesh, 244-5, 248, 252-7, 290-3, 296-301
 Mosilikazi, 225, 231
 Mountain, The, 55-8
 Mozambique, 84, 225, 228, 416
 Murat, 106, 109
 Mussolini, 442
 Mysore, 36, 122-3
 NAMAQUA-DAMARALAND. *See* German S.W. Africa.
 Napier, Sir G., 238, 242, 245-6
 Naples, 8, 63, 66, 103, 109, 114, 179
 Napoleon I, 48, 61-8, 100-12, 174
 Napoleon III, 174-9, 261-3, 267-72, 279
 Natal, 206, 225, 228, 238-43, 246, 255, 258-9, 290, 294-5, 299-301, 306, 324, 340, 347-50, 354-7, 364, 371, 410, 415-23, 426, 429, 446
 National Assembly (French), 52-4
 National Assembly (German), 182
 National Convention (French), 57-61, 101
 National Convention (S.A.), 422-4 430
 National Guards, 52
 National Union, 367-369
 Nationalism, 162-4, 260, 270, 309, 374
 Nationalist Congress (India), 452-54
 Native Affairs Commission (S.A.), 418
 Ndhlambi, 96, 139-40
 Necker, 51
 Nederbergh, 95
 Nelson, 66-7, 102
 Netherlands, 5, 7, 11, 14, 36, 60-3, 70, 92-4, 98, 103, 106, 109, 309, 380
 Netherlands Railway Co., 364, 369 417
 New Brunswick, 40, 205, 282
 New Caledonia, 190, 267
 New England, 28, 35
 Newfoundland, 40, 205, 282-3, 393
 New Guinea, 333, 341, 445
 New Orleans, 277
 New Republic, 359-64
 New South Wales, 201-6, 341-2
 New York, 28-31, 35-7, 211, 321
 New Zealand, 203, 206-7, 281, 342, 375, 400, 445
 New Zealand Association, 204-6

- Nicholas I, 173, 181, 190, 261
 Nicholas II, 316, 378, 434
 Nihilism, 313
 Nine Articles, The, 236
 Nomansland, 290, 292, 295-8
 Nore, Mutiny of the, 44, 63
 North Carolina, 28, 209, 277
 North German Confederation, 270
 North, Lord, 27, 44, 121
 Norway, 8, 109, 309
 Nova Scotia, 40, 205, 282
 Novi Bazar, 312, 397-8, 401
- O'CONNELL, D.**, 159, 188
 Old Colonial System, 27, 40, 43, 198
 Ontario, 40-2, 201, 204, 282
 Orange Free State, 289, 293, 306, 333, 348-52, 355, 367, 369, 384, 409-22, 426, 429
 Orange River Sovereignty, 244-48, 252-57
 Oranje Unie, Die, 419
 Ordinance, Fiftieth, 223, 234, 251
 Ordinance, Trinidad, 196, 223
 Oregon, 208, 276
 Orleans, Duke of, 52, 60
 Orphan Chamber, 71, 217
 Otis, James, 32
 Oudh, 123, 283
 Owen, C. M., 254-6
 Owen, Robert, 170-1, 187-8
 Owen, Captain, 228
- PAINÉ, TOM**, 35, 59, 170, 187
 Palmerston, Lord, 173
 Panama Canal, 267, 334-36, 390
 Pan-Americanism, Germanism, etc., 389-93
 Panda, 239-43, 288, 299
 Papal States, 63, 103, 109, 114, 179, 263, 275
 Paper Money, 53, 61, 94-5, 126-7, 130, 216, 249, 295
 Papineau, L., 204
 Paris, 5, 52-6, 174-5, 269-74, 318
 Parliament, British, 10-14, 24-6, 32, 42-5, 53, 112-4, 159-61, 184, 188, 280-1, 380-8
 Parliament, Cape, 207, 215-21, 249-52, 306-7, 405-11, 417
 Parliament, Union, 424-8
- Parnell, C. S., 386
 Peel, Sir. R., 198-9
 Peishwa, 123, 191
 Peking, 285, 337-38
 Peninsular War, 106
 Pennsylvania, 28, 34, 209
 Perry, Commander, 195
 Persia, 190, 336, 380, 397
 Peterloo, 114
 Philadelphia, 34-7
 Philip, John, 138-39, 143, 218, 221-24, 229-31, 245
 Philippines, 334
 Philippolis, 226, 244, 252, 297, 302, 334
 Physiocrats, 15-18
 Pichegru, 61, 98
 Piedmont. *See* Sardinia.
 Pietermaritzburg, 239, 243, 414
 Pilnitz, Declaration of, 55
 Pitt, William, 12, 40, 44-5, 56-60, 63, 67, 122, 131-2, 158-60
 Pius IX, Pope, 178
 Place, Francis, 159-60
 Plevna, 312
 Poland, 8, 22-3, 58, 60, 103, 108, 113, 173, 181, 268, 436, 443
 Pombal, 19
 Pondo, 88, 231, 290, 353, 363-4
 Port Arthur, 337-39
 Port Elizabeth, 135, 141-42
 Porter, W., 250-51
 Porto Rico, 334
 Port St. John's, 353, 364
 Portugal, 5, 66, 106, 117, 301, 329-30, 350, 379, 403, 416, 442
 Portuguese East Africa. *See* Mozambique.
 Potchefstroom, 239, 244, 248, 258, 288, 298, 356
 Potgieter, A. H., 235-9, 244, 248, 254-55, 258
 Pottinger, Sir H., 247
 Press, The, 72, 126, 192, 218, 221, 272, 381-3
 Pretoria, 258, 356, 422, 425
 Pretorius, A. W., 239, 241, 248, 254-5, 258, 293
 Pretorius, M. W., 258, 288, 297-8, 301, 304-5, 356
 Prince Edward Island, 40, 199, 205, 282-3
 Pringle, T., 218-9

