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THE INDIAN STATES & RULING PRINCES

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THE INDIAN STATES AND RULING PRINCES

CHAPTER I

THE TWO INDIAS

India is an empire, but it is not, and never has been, a nation. It is a vast tract of Southern Asia, with diverse races, peoples, and religions, and with many more languages than are spoken in the whole of Europe. So it is, like Europe, a sub-continent rather than a country.

Nor is it a single political unit, though the fact is often ignored in Great Britain and elsewhere. To many, I dare say to most, Englishmen "India" appears as an immense British dependency or subject territory, ruled by an executive responsible to the Parliament and electorate of Great Britain. We suppose vaguely that one government can issue orders, and one legislature make laws, which are valid throughout the whole of the peninsula and its outlying Burmese block. We perhaps imagine that the "Government of India" administers the entire area, in subordination to the "Government" at home.

This is an error. Technically, legally, and politically there is not one India, but two. There is "British India" and there is the India of the Native States. The former is under the direct authority of the Central

Indian Executive and Legislature, and indirectly under that of the Cabinet and Parliament. The latter is not a British "possession," but a group of British Protected States, and its inhabitants are not British subjects. It consists of a number of autonomous units, with their own hereditary Princes and Chiefs who are sovereign rulers, except in so far as their sovereignty has been abridged by treaty or agreement with the British Crown. To that Crown they owe loyalty and allegiance, and with it, as representing the British nation and empire, they are in permanent and indissoluble alliance. Their rights and duties are defined by agreements which can only be legally altered by mutual consent.

These States have resigned the conduct of their external and military policy to the Government of India. They have agreed not to communicate directly with foreign Powers. They cannot make war or conclude treaties except with the Paramount Power, or appoint diplomatic and consular agents abroad. They maintain their military forces under conditions as to equipment and armament laid down by the Paramount Power, which has also a certain jurisdiction over European British subjects in certain criminal cases within their borders.

In return for these derogations from their sovereignty they receive protection against violence and aggression. The British Government will defend them against invasion or attack from without, and will intervene when necessary to maintain the lawful authority in the State against rebellion and to check disorder or gross misrule, even to the extent of requiring a ruling Prince to abdicate if he shows himself dangerously incompetent. It watches over the succession to the throne or chiefship, takes care that this passes in a proper and

recognised legal manner, and will not allow it to be interrupted by violence or conspiracy. It will not permit the self-government, and administrative independence, of the States to be used to the detriment of contiguous States and Provinces, or to threaten the general tranquillity of the Indian realm.

The Indian Protected territory occupies a larger area, and includes a more numerous population, than is perhaps commonly appreciated. Maps of India are usually tinted in two colours—red to indicate the British Provinces, and yellow or green for the Native States. At a first glance, if the great outlying Burmese polygon be excluded,* it looks as if the yellow or green area were about as extensive as the red†. It is not; but its size is impressive. It amounts to nearly 40 per cent. of the total extent of India, or about 711,000 square miles out of 1,805,000. The proportionate population is less, because the more densely inhabited Indian districts, such as Lower Bengal, are in the British Provinces. Of the total of 318,000,000, British territory contains 77 per cent. and the Indian States 23 per cent., which amounts to close on 72,000,000, and that happens to be more than the whole white population of the British Empire.

Turn to the map of India again and we notice that the yellow or green colouring is spread over the greater part of the centre of the Peninsula, while the red is mainly along the edges. British territory lies upon the

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* Burma is by geography, religion, ethnology, and history, altogether distinct from India. Its political association with the Peninsula is very recent (Upper Burma and the Siam States were only annexed in 1885), and is not likely to be maintained indefinitely.

† See *Frontispiece*.

coast and in the fertile, low-lying plains of the great rivers.

The native States rest mostly on the uplands, among the mountains of the northern bastion, or the ridges that stalk through the middle region, and in the elevated tablelands of Rajputana and the Deccan. This distribution points back to Anglo-Indian history in the eighteenth century. Trade, not empire, was what the East India Company wanted. When the pressure of circumstances forced its agents to annex territory they tried to obtain the districts best suited to their mercantile purposes. They preferred the coastal tracts, and the valleys of the great navigable rivers, accessible from the sea, rich in agricultural products, and densely inhabited by a docile population to whom goods from Europe might be sold. "John Company Bahadur" was well content to leave the poorer uplands, with their hunters and intractable, hardy peasantry, to themselves and their own rulers.

The principalities are flung across the main line of communication, and cut off the British Provinces from one another, so that it would be possible to spend a long time in India, and see a great deal of it, and yet scarcely touch British territory at all. Indeed, some years ago, a brilliant French writer did that very thing.* The only India he thought it worth while to describe was that in which the British do not rule and are seldom seen. This is the distorted vision of an unfriendly observer, but it may remind us that one might travel through the length and breadth of the Peninsula, from the ice-peaks of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin far down in the tropics, or from the

* Pierre Loti, *L'inde sans les Anglais* (1903).

Bay of Bengal on the East Coast to the Arabian Sea on the West, without spending more than a few hours at any time on British soil. The Protected portion would look even larger than it does if we included in it the broad ribbon of Nepal which stretches for 500 miles along and below the northern mountain barrier. But Nepal is an independent allied kingdom, outside the Indian political system, though in close association with it. The neighbouring small Buddhist State of Bhutan may also be called independent, since it has neither the rights nor the obligations of a Protected principality. It has, however, unlike Nepal, agreed to conduct its external relations by the advice of the Government of India.

CHAPTER II

WHAT THE STATES ARE AND WHERE

THIS great Protected territory, which is fourteen times the size of England, is strewn capriciously over India. The actual number of its constituent members is large. There are 448 States, principalities, and lordships, which are not incorporated in the Indian Provinces, and are not under the direct or complete administrative control of the local and central governments.

The great majority of these are very small, and some of them, especially those in the Bombay Presidency, are little more than village groups, over which the chief local territorial proprietor exercises some administrative and fiscal authority, and a limited juris-

diction which does not include the power to inflict capital punishment on criminals. They are land-owners with special hereditary privileges.

There is some excuse for calling these nobles "feudatories," a term which is often, but incorrectly, applied to the whole body of Princes and Chiefs. Feudalism in medieval Europe was based on the tenure of land by homage and military service, due from the holder to his lord, and from that person to his superior. No such system exists in India. To call the Princes the "feudatories" of the suzerain or Paramount Power conveys a wrong impression. But the position of many of the minor Chiefs, particularly in Western India, and in the Chota Nagpur and Orissa districts, does bear some resemblance to that of the barons in England who exercised a certain authority over their dependents, and had their own subordinate courts of justice.

These minute principalities, though numerous, occupy a very small part of the Protected area. Much the larger portion is under the Ruling Princes, who possess full internal sovereignty, except in so far as this has been limited by agreement or understanding. These States are of substantial extent, varying from the dimensions of an English county to those of one of the greater European kingdoms or republics. In India the importance of a potentate or high official is roughly gauged by the number of guns fired in his salute. There are 60 States whose rulers are entitled *ex officio* to salutes of 13 to 21 guns* and another 66 who have

* Besides the "permanent" salutes, to which they are entitled as rulers of their States, some of the Princes have been awarded additional salutes, because of their

11 guns. It is worth noticing that the 24 States in the first three classes (21, 19, and 17 guns each) comprise much more than half the territory, and two-thirds of the population, of the whole.

There are five first-class (21-gun) principalities—namely, Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Kashmir, and Mysore; and six of the second class (19-guns)—Bhopal, Indore, Kotat, Kolhapur, Travancore, and Udaipur. All these are extensive and populous countries, and so are several of the third (17-gun) class, which comprises Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patiala, and Rewa. Hyderabad, the Nizam's dominion, is as large as England and Scotland, and has 13 millions of inhabitants. Kashmir is nearly as extensive, though its population is only 3¼ millions. Mysore has a slightly less area, and a slightly larger population, than Ireland. Travancore almost equals Wales in size, with twice as many people. Gwalior has about the same population as Denmark, and a much greater territory.

We may take a brief survey of the principal States without attempting a complete description, or even enumeration. The most northerly is Kashmir (properly Kashmir and Jammu), lying far up beyond the Punjab plain among the valleys of the Hindu Kush, the Karakoram Range, and the Western Himalayas. Some of the highest mountains of the globe are within its borders, and from its flowery glens and blue waters the tourist can look away to the pinnacles of Nanga Parbat and Godwin Austen, and the other snow-clad

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personal distinction or public services. Among those so honoured are the Maharajas of Bikaner, Patiala, Indore, and Travancore, and the Maharana of Udaipur, who each receive two extra guns as "personal" salutes.

giants from whose shoulders the Indus, the Chenab, and the Jhelum pour their floods into Hindustan. Kashmir was an outlying wedge of the Moghul Empire, and became first Afghan and then Sikh when that Empire decayed. For five hundred years the country has been one of the great silk producers of the world, and the "Cashmere" fabrics have been worn by multitudes of persons who did not know whence they came. It has much other potential wealth in coal, zinc, copper, gold, and lead, and in due course no doubt will be freely exploited. It is quite prosperous, with a revenue of Rs.2,35,00,000 annually, a land settlement carried out some time ago by Sir Walter Lawrence, and a climate and scenery which poets have praised for centuries and cannot praise too much.

Westward of Kashmir, thrown out among the rugged border hills, there are the small North-Western Frontier States. Then comes a slice of territory, stretching along Afghanistan to Persia, occupied and administered by Britain, so as to keep hold of the railway to our Quetta *place d'armes* and the road to Kandahar. Southward of this pink ribbon lies Baluchistan, divided among several Protected Chiefs, of whom the most important is the Khan of Kalat, with his 54,000 square miles, 300,000 subjects, and a 19-gun salute.

Due south of Kashmir we come to the Protected Punjab States. These include the considerable Mohammedan principality of Bahawalpur, and the Sikh group, of which the most important is Patiala, with a population of 1,500,000, whose able and enegetic Maharaja represented the Ruling Princes of India in the Imperial War Cabinet and at the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva. It has been allied with the British Government since 1803-1804, and it remained loyal to the

alliance through the Sikh War, and the Mutiny, besides several frontier campaigns; and it rendered substantial aid in the Great War. Patiala is irrigated by branches of the Western Jumna Canal system, it has its own railway, and is well cultivated and productive.

Another well-managed and promising State is Kapurthala, chiefly inhabited by Mohammedans, but under a Sikh dynasty, which also has done good service to the British Power. Jind, Nabha and Sirmur are other prominent members of the Punjab group, the whole of which has been in close and friendly relationship with Great Britain since the collapse of the formidable Sikh confederacy after the campaign of 1849, and in the case of some of the States much longer.

South of the Punjab lie the two Protected aggregates known officially as the Rajputana Agency and the Central India Agency. They cover a lot of space on the map, and, in fact, are larger than any of the British Provinces except Burma; but a good deal of this is the western desert tract, large portions of which are scarcely habitable or suited to cultivation. The Rajputana Agency includes the famous States and cities of Rajasthan, the seats of the Rajput clans, whose long and splendid struggle against the Moslem invaders has been told in one of the great prose epics of the English language.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century many of the Rajput States entered into alliance with the English against their common enemies the Mahrattas. Udaipur, with its exquisite capital bathed by a lake of fairyland, counts as the premier of these States, and its dynasty has the longest and most illustrious pedigree of all the Indian reigning families. Jaipur and Jodhpur are larger and more populous; and other his-

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toric Rajput centres are Alwar, Jaisalmer, Kotah, Bundi, and Karauli, with one Mohammedan principality, that of Tonk.

Away to the north is the desert State of Bikaner, whose hot winds and sand dunes have not prevented it from being the home of a brisk, busy, and thriving people, fine warriors in the past, and among the keenest traders of India in the present. Under the ruling Maharaja the tradition of valour and statesmanship has been brilliantly maintained. His Highness has led his Camel Corps and Infantry beside the British battalions in China, Egypt, and Palestine, and has seen active service in France. He has attended Cabinet Meetings and Peace Conferences, affixed his signature to the Treaty of Versailles, and was the first Chancellor of the Chamber of Indian Princes.

There is a good deal of modernity about these Rajput States despite their picturesque survivals of Eastern medievalism. Some of them are making notable progress with education, and are encouraging railway developments and irrigation. The rose-red city of Jaipur, which had tried systematic town-planning long before such a thing was thought of in Europe, possesses one of the best Schools of Art and Museums in India, and makes excellent inlaid metal ware. Bikaner is another progressive State, which owns its five hundred miles of railway, and is generally well administered and looked after. I remember some years ago visiting the Maharaja of Bikaner's prison, where I saw the inmates making carpets in apparent comfort and contentment, and I thought the directors of our own penal establishments might have derived some useful hints from it.

To the south of Rajputana lie Baroda and the States of the Central India Agency, joining up with Chota

Nagpur and Orissa, and so making a broad band of native-ruled territory stretching right across India. Baroda is one of the five first-class principalities, about the size of Wales, well governed, and progressive. Gwalior, with a population of over three millions, is another of the "Big Five" (21-gun) States. Indore and Bhopal come into the second class. The latter is Mohammedan, and ranks next after Hyderabad among the Moslem-ruled Indian districts.

Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore were carved out of the great Mahratta dominion by the Gaekwar, Scindhia, and Holkar, military leaders who were able to assert their independence of the Peshwa, the nominal head of the confederacy. Their relations with the East India Company till nearly the middle of the nineteenth century were agitated, with constant friction, and a fair amount of fighting. In due course settlements were reached by treaty, and the Mahratta States became friendly and loyal. Their forces and resources have been freely placed at the disposal of the Paramount Power in recent wars.

Coming down to the western coast we reach the peninsula State of Cutch, surrounded by the sea and the great salt lagoons, with about half a million inhabitants. It was known to European traders and travellers earlier than most of India, and has always retained its independent individuality.

The neighbouring peninsula of Kathiawar has been split up among a large number of small principalities and petty chiefdoms. The premier State is Nawanagar, whose ruler, His Highness the Jam Sahib, is better known to the world as Ranjitsinhji, the famous "Ranji" of the English cricket fields.

The great square of the Hyderabad State, the

Nizam's territory, occupies the centre of the southern triangle of India. Hyderabad is the first among the principalities in size, population, and political importance. It is 82,680 square miles in area, and the Nizam has actually more subjects than any of the great independent Mohammedan sovereigns—the Shah of Persia, the Amir of Afghanistan, or the Sultan of Morocco.

The Nizam derives from the Viceroys of the Moghul Emperors, sent to rule over the Aryo-Dravidians of the South, who threw off the control of Delhi and made themselves masters of the Deccan. In the latter eighteenth century the Nizam, hard pressed on the one side by the Mahrattas, and on the other by Hyder Ali, the Mohammedan adventurer who had mastered the Carnatic, entered into alliance with the East India Company. When Hyder Ali's son, Tipu Sultan, was defeated, the Nizam received a share of the territory taken from him. The Hyderabad alliance was tested in the grave crisis of the Mutiny of 1857. "If the Nizam goes, all goes," it was said at the time. But Hyderabad, with a wise sovereign, an able British Resident, and a great Prime Minister, stood fast, and the British ráj was saved.

The Nizam's subjects are mainly Tamil and Canarese-speaking Hindu cultivators. But there is a considerable Mohammedan element, particularly in the capital, which in point of population is the fourth city in India, only surpassed by the three great Presidency towns. Many of the "Arabs," as they are called, are descended from the adventurers and soldiers of fortune whom the eighteenth-century Nizams brought in from the outside Moslem world.

Because of its size, political importance, and commanding geographical situation, Hyderabad State has

been treated with much respect by the Government of India. We have paid the Nizam the somewhat equivocal compliment of keeping a strong British-Indian force of all arms for his protection (and our security) permanently cantoned in the heart of his dominions. The district of Berar, "assigned" in 1853 by the Nizam in part payment of the expenses of this "Hyderabad Contingent," was leased in perpetuity in 1903, and is now incorporated with the Central Provinces.

Mysore, the second of the Deccan States, is surrounded on all sides by the Madras Presidency districts. It was ruled by Hindu Princes until it passed under the power of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. After the British capture of Seringapatam in 1799 the ancient reigning dynasty was restored; but the country was misgoverned and disorderly, and in 1831 the administration was taken over by the British Government. Fifty years later, in 1881, the State was reconstituted a protectorate, under special conditions, reaffirmed by treaty in 1913, and the representative of the former dynasty, the father of the present Maharaja, was restored to the *gadi* (throne). Mysore, with its administrative system framed on the best British-Indian pattern, and its long apprenticeship to British rule, is sometimes considered the model Indian State, at least from the political and constitutional standpoint, though the claim might be questioned by some of the others.

The third important State of the Southland is Travancore, stretching between the hills and the sea down to Cape Comorin, the apex of the Indian triangle. It lay outside the range of both Mahratta and Moslem conquest, and has been in alliance with the British since the earlier days of the East India Com-

pany, which established one of its factories near Trivandrum in the seventeenth century. Travancore is rather densely populated, with a relatively large number of Indian Christians. It is even more advanced constitutionally than Mysore, having an English barrister as its Dewan or Chief Minister, and an elective Legislative Council.

There are many other interesting States, from Cochin and Pudukotta in Madras to Manipur, high among the mountains of Assam, which cannot be touched upon in this hasty survey. Enough, perhaps, has been said to indicate how varied in character are these principalities, how widely they are distributed, and how significant is their topographical position among and about the Provinces of British India.

All the States have agreed not to enter into direct relations, not only with foreign nations, but with one another. The authority of the Paramount Power in such affairs is exercised through British Residents or Political Agents. In the larger States these officers are appointed by the Central Government, in the minor by the Provincial Governments, and some of the petty chieftainships are under the direction of the local commisioners and district magistrates. The Political Agent at the seat of a Ruling Prince has thus a quasi-diplomatic status. But it is also his duty to report to the Indian Foreign Department on the general condition and internal administration of the unit or group to which he is accredited. On these matters he is entitled to offer his advice to the State rulers, which must be listened to with attention, but is not always, or necessarily, accepted. Of this more will be said later.

CHAPTER III

HOW THE STATES ARE GOVERNED

THE Indian Princes, when we entered into alliance with them, were absolute rulers. According to the strict letter of the law they can be so still if they please; for in the treaties and the earlier official declarations their right to govern their dominions in this manner is explicitly recognised. Thus, in the Jaipur Treaty of 1818, it is laid down that " the Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain *absolute rulers of their territory and their dependents* according to long established usage." Lord William Bentinck writes to the Nizam telling him that certain promises made to British officers or with their cognisance must be kept; but that " in every other respect *your authority will be absolute*." The same Governor-General in 1832 said: " I do not possess any authority either to confer or take away the ruling powers in Gwalior, because the Maharaja Scindia *is the absolute ruler of his country*."

Such blunt statements, which have not been formally repudiated, may seem shocking to some of us in these days of democracy. They did not in the least shock British-Indian negotiators and diplomatists, who knew that autocratic monarchy had prevailed in Asia from time immemorial, and was the only political system that was generally accepted and understood. They saw the less objection to recognising it since they were conscious that the British Crown and the East India Company were themselves autocratic rulers of their Indian subjects and territories.

They knew also that absolute monarchy in an

Oriental country does not necessarily mean bad or oppressive government. The sovereign's autocratic power is exercised under conditions prescribed by religion, usage, and tradition. He is expected to show regard for law and custom, and to choose for his councillors and high officials men of learning, wisdom, and character.

Personal monarchy, so regulated and limited, can be efficient and even liberal. Akbar was an absolute, and Queen Elizabeth, by comparison at least, a constitutional, ruler. But Hindustan under the Moghul Emperor was quite as well governed as England under the Tudors, and Akbar's subjects were not liable to be burnt to death if their religious views did not precisely agree with those of their sovereign.

The most effective check on the abuse of autocracy in the East is public opinion. The monarch, unless he is a military conqueror with a mercenary army at his back, must not render himself too unpopular by gross maladministration. If he does so his career is likely to be stopped short by rioting, revolt, or dynastic conspiracy.

It must be admitted that we weakened the efficacy of these checks in the native States when we brought them under our protection. At first the Princes gained more than the peoples; for we guaranteed the throne and the succession against rebellion or any other movement of violent protest. Under a system of subsidies a numerous and ill-disciplined body of troops was quartered upon the larger States, which were subject to many of the abuses of military rule, while the Princes were sheltered against the discontent it aroused. Our protection, at this stage, was thus a doubtful boon to the States, since it delayed reforms which otherwise

might have been adopted, and kept them too long backward and disorganised. The rulers were losing their initiative and sense of responsibility, and it seemed that other principalities would have to be annexed, as Oudh was, to save them from complete anarchy.

The subsidiary system was abolished, the unruly prætorians were withdrawn, and the States put their houses in order. The recovery was mainly due to the far-sighted energy of a number of very able Indian statesmen, like Salar Jang of Hyderabad, Madhava Rao of Indore, and Dinkar Rao of Gwalior. Supported by their Princes, and encouraged by British precept and example, these men effected salutary reforms which have taken root and grown. The land settlement, revenue, and police methods of the adjacent Provinces were introduced, and the administration placed under the direction of educated Indians or of English military and civil officers. Several of the Princes are still largely indebted to the advice and assistance of able British ministers and commissioners who have quitted the Anglo-Indian hierarchy to accept important posts in the States.

Thus great improvement in internal government was effected. The progress has not been uniform, and in some of the principalities there is still room for amendment. So recently as in 1926 the Government of India thought it necessary to insist on important administrative changes in the Nizam's dominions. But, speaking generally, life and property are properly protected in the principalities, and public order is as well maintained as in British India, and sometimes better.

The Prince remains the head of the executive; but

he now mostly governs with the aid of a durbar and secretariat, or other authoritative advisory body. In most of the larger States there has been instituted some form of ministerial government, and an assembly with more or less ample powers of legislation. Hyderabad has its Executive Council, with a Legislative Council of twenty members, twelve of whom are official. Mysore has its Dewan or Prime Minister, with what may be called a Cabinet, a Legislative Council, and a Representative Assembly, chosen by a rather wide franchise, which is extended to women. This Assembly has the right to be consulted on all measures of legislation, and may discuss finance and taxation. The Legislative Council, with a majority of thirty non-official members, may amend, as well as examine, the State Budget. There are also Standing Committees of both branches of the Legislature on railways, public works, public health, and finance.

No other State has such a full-fledged constitution as Mysore, which had the outline of its political system laid down by the Supreme Government when it was restored to statehood in 1881. Travancore, however, is not far behind, and in some respects even more advanced. It has a Legislative Council with a majority of non-official elected members, which can vote on the Budget, and women exercise the franchise on the same terms as men. There is also a popularly elected Representative Assembly, which has no control over administration, but is entitled to discuss all public affairs and bring its views before the Dewan.

The machinery of consultation and discussion modifies the technical autocracy of the rulers in all the important units. Generally there is a State Council under a Chief Minister, or President, and a Legislative

Assembly with a varying proportion of non-official or elected members. Most of the States have also remodelled their judicial and magisterial services in imitation of our own, and have high-court judges, subordinate judicial officers, and district magistrates, with powers and duties resembling those of similar functionaries in British India.

It will be seen that the basis has already been laid for a highly developed constitutional apparatus in these States. The Princes are watching events in India with close attention, and have declared themselves anxious to keep pace with the advance of self-government in the Provinces, so far as this can be rendered suitable to the needs of their subjects and the conditions which prevail in their dominions. They hold, however, that they ought not to be required, or expected, to embark on artificial reproductions of Western methods and institutions which at present are merely experimental, and of very doubtful value, in British India itself. They object to pressure brought to bear for this purpose, whether it comes, as it generally did in the past, from over-zealous British administrators, or from Indian politicians in a hurry to democratise the East, which is more likely to happen in the future.

These progressive tendencies, as one of the ablest of the newer school of Princes has pointed out, should be subject to the consideration that Western institutions, Western standards, and Western customs are not necessarily suited to countries where rulers and ruled are still dominated, and still bound together, by traditional sentiment. The ancient usages and inherited practices of the Indian States have an intrinsic value of their own, and are certainly not to be thrown over lightly

for some shoddy imitation of Western parliamentarism, already under a shade in several Asiatic and European countries.

What India needs, much more than any political changes, is social and economic reform. In that sense it does require to be modernised, to be brought more closely into touch with newer conceptions of intelligent freedom, to shake off the shackles fastened upon it by bigotry and irrational prejudice in the past. Nationalist agitation takes small note of the most urgent problems. Such is the testimony of the greatest Indian writer of our age, Rabindranath Tagore. "Political freedom," he has written recently, "will not give us freedom if the mind is not free." And again:

> "When we talk of Western nationality we forget that the nations there do not have that physical repulsion, one for the other, that we have between different castes. The social habit of mind which impels us to make the life of our fellow-beings a burden to them where they differ from us, even in such a thing as their choice of food, is sure to persist in our political organisation. How, then, can we think that our task is to build a political miracle of freedom upon that quicksand of social slavery?"

The State durbars, or some of them, may claim that while they decline to allow their people to be disturbed by political agitation they are making progress with genuine social reform. In such matters as hygiene, public instruction, and maternity regulation, they are catching up the Provinces, and sometimes show signs of passing ahead of them. No British Indian Government has yet found itself able to impart primary

instruction to more than a small fraction of the popu- lation. But the Maharaja of Patiala has introduced a system of free and compulsory primary education for all the children in his principality; and the State of Baroda is pledged to the same policy, which has also been accepted for Travancore.

The worst social evil in India is child marriage, with its resulting degradation of widowhood. Until recently the Indian Government has not ventured to legislate against this fertile source of moral and physical deterioration. Some of the Protected States have done so, and have raised the legal age for matrimony to a slightly more tolerable level, without apparently rousing any ill-feeling among their subjects. This most urgent reform can be quietly effected in a principality while British official members of the Viceroy's Council are vainly striving to overcome the opposition to it of the Brahman and Bengali *intelligentsia* in the Legislative Assembly. But the States have opportunities in such matters which the Central Government lacks. It is difficult to frame a remedial measure which must be applied at once to the whole 250,000,000 of British India. A State durbar can try out the experiment, in its own limited area, and among the small population with which it is in intimate contact, with a better chance of success.

CHAPTER IV

ANNEXATION AND ALLIANCE

THE East India Company, for the first century and a quarter of its existence, was a trading corporation. Its directors and managers in England had no desire that it should be anything else. They instructed their agents to concern themselves as little as they could with the politics of India, or the affairs of its rulers and governments. It is true that by charter from the Crown the Company was permitted to wage war with non-Christian Powers, and, therefore, to enter into treaties and alliances with them. But this was a licence of which they were slow to avail themselves. All they wanted from the Emperor, and the other Indian Powers, was security for their factories and agents, freedom to trade, and a fair deal, or if possible something more, as against their European rivals.

The imperialist activity of one of these rivals turned the Company's servants into diplomatists and soldiers. The change came about with startling rapidity. The fierce little campaigns between the French and English in the Carnatic plunged the Company into the confused welter of South Indian war and politics. Clive's dispersal of Suraj-ud-Daula's disorderly host at Plassey made them virtual masters of Bengal. This was in 1757. Only sixteen years later, in 1773, came North's Regulating Act, and Warren Hastings' repudiation of the tribute which the Company had been paying to the Moghul Emperor. The British found themselves suddenly committed to the annexation and administra-

tion of vast territories, and in close relations with various Indian rulers and governments.

So they entered upon the series of alliances and engagements whereby the Company was able to establish itself as the predominant Power in India. That position it could not have attained by any other means. The Company, even if backed by the whole available force of Britain, could scarcely have prevailed against the united efforts of the chief political and military systems of India. But the native potentates were quarrelling bitterly with one another, and some of them were always glad to have the British on their side. The Company's policy was to ally itself with one " Country Power " against others.

In the first period of alliances the Company hardly understood its own strength. Its attitude towards the Kings and Princes was one of restraint, and sometimes even of humility. At the best it only claimed to treat with them as equals. Parliament and the directors deprecated further entanglements with local politics. The preamble to Pitt's India Bill of 1784 declared that " to pursue schemes of conquest and dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation."

The Company, at this time, was weak, and so far from being in a position to appropriate Indian territory it seemed doubtful whether it would be able to hold out against the conquering tide of Mahratta invasion. Warren Hastings, the greatest of our Empire-builders in Asia, restored the British military prestige, and firmly established the Company's control over the Presidency Provinces. Beyond their boundaries his policy was that of the Ring Fence; he made agreements with a number of native Princes who, he hoped,

would be strong enough, with British military assistance, to ward off attacks from without. For this reason he preferred to maintain the King of Oudh as an independent sovereign, thinking that his country would act as a buffer against the Sikhs of the Punjab, while the Sikhs themselves would be a barrier against Mohammedan encroachment from the North.

Under Hastings' successors the system of "subsidiary alliances" was built up, and one State after another agreed to pay subsidies or tribute in return for a guarantee of British aid against aggression. The internal sovereignty of the States was not impugned, and even under the Marquess Wellesley, who was bent on consolidating and extending British power, the fiction of equality of status between the contracting parties was observed, so that a formal reciprocity is insisted upon in the treaties. But from Wellesley's *régime* onwards those treaties made it a condition that in return for the Company's protection the States should abandon the right to dispose of their external relations.

Under the succeeding Governors-General the British Government had become the Paramount Power in India, and it had linked itself by a chain of alliances with nearly all the important States, including those left stranded by the final overthrow of the Mahratta combination. Baroda, Scindhia, Holkar were under protection as well as Hyderabad, Mysore, and the Rajput principalities.

The enfeebled situation of these once formidable units tempted active administrators and political agents to reduce them to further dependence. British officials, misled by those European analogies to which reference has already been made, were inclined to insist on their "feudal" relationship to the "suzerain" Power, and

to claim an undefined right of intervention in their domestic affairs. Such claims, however, were not formally asserted, and were sometimes formally repudiated, by their authors. Lord Hastings himself explained that a State might pledge itself to "act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy," without forfeiting its internal independence.

There was a tendency to respect this qualified autonomy during the great and fruitful period in British-Indian history which lasted until the close of Lord William Bentinck's governorship in 1835. The fine body of statesmen and administrators of that era, men like Tod, Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck himself, were more intent on improving and consolidating British India than in extending its boundaries. They were inclined to leave the native States very much to themselves, though no doubt they thought that their natural destiny was to pass under direct British authority in the fulness of time.

A more impatient temper dominated the councils of Calcutta and Simla during the next twenty years under Lord Auckland (1836-1842), Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844), Lord Hardinge (1844-1848), and Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856). Hard-fought campaigns, sometimes disastrous, but in their general result successful, had confirmed the supremacy of the Paramount Power. Its servants were inclined to resent the moderation of their predecessors in respect to the native States. Able and ambitious men, convinced of the immeasurable benefits of British rule, were in a hurry to extend it, by catching at excuses for intervention or annexation. In 1843 we went to war with the Amirs of Sind and annexed their country, a proceeding which the victorious General,

Sir Charles Napier, described as "a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality." But political rascality is seldom really advantageous; and this transaction set up a feeling of unrest which was increased by our intervention in Gwalior State the following year, when a rebel force was defeated, and a strong British contingent placed in cantonments near Scindhia's capital. In 1849 the Sikhs were finally overthrown and the Punjab was annexed. In 1852 and 1853 Lower Burma was taken from the King of Ava. Then came the denunciation of the Treaty of 1801 with the King of Oudh, his deposition, and the incorporation of his territory in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West (now the United) Provinces.

The Oudh Government was oppressive, corrupt, and feeble; but it had been loyal to the English, and its supersession, in apparent defiance of treaty rights, caused much uneasiness among the Indian Princes and Chiefs. This was further increased by the application of Lord Dalhousie's doctrine of "lapse," under which the suzerain Power held itself entitled, in certain cases, to take over the dominions of a sovereign who died without leaving a natural heir, ignoring, in such an event, the Indian practice of adoption. "Feudalism" might offer some warrant for this action, but it was entirely opposed to Indian law and custom.

The zealous and energetic leaders of the new bureaucracy, which had purged itself of the abuses of the Company's earlier history, felt that they were capable of becoming a kind of earthly providence for all the peoples of India; and the victories gained over Mussulmans, Mahrattas, Sikhs, and other formidable enemies, led them to believe that their power was equal to their will. They were impatient of any jurisdiction in India

which might oppose or obstruct their purpose. But unquestionably their high-handed dealing with the native States helped to lay the train which fired the Mutiny of 1857.

CHAPTER V

PARAMOUNTCY AND SUBORDINATION

THE British power in India had been established by the aid of Indian rulers; it was saved by their fidelity in the worst crisis of its subsequent history. Throughout the Mutiny, all the more influential among them stood firmly by their engagements, and well it was for us that they did so. If all or several of the greater States had joined the insurrection the British position would have been precarious indeed. But the Nizam, Bhopal, Rajputana, and Central India generally, remained loyal in spite of pressure from their own troops and many of their subjects; the Maharajas of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha, placed their military contingents at the disposal of the Punjab officers; and our ally, Jang Bahadur of Nepal, marched down with a fine Gurkha army which rendered valuable assistance in the operations before Lucknow.

These services were acknowledged in the post-Mutiny settlement. Queen Victoria's famous Proclamation of November 1, 1858, which transferred the possessions and executive authority of the East India Company to the Crown, declared that no further extension of territory would be attempted or allowed.

"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted and will be scrupulously observed; and We look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of Our present territorial possessions; and while We will admit no aggression upon Our dominions or Our rights to be attempted with impunity We shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of the Native Princes as Our own; and We desire that they, as well as Our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government."

This explicit declaration has been several times confirmed by Queen Victoria's successors, as, for example, in King George's Proclamation of 1921:

"In My former Proclamation (1919) I repeated the assurance, given on many occasions by My Royal predecessors and Myself, of My determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights, and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge is inviolate and inviolable."

Queen Victoria's Proclamation was followed in 1861 by Lord Canning's issue of *sanads* (grants or letters of recognition) to all the more important States confirming the Princes' right of adoption on the failure of direct heirs. Thus Dalhousie's doctrine of "lapse" was itself allowed to lapse, and it could no longer be maintained that an Indian principality, like a feudal

estate, escheated to the Crown if there were no natural heir to the succession.