- Prize Negroes, 132
 Progressive Party, 409, 417-20
 Protection, 316-7, 374
 Province, Eastern, 78, 95, 217, 222, 232, 249-52, 295-96, 307, 347, 349.
 Province, Western, 78, 251, 307
 Provincial System, 428-30
 Prussia, 7, 11, 58-61, 103, 106-10, 181-82, 264, 433
 Prussianism, 391
 Public Safety, Committee of, 60
 Punjab, 120, 192, 283, 285, 448, 450
- QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE, 111-12**
 Quebec, 33, 204, 282
 Queen Adelaide Province, 230-32
 Queenstown, 290
 Quitrent, 139-41
- RAILWAYS, 153, 156-7, 269, 271,**
 283, 286, 294, 307, 314-22, 331,
 337, 346, 350, 364-72, 392-3,
 403, 417, 420-2, 428, 444
 Rand, 379, 417-8, 421
 Rarabe, 89, 92, 96
 Redmond, John, 387
 Reign of Terror, 60
 Reitz, F. W. (Senior), 250
 Reitz, President F. W., 365, 371, 425
 Reprisal System, 232, 242
 Responsible Government, 29, 42, 252, 306-7, 418
 Retief, Piet, 226, 233-8, 241
 Revolutionary Tribunal, 60
 Rhenoster River Raid, 288
 Rhodes, C. J., 331-3, 342, 361-2, 365-72, 393, 406-11
 Rhodesia, N., 332
 Rhodesia, S., 72, 332, 340-2, 345-7, 365-71, 415-8, 422-3, 430-2
 Ripon, Lord, 452
 Robespierre, 55, 61
 Robinson, Sir H., 356-7, 362, 368
 Rockingham, Lord, 32, 44
 Rodney, 36
 Roman-Dutch Law, 72, 79, 125, 129, 217, 415-7
 Roosevelt, President, 339
- Rousseau, 17-8, 58
 Rudd Concession, 366
 Ruhr, The, 436
 Rumania, 262, 309, 312-5, 319, 397, 434
 Rumelia, Eastern, 313-5
 Russell, Lord J., 199, 205
 Russia, 4, 8, 11, 58-60, 66, 103, 272, 283-5, 309-16, 319, 327, 336-9, 378-80, 392-8, 401-3, 433, 437-8, 444, 453
 Russo-Japanese War, 339, 433
 Rustenburg, 255, 298
- SAGHALIEN, 337-9**
 St. Helena, 108
 St. Lucia Bay, 239, 243, 255, 288, 330, 363
 St. Simon, 171
 Salisbury, 366
 Salonika, 311, 395, 398, 401
 Samoa, 445
 Sandile, 246-7, 254, 292
 Sarajevo, 401
 Sardinia, 7, 60-3, 109, 114, 179, 263
 Saxony, 7, 109
 Scharmhorst, 106
 Scheldt, 21, 58, 60
 Schleswig-Holstein, 268-9, 436
 Schoeman, 297-8
 Schoemansdal, 255, 300
 Schreiner, W. P., 371, 423
 Schwarzenberg, 181
 Scientific Colonisation, 199
 Scramble for Africa, 324-33, 392-401
 Sebastopol, 262, 310
 Secession, War of, 275
 Seocoeni, 351-4
 Selborne, Lord, 419-20, 426
 Senate (Union), 425-7
 September Massacres, The, 57
 Serbia, 309-13, 380, 397-8, 401-3, 434, 443
 Seringapatam, 66, 123
 Settlers (1820), 133, 141-2, 199, 218
 Seven Weeks War, 269
 Shaftesbury, 186
 Shangaans, 225, 301
 Shanghai, 194