The era of annexation was definitely closed. The partition of India into British India and Protected India rests on the solemn assurance and pledges of the Imperial Crown. An Indian State could, of course, voluntarily cede part of its territory on lease or otherwise; but the cession could not, without a gross breach of faith, be claimed against its will, either on a demand from the executive government, representing the sovereign, or as the result of any Act or Resolution of a British or British-Indian legislature.

The ban on territorial acquisition has not been violated. So far from seeking opportunities to incorporate Indian States, the British Government has declined them when they may have seemed to offer themselves. The notable instance is that of Mysore, which was, as already mentioned, restored to the rule of the Prince who represented the former reigning family after being for half a century under British control. The Instrument of Transfer contained stringent conditions and regulations which the Maharaja and his successors were expected to observe in the administration of his dominions.*

This rendition of autonomy, even with exceptional limitations, to a State so long in British hands, was highly appreciated in India. It showed that the self-denying clause of Queen Victoria's Proclamation was not a mere form of words. "Now that annexation is

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* A more recent example of the restoration of State rights is that of Benares which, after being treated, for more than a century, as a "domain" under the Provincial Government, was, in 1911, reconstituted a State.

at an end," said Scindhia, the Maharaja of Gwalior, "we breathe freely, even when our failings are proved and our shortcomings discussed." But of these failings and *shortcomings a good deal was to be made*. The statesmen and officials of the later nineteenth century in India did not wish to appropriate State territory. What they did want was influence and supervision. The Princes could feel that their frontiers were safe. But within the frontiers it was assumed, or at any rate hoped, that a constant endeavour would be made to conform to the ideas of their patrons. The "subordinate co-operation" of the Princes was interpreted to mean a close attention to the views and opinions of the Indian Government, and a willing obedience to its mandates.

Protection, to this school of Anglo-British statesmanship, seemed to imply a kind of tutelage. The Paramount Power, in virtue of its paramountcy, would exercise a general superintendence over the States and provide *that nothing was done against the interests of* India—of which, of course, the Indian Government was the best judge. This did not mean aggression, but it did mean intervention and a certain indirect control.

Some of the Princes protested, but as a rule they acquiesced. They submitted, sometimes rather reluctantly, to the presence of the privileged and highly placed Resident at their capitals, who kept a sharp eye on their doings, and was seldom backward with authoritative advice and peremptory remonstrances.

During the forty years after the Mutiny India appeared to be politically stabilised. The British Power was supreme. The military rebellion had been crushed; elaborate and, as it was thought, sufficient precautions

had been taken against overt disaffections of any kind. India was being ruled, for almost the first time in its history, mainly for the benefit of its docile and peaceful millions. The rulers were the most upright and capable body of officials the world had seen. The task to which these men devoted their gifts of character and intellect was to keep order among that vast complex of peoples, so long storm-tossed and war-riven, and to bring a more secure prosperity and a higher civilisation to the masses. Such was England's work in Asia, and few doubted that it was being well done, least of all the men who were doing it.

These energetic, self-confident, somewhat self-opinionated, administrators looked with a certain impatience on the Native States. In them they detected too numerous traces of that old Oriental Adam they were trying to root out. Some of the States were backward and slovenly, and in those days of reform and "enlightenment" we were in a hurry to confer on Eastern peoples the full and latest blessings of Western progress. "We should be struck," says an Indian historian caustically, "with the absurdity of blaming Solomon for not establishing a penny post from Dan to Beersheba; yet some of our Anglo-Indian reformers would think nothing of disarming a Pathan Chief, and then asking him to subscribe to a dispensary."

This forward school of statesmen and high officials would have liked to see the uniform and systematic methods of our district administration extended to every corner of India. They could not annex the States; but they could convert them to better ways, and intervene to correct their errors when these seemed too grave. The theory of paramountcy or suzerainty

was supposed to authorise interference going much further than the control of the military forces and external relations. "If we support you we expect in return good government," said Lord Mayo to the Rajput Chiefs. To ensure such government, the Viceroy's Council in 1867 asserted the right to veto the nomination of a Dewan or Minister in a native State of whom they disapproved.

The assumed analogy of feudalism was pressed far. The Paramount Power not merely required that every succesion to a *gadi* should receive its confirmation. It also enunciated and acted upon the principle that it could assume the control of a State during the minority of a ruler. This practice was encouraged on the ground that it enabled the Government during a minority to organise the administration more or less on the British-Indian model. The officials who conducted affairs during a minority rule were honestly desirous of promoting order and reform. But they could not forget that they were servants of the Government of India; and some of the Chiefs complained that in such matters as the construction of roads and railways and fiscal regulation the interests of that Government were consulted more assiduously than those of the local *régime*.

Another very important right asserted by the Paramount Power after the Mutiny was that of deposing a ruler guilty of misconduct. This was also supported by the fallacious "feudal" analogy. A stronger argument would be that of necessity and the common interest; for the Power which is responsible for the peace and good order of the whole realm cannot look on passively at misrule or misbehaviour carried to dangerous lengths. At what moment the danger point is reached,

or is likely to be reached, is decided by the Political and Foreign Department of the Central Government, after consultation with its agents on the spot. No doubt the question may sometimes be referred to the Secretary of State for India at home, though I think as a rule he is content to leave it in the hands of the Viceroy and his advisers.

This right of deposition, and of transferring the sovereignty to some other member of the ruling house, has been infrequently exercised. A conspicuous case was that of Mulhar Rao, the Gaekwar of Baroda, in 1875. He was accused of having tried to poison the Resident, and was put on trial before a special tribunal which included two Indian Princes. The charge against the Maharaja was that the alleged crime would be a breach of loyalty to the Crown, and an act of hostility against the British Government. The judges, however, could not come to a unanimous decision, and the Supreme Government thereupon withdrew the charge of disloyalty, and deposed Mulhar Rao for notorious misconduct and gross misgovernment.

According to Sir Charles Tupper, the author of *Our Indian Protectorate* (1893), which represents the current official view in the latter portion of the nineteenth century, this transaction showed that the Indian Princes had no "right divine to govern wrong." He adds: "While the extensive authority of the Paramount Power and its determination not to permit misgovernment, for which it was indirectly responsible, were thus exhibited, the rulers and chiefs were assured, by the signal fact of the restoration of a native administration, that the desire to avoid further acquisition of territory was perfectly sincere." Sir William Lee-Warner, another great authority, writing from

approximately the same standpoint about this time, says that the Baroda deposition was "a public exhibition of the new principle of interference"—that is, presumably, the principle that the Government of India, in virtue of its suzerainty and supremacy, had a general right to check mal-administration and to insist on useful reforms in the Protected States, even if no such right has been reserved by treaty, convention or *sanad*.

In 1891 occurred the deposition and punishment of the ruler or Jubraj of Manipur. The British Government demanded the expulsion from the State of a person who had raised a rebellion. The Jubraj refused, and the Chief Commissioner of Assam, with an escort, was sent to Manipur to insist on compliance with the Government orders, and treacherously murdered, together with some of his officers. The Jubraj was arrested, tried, and sentenced to death. It was an emphatic assertion of paramount authority; but also an assertion, according to Lee-Warner, of the much more doubtful "right" (which he calls unquestioned) "to remove by administrative order any person whose presence in the State may seem objectionable." But this seems an act of prerogative, justified by necessity, rather than a legal power vested in the Government of India, unless prescribed by treaty or explicit understanding.

Other abdications and transfers of succession have been, from time to time, required, and as a rule they have been quietly accepted. The deposed Prince has usually been quite aware that he has given good cause for his removal, and his subjects have known it also, so that his compulsory retirement is not greatly resented. The British Government is reluctant to call for

a Prince's resignation merely on account of a personal offence against morality or propriety, though it will sometimes do so if scandalous misconduct has occurred.

This system of tutelage and close supervision, the application of Lee-Warner's "new principle of interference," was applied with increasing energy by successive Viceroys and their ministers during the later portion of Queen Victoria's reign. They would have liked every State to be as Anglicised in its administration, and as closely tied down by rules and regulations, as Mysore, which was held up as an example of sound native management. They forgot that Mysore was virtually a new State created, or recreated, by the British Government, which had the right to make such conditions as it pleased for its future governance. It stood on a different footing from other States which had never been under British rule, and had been independent kingdoms or principalities when the East India Company sought their alliance.

Anglo-Indian high officialdom was inclined to treat all the "feudatories" alike, and to consider that they really existed on sufferance and ought, in consequence, to defer humbly to the views of the Central Government conveyed to them through the Resident. This theory of unquestioned superiority on the one side, and unquestioning subordination on the other, was pushed to its highest point by Lord Curzon, who held that no Indian ruler could leave India without the permission of the Viceroy. He also seemed to hold that there were no limits to the sovereign prerogatives of the Crown in dealing with Indian States except such as the Crown chose to lay down for itself. It was late in the day to enunciate this uncompromising doctrine (even if it had

any legal validity) in an Indian atmosphere beginning to palpitate with a new political self-consciousness at the opening of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

THE PERIOD OF ACQUIESCENCE

In the period of tutelage the Native States were in some ways attractive. Not many tourists visited their capitals, but those who did were usually delighted. It was pleasant to get away from the India of the British, with its big semi-modernised towns, its military and civil stations, its rather aggressively Anglo-Saxon *sahibs,* and its *mem-sahibs,* often too redolent of the suburbs or "the county"—to leave all this for an Asia that was still Asiatic and Oriental. No wonder a romancer, like Pierre Loti, grew enthusiastic over the palaces, the temples, the unspoilt medievalism of the principalities. No wonder other sentimental travellers exclaimed that this was the real India, the India of the picture-books and the legends.

"Peer into the rows of dim little booths as you pass. Here is the armourer at his work, and the goldsmith, and the man who puts spots and borders of silver tinsel on the cotton saris. The money-changer sits at his door with his scales and measures and little heaps of coin; if you give him a quarter of a rupee, which is fourpence, he will fill both your hands with bits of copper that represent the small currency of the Maharana's

realm. A huge Brahminy bull wanders by, none making him afraid, for he can nose into what stalls and baskets he pleases, a licensed plunderer and drone. And here is the man whom the King delights to honour, resplendent in silk and cloth of gold, with his runners before him to clear the way; here a young cavalier riding down the street with his falcon perched upon his gloved wrist; here a Rajput noble, in helmet and crest, with a hauberk of chain-mail descending over his shoulders, followed by a knot of armed retainers with long spears and rusty scimitars. In the cool of the evening you may see many people walking upon the flat roofs of the houses, even as King David walked when his eye lighted upon the wife of Uriah the Hittite; you may, perchance, come upon Jezebel, with her head tired, looking out from an upper window. We have come far from the world of the twentieth century.

The visitor, not looking below the surface, was tempted to wish that British officialism would just leave these picturesque survivals to go their own way. But the Indian Government and, in fact, the State Governments, too, had other things in mind. What the Maharaja or the Nawab had more particularly to consider was the British Resident, who claimed a good deal of his attention. The Resident is not only the diplomatic envoy of the Protecting Power but also the guardian of British interests and property. The Indian Government has jurisdiction over all persons and things within its military cantonments and civil stations, and likewise over railway lines, forming part of, or continuous with, the general Imperial system. It has, in some States, its own post offices, and must see that its mail and telegraph services are properly conducted.

The Resident must also look after the extradition of criminals, and ascertain that Europeans charged with offences are either handed over to the Indian authorities, or are given a fair and proper trial in competent State courts. If the local durbar has anything to say to the Supreme or Provincial Government, or to any other Protected State, it addresses itself to the Resident, who will make the desired communication.

Further, as has been already pointed out, the Resident exercises a general surveillance over the State affairs and reports on them to his superiors. He can offer his "advice," to the ruler on such matters as he thinks fit, and make suggestions as to his Highness' policy and administration. How far he should go in tendering this counsel is a moot point. It shifts according to the personality of the Resident himself, that of the Prince, and those of the Viceroy or Provincial Governor. The advice must be listened to with respect, but a strong and capable ruler may sometimes ignore it, though he does so at his own risk. He may find the diplomatic admonition in due course followed by a demand from headquarters for a change in the personnel or the methods of his administration, with which he is expected to comply.

In the era of tutelage he generally did comply or gave the appearance of doing so. The Princes during this period were reluctant to assert their rights aggressively. They grumbled and sometimes protested, but usually submitted. For this acquiescence there were several reasons, some of which have now lost their force. The Princes were loyal to the Crown, and felt some hesitation in disputing with persons who were supposed to be acting under the Sovereign's orders. Then they were overawed by the strength and majesty

of the Paramount Power, which loomed so mysteriously large and acted so vigorously. Who could set himself against the *circar?* It would be discourteous to do so, and might be unsafe. Added to all this was the conviction in the minds of the more intelligent Princes and Chiefs that the Government had some cause for pressing reforms upon them. Their States were, no doubt, retrograde in many respects, and could usefully take lessons from the more advanced Provinces.

Compliance was not always rendered easy by the manner in which it was demanded. The "politicals" of the older school were not invariably tactful. Those directly appointed to the greater States by the Central Government were often men of ability, but the Provincial Governments, which nominated agents to their own groups in the Protectorate, had frequently to fall back on military men who had passed to civil employment, or appoint second-rate members of the bureaucracy who did not expect to qualify for the higher posts in their own service. If these gentlemen happened to be fussy, conceited, or pompous, the machinery did not work smoothly. There was often a tendency among the politicals to deal out a contemptuous patronage to the potentates to whom they were accredited. At times they were openly insolent. King Edward VII., when visiting India as Prince of Wales in 1875, was unfavourably impressed by some of these functionaries. In a letter to Queen Victoria he wrote:

> "What struck me most forcibly was the rude and rough manner with which the English Political Officers (as they are called who are in attendance on native Chiefs) treat them. It is indeed much to be deplored, and the system is, I am sure, quite wrong."

There has been a salutary change of late years. The political agents treat the ruling Princes and Chiefs with respect, and the old bullying tone has been generally dropped. This is sound policy, for the heads of the older dynasties are important personages in India, and they have an influence which may easily be extended beyond their own States. It is a fact ignored by native agitators, and entirely unrecognised in this country; but it exists, and may be noted by any observer who keeps his eyes open. I saw evident signs of it during the Royal visit to India in 1905. I wrote at the time:

"The head of one of the older and more famous dynasties is undoubtedly a personage even outside his own dominions. It was impossible to mingle with the crowd in the cities through which the Prince of Wales passed without feeling that some of these potentates aroused an interest in the native breast deeper than that evoked by any British official, not excluding the highest of all. A Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, the virtual ruler of thirty or forty millions of people, is in reality a far more important person, especially in his own Province, than any of the local reigning chiefs. Yet I think that the multitude, or some of them, looked on the Maharaja, as he went by in his gilded coach and four, followed by his caracoling escort, with a livelier and more sentimental curiosity than that called forth even by the 'Lord Sahib' himself."

To the Indian natives, our officers, civil and military, our judges, commissioners, generals, commanders-in-chief, provincial satraps, viceroys, are mortal men like themselves; highly placed and highly paid servants, dignified and potent, but evanescent; here to-day and gone to-morrow, moved about at the bidding of un-

known masters. It is otherwise with the man who reigns by right of birth. The sacredness of the "Lord's Anointed" is still a living force in the East, though the idea would be expressed differently. Loyalty has much of the old meaning which it has lost in Europe; it includes a sort of religious reverence for the person of the sovereign, and a disposition to regard obedience to his commands as something higher than a legal duty. To those beyond the ranks of his own subjects the Ruling Chief frequently represents something of significance. Even when their material power is trivial these Princes may wield a moral influence sufficient to render their content or discontent with the prevailing system a question worth very serious consideration.

It may be that the Prince, especially if he was of the old school, was not wholly pleased with his lot; but he had some solid grounds for satisfaction. In return for that fidelity to the Imperial Crown, which he found in no way irksome or uncongenial, he was guarded and secure, and defended alike against aggression from without and internal rebellion. His throne was guaranteed to him and his heirs; he could not be thrust from it by hostile invasion or military revolt. So long as he governed with reasonable efficiency the Paramount Power would see that he was not disturbed. He could enjoy his honours and his revenues in peace. He might, if philosophically minded, compare his situation favourably with that of many other rulers in many other lands and ages.

Yet, it had its drawbacks. For one thing he was denied those martial activities which had been the breath of life to his warlike ancestors. Having guaranteed him against attack we saw no need for him to

keep any military force at all except for police purposes. Several of the Princes, when they joined the Protectorate, possessed formidable armies, as we had good reason to know. We made it difficult for them to have modern arms and equipment or artillery, so that they could not become really efficient.

I may perhaps be allowed again to reproduce some words I wrote on this subject nearly a quarter of a century ago. Some of the State levees used to make a brilliant appearance, for we exercised no veto upon the sartorial fancies of the Maharaja, and if his Highness chose to clothe his horde of military retainers, armed with smooth-bore muskets and old Enfield carbines, in uniforms of canary yellow, or blue and silver with French dragoon helmets, we did not offer any objection. His subjects liked the show, and were pleased to see these warriors facing about and presenting arms, while Colonel Gopal Singh or Major Mohammed Khan gave the word of command in what was supposed to be the English language. But to a young Prince of spirit the whole affair must doubtless have appeared rather silly and theatrical. Things have changed a good deal in the last twenty-five years, though even these second or third line troops might have been—and may still be—of some military value for operations in India, if ineffective in foreign warfare.

At any rate, a Ruling Prince is not now debarred from serious military activities. He has been allowed to furnish his contribution to the Imperial Service Corps in a businesslike and soldierly way. The Imperial Service Corps was instituted by Lord Dufferin who asked "those Chiefs who have specially good fighting material in their armies to raise a portion of

those armies to such a pitch of general efficiency as will make them fit to go into action side by side with Imperial troops." Lord Lansdowne developed the system and placed it on a sound basis. Each unit of the Imperial Service Corps was part of the army of the State, and paid for out of its revenues; the officers were the Prince's own subjects holding their commission from him. The Indian Government required that there should be a British inspecting officer to see that the force was kept up to the standard of our own army. It had modern weapons and received proper instruction in drill and tactics, and was held fit to take its place in line with British troops in the field.

These anticipations were fulfilled when the Great War came. With the lessons of that war in their minds the British authorities have encouraged the development of the Imperial Service troops into the State Forces, now completely under the control of the local governments acting in unison with the higher military command. The old jealousy and suspicion of the native armies has passed away. The State troops are no longer regarded as a potential source of danger to the British power. On the contrary they are esteemed as useful auxiliaries. They can always be called upon for service abroad, and, perhaps, also in India itself if the occasion for their employment should unhappily arise.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW ERA AND THE REVIVAL OF STATE RIGHTS

The close of the Curzon viceroyalty in 1905 marks the end of the period of tutelage and subserviency. New currents were stirring the Indian air in the early years of the present century, and they grew in strength until they gained a fresh and more vivid impulse from the War. India was becoming awake and sensitive. The comparative calm of the later Victorian age was broken by a furious agitation, crossed by perceptible elements of conspiracy and seditious violence, not checked nor stayed by earnest legislative efforts to enlarge the political liberties of the Indian peoples.

The new spirit in British India, both among the governors and the governed, had its repercussion in the Protected area. When the policy was avowed of preparing the Provinces by gradual stages for responsible government it was no longer possible to maintain the old attitude of domination towards the States. They also, it was recognised, had a considerable part to play in the new Indian scheme of things. Moreover, it seemed that the Paramount Power, instead of regarding the principalities as a potential source of danger, might have to rely upon their assistance in time of trouble. The Princes were unquestionably, and even enthusiastically, loyal, as they were to show in the Great War, when they showered profuse offers of men, money, aeroplanes, and munitions upon the Imperial Government. The fidelity and tranquillity that prevailed in the States contrasted with the turmoil in some of the provincial centres of population.

The vice-regal speeches from 1905 onwards emphasised the policy of cordial co-operation rather than that of patronage and intrusive surveillance. "I have made it a rule," said Lord Minto in 1909, "to avoid the issue of general instructions as far as possible, and have endeavoured to deal with questions as they arose with reference to existing treaties, the merits of each case, local conditions, antecedent circumstances, and the particular stage of development, feudal and constitutional, of individual principalities." He took occasion to give a significant admonition to over-officious Residents.

> "The foundation stone of the whole system is the recognition of identity of interests between the Imperial Government and the Durbars and the minimum of interference with the latter in their own affairs. . . . I can assure political officers I am speaking in no spirit of criticism. My aim and object will be, as it always has been, to assist them, but I would impress upon them that they are not only the mouthpiece of Government and the custodian of Imperial policy, but that I look to them also to interpret the sentiment and aspirations of the Durbars."

There was also a recession from the old policy of keeping the States in isolation, and forbidding their rulers to have any intercourse with one another. On the contrary the Viceroys encouraged them to confer together and consulted them collectively. It took them into a kind of partnership on matters of general interest, and this attitude was emphasised during the War by the Imperial Government, which invited Indian Princes to meetings of the Cabinet in London, and the Imperial Conference. In 1918-1919 the Maharaja of

Bikaner attended the European Peace Conference and was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles.

The revived political importance of the Protected States found its echo in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. This document recognised that the Princes had a claim to be consulted on matters which concerned the States as well as British India. It was suggested that there should be a Council or Chamber of Princes with a small Standing Committee, to which the Political Department of the Government of India might refer questions affecting the States, and arrange for joint deliberation on questions of common interest. In January, 1919, the proposal was considered in a Conference of the Ruling Princes held at Delhi. There was much difference of opinion as to whether all the States, or only those possessing full powers, should be represented. On this point no agreement was reached, and it urgently calls for settlement; for it is obvious that the numerous petty baronies, whose rulers have agreed to resign some of the main functions of independent government, cannot be put on the same footing as the large autonomous units.

The Conference, however, agreed to the institution of a House of Princes (Narendra Mandal). The Princes' suggestions were endorsed, with some modifications, by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford). The Chamber of Princes was constituted and formally inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught in February, 1921. It has an elected Chancellor (now the Maharaja of Patiala, who has succeeded the Maharaja of Bikaner) and an elected Standing Committee of six members, which is understood to discuss questions touching State rights and interests, such as

posts, telegraphs, and railways, in both British and native territory, with the Foreign and other departments of the Central Government. The Chamber meets annually, and so far its proceedings have been private. Whether all Ruling Princes should have the right to attend, or only some of them, still remains open for decision. At present there are 108 full-powered members of the Chamber, and 12 representatives for 120 smaller States.

The creation of the Chamber of Princes marks a stage in the adjustment of the relations between the Protectorate and the Paramount Power, but can hardly be the final stage. The State durbars are not yet satisfied. While grateful for the ampler recognition accorded to them during the past twenty years they still think that they are entitled to something more. They hold that they should be assigned a definite place in any new system of Indian policy which may be considered by Parliament when the Report of the Simon Commission is presented.

This body is not the only one which has been inquiring into Indian constitutional and political problems. It deals with the conditions in British India only; it cannot, and ought not, to frame a constitution for the whole of "India" without reference to the status and needs of the non-British area and population. Alongside the Statutory (Simon) Commission another set of authoritative investigators has been at work. This was the Indian States Committee, with Sir Harcourt Butler as President, appointed to examine the rights, duties, and legal position of the Protected States.

The Statutory Commission attracted abundant attention in Great Britain, partly because of the personal and political reputation of its leading member,

partly because of the publicity given to its proceedings, and partly through the efforts of native agitators who have advertised it by vociferous meetings and disorderly demonstrations. On the other hand, the Butler Committee was scarcely noticed. It met unobtrusively in a room in a London Government office to which neither the public nor the press was admitted. It is safe to say that not one British elector in a thousand heard of its existence. But its importance cannot be overlooked. The future destinies of India cannot be determined with reference to the 247 millions of the Provinces alone. The 72 millions of the Protected area must also, in one way or another, be brought into the scheme if it is to have effectiveness and permanence.

The Butler Committee went to work under terms of reference accepted by the Committee of the Princes, who for several years had asked that their position should be investigated. This insistent pressure is typical of the revived self-consciousness of the Protected potentates during the present century. They are no longer in the same mood of placid acquiescence as their predecessors of the post-Mutiny generation. These were inclined to submit rather humbly to the mandates of the Residents and the Central Government. They felt their own weakness in face of the Power which had stamped out the rebellion, and were not eager to dispute its decrees. Deprived of the control of military and diplomatic affairs, they had never been trained in the hard school which had given the native communities such energetic leaders in the past. All they asked for was a quiet life without the friction which might have arisen if they had sought to vindicate their own rights with vigour. Besides, they were rather ignorant, and in the hands of advisers imper-

fectly acquainted with English mentality and English law.

Their successors are better equipped. During minority regencies, and in various other ways, we have stimulated instruction in the princely families. The Ruling Chief of to-day is usually well educated and alert. He has probably been trained at a college or university under English tutors and professors, he speaks our language perfectly, reads our books and newspapers, travels in Europe, and knows a great deal more about us than we do about him. He has studied our politics, followed our parliamentary debates, and understands who the rulers of British India are and where they stand in the estimation of their countrymen. He has called well-informed and capable men, English or Indian, to his councils; and has given a close scrutiny to the contracts and agreements which define his position.

He is more loyal to the Empire than his fathers, and he understands and appreciates Western culture and progress as they did not. But he is likewise much more inclined to think for himself. The contrast between the British-ruled Provinces and his own dominions can no longer be presented to him with the same conviction. In the past he might be invited to compare his State, still rather primitive and barbaric, with the British districts, well ordered, peaceful, and moving steadily onward. In the light of our recent experiences, an astute Prince might turn the argument the other way round. "In our territories," he might say, "high personages and officials need not go about in fear of assassination. We do not see turbulent mobs assembling in our cities which have to be dispersed by bayonets and rifles. We are not required to be on

guard against chronic conspiracy; nor are there persons in our midst who were secretly trafficking with the enemy during the War, and are still subsidised by aliens who seek to overthrow the Empire. Our subjects are apparently less discontented than yours and like our methods of government better." The British-Indian official might reply that this was not quite the whole of the matter; but he would have to admit that there was something in it, and would no longer contend, as some of his predecessors did, that it would be an unquestionable benefit for the States to become British Provinces, in effect, if not in name.

As the sittings of the Butler Committee were secret, no disclosure was authorised of the detailed statement laid before it on behalf of the Council of Princes. This was drawn up by some of the most distinguished members of the English Bar, and at the time of writing it has not been made public. Meanwhile, we know pretty well, from their own speeches and other announcements, what are the main points in the Princes' case. Primarily, they urge that their relationship with the British Government is determined by the treaties, and cannot legally be put on any other basis. Neither usage, convention, nor theories based on paramountcy or suzerainty can annul the contract made between a State and the British Crown, represented by the East India Company or the Viceroy in Council. Like other agreements, it can only be modified by the assent of the contracting parties.

Further, the Princes object to the extension of the term "subordinate co-operation" into virtual subjection, as maintained by Sir Charles Tupper, and, in a less degree, by Sir William Lee-Warner, and other official and semi-official publicists. Their territories,

they urge, are sovereign States. There can be no question that they were so recognised in the earlier treaties of alliance, and it does not appear that the status has been generally forfeited. This was distinctly asserted by a great Indian ex-Viceroy, who is also a great lawyer, no longer ago than on December 4, 1928. On that date, Lord Reading, in the House of Lords, referred to the Protected units as "the sovereign States," and deprecated "changing the sovereignty which the Princes at present enjoyed." The States have sovereign powers except in so far as they have agreed to surrender part of those powers in return for protection and security.

The extent of the surrender is determined for each State by its fundamental treaty, *sanad,* or understanding. In some of the minor lordships it has been extensive. In the important group it has been limited to the control of external relations and defence. The States are semi-sovereign, if I may thus briefly dismiss a great juristic controversy, except in so far as this limitation goes. They have handed over to the Governor-General of India their liberty to conduct their foreign policy in return for security against aggression and insurrection. The obligation is that of protection on one side and fidelity to the Empire and the Crown on the other. Beyond this there may be a number of other rights transferred to the Government of India, such as those giving it jurisdiction over resident British subjects, and over railway stations, cantonments, and telegraph offices; but these, it is contended by the Princes, must be the subject of special arrangements, and are not covered by the general terms of protection.

The Princes, I believe, complain that the treaties and agreements have frequently been interpreted to

their disadvantage by the agents of the Paramount Power, who have insisted on concessions connected with fiscal, economic, and transport matters, not authorised by the contracts and extorted by a pressure which cannot be resisted. They may protest, but their protest can only go before the Central Government, which is, through one or other of its departments, an interested party in the dispute. If it decides in favour of its own agents, the aggrieved durbar has no redress. Thus it may be compelled to agree to (and perhaps pay for) the construction of a branch line which may be useful to the general railway system of India, though of no value to the State concerned.

The principalities being, as a rule, poorer and less fertile than the Provinces, have lagged behind in the industrial movement. But they maintain that their progress would have been more substantial if they had been given a fairer chance. The fiscal, customs, and excise policies of the Indian Government are conceived in the interests of the British-Indian majority, not in those of the Protected minority. The States are mostly inland districts with practically no access to the sea except through British territory. Duties may be levied on foreign imports which accrue to the Indian revenue, while the people of the States have to pay more for their goods without any corresponding benefit to the local treasuries. At the instance of the Swarajists the Indian Legislature has imposed a tariff on imported steel. The tax falls mainly on Indian consumers by a rise in prices, including, of course, those in the Protected States; but these States do not receive a rupee from the proceeds of this impost. The duty, which hits the British manufacturer, as it happens, as well as the native States, is settled without

the assent of the latter, solely in the assumed interests of British India and at the instance of British-Indian politicians.

The advocates of the principalities urge that this is an unfair arrangement and ought not to be perpetuated. In a self-determining India, they say, our 72,000,000 should not be left helpless at the mercy either of the officials or the agitators. Our voice, too, ought to be heard, and some constitutional scheme should be evolved so that our views can be expressed with authority and effect.

These are the opinions which, doubtless, were laid before the Butler Committee by Sir Leslie Scott and his learned colleagues. The Committee's Report should come before Parliament, together with that of the Simon Commission, and the reorganisation and reconstruction of the Indian system can only take place after a consideration and comparison of both documents.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STATES AND THE PAST

In their present stage of self-conscious co-operation, which has succeeded the passivity and acquiescence era, the State rulers are examining the past and looking towards the future. In the first instance, they are seeking what may be called a redress of grievances. They urge that they have submitted, through weakness, or ignorance, or a salutary respect for the Paramount Power, to substantial infringements upon their

contractual rights. Numerous concessions, some of them highly detrimental to their own interests and those of their subjects, have been extracted from them.

Some I have already mentioned, such as those dealing with customs, railways, and extra-territorial jurisdiction. Others are being brought forward. It is complained that States which have never agreed to give up their full powers are treated as mere "feudatories." The feudal analogy, as I have pointed out, is incorrect when applied to the Protected States in general; though no doubt a certain number of the smaller lordships did stand in a certain relation which might be called that of feudal subordinates to greater Powers such as the Peshwar and the Moghul Emperor, or paid tribute to them. When we occupied the place of these suzerains we acquired such rights as they could claim over their dependents. It does not seem that we are entitled to place on the same footing States which had never been in this position.

If there is a disputed succession in a State, the Indian Government steps in as arbiter, and its award is final. When the succession passes to a minor, the State is placed under a regency, either established in accordance with the State Constitution, or, in default, appointed by the British Government, to conduct the administration till the Prince comes of age. Advantage is taken of this minority rule to put public affairs into good order and to introduce useful reforms. This is often beneficial to the people of the State, as was shown conspicuously in the case of Mysore, which emerged from its long administration under British guidance in admirable condition. But the Princes argue that a minority ought not to be made the occasion for handing over to the Central Government rights, privi-

leges, or cessions of territory, which would probably not have been agreed to by a competent native ruler. Nor ought there to be too much effort to Anglicise the political or administrative methods which may suit the local conditions better than those preferred by zealous bureaucrats anxious to see all India brought into a symmetrical uniformity.

To what extent and on what occasions should the Central Government intervene to direct or influence the internal policy of a State? That is a point on which there is considerable difference of opinion. Some scope for intervention must be admitted. When a Protected ruler governs his dominions so badly as to become a nuisance to his neighbours, or to provoke his subjects to insurrection, the Government of India must act. It is obviously empowered, and even compelled, to do so by its responsibility for the defence, security, and general good order of the States, since it has taken over the control of their military and external policy. It cannot look on passively while a community is falling into chaos, or clearly going the way to render itself an unruly member of the Indian family of nations.

It is, however, suggested that this license to intervene has often been used immoderately or unnecessarily. It ought to be limited, it is urged, to clear cases of gross misgovernment such as might involve the dangers specified. It has been carried much further. The Political Department and its agents have sometimes assumed that as the representatives of the Paramount Power they can exercise a general supervision over the durbars, and insist upon such reforms and remedial measures as they think proper. Very often these demands spring from a sincere desire to promote the welfare of the Protected peoples, and to root out

palpable abuses, such as were *suttee,* slavery, torture, and other practices repugnant to humanity and civilised ideas. Sometimes they are inspired by less admirable motives, including the intelligible anxiety of the Central or Provincial Governments to gain advantages for the inhabitants of British India even at the expense of the States.

Good or bad, it is contended, such remedial measures should be obtained by negotiation and arrangement, not by mandate. The Government of India has no legal authority to ask from a State more than the State has agreed to give. It ought not to issue commands as from a superior to a subordinate which must be obeyed because it cannot be resisted. It should not abridge liberties or privileges, which it has bound itself to respect, by the issue of a *sanad,* decree, or affirmation of policy, or an official tender of "advice," which is virtually an order. It may be desirable that a State should not be allowed to hang its own criminals or catch its own elephants. But if it has never expressly abandoned those prerogatives it does not see why it should resign them to meet the views of British-Indian civilians who distrust the native judicature or may be interested in big-game preservation.

The present attitude of the Princes raises the whole question of what is meant by paramountcy in India, an awkward question which it might be more convenient to leave open but which must, I am afraid, be elucidated and disposed of now that it has been authoritatively propounded. Some of the Viceregal Councils of the last century, and their literary supporters, seem almost to have accepted the theory that paramountcy, combined with usage, had conferred on the Government of India a power only limited by its own discre-

tion. It was itself the judge of what it could or could not do, it decided what it pleased, and its decisions were to be regarded as statements of the law which would over-ride or cancel out contractual obligations. Thus, Sir William Lee-Warner:

> "Express conventions among contracting parties must always command a solemn respect, although it is very important to observe that they are subject to the fretting action of consuetudinary law. The decisions of British Courts of Law interpret the provisions of Acts of Parliament; and by a similar process the judgments of the British Government upon issues raised by its dealings with the native States test the Treaties by the touchstone of practical application."*

The Princes deny all this. To the "fretting action of consuetudinary law" they oppose the plain words of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858:

> "We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and engagements with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted and will be scrupulously observed, and We look for the like observation on their part."