- Shantung, 338
 Shepstone, Sir T., 258-9, 290, 348, 351-5
 Shogun, The, 194-5, 286
 Siam, 337, 393
 Sicily, 263
 Sikhs, 120, 123, 192, 284
 Sikonyela, 238, 245, 248, 252-3, 257
 Simla, 449
 Singapore, 192
 Slachters Nek, 139-40
 Slaves, 58, 75, 78, 81, 85, 88, 111, 130-3, 196, 208-9, 213-4, 220-4, 234, 275-9, 293, 327, 331
 Sluysken, 95, 98
 Smellekamp, 243
 Smith, Adam, 32, 59, 158
 Smith, Sir Harry, 192, 230-1, 247-54
 Smith, Sir Sidney, 66
 Smuts, Gen. J. C., 371, 420-2, 437
Social Contract, The, 18, 49
 Socialism, 169-71, 175, 185, 271, 329, 374-7, 391, 402, 418-20
 Somerset, Lord C., 129-30, 133, 137-42, 214, 218-9, 228
 Sorel, Georges, 377-8
 South Africa, 72, 273, 281, 308, 342-4, 379, 393, 415, 420-31, 433, 441-2, 445
 South African War, 342, 345, 371-2, 393
 South Carolina, 28, 209, 277
 South Sea Islands, 333
 South-West Africa. *See* German South-West Africa.
 Southey, Sir R., 304-6
 Soviets, 378, 437
 Spain, 5, 9, 19, 31, 35-6, 60-1, 65, 106, 113-16, 272, 309, 325, 334, 396, 437, 442
 Spithead, Mutiny at, 65
 Sprigg, Sir G., 353-6, 369, 407
 Stanley, H., 325-9
 State Action, 373
 States General, 10, 51
 Steamships, 143, 154, 156, 215, 279, 321-2
 Stein, 106
 Stellaland, 359-63
 Stellenbosch, 72, 78, 99
 Stephenson, R., 156
 Steyn, President, 369, 419, 422-3
 Stockenstrom, Sir A., 217, 222-4, 231-2, 237
 Submarines, 393, 434-5
 Sudan, 326-7
 Suez Canal, 271, 282, 285, 301, 311, 321, 347, 357, 395
 Suffren, 36, 94
 Suspension (Cape Constitution) 417
 Swazi, 88, 301, 348, 350, 357, 366-7, 416, 430-32
 Sweden, 8, 109, 113, 309
 Swellendam, 72, 78, 99
 Switzerland, 7, 63, 111-3, 173, 389, 437
 Sydenham, Lord, 205
 Sydney, 201, 206
 Syndicalism, 377-8
 Syria, 66, 395

 TAAIBOSCH, 253, 257
 Tahiti, 172, 190
 Talleyrand, 108, 173
 Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land), 202-3, 206
 Tati, 301, 346
 Telegraph, 156, 316, 320-1, 346
 Tembu, 89, 231, 247, 254, 292, 296
 Tennessee, 208, 277
 Texas, 213, 276-7
 Thaba Bosigo, 244, 293, 299
 Thaba Nchu, 235, 244
 Thermidorian Reaction, 61
 Thiers, 174, 274
 Thirty-Three Articles, 255
 Thugs, 191
 Tippoo Sahib, 65-6, 123
 Tone, Wolfe, 44-5
 Tories, 24, 40
 Torres Vedras, 106
 Toulon, 60-1
 Trade Unions, 159, 187-8, 281, 321, 376-7
 Transkei, 292, 295-98, 347, 356-9, 364, 407
 Trans-Siberian Railway, 337
 Transvaal (S.A. Republic), 254-5, 258, 289, 293-302, 305-8, 325, 330-3, 348-57, 361-72, 382-4, 405, 411-29, 446