To this declaration the States hold. They contend that the relationship between them and the Supreme Government is based on definite agreements which are valid unless *both* parties consent to annul or modify them. To withdraw or revise them at the will of one of the partners alone would be an unfair employment

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* Lee-Warner, *The Protected Princes of India,* chap. ii.

of the prerogative. It would be an extra-legal proceeding, what lawyers call an Act of State, or, in other words, an act of force, which may be justified by political necessity but would not be in accordance with the principles we profess to follow, and would be inconsistent with the system we have established.

We have created the greatest Empire the world has known with little or no liking for imperialism. From what this term implies, we have, from the outset, done our best to keep as far away as possible in India. In that area we have been so clearly dominant that we could have done what we pleased. We might have said, as probably other European nations in a similar position would have said: "We *are* the Paramount Power, and we propose to use our supremacy as seems good to us. We shall rule all India, for its own benefit, of course, but in the manner that we think expedient, and we cannot be hampered by treaties, agreements, or legal fetters of any kind. For we are here by right of conquest and, as conquerors, we are under no restrictions, except such as we choose to impose upon ourselves. As to that, we are the sole judges. You must take what we give you, because we are not really bound to give you anything at all."

We did, however, act quite differently. We did not set out to conquer India, and have never done so. The East India Company—the point will stand repetition—wanted customers, not subjects; it found that the best way to get them was by means of alliance and understanding with the native Powers and sovereigns, and, if it had been possible, it would have been content to enter into such arrangements with all of them. Circumstances compelled us to take over the larger part of the territory and govern it directly. But we did

not extinguish native sovereignty in the remainder of the country. We might have done that after 1803, or, at any rate, after 1818, or after 1858. But we preferred to cling to the principle we had avowed of leaving these local governments to co-operate with us under the agreements we had made with them.

That has been our policy, and it shows a respect for justice, a regard for the rule of law over the rule of might, for which I think we deserve more credit than is always allowed us. The Indian Princes are grateful for our forbearance, and they must recognise how much they owe to it and the security we have given them. Generally they do. They appreciate what they have gained through their association with the Imperial Crown, and they do not want this relationship to be altered. It is mainly because they are afraid it *may* be altered to their detriment that they are alive to alleged encroachments on their contractual rights, and ask that these should be investigated, with special reference to approaching possible changes in the Indian constitution. For the political system of India is, or may soon be, in the melting-pot; no one can tell what new form may be given to it during the next few years. It is impossible to foresee how the various powers and authorities which control the machinery may be adjusted and balanced. Incalculable forces are in movement, and we do not know how far they will be permitted to exert pressure, or in what direction.

With all this uncertainty in the political atmosphere, it is essential to have the rights and obligations of the Protected States clearly defined, not only in their own interests, but in those of the whole aggregate. A reconstitution of India, which ignored the principalities or left them with a permanent sense of injury, would

be built on shifting sands. British India and Native India are too intimately related to be treated without reference to one another.

CHAPTER IX

THE STATES AND THE FUTURE

The protests of the Princes, representing their State durbars and peoples, against undue interference by the Central Government refer to the past. But I think they are rather made with an eye to the future. They are aimed at dangers which may develop out of the present trend of events in India.

This may account for the anxiety of the State rulers to define the limits of legitimate intervention in their internal concerns. They are more impatient of such obtrusion than they used to be, and for intelligible reasons which have been succinctly and clearly summarised by the Marquess of Reading. "Under the Government of India Act (said the ex-Viceroy), the Princes' affairs were dealt with by the Governor-General in Council, and it was largely because of this that some difficulties had suggested themselves to the Princes. They were alarmed at the notion that they might find themselves dealing with a Governor-General in a Council which was composed of the Governor-General and *Ministers responsible to the Legislative Assembly*"—in other words, with an Indian Government chosen by an Indian electorate.

This is the essence of the matter. The Princes disliked interference from the Central Government, but they could tolerate it when that Government was British. The heads of the Foreign and Political Department, the Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners, and the Residents and Agents, were Englishmen with English traditions. They might sometimes have been ill-informed, officious, or arrogant; but, on the whole, they were fair-minded and honest, and they had no temptation to be anything else. The local rulers could trust, if they did not always love, these functionaries. They felt that the Government was in the hands of men who were generally capable and upright, and who acted in the interests of all Indians, as they understood them, not in those of a section, class, or community. In these officials, the servants of the British Crown, to which they were bound by treaty, the State rulers felt a confidence which they would not extend to any collection of Indian politicians.

None of the schemes put forward by the various Congress groups inspires them with a sense of security. Of late these bodies have been disputing among themselves as to whether they shall inscribe Independence on their programme or be content, for the present, with Dominion status. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Nationalist party in the Legislative Assembly, stands by the latter proposal as the immediate objective. This is the idea of a constitution outlined in the "Nehru Report." It has been vehemently opposed by Mr. Srinavasa Iyengar and his "Independence League," which asks for complete separation from the Empire. As the two parties could not agree, Mr. Gandhi used his great influence in

order to get the "All-India National Congress" to adopt what is caled a compromise, which may rather be described as a stay of execution. The Congress approves the Nehru scheme of Dominion Government, provided it is accepted by the British Parliament *within twelve months*. If it is not accepted in that space of time the united party will resume the agitation for complete independence.

Both alternatives have left the Protected Princes out of the calculation. But if ever either scheme passes beyond the stage of loose talk it will be seen that they cannot be passed over. In fact, they may be said to dominate the situation, for without their concurrence and consent one project becomes utterly impracticable, and the other is surrounded by almost insurmountable difficulties.

An independent India is a futile dream. There are a score of reasons why it cannot be made a reality. One of them would be quite conclusive if there were no other. This is the character, size, population, geographical location, and military capacity of the principalities. An Indian republic, ruled by a native Cabinet and deprived alike of a British Central executive and a British and British-led Indian Army, would not command the obedience of the States, and it would exist only as long as they thought proper to allow it to remain in being.

There is a hackneyed story which has been got off upon most English inquirers into Indian politics at one time or another. It is the alleged report of a conversation between an August Personage and one of the chiefs of a famous Rajput dynasty. "Tell me, Maharaja Sahib, what would happen if we [the British] left India to-morrow?"

"If you left India to-morrow, Sir, on the day *after* to-morrow my men would be on horseback, and a month after that there would not be a rupee or a virgin left in all Bengal."*

This example of ancient wisdom has a certain apposensess which may excuse its reproduction. Modern Indian Princes are not at all like the Pindarri raiders of the old lawless days, and their subjects are mostly peaceful cultivators. But we cannot ignore the latent element of force which underlies all politics, nor can constitutions be framed in complete disregard of those awkward sciences, geography and ethnology. It does happen to be a fact that the Princes occupy the strategic highlands of India from which they could inundate the plains, as their predecessors used to do; also that a very large proportion of the so-called fighting races—Mahrattas, Sikhs, Rajputs, Northern Mohammedans, and others—are within their territories or just outside their borders. There might be some more vivid pages added to that unfinished chapter of Indian history which was broken off short by Lake, Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and our other military leaders and militant statesmen in the early nineteenth century. We do not care to dwell upon these points in connection with modern Indian politics, though it is still undeniably true that their further peaceful evolution would be hopeless if British bayonets were withdrawn.

That is a contingency which can be left out of

* Miss Kathleen Mayo, in *Mother India*, ingenuously quotes this well-worn tale as a new one conveyed to her at first hand! I printed it myself in my *Vision of India* over twenty years ago, and even then it was of respectable antiquity.

account for the present. There will be no immediate occasion for the chivalry of Rajasthan to get into the saddle, or for the Nepal Gurkhas to sharpen their kukris. The British bayonet will not fade out of the picture for a long time to come. We are not going to "leave India" to-morrow, or for very many morrows. Until there has been a complete change, not merely in the Indian situation, but in the world situation, we must keep armies, British and British-controlled, in the great territory we are bound to defend against aggression from without and internal chaos. For since we have largely deprived the Indian peoples of the power to protect themselves, we must continue to safeguard them effectually. That is a solemn obligation binding upon the Imperial Crown, by which is meant, of course, the King-in-Council, the Sovereign of Great Britain, acting by the advice of Ministers responsible to the British Parliament.

Nor can that same authority abandon the supreme control of the Indian executive without a grave breach of trust. For it is the guardian of the Indian minorities, who rely upon it to shelter them against oppression or encroachment upon their rights. One minority is that of the 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 of the depressed classes, the "untouchables," who have the strongest objection to being left at the mercy of a Brahman-led legislature and administration. And another minority is that of the 72,000,000 of the Protected States, who claim that no changes should be made in the Indian constitutional system which would place them in a worse position than they are at present. Here is a trust which the Crown has accepted, by treaty, grant, and convention, and it cannot abandon or delegate it against the wishes and interests of those concerned.

This might be done without going so far as to make India "independent" in the sense understood by the extreme Nationalists. The Princes are not particularly alarmed by this threat. In an India turned loose from the British Empire they could take care of themselves. In an India still within that Empire, but left too unreservedly under the direction of a native government, depending upon the majority vote of the British-Indian constituencies, they might be subjected to more dangerous pressure.

This pressure might be both political and economic. On the political side a "democratic" Indian ministry, in control of an Indian legislature, might strive by direct action and persistent propaganda to extend its methods to the principalities. The States, it might insist, must also share in the full benefits of democracy and self-determination, as conceived by advanced Indian politicians. The Princes would be asked to reform their government on these lines. As a fact, as I have shown above, most of them have already gone far in the direction of constitutionalism, and have rather closely followed the British-Indian administrative model, and in social reform some of them have gone beyond the Provinces.

They are prepared to go further, to give their peoples a larger share in the government, and to keep abreast of the extension of popular liberties in British India, so far as the circumstances of their States permit. But they do not want to be forced into a slavish imitation of any system which may be introduced into British India without regard to the real interests and inclinations of their subjects. They are not convinced that a bad adaptation of Western parliamentary models is the best means of rendering an Asiatic population con-

tented, stable, or even free. The State durbars believe that they can raise the social and material level of their peoples much more effectually if they are not forced into precipitate and ill-conceived constitutional innovations.

An Indian Government could not, of itself, put such compulsion on them. But it might be supported from outside. There are ardent reformers in Great Britain already turning a suspicious eye upon Indian "absolutism." Of this there was more than a hint in the remarks of at least one influential speaker during the debate in the House of Lords to which reference has already been made. After observing that "the independent rulers of the Indian States had shown themselves aware of the possibility of their positions, interests, and customs being materially changed, and they had indicated that in any development of the constitution of India they must not be placed under the control of an elected assembly to which they did not contribute, and, further, that they did not desire any alteration of the present relations and responsibilities between themselves and the Crown," he went on to say: "Most, if not all, of the principalities were arbitrary governments. Everything depended on the autocratic will of the sovereign. When the whole framework of Indian Government was being reconstituted, and they were considering how far Indian States could be fitted into that framework, he thought it would be impossible to disregard the question whether the autocratic power of the Princes should not, in some degree, be restricted."

It sounds innocent, but as Lord Reading pointed out, the passage did "give indications that might disturb the Princes very much." Naturally, they do not like the idea of "the framework of Indian Govern-

ment" being reconstructed according to the plan drawn out by the leaders of the Nationalist party in Delhi, which might, perhaps, receive the support of sympathetic friends in Westminster.

Apart, however, from direct or indirect political action, an Indian Government and legislature could, if unfettered, work grave injury to the States by economic and fiscal measures. The Princes maintain that already they have sometimes been unfairly treated in these matters. The discrimination against them might be carried further. It would be perfectly easy to arrange a tariff, or impose duties, in British India which would weigh heavily on the principalities and impede their industrial development. Consequently, they urge that they should have some voice in the determination of any policy which would affect the peoples and industries of India as a whole.

These are considerations which should be borne in mind when it is proposed to turn India into a self-governing Dominion. To many of us that seems to be the eventual destiny of the great Dependency. It is indeed the goal to which the Montagu-Chelmsford Report pointed; and the Government of India Act was supposed to be one stage towards this conclusion. The idea is in itself attractive. Why not complete the Commonwealth of Nations by this magnificent addition? Side by side with the Dominion of Canada, the Dominion of Australia, the Dominion of South Africa, might be ranged this other Dominion, so much more splendid by its population, its resources, its historic past, than any of them.

India may, in due course, become a Dominion; but it will be a Dominion very different in character and organisation from the others. We cannot, by a stroke

of the pen, or any number of strokes, set up an enlarged copy of the Canadian or the Australian constitution in Delhi, nor can we follow the precedent laid down in the creation of the Irish Free State. Many Irish Nationalists resented the exclusion of the Ulster counties. It was, indeed, a somewhat clumsy and cumbrous expedient. But the device was practicable; it can work. Let us, however, try to imagine an Irish Free State, mainly Catholic, with a Protestant Ulster not confined to the north-eastern corner but spread out all over Ireland, reaching from the Liffey to the mouth of the Shannon, stretching deep into Munster and Connaught. Let us assume that one strong block of sturdy Orange population would look down from the mountains upon Cork, and another would be planted within an easy march of Dublin. We cannot have an Indian Free State with an Ulster of that kind, an Ulster with 72,000,000 of people, and 700,000 square miles of territory.

An Indian Dominion would be an abortive failure from the outset, and could hardly come into being at all, unless it were provided with some elaborate political machinery, not yet invented, for coping with these unique topographical and ethnical conditions, and for safeguarding the rights and liberties of the communal and other minorities. How this is to be done within the Dominion "framework" remains to be demonstrated, if demonstration be possible. We shall, perhaps, hear more on this question when the reports of the Simon Commission and the Butler Committee come up for discussion in Parliament. It may then be considered how a genuinely democratic system can be reconciled with such an obviously non-democratic principle as communal representation, which is

imperative, if the minorities are not to be placed in subjection to an oligarchy of the higher caste Hindus. It may also be explained how peace, progress, and good order could be secured if an Indian "Dominion" Government were given the full powers exercised by the central executive and legislature in the other Imperial Commonwealth and Unions.

How we shall deal with these and cognate problems cannot be foreshadowed. I do not know, nor does anybody else, what proposals will be brought before Parliament for the amendment, revision, or annulment of the experiment begun in 1919. It depends not only on the opinions of Sir John Simon, Sir Harcourt Butler and their colleagues, but also on those of whatever Imperial Cabinet may be in office when the next India Bill is brought in. Perhaps there may be a bold and even startling programme; perhaps one that will be merely tentative and cautious. We shall see.

I am more than doubtful, for the reasons above stated, whether real Dominion Government can be adopted for India as a whole. The signs and guide-marks seem to point to something different. I think the obvious destiny of India is Federalism in some form. India is too large to be treated as a single political unit, and so, indeed, are some of the Provinces. Such unwieldy agglomerations as Bengal, Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar, Bombay, and the Punjab, with populations of over 20,000,000, 30,000,000, and 40,000,000, will be subdivided. In the process it may be possible to readjust boundaries so as to make them correspond rather more closely with racial and religious divisions. For this purpose it may be possible to arrange for exchanges of territory between the Provinces and the principalities. This will reduce, if it

does not wholly eliminate, the difficulty of communal representation. India will then be apportioned among a large number of Native States and British Provinces of manageable size, each self-governing within its own area, except for military and foreign affairs, and such common matters as posts, telegraphs, and tariffs on oversea imports. I believe the aim will be to allow these units the fullest measure of freedom in their internal government and local finances, unimpeded by any such clumsy apparatus as the dyarchy, which is mainly a source of irritation and inconvenience. The States will have nothing to do with it, and the Provinces would be better without this clog on their responsibility and freedom of action.

I do not see how such an extension of local autonomy can be combined, under the conditions which prevail in India, with a sovereign federal legislature. For the reasons already given there cannot be a full-powered Indian Parliament. The powers of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly are more likely to be curtailed than extended. The supreme executive must remain with the Crown through its representative, the Governor-General; and I hold, on grounds which have been set forth in the preceding pages, that it cannot properly discharge its trust to all the Indian peoples if it must always act on the advice of a native Ministry.

It ought to have authoritative advice on subjects which touch the common welfare and affect the interests of more than one of the Indian communities. This need will be met by some provisions for joint consultation and impartial decision. Amateur constitution-making is an unprofitable task, and I am not presumptuous enough to attempt it; but I think that some machinery will be devised for enabling the real con-

trolling forces in India to work together in unity. Questions will arise which may be viewed differently by the representatives of the British Empire, by those of the British-Indian populations as a whole, and by those of the peoples of the States. These can only be adjusted fairly between the three parties by conference and agreement.

As regards the States, the Memorandum laid before the Simon Commission by the European Association of India may give some suggestions for a settlement on these lines. It is proposed that to the Provinces should be delegated such powers as would enable each Province individually to deal with social reform. Here the Central Government should not interfere. "The moral and material progress of the peoples is largely dependent on the ability to modify existing and ancient customs to suit the requirements of modern India."

"To ensure an equal advance of public opinion throughout India is a difficult task likely to delay social reforms. Already certain Indian States, possessing as they do the necessary authority, have introduced social reforms, and if Provinces were similarly empowered to undertake social legislation advance would be more rapid, and the consideration of questions of social reform might assist in the healthy growth of parties in the Provincial legislatures."

The Association looks towards "the ultimate and distant goal of an All-India Government, consisting of a federation of Indian States working harmoniously with British India through legislatures which would draw their representatives both from British India and the Indian States." As a step towards this result, which may be "ultimate" but must be extremely remote, there might be built up a federation, or com-

bination of the States, working through the Chamber of Princes, and meeting the Viceroy in a Council to which certain definite powers might be delegated by the individual States. It would be a sort of Governor-General's Council for the principalities, and would be a counterpart to his Executive Council for British India.

The two Councils would meet in joint session to confer on matters affecting both British India and the States. Any decisions reached would be followed by the requisite legislation or executive action by the British-Indian and State Governments. There might also be established a Supreme Court, to the jurisdiction of which the States would become amenable, and to which controversies between them and the Supreme Government, such as those relating to intervention and the interpretation of treaties, could be referred.

Here, then, we have the outline of a scheme which may be broadly called federation, though it does not closely resemble any existing federal constitution. In reality, it would be another application of the method of Government by Conference which is the way in which we manage the joint affairs of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The machinery of consultation between Ministers representing the various Executive Governments, with the decisions embodied in consequential legislation in the individual States, is now in normal and regular operation. It is definitely recognised and given permanent structure in the organic Memorandum of the Imperial Conference of 1926, which is the new Magna Carta of the self-governing part of the British Empire.

It is conceivable that this method, with suitable modifications, might be applied to that other great British Empire, the Empire of India. It would be

novel and experimental: a fresh contribution to political science; but such contributions we are constantly making, and we usually contrive to render them in practice serviceable and efficient. It may be that out of the present unrest and confusion in the Indian political arena some such plan will be evolved to bring symmetry and harmony into the whole complex organism, and to set all the divergent interests working in unison for the general welfare. And if there is any weight in the considerations set forth in the foregoing pages this end cannot be reached without the consent and willing co-operation of the Indian States.

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[The two last-named books contain much valuable information, and Lee-Warner's is written with considerable literary ability. Both, however, give prominence to the views prevalent in official circles at the time they were issued, and should be read with the qualifications suggested in the preceding pages.]

For the States in the past, good histories of India should be consulted, such as Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India,* Sir William Hunter's *Short History of the Indian Peoples,* and the volumes of the "Rulers of India" Series.

Statistics and other information will be found in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India; The Indian States,* published for the Indian Government; and the *Indian Year Book.*

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A HISTORY OF CHINA

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PREFACE

THE wisdom of attempting to give a sketch so brief of the history of China, a country as large as Europe, and whose story covers five thousand years, may well be questioned. Such an attempt can only be excused by the ignorance of the English-speaking public, who have interests so numerous and so immediate that few have either time or inclination to read a longer treatise. It is hoped that a fair presentation of the facts has been made and that the compressed knowledge offered will not prove more dangerous than total ignorance. It would have been a more pleasant task to ignore political history, with its encouragement to materialistic interpretation, and to limit these pages to the story of the gradual evolution of Chinese civilization, wherein the intellectual and spiritual interpretation of history finds its happier sphere; but the one without the other would be incomplete.

The Chinese are often considered to be a single nation which has lived unitedly and amicably through thousands of years, and whose civilization is the most ancient continuous civilization in the world. In point of fact, they are a complex of races of cognate type, whose unification has been proceeding, with many and serious breaks, throughout history. Nor has the unification been by consent of the people, but under autocratic dynasties, founded in almost every case, after decades, even centuries, of fighting, by the finally successful warrior.

The civilization is old and has slowly progressed, but, having received little cross-fertilization, it is neither as broad nor as highly developed as that of the West, nor is it as old or as deep. The "arrested

development" has lain in too great an isolation from other progressive influences rather than in Chinese unwillingness to change, as witness the effect of Buddhist and Indian ideas, and the more recent eagerness to supplant the old tree with a new and different one in a soil insufficiently prepared.

OXFORD, *July*, 1927.

PRONUNCIATION OF CHINESE SOUNDS

GENERAL RULE. English consonants and "continental" vowels.

Consonants may be, in some cases, unaspirated, as *Kin*, or aspirated as *K'in*.

Vowels are almost all long, the exceptions being the finals *in, ing, un, ung*—*e.g.*, *chin, ling, tun, lung*.

a is always *ah;* never as in *tank*.
ai is the diphthong *ah-ee*, as in *aisle*.
ao is *ah-o*—*e.g.*, French *Raoul*, not *cowl*.
e, as in *fern*.
ei, as in *neighbour*.
i, as in *chief*.
ia, as in *yard*.
iai, as in *(m)y eye*.
ieh, as in *liaison*.
iu, as in *new*.
ih, after *ch* and *sh* is almost a guttural *r* sound—*chr, shr*.
o, almost as in *könig*.
ou, as in *owe*.
u, as in *tool*.
ua, ui, uo, almost as in *war, wee, whoa*.
ü, as in French.
ŭ in *szŭ, tzŭ* is *sz, tz*, with lips almost closed.

A HISTORY OF CHINA

CHAPTER I

CHINA'S PAST

Myth, Legend, and the Dawn of History
BEFORE 1122 B.C.

Once upon a time—nobody knows exactly when—on the banks of the Yellow River, where it takes its great eastward bend, a tribe rose above its fellow-tribesmen. It may have migrated from further west and wedged its way in among aboriginal tribes, or it may have been an indigenous tribe which raised itself by a touch of genius in the invention of a method of recording simple ideas. There is an old tradition that at first notched sticks and knotted cords were used, probably to record numbers. Later, as some ancient legends say, from the footprints of birds and beasts—others say from the markings on the back of a tortoise—pictorial signs were designed which gave rise to a written system.

China was then by no means an empty land. Numbers of tribes were already settled there as well as in the prairies of Mongolia and Manchuria, in Korea and Tibet. Let it not be thought that the superior tribe killed off all these wild tribes, who hunted and fished and cultivated their land in simple fashion. The superior tribe did destroy many of them, as it has continued to destroy them down to our own day, but its accretion seems to have been due more to the absorption of other tribes than to natural increase. By the superiority of its simple civilization it stretched its ruling power over the others, and nobody to-day can

find the original Chinese. They are apparently lost in the numerous tribes which now form the Chinese nation.

None of the aboriginal tribes, of whom many millions still exist in China, ever originated a system of writing. The Tibetans, Mongolians, and Manchus—all members of the Chinese nation—finally adapted other systems, some earlier, some very late in the day, systems not based on Chinese, but on Sanskrit or Syriac.

The date generally stated for the first sovereign of China is 2852 B.C., but there is folk-lore which carries us far beyond that period. For instance, we hear of *Pan-kŭ,* who in the course of 18,000 years chiselled out the heavens and the earth. There are legends of the vast periods of the Ten Epochs, in which we find the Nest Possessor, who made the first dwellings, and the Chinese Prometheus, who first produced fire. *Fu Hsi,* who reigned from 2852-2738 B.C. is the supposed inventor of picture writing, the Calendar, and musical instruments; also the founder of marriage, for before him children knew their mothers but not their fathers; and the first sacrificer to Heaven on Mount Tai. His wife, or sister, Nu-kua, or Nu-wa, succeeded him, and they are represented in sculpture with human bodies and intertwining serpents' tails. *Shen Nung,* the Divine Farmer (2737-2705), with the head of an ox on a human body, is the reputed father of agriculture and of the healing art. With *Huang Ti,* the Yellow Emperor (2704-2595), Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, the first great Chinese historian of the first century B.C., begins his famous work. He is represented as reducing the tribes to order, fighting the Hun-yu, or Huns, the perennial enemies of China, extending his sway eastward to the ocean and southward beyond the Yangtze River, and developing astronomy for determining the Calendar in the interests of agriculture. From his day the fixing of the Calendar has been the royal prerogative. His

wife, "the Lady of Si-ling," is credited with being the first breeder of silkworms and the inventor of spinning and weaving silk.

Yao (2357-2258) and *Shun* (2258-2206), because of their moral rectitude, are rulers greatly admired by Confucius. In Yao's old age a terrible flood devastated the land. After nine years' unsuccessful endeavour to reduce it he sought a successor, and Shun, a man of the people, was appointed. Shun exiled the officer who had failed to stay the flood, and appointed that officer's son, Yü, in his place. Yü succeeded, and extravagant traditions have added to his exploits. The flood was probably caused by "China's Sorrow," the Yellow River.

Yü (2205-2197) followed *Shun*, and founded the first great dynasty, styled the *Hsia* (2205-1766).

The dynastic territory ruled over by his successors was relatively small, limited chiefly to the valley of the Yellow River; but surrounding aboriginal tribes, even south of the Yangtze, recognized their supremacy. Agriculture, stock-breeding, primitive manufactures, hunting, and fishing were the chief pursuits of the people. The family was the unit and the patriarchal system the rule. The tribes, or territories, were governed by their chiefs or nobles, who were in a sort of feudal relationship to the emperor. Writing was in its infancy, and there was consequently little literature or education. The religion was one of Nature worship, which seems to have included both the object of worship and the spirit of the object. There were also elements of the projection of earthly law and government into the spiritual world, which became, in developed form, the later religion of the country. Ancestor worship and divination were practised and sacrifices offered.

Of the sixteen rulers of this dynasty after Yü there is little to be said: a few of them ruled wisely, others were profligate, and the infamy of the last of them, *Chieh* (1818-1766 B.C.), is proverbial. He is spoken of

as a man of immense strength, able to bend bars of metal. For the sake of a beautiful concubine he lavished the people's substance and strength on a superb palace; the trees in the gardens were hung with dainties, the lake filled with strong drink, and three thousand guests were encouraged to indulge in wild debauchery, many being drowned in the intoxicating lake, to the delectation of the ruler and his enchantress. It is said that in the fifty-first year of his reign he built an underground palace, in which he and his court gave themselves over to unbridled licence. T'ang, the Prince of Shang, took up arms against him. The nobles flocked to his standard, the emperor was defeated in battle; he fled, but was taken prisoner and confined until his death three years later. Thus has begun and ended every succeeding dynasty in China. Founded by a strong man, it has ended in a profligate or a weakling.

The Shang, or Yin, Dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) lasted 645 years, a period which may be considered semi-historical. *T'ang,* the founder, was a man of noble mind. Descended from the founder of the last dynasty, he based his right to overthrow it on the Will of Heaven and the evils wrought on the people by the immoral and oppressive emperor. T'ang's action has formed a precedent through succeeding ages of the right of rebellion against an evil ruler. For four hundred years from this reign, during which seventeen emperors occupied the throne, we have little information. The capital seems to have been removed several times, and, as the nobles were masters in their own territories, the royal power was more nominal than real. The reign title of the last emperor was *Chou Hsin* (1154-1122), and his wild profligacy and incredible cruelties stirred the Duke of Chou to arouse the barons. In a sanguinary battle the tyrant was defeated.

We know something of the culture of the Shang Dynasty, and there is evidence that it had risen to an

interesting degree of artistic development, especially in the making of bronze vessels and the carving of jade. The first important book on antiquities, written in the tenth century A.D., contains illustrations of existing bronze vessels of the Shang Dynasty. And on tortoise-shells, deer's horns, and sheep's clavicles, recently unearthed in Honan, a large number of characters have been found, showing that, though Shang writing was still archaic, it had already passed from the pictorial to a conventionalized stage, and was capable of expressing abstract ideas. The characters were painted or engraved on bamboo, wood, or bone. Some of the poems found in the Book of Odes are attributed to the Shang period, and are therefore the most ancient literary remains of the nation. The surrounding tribes had been subdued, driven off, or absorbed. The original territory had been extended all the eastward length of the Yellow River to the ocean, westward to the farther edge of Shensi, northward to the regions of the present Taiyuan and Peking, and southward in places beyond the River Yangtze. These territories were divided into regions under a kind of feudal system, the lords governing their respective feoffs in patriarchal fashion, really or nominally subject to the emperor, according to his power to control them. The agricultural life had for a long period settled the people in fixed abodes and in social groups. The building of houses, baronial residences, and palaces, the spinning and weaving of silk and flax, the making of clothing, the fashioning of implements of agriculture, of the chase, and of war, the working of various metals—all were developed. Musical instruments of various kinds were in use, but of the character of the music we have no knowledge. Astronomy was studied for the sake of the Calendar, and in order that the divine rulers, or Nature spirits, might receive their regular sacrifices and thus be aided or encouraged in doing their duty. Astrology and

divination were highly developed, and religion was of the very essence of imperial and baronial rule, as also of the clan and family life. The family, rather than the individual, was the unit, which is in keeping with the patriarchal system. Perhaps the height of the civilization, as well as its degradation, is best indicated by the luxury of the court of the last emperor, the profligate Chou Hsin, whose magnificent palaces are reported as the storehouses of immense riches.

CHAPTER II

FEUDALISM AND THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

The Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.)

The Chou Dynasty, which lasted 868 years, the longest in the annals of the nation, is famous for the rise of the great Chinese philosophers and the birth of literature. Before its advent, foundations of culture had already been laid, and by the middle of the first millennium B.C., Confucius, Laocius, and other thinkers founded their schools. It is the renowned classical period.

When the destroyer of the Shang, *Wu Wang,* or King Wu, assumed the throne, he partitioned the empire among the barons, who had followed his fortunes, thus continuing the feudal system of the preceding dynasty.

The younger brother of the king was his able minister. To him was given the State of Lu, in Shantung, where later Confucius was born; but he is known throughout history as the Duke of Chou. His wisdom and magnanimity made him the ideal man of Confucius.

The importance of ritual to social and economic welfare was quite as fully recognized in the China of Duke Chou—and also before and ever since—as

among the other tribes and nations of the world. Religion was primarily for community welfare rather than for the individual, and morals were therefore an essential part of religion. Under Duke Chou and Confucius the springs of action—thought, motive, aim—found fresh, perhaps even new, definition. The life of emperor, of baron, and of officer continued to be regulated by detailed ceremonial, for old traditions still lingered that their actions had a significance for and influence on the community welfare; and, as in other races, the early rulers were priest-magicians, chief mediators between the community of spirits above and the community of men below.

Unhappily for theory, rulers found practice irksome, and of the thirty-five sovereigns of this dynasty, thirty of them were either self-indulgent occupants of a palace, surrounded by women and eunuchs, or feeble nonentities. It therefore need cause no surprise that the dynasty lasted so many centuries, not because of any loyalty on the part of the barons, but because of their jealousy of each other. A perpetual struggle was maintained among them, accompanied by incessant intrigue and almost constant warfare in some part of the country or another. For centuries the policy of the barons was to prevent any one of their number from becoming master of the whole. A weak sovereign was considered more to their advantage than a strong usurper. The greater barons preyed upon their weak neighbours, and, in turn, during periods of decline, became the prey of others. In consequence the number of feudal states was ever changing. From the 124 states of the earlier days of the dynasty the number had decreased to seventy-two in the days of Confucius some six centuries later. The process of absorption continued. It is, however, interesting to note that it was the border states which became the strongest; they extended their territories farther into our present-day China, and thereby increased their wealth and absorbed the indigenous population. It was the Duke

of Ch'in, in the wild west, whose origin and whose army were barbarian rather than Chinese, who ended the intrigues and wars of the barons and destroyed both them and the dynasty in 221 B.C.

For centuries the country in one part or another had been wasted, men were dragged from their fields and homes to fight wars in which they had no interest, and gaunt famine often stalked the land. The Huns and other fierce nomads harried the north, and the Tibetans the west, while most of Southern China was occupied by savages.

There were, of course, periods of peace, and also barons who sought the welfare of the masses, but the ever-renewed strife had its effect on the character of the people, and especially of the educated classes. It was a period productive of pessimism, a period when many left office and became recluses, hopeless of a remedy. The spirit of the age accounts in no small measure for the rise of the ancient Taoist philosophy of Quietism under Laocius (604 B.C.), as also for the more practical teaching of Confucius (551 B.C.). Under Duke *Huan* of Ch'i (685-643), his able minister, Kuan, greatly increased the production of salt and iron by making them state monopolies. So excellent did Chinese iron become that *Sericum ferrum* was counted the best iron as far west as Rome. The salt development also became so great that other states, and even the Huns, were dependent on it. Kuan died warning the duke against his court parasites, but in vain, for in old age the duke died miserably, his sons by his different consorts quarrelling and raging over the succession. His body remained unburied for months, when a multitude of women were buried alive with him, as was the barbarous practice down to the seventeenth century A.D. In the meantime the expansion of the border lords had now reached well to the south of the River Yangtze, and along the coast into Chekiang.