- Treaty of Adrianople, 167
 " Amiens, 67-8, 124
 " Aliwal North (First), 294, (Second), 301
 " Basel, 61
 " Bassein, 124
 " Berlin, 312-3, 391
 " Bucharest, 401
 " Campo Formio, 63
 Treaty, Clayton-Bulwer, 334
 Treaty of Frankfort, 273
 " Guadeloupe Hidalgo, 213
 Treaty, Hay-Pauncefote, 336
 Treaty of Imparani, 300
 " London, 166
 " Lunéville, 67, 102
 " Nankin, 193
 " Papendorp (Capitulation of), 127
 " Paris (Peace of, 1763), 1, 8, 10; (1814) 107; (1856) 262, 310
 " Plombières (Compact of of), 263
 " Prag, 269
 " Pressburg, 103
 " Rustenburg (Capitulation of), 98
 Treaty, Reinsurance (1885), 315
 Treaty of San Stefano, 312
 " Smithfield, 290
 " Thaba Bosigo, 300
 " Tilsit, 103, 106
 " Touffontaine, 245
 " Unkiar Skelessi, 173
 " Versailles (1783), 36
 " Versailles (1919), 435
 " Vereeniging, 372
 " Waitangi, 204
 " Washington, 283
 Treaty, Waterboer, 228-9
 Treaty, Webster-Ashburton, 208
 Treaty Ports, (China), 194
 Trek, Great, 79, 233-5
 Triegard, L., 235
 Tripoli, 315, 325, 400-1
 Tuileries, 56
 Tunis, 315, 325-6
 Turgot, 19, 50, 198
 Turkey, 66-8, 165, 173, 261-2, 267, 309-12, 315, 327, 379-80, 390, 393, 397, 401, 435, 438
- Tyali, 229-30
- UITLANDERS, 367-72, 412
 Ulster, 34, 42-4, 385-8
 Uijs, Piet, 236-8
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 275
 Ungungundhlovu, 238
 Union of South Africa, 72, 273, 342, 415, 420 ff.
 United Empire Loyalists, 40
 United Irishmen, 44
 United States of America, 4, 10, 16, 27-40, 101, 105, 119, 132, 158, 194-5, 208-14, 275-83, 317-21, 333, 336-8, 377-9, 382, 386, 390, 393, 412-3, 434-8, 442-4
 Utilitarians, 157-8, 187, 198
 Utrecht, 248, 288, 296
- VAGRANCY LAW, 224
 Valley Forge, 35
 Vancouver Island, 200, 283
 van der Graaff, C., 94-6
 Vanderkemp, 133-6
 van Jaarsveld, 96, 135
 van Lier, 132
 van Pittius, G., 359, 362
 van Plettenberg, 94-5
 Varennes, 53-4
 Venezuela, 334
 Venice, 7, 11, 63, 103, 109, 178-9, 263, 269
 Versailles, 15, 48-53
 Vicksburg, 279
 Victor Emmanuel II, 179, 263, 267, 269, 275
 Victoria (Australia), 202-3, 206, 341
 Victoria East, 247, 253
 Vienna, 180-1, 444
 Villeneuve, 102
 Virginia, 27-8, 209-10, 276-77
 Vladivostok, 285, 337
 Volksraad, 411-5
 Voltaire, 16, 18
 von Moltke, 266
 von Ranke, 264
 von Roon, 266
 von Tirpitz, 393
 Vryburg, 359, 362
 Vryheid, 364

- Wakefield, G., 200-7, 226
 Walfisch Bay, 126, 301, 353, 361
 Walpole, Robert, 13
 Warden, Major, 246-8, 252-4
 Warden Line, 253-7, 294, 297-9
 Warren, Sir C., 362-63
 Warren Hastings, 36, 121
 Washington, 105, 277
 Washington, George, 35-8
 Waterboer, Andries, 138
 Waterboer, Nicholas, 302-4, 350
 Watt, James, 154-6
Wealth of Nations, The, 158
 Weenen, 238-9
 Wei-hai-wei, 338
 Wellington, Duke of, 106-9, 116,
 124, 160
 Wesleyans, 69
 West Indies, 9, 15, 27, 36
 Whigs, 24, 28, 32, 40, 43
 Whitney, 152, 209
 Wilberforce, W., 59, 131, 196-7
 Wilkes, J., 25-6
 William I (Emperor), 182, 266,
 272-3, 283, 315
 William II (Emperor), 315, 370,
 376, 388 395-8, 400, 437
 Wilson, Woodrow, 435, 438, 442
 Winburg, 236, 239, 244, 248, 289
 Wodehouse, Sir P., 295-300, 303,
 306
 Wolseley, Sir G., 349, 355
 Wood, Sir E., 354, 357

 XOSA, 87-9, 92, 95-6, 135-6, 139-
 40, 225-6, 230-2, 247, 290

 YONGE, Sir G., 125, 131, 137
 Young Turks, 310, 398

 ZAMBESI, 225, 228, 293, 330
 Zollverein, British, 342, 365
 Zollverein, Prussian, 264, 269, 317,
 437
 Zoutpansberg, 255, 289, 293, 296,
 298-301
 Zulu, 88, 225, 227, 231, 239, 290,
 298, 330, 348-55, 363-4, 410-11,
 421, 423
 Zuurveld, 96-7, 135, 139-41

MASKEW MILLER'S
Historical Publications

FOR THE JUNIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OF
THE CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

**Maskew Miller's COURSE OF HISTORY FOR THE
JUNIOR CERTIFICATE.**

(Standards VII. and VIII. of the New Secondary School
Course.) By **John Edgar, M.A., Oxford.**

Section A.—History of South Africa to the Act of
Union. **6s.**

Section B.—The Making of Europe. General History to the
Renaissance. **6s.**

Section C.—Modern History to 1713. **6s.**

**Maskew Miller se GESKIEDENIS VIR JUNIOR
SERTIFIKAAT.**

(Standards VII. en VIII. van die Nuwe Kursus van die
Sekondêre Skool.) Deur **John Edgar, M.A., Oxford.**

Met die volgende inhoud:—

Deel A.—Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika tot op Unie. **7s. 6d.**

Deel B.—Europa in Wording. Algemene Geskiedenis tot op
die Renaissance. Vertaal deur **P. Imker Hoogenhout, B.A.**
7s. 6d.

Deel C.—Moderne Geskiedenis tot 1713. Vertaal deur
I. W. van der Merwe, M.A. **7s. 6d.**

**Maskew Miller's COURSE OF HISTORY—THE
EXPANSION OF EUROPE.**

By **J. Edgar, M.A.** Framed to meet the requirements of
the History Curricula prescribed by the University
Council.

Part I., for Junior Certificate. **7s. 6d.**

MASKEW MILLER, LTD.,
THE BOOKSHOP, 29, ADDERLEY ST., CAPE TOWN

M. ASKEW MILLER'S

Series of Geographies

PREPARED TO MEET THE LATEST REQUIREMENTS

By A. B. LAMONT, M.A., B.Sc.

(Principal, Training College, Kimberley)

Maskew Miller's **NEW SYLLABUS GEOGRAPHY FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS.**

STANDARD IV. South Africa and Europe in Outline, With 3 Coloured Contour Maps and Diagrams 2 6

STANDARD V. Europe and the British Empire. With 2 Coloured Contour Maps and Diagrams 2 9

STANDARD VI. The British Dominions and Asia, Africa and America in Outline. With 3 Coloured Contour Maps and Diagrams 3 0

Maskew Miller's **NEW SYLLABUS GEOGRAPHY FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS.**

TEACHERS' HANDBOOKS. (Standards I-VI.) 4 6

Maskew Miller's **JUNIOR CERTIFICATE GEOGRAPHY FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS.**

Europe and Africa — Regional, Physical and Practical Geography. With Maps and Diagrams. Specially adapted for Junior Certificate and Teachers' Certificates. Second Edition, with a chapter on Economic Geography... 5 6

Maskew Miller se **AARDRYKSKUNDE — Volgens die Nuwe Sillabus vir Suid-Afrikaanse Skole.**

Europa en Afrika. Gewestelike, Natuurkundige en Praktiese Aardrykskunde. (Met Kaarte in Afrikaans en Sketse.) Spesiaal Opgestel vir Junior Sertifikaat en Onderwyser-sertifikaat 5 6

Maskew Miller se **AARDRYKSKUNDE — Volgens die Nuwe Sillabus vir Suid-Afrikaanse Skole.**

In Afrikaans vertaal onder redaksie van prof. M. C. Botha, M.A.
STANDARD IV. Suid-Afrika en Europa (Kort beskrywe). Met Kaarte in Afrikaans 2 6
STANDARD V. Europa en Die Britse Ryk. Met Kaarte in Afrikaans 2 10
STANDARD VI. Die Britse Dominiums en Asië, Afrika, en Amerika (Kort Beskrywe). Met Kaarte in Afrikaans ... 3 3

Maskew Miller's **GEOGRAPHICAL EXERCISE BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS.**

Designed and edited by J. N. Jamieson, M.A., University of Cape Town. (Bilingual — English and Afrikaans.) Containing 44 pages of Outline Maps and 4 pages of squared paper. Second Edition 1 3

Maskew Miller se **LANDKAART VAN SUID-AFRIKA.**

Grootte 40 x 29 duim. Gedruk in tien kleure. Geplak op linne en aan rolle 12 6