The latter part of the Chou period, though of great

importance because of the infiltration of Tartar influences, the rise of the border, or barbaric, states to power; and the modification of national characteristics through intermixture of cognate races, is politically one of the continued decadence of the central authority, and the splitting up of China into many virtually independent states or nations. It was during this period of "the Warring States" (475-221) that the famous moral and political philosopher Mencius was born (372 B.C.). Philosophic schools of various kinds arose under different leaders. Yang Chu, the Chinese Epicurean, or perhaps voluptuary and fatalist, Mo Ti (or Micius), the apostle of unstinted altruism, and Chuang Tzŭ, the brilliant and wayward follower of Laocius, are assigned to this period. Sophistry is represented by the philosopher of the Kuei-ku, or Valley of Ghosts. The State of Ch'in continued to war against the other states; in one of its battles 240,000 combatants are said to have been slain. Finally a clever intriguer, Lü Pu-wei, secured the accession to the Ch'in dukedom of a weak scion of that house, who fell in love with Lü's young and beautiful concubine. Lü, with feigned reluctance, gave her to the prince, and a son was born whose parentage is doubtful. That son was destined to become the Napoleon of China, by the gradual overthrow of the remaining barons and the unification of the empire, freed from the feudal system. The last direct scion of the Chou family died in 256 B.C.

Thus in disaster came to an end the third of the ancient great dynasties of China. It was glorious, not for its political achievements, but for the establishment of the culture which became the warp on which future ages wove their varying patterns. Of the strands spun by preceding ages, the religious, ethical, and political were assembled by Confucius and by Laocius, each choosing those which appealed to his judgment. On their choice, but chiefly on that of Confucius, has been developed the fabric of Chinese

society, its philosophy, literature, history, poetry, art, social and political organization, moral theory, and (Buddhism apart) religious observances. The followers of Laocius formed the Taoist school, whose original doctrine was that there is a Tao, or Law, eternal, infinite, undefinable, working through all things. Man's duty is to allow this Law to work naturally in and through him. To become its medium, or be Tao-possessed, he must not strive, but hold himself in a spirit of quiescence, or inactivity. Forms and ceremonies, even laws, are useless. Such a man could do most marvellous things—ride on the clouds, walk through mountains, or fly in the air. Later, Taoism lost its pristine purity and took over the agelong magical practices of the people—the placating of demons, wizardry, charms, necromancy, geomancy, alchemy, spiritualism, all the ritual needed by the people for keeping in order the vast spirit world by which they were and still are surrounded, for every phenomenon has its representative spirit, benevolent or malevolent, which must be served.

To Confucius, on the other hand, the state transcended the individual, and religious ceremonial, officially performed, was the foundation of the state. The emperor was the Son of Heaven, and sacred. He was the intermediary between his people below and the Ruler above, from whom he received his commission. The emperor, therefore, was central to everything. In his person, his sacrifices, his laws, he must be the centre of virtue. Ceremonial must be scrupulously observed. Confucius was therefore a religious and court ritualist. But ritual without morals was in vain. Consequently his ethics are of a high order. A scholar and a ritualist, his "noble man" became the ideal for China, until the revolution of 1911 shattered prince and court and drove Confucius himself into the shadows. His restraining hand has often reasserted its power over the grosser superstitions of the Taoists; and his doctrines of humanity, justice, and reverence have influenced

the whole national aspiration and been his priceless gift to the true aristocrats of China, those of his followers—not a few—to whom nobility and character have been prized above wealth or honours.

CHAPTER III

IMPERIALISM

THE CH'IN DYNASTY (255-206 B.C.)

THE most famous Duke of Ch'in, often styled the Napoleon of China, ascended the royal throne in 221 B.C. as the "First Emperor" of the Ch'in dynasty, while his son was to be "Second Emperor," and so on, in perpetuity. His greatest contribution to China consisted in the destruction of the feudal system, the unification of the whole land under a sovereign, the division into thirty-six provinces, and especially the establishment of a civil service subject to the throne. It is this system, *mutatis mutandis,* which has been the national system for 2,000 years, with many lapses. The Great Wall of China is attributed to him, but much of it had been built at various times by different northern barons to parry the ever-recurring raids of the Turkic nomads, the Huns. The Ch'in emperor, at a vast cost in human life, linked up and completed the Wall, or Mound, from the centre of Asia to the Pacific Ocean, a length of 1,500 miles. His minister, Li, was a scholar, and is the reputed author of a simplication of the ancient complex form of writing, a simplification which served as the basis for the form that 200 years later became the writing still in use to-day. But Li's "infamy" consists in his advising the emperor to blot out the political philosophies and records of the past feudal period, for thus only could the new imperial régime be established and the nation be given rest and prosperity

after its centuries of feudal warfare and disintegration. He advocated that all works, save those relating to the Calendar, divination, medicine, agriculture, should be burned. It must be remembered that in those days a book was a man's load and difficult to hide, for it might consist of hundreds of tablets of wood or bamboo, on which characters were painted with a kind of varnish. The emperor is said to have read 120 lbs. of bamboo or wooden despatches daily. Despite, therefore, the hiding away of copies, the destruction was great; four hundred and sixty opposing scholars suffered death, it is said, by being buried alive. Some of the books were, however, successfully hidden and recovered later.

It is to General Meng T'ien, the actual builder of the Great Wall, that the discovery of the camel's-hair brush, or pencil, for writing is attributed. Before his day a bamboo stylus had been used. His invention was revolutionary in its effects, for it led the way to the use of silk in place of wooden or bamboo tablets.

The emperor's dread of death led him to encourage a search for the elixir of immortality, and to consult wizards. He is said to have built the Great Wall against the Huns because his wizards foretold that the name Hu, which was also a cognomen of the Huns, was portentous to him. Again, by the forced labour of 700,000 men, he built an enormous palace with multitudes of rooms, in order that he might sleep in a different one every night, and thus escape the pursuit of malignant spirits. He died, while on a tour, after thirty-seven years of reign. His younger son, named Hu Hai, drove the heir to commit suicide, and succeeded as Second Emperor. The prognostication of the magicians, if true, that Hu was a portentous name, was fulfilled, for the new emperor estranged the people. He built for his father, at fabulous cost, an enormous mausoleum undergroun[d] and then buried alive some hundreds of his father

concubines, to serve his father in the spirit world. Accused by the chief eunuch, the minister Li was sawn asunder, and all his relatives ruthlessly destroyed. In terror of a similar fate, the chief eunuch caused the emperor to be assassinated, when the emperor's son was raised to the throne, who promptly avenged his father by the destruction of the eunuch and all his relatives. Rebellion soon reared its head. Two representatives of former states appeared. One of them slew the emperor, but after two years' fighting was in turn overcome by Liu Pang, a representative of the former feudal State of Han, who ascended the throne.

The Ch'in Dynasty, it is believed, has especially marked itself in the history of the world by giving us the name "China." For centuries it was the far western state which had been in contact with Central Asia and India, and the name of Chin seems to have been generally accepted throughout Asia for China.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAN DYNASTY

206 B.C. TO A.D. 221

THAT most of the Chinese to this day style themselves Men of Han, or Sons of Han, is the best indication of their affection for this dynasty.

The emperor, Liu Pang, who reigned as Emperor *Kao* (206-194 B.C.), aided by his minister, first regulated the laws and arranged the administration. He ordered the recovery of the ancient books; some were found in whole or in part, others were copied down from the memories of old men, but much was entirely lost. In 199 he had to face the northern terror of China, the Tartars. The Huns, or Western

Tartars, were the ancestors of the Turks, Mongols, Uigurs, Khirghiz, and other tribes. The Eastern Tartars, or Tungus, produced the Kins, Khitans, Manchus, and Koreans. We meet these Tartar tribes in the earliest traditions, and continue with them throughout Chinese history, for centuries dominating China or, in turn, being dominated. Their influence on the northern Chinese in racial characteristics and language is extensive.

These savage people, regardless of the Great Wall, swept into Shensi, drove back the imperial forces, and besieged a city into which the emperor had retired, whence he was only saved by a strategem of his adviser. The rest of his days were spent chiefly in defending his northern frontier, and he finally died of a wound received in battle. His son of fourteen succeeded him, under the regency of his mother, the empress dowager. She put his half brother by another mother to death, chopped the mother to pieces, cast the pieces on a midden, and showed them to her son, whose reason was impaired by the sight. The emperor died young, and the dowager, a determined and cruel woman, continued to rule. On her death a son of the late emperor by a concubine was raised to the throne, and as King *Wen* (179-156 B.C.) is noted for his humanity. As long as he reigned, the severity of the laws was moderated by the abolishing of branding on the face, cutting off the nose, chopping off the feet, and castration; and he ordained that a criminal should bear his own punishment without its extension to the family. He sought diligently for copies of the books which had been destroyed; fought successfully against the Huns, and died mourned by his nation after twenty-three years of reign, commanding a simple burial, and but three days of national mourning instead of the customary three years. His moderation died with him.

Of the other reigns, that of the Emperor *W* (140-86 B.C.) deserves special mention. He was

able and resolute ruler, but cruel and superstitious. He became the dupe of charlatan after charlatan in the pursuit of the elixir of immortality and the transmutation of metals. Through the plotting of his Taoist magicians he slew his eldest son, to whom he was deeply attached, and ordered the execution of the mother of the crown prince to prevent her, a woman, being regent after his death. His military expeditions against the Huns, and for the conquest of Korea, Kuang-tung, Kuang-si, Kuei-chou, part of Tongking, Yunnan, and Ssŭ-ch'uan drained the country of its wealth. To maintain his armies, he demanded an inventory of all the possessions of his people, and mulcted them of five per cent. of their value, confiscating the property of those who made false returns. Informers naturally grew apace, and finally the country arose in rebellion, which was only suppressed by slaughter. But the feature of his reign most interesting to us is the sending of General Chang Ch'ien, about 138 B.C., to persuade the Yueh-chi tribe of Indo-Scythians to return; who had migrated westward from the marauding Huns, and thus left the north-west of China unprotected. This migration began the first great westward tribal movement, which culminated in the terrible Hun invasion of Western Asia and Europe. Chang Ch'ien reached Bokhara, and is the first known envoy to bring news to China of the character of Central Asia and its people. In 104 B.C., General Li Kuang-li was sent westward as far as Ferghana to avenge the death of Chinese envoys. In this way Bactria and Afghanistan, Parthia, and Mesopotamia, and the Roman Empire became known to the Chinese Court.

Five rulers of no special note reigned from 86 B.C. to 1 B.C. With *P'ing* (A.D. 1-6) begin the machinations of the infamous minister, Wang Mang, who poisoned the youthful emperor, and first placed a child of two on the throne with himself as regent; then three years later deposed the child and usurped the throne.

Rebellion after rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed, only to plunge the country into deeper misery. It became the prey of military leaders little better than brigands, who, as in the present day, sought their own profit at whatever loss to the people. The "Red Eyebrows," for instance, numbered hundreds of thousands, and lived on the people while they fought the Usurper. He was finally overthrown by a rising which placed a scion of the royal family on the throne. The Usurper's body was cut to pieces, and his head tossed about in the market-place. After two years of chaos the new king, pleasure-loving and profligate, was dethroned, and *Kuang-wu* (A.D. 25-58), a valiant scion of the same house, succeeded. After several years of fighting he reduced his country to order. He was a humane sovereign, who again laid the foundation of the Han dynasty. From his reign it is known as the Later, or Eastern Han (A.D. 25-221). It was during his reign, in A.D. 34, that Jewish traders settled in China. Of this community a very small remnant still exists. His son succeeded as the Emperor *Ming* (A.D. 58-76). Buddhism and Buddhist images were not unknown in China, and as the result of a dream, in which he saw a "golden man," the emperor sent an embassy to India which brought back images, palm-leaf writings, and monks as translators and exponents. Though for 250 years the religion made but slow progress among the people, before the end of this dynasty 350 works, some of high value, had been translated into Chinese. The advent of Buddhism, with other forms of Indian culture, is almost the only kind of cross-fertilization which has benefited China until modern times.

Of the eleven emperors who succeeded, not one on accession had reached adult years, and most of them were infants. The government fell into the hand at worst of eunuchs, at best of ministers. One able empress-dowager was successful in expelling the Huns; another cruelly oppressed the people. General Pan

Ch'ao, in the latter half of the first century A.D., fought the Huns and extended his conquests westward as far as the Pamirs, sending his lieutenant, Kang Yin, in A.D. 97, further still to the Persian Gulf. Towards the end of the second century, the Five Ancient Classics, edited by Confucius, were first engraved on stone tablets, and became the principal subjects of examination for entrance into the official ranks; though this rule has often been in abeyance for long periods, it has always been resuscitated.

The Yellow Turbans arose at the end of the second century A.D., and in suppressing them the two detested ministers, Tung Cho and Ts'ao Ts'ao came into power. It was because the eunuchs had seized power in the palace that Tung Cho was called in, and he then exterminated the whole mass of them. Later his oppressions drove his fellow-officers to revolt. He then removed the capital from Loyang in Honan, after looting and burning it, to Hsi-an in Shensi, driving the vast population of the capital before him. Finally he was stabbed by his most trusted lieutenant, and his family and relatives were slaughtered. Ts'ao Ts'ao, who became ruler of Wei, succeeded him, a man whose tyrannies and ambitions are famed in story. On Ts'ao's decease his son put the puppet emperor to death, and assumed the royal title and power, thus ending the dynasty.

The Han Dynasty produced no sovereign of equal force of character to the Ch'in emperor, and few of any nobility, but the expansion of the empire continued until most of present-day China proper, save the south-west, was included, even Annam and Tongking becoming tributary. The ability of the people expressed itself in a developing art, as is revealed in Han pottery, jade, bronze, and ironwork; also in silk brocades and embroideries. Most commendable was the imperial encouragement given to the recovery of so many of the priceless writings grievously destroyed by the Ch'in emperor, as also

in their engraving the Confucian Classics on stone. It was the period of the first great collators, commentators, and historians, and of the fathers of the form of much subsequent poetry. The invention of the hair pencil under the Ch'in had made possible first the use of silk for writing, and then of paper consequent on the truly epoch-making discovery of the art of paper-making in A.D. 105. These inventions, and the further modification of the ancient characters to the form practically unchanged to this day, opened the way for the spread of Chinese literature from Turkestan to the Pacific Ocean and the Southern Seas. Whatever may be said of the government, the world-enriching discovery of paper would alone entitle the Han period to be styled glorious. It may be added that during this dynasty the Arabs found their way by sea to Southern China, and that in A.D. 196 envoys arrived from Marcus Aurelius.

CHAPTER V

THE AGE OF CHIVALRY AND CHAOS

THE THREE KINGDOMS AND THE TARTAR INVASION (A.D. 221-589)

IN China, as elsewhere, it is the story-teller or the troubadour who makes a period romantic. The greatest novel of China, "The Three Kingdoms," written a thousand years later, circles around the dramatis personæ of the brief period from about 190-220. This historical novel has entered into the very soul of the nation. It has invaded the dramas, the novels, the stories, the ballads, and even religion, and to it is attributed the *bushido,* or chivalry, of the Japanese.

The struggle following the demise of the Han

Dynasty ended in the partition of the country into the kingdoms of Wei, Wu, and Shu. Wei occupied the older part of China, that of the early days of the Han Dynasty, covering the country north of the Yangtze; Wu occupied the region south of the Yangtze; Shu the west, especially Ssŭ-ch'uan. It was the rise of the Yellow Turbans which brought forth the leading characters of this period. Three of the most famous are Liu P'ei, maker of straw shoes, but a scion of the royal family, and his comrades, Chang Fei and Kuan Yü. The "Peach-garden oath," which they took in each other's blood, was to be loyal to each other to the death, and to the Han Dynasty. The valour and fidelity of Kuan Yü were such that since 1694 he has been worshipped as Kuan Ti, the national god of war. To this trio must be added their clever strategist, Chu-ko Liang. As to the kingdom of Wu, its ruler was the skilful general, Sun Ch'uan. The ruler of Wei, Ts'ao Ts'ao, became the villain of the story. Chinese sympathy runs with the Han hero, Liu P'ei, who after much struggle became the King of Shu. This sympathy is chiefly due to his descent from an early Han monarch, and to the romance which circles round the fortunes of himself and his three friends. His son and successor, Hou Chu, made terms with Wu, but was determined to launch an attack on Wei. Having first subdued the Burmese, he attacked Wei, but was severely defeated. The death of Chu-ko Liang left King Hou Chu without competent adviser. He gave himself up to enjoyment, neglected his duties, listened only to the advice of a eunuch and a Taoist priest, and left his ablest general unsupported. Attacked in his capital, in cowardice he surrendered his country and himself, going with his hands tied behind his back and accompanied by his coffin to the camp of his daring enemy.

The descendants of Ts'ao Ts'ao, according to rule, degenerated in ability. They fell into the hands of

General Sz-ma, whose son succeeded him, clever, unscrupulous, and merciless. The Sz-ma family finally secured the throne, founding the *Western Tsin* Dynasty (262-317). Its first emperor, *Wu* (265-290), united China again by overcoming the southern kingdom of Wu, but soon gave himself up to self-indulgence, and disorder followed. During his reign an envoy from the Roman emperor is reported to have reached his Court. Towards the end of his rule the Eastern Huns seriously troubled the north, and under his son the empire was ravaged north-east and north-west, while anarchy reigned within. The latter's brother and successor was taken prisoner, treated as a slave, and later put to death. Another brother, Emperor *Min* (313-317), saw the empire become a prey to warring generals and to invading barbarians. He, too, was captured by the Huns, treated as a slave, and murdered. The Huns now dominated Northern China, leaving only the south to the Chinese.

The Tsin Dynasty continued its rule in the south until 420. During the 155 years of its reign its fifteen emperors lived through a period of incessant warfare. It presents as sordid a period of intrigue and massacre as the world has ever known. The same statement is true of the north and the west, which formed the greater part of China, and was the cock-pit of conflicting Tartar rulers. Millions upon millions perished in or from unceasing warfare. One bright spot is the advent of a Tartar ruler, who in 397 established the House of Toba, ruling over the northern kingdom of Wei. By organizing a civil administration and by the encouragement of learning, he built, on the foundation laid by China, the civilization of his barbarous people. The Toba House at first severely persecuted Buddhism, but later were its great supporters, and through them it was finally established in China.

When the Tsin Dynasty was overthrown and the

Sung Dynasty (420-479) set up, there were seven kingdoms in China, of which six were under Tartar rulers. The Sung emperor attacked the Tobas, but in reprisal the Tobas overran six provinces, massacring, with fiendish glee, men, women, and children. During the same period the Tartar Attila, the "Scourge of God," ravaged half of Asia and slaughtered across most of Europe. In all, eight rulers of the Sung reigned, four of whom were murdered. The *Ch'i* Dynasty (479-592) followed the Sung with five rulers, two of whom were murdered. The *Liang* Dynasty (502-557) followed with five rulers, of whom three were murdered. Its founder struggled to recover the north, and vast numbers were slain without success. He became a devout Buddhist, and did for that religion in the south what the Tobas did in the north, finally established it among the people. He built 13,000 temples, sent for monks from India, was so strict a vegetarian that he even forbade the weaving or embroidering of living creatures on cloth, because the tailor's shears would cut through them. He also forbade the use of animal sacrifices, so that Confucius, the ancestors, and the gods during his reign were perforce vegetarians. He is described as a man of distinguished character and noble presence, a scholar, soldier, statesman, and monk. The *Ch'ên* Dynasty (557-589) succeeded with four rulers, the last of whom, profligate and debauched, fell a prisoner to General Yang Chien, who founded the Sui dynasty, and again unified China. For 367 years the division between the Tartars in the north and the Chinese in the south existed. The Tartars arrived in China barbarians; within four centuries they ceased to be nomads, lost their language, and were absorbed by the higher civilization of the lettered Chinese, albeit not without influence on both the language and the character of the north.

Despite the sufferings of this period from sword and famine, when war between Tartar and Chinese,

or internal dissension and slaughter, filled more time than did peace, the genius of the people struggled for expression. Not only did the demand for armour and weapons of war stimulate the artificers in metal and wood, but the luxury of courts and mansions required the skill of builders, of iron, gold, and silversmiths, of decorators and artists, and of makers of silks and embroideries. Remains of these and of the literature of the period give proof of the progress made. The most notable advance, however, was connected with religion, for Buddhism obtained its hold on the Tartar domain, and also somewhat later on that of the Chinese rulers. In the latter it had to contend more seriously with Confucism and Taoism. The Wei or Toba period is that of the great development of sculpture, in which Grecian influence is first seen. The colossal rock carvings of this period at Yun kang in Shansi and Lung mên in Honan remain to this day. Of even greater importance was the translation by Kumarajiva and other Indian monks of Buddhist books from Sanskrit into Chinese. At the close of this period it is said that the Buddhist library exceeded that of the Confucian. Nor can we neglect perhaps the most remarkable development of all, the beginning of those pilgrimages of such Chinese Buddhists as Fa Hsien, in 399, to India, which by their records have added so greatly to our knowledge of the India of those days.

The arrival in China of the Indian patriarch Bodhidharma, in 526, initiated the Chan, or Meditative School, whose teaching was that the cultivation of the heart by meditation, or the inner light, was the only true religion, a school which has powerfully influenced Buddhism throughout China, Korea, and Japan. The Amidist school, still the most popular in the land and in Japan, was founded in Northern China in the fourth century; its chief doctrine is the worship of Amitabha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise. On the whole the north of China under

the "barbarians" seems to have been more progressive than the south, but even there the active progressive forces were Chinese rather than Tartar.

CHAPTER VI

REUNIFICATION

THE SUI DYNASTY (589-618)

ONCE more a soldier carved his way to the throne. By 586 the Northern Chou Dynasty had destroyed its northern rivals and unified the north. Yang Chien, its generalissimo, was made Duke of Sui. Later he brushed aside the child emperor, gathered the reins of power into his own strong hands, invaded the south, destroyed its dissolute ruler, and after crushing his rivals, reigned over a united China. Apart from the customary precaution of blotting out the preceding royal families, he was a worthy ruler, passionate and tyrannical, but generous. He and his heir were murdered by his second son, who succeeded as *Yang Ti* (605-617). Studious, clever, luxurious, he squandered treasure and life without stint. Immense palaces, huge parks, lakes and islands, trees that must always bloom, naturally or with silken flowers and leaves, thousands of court ladies and their attendants, every conceivable gratification were his delight. He linked his capital with the Yangtze by joining various rivers into a great canal, lining it with stone embankments, and 30,000 "dragon boats" carried him and his entourage on royal visitations. Whole districts were denuded of birds to supply his followers with gay feathers. He led an army of 305,000 against Korea, of whom only 2,700 returned. Rebellion after rebellion was crushed, but the oppressed people were moody with hatred. His ablest general, Li Yuan of Shansi, revolted with the emperor's own officers, and Li Yuan founded the great T'ang Dynasty. But the villainies

of Yang Ti cannot rob his father of the glory of reuniting China after nearly four centuries of disruption, of Tartar rule and of incalculable suffering.

CHAPTER VII

EXPANSION AND POETRY

THE T'ANG DYNASTY (618-907)

LI YUAN reigned as *Kao Tsu* (618-627). That those who remained of the late royal house were not butchered is an indication of his character. Buddhist monasteries had offered an asylum to so enormous a number of the devout, the destitute, and the indolent that a veritable army of monks and nuns was ordered back to civil life. Guided by the advice of his able son, Li Shih-min, the emperor began to reorganize the country, overcame his numerous rivals for power, and fostered education. His son ascended the throne as *T'ai Tsung* (627-650), and became probably the greatest monarch in China's history. With meagre forces he had captured for his father the royal sceptre, subdued powerful rivals, and established the throne. He now greatly expanded his territory by the conquest of barbarian neighbours, welcomed to his court at Ch'ang-an (now Hsi-an, in Shensi) visitors from all nations and provided for them; instituted a system of government which remained the model till our day; fostered learning; founded a royal library of 200,000 manuscript books; encouraged trade and international relations, and died leaving a domain unequalled till then in extent, power, or culture. His queen, a woman of noble character and his wise adviser, had induced him to send to their homes 3,000 women of the royal seraglio, thus freeing them from the luxurious imprisonment of the palace and on her death she begged that she be decked in no jewels for her burial, but be laid with a tile for her pillow and pins of wood in her hair. He

built a lookout in his palace from which he might gaze on her hillside grave.

Christianity was first introduced by Syrian missionaries in 635. The emperor generously provided a monastery for their twenty-one priests, as is recorded on the Nestorian tablet of the eighth century, still existing. His tolerance brought to his court representatives of other cults and envoys from many nations. Never had such a variety of languages or dress been known at the Chinese capital.

His eldest son, having conspired against his life, was exiled, and his ninth son succeeded as *Kao Tsung* (650-684). Having seen in a Buddhist temple a concubine of his late father, he took her into his own harem. Soon she dominated him, murdered the child she bore him, charged the empress with the crime, and came into power as the notorious Empress *Wu*. The late empress and another rival she threw into a dungeon, then chopped off their hands and feet, cast the two alive into tubs of spirits, and gloated over their dying agony. It was woe to all who opposed her, but by employing only statesmen of ability she became a successful ruler. Korea was conquered, and the Khitans and Tibetans (Turfans) were expelled. She died at eighty-one, having dominated China for fifty years and maintained its integrity. During the reign of Huan Tsung (713-756), the famous Han Lin Academy, the "Plume Grove" or "Forest of Pencils," was founded. Later, he fell under the influence of an evil counsellor, Li Lin-fu, who weakened the northern garrisons, and thus opened the way for further Tartar invasion and the ultimate destruction of the dynasty. When sixty-three years of age he became enamoured of one of the most famous beauties of history, Yang Kuei Fei. She was the concubine of one of his sons, but ignoring all decorum, the elderly king took her into his own seraglio, where she became supreme. Her brother became Prime Minister, and so imperilled the life of a powerful minister, An Lu-shan, that he re-

volted, whereupon the emperor and court fled the capital. On the road their bodyguard mutinied and demanded the Prime Minister's head. That being yielded, the head of Yang Kuei Fei was demanded. The king, to save his own useless life, again yielded, and soon afterwards abdicated in favour of one of his numerous progeny, who reigned as *Su Tsung* (756-763). In the meantime An Lu-shan had massacred the seraglio and all loyal families, and sacked Ch'ang-an, the capital. All China was in tumult. A loyal general, Kuo Tzŭ-i, with the aid of Turfans and Uigurs, recovered the capital and restored Su Tsung. In the reign of *Tê Tsung* (780-805) we find the first mention of tea as a taxable commodity, reasonable evidence that tea now began to come into use as a beverage. In time it transformed the Chinese, as it is now transforming the Americans and the English, into a sober people.

Rebellion finally drove Tê Tsung to flight, when most of the royal family perished. Later he abdicated in favour of a son, *Hsien Tsung* (806-821), whose credulity in receiving, with great pomp, a supposed finger-bone of the Buddha, brought forth a brilliant memorial in protest from Han Wên-kung, the greatest scholar of his age. The elixir of immortality drove the king into fits of ungovernable temper, in which he ordered the execution of some of his chief eunuchs. The rest, in fear, accelerated his departure to the immortals. His successor died from the elixir, and the heir of the latter was in turn stabbed to death by an aggrieved eunuch. *Wên Tsung* (827-841), dominated by the eunuchs, made an attempt at freedom, when they killed the chief ministers and 1,600 of their people, and a reign of terror in the capital resulted. His brother, *Wu Tsung* (841-847), in 845 suppressed Buddhist monasteries, persecuted the religion, and Nestorian Christianity probably succumbed at this time. He also indulged in the elixir and died, as for the same reason did his successor, *Hsüan Tsung* (847-860). His son, *I Tsung* (860-874),

was cruel and credulous. While murdering with one hand he welcomed a "bone of Buddha" with the other. On a daughter dying he executed the twenty attendant doctors and 300 of their families. His son of twelve followed as *Hsi Tsung* (874-889). Rebellion and brigandage marked his reign. The capital was attacked by a rebel, Huang Ch'ao, the king fled and the royal family was massacred. The king called the Turcomans to his aid, whose black garments gave them the name of "The Crows." Under their leader, Li K'o-yung, the rebellion was suppressed after eight millions of the people had perished. The eunuchs again obtained control, as they did of his brother and successor, *Chao Tsung* (889-905). When drunk, this emperor killed several of his women; the eunuchs thereupon confined him in an iron-bound room. General Chu Wên came and rescued him after hard fighting, most of the eunuchs being slain. Chu soon ordered some of his men to kill the emperor, and when that was done, to ensure their silence, he immediately executed them. *Chao Hsuan,* fourteen years old, whose nine brothers Chu had murdered, reigned in name for two years, when this coarse and brutal man ascended the throne.

Of the eighteen sovereigns of this dynasty three abdicated, only eight died a natural death, the rest were murdered or died from the elixir. Nevertheless, the glory of T'ai Tsung, the virtual founder of the dynasty, cannot be dimmed by his long line of decadent successors. To this day the southerners are proud to call themselves "Men of T'ang."

Though the territory had expanded, civil strife is said to have reduced the population from fifty to twenty-two millions. There were, of course, periods of peace and prosperity. Some of the emperors encouraged scholarship. Most of them sought for objects of art, for skilled products, and for luxuries of every kind. Pictorial art was greatly developed, with Wu Tao-tzŭ as its greatest exponent. Writing

was also developed into a fine art. Porcelain began its early development. Sculpture and modelling received an impetus from Græco-Bactrian importations, especially under the ægis of Buddhism, which religion extended its artistic and cultural influence throughout the land. It was during this period that the Chinese monk Hsüan Tsung made his two journeys to India, in 629 and 645, and brought back large quantities of the Buddhist canon for translation into Chinese. Many Sanskrit originals have entirely disappeared, and are only known in their Chinese translations. The literary style of the Confucianist, Han Wên-kung, has been copied down to the present day. Chia Tan, following the rules of P'ei Hsiu of the third century A.D., produced his map of the world according to details obtained from the numerous pilgrims and tribute-bearers who came to court. Above all, it was during the T'ang period that poetry found its great expression. There are still in existence nearly 50,000 poems of this period. Li Po, Tu Fu, Han Wên-kung, Po Chü-i, and many others have bequeathed to posterity poetry which is the literary glory of the nation. Finally, it was during this period that Japan and Korea from the East, and Annam and other nations from the south, sent envoys to seek the culture of China on which to build their own civilization.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIVE SHORT DYNASTIES

(907-960)

CHU WEN founded the *Liang* Dynasty (907-923). He was murdered by one of his sons, who declared himself emperor, but was in turn attacked and committed suicide. The dynasty was soon overthrown by the Turcoman Li, son of Li K'o-yung of "The Crows,"

who founded the *Later T'ang* (923-936). He and his brother who succeeded him were, for the time being, victorious over the invading Kitan hordes. But the outstanding event of this period, worldwide in its beneficient influence, was the invention, or public introduction, of the art of printing. As a result of this great discovery the Buddhist and Confucian Classics were all soon printed from wooden blocks. The luxury of court life demoralized the Turcoman emperor. He surrounded himself with play-actors, who finally rose against him and killed him. One of his generals, a Turcoman, followed, but on his death another general, anticipating a plot by the next ruler for his destruction, sought the aid of the Kitans, overcame him, and founded the *Later Tsin* Dynasty (936-947). The new emperor had to address the Kitan king as "Father" and pay him huge tribute, which further impoverished the people. In 936 the Kitans established themselves in Liaotung as the Liao, or "Iron," Dynasty, and adopted the Chinese system of government. On the second Tsin ruler massacring all the Kitans in his territory, their hordes poured into China, ravaging and looting. The emperor finally submitted, going to their camp with all his family tied with ropes. They were exiled to Tartary. The Kitans withdrew, and one of the Tsin generals was raised to the throne founding the *Later Han* Dynasty (947-951). His son succeeded, sent his ablest general, Kuo Wei, against the invading Kitans, then murdered his chief ministers, and sent orders for General Kuo to commit suicide. Kuo's soldiers instead raised him to the throne, and he soon afterwards slew the emperor.

The *Later Chou* Dynasty (951-960) was thus founded by a common soldier, who, though illiterate, had a profound reverence for Confucian learning. His son, *Shih Tsung* (954-960), proved an able monarch, but died leaving a seven-year-old son as successor. A general, Chao K'uang-yin, was now sent against the

invading Kitans. But at "The Bridge of Chên" Chao was roused from sleep, still heavy with drink, wrapped by his officers in the yellow imperial robe, and hailed as emperor by the cries of his soldiers. Thus came into existence the Sung Dynasty.

Three of these "five dynasties" were under Turcoman rule, and it is questionable whether the other two founders were really Chinese. The area over which the imperial writ ran was chiefly north of the Yangtze and entirely dependent on the will and power of provincial rulers, and during this troubled period of fifty years the country, for the most part, was in a state of confusion.

CHAPTER IX

CHINESE AND TARTARS: HISTORIANS, PHILOSOPHERS, ESSAYISTS

THE SUNG DYNASTY (960-1280)

THE founder, who reigned as *T'ai Tsu* (960-976) was a native of the north, and reputedly of Chinese ancestry. He proved to be a humane, generous, and wise ruler, but much of his energy was directed to subduing rivals and repelling the Kitan Tartars. His humanity is shown in his kindness to the deposed child emperor and the royal family; he did not kill them. His brother and the latter's son, *Chên Tsung,* continued the struggle against the Kitans, who, from now onwards, became increasingly aggressive. They harassed *Jên Tsung* (1023-1064), as did the Tanguts on the north-west. This reign, however, is most notable for the rise of Sung scholarship. Seldom, if ever, had the court seen such a galaxy of scholarly statesmen and warriors. What the T'ang poets did for poetry, these men did for prose literature. That the conscription of one son in every family with three sons

only numbered 156,000, is an indication either of the smallness of the population or the limited extent of the throne's effective authority.

The reign of *Shên Tsung* (1068-1086) is notable for the famous "communistic" experiments of the minister Wang An-shih. He was a very clever man, who "wore dirty clothes and did not even wash his face." Opposed by the best statesmen of the day, he yet gained the boy emperor's ear, and was allowed to exercise his destructive talents. After founding a Board of Statistics to tabulate everything relating to the land and agriculture, he commenced his doctrinaire legislation, which *inter alia* was as follows:

(1) *The Nationalization of Commerce.*—Taxes were to be paid in kind and all surplus commodities were to be bought, transported, and sold by the Government. The inevitable corruption was worse than the avarice of the rich or of the trader.

(2) *State Loans.*—These were made to needy farmers at 33·3 per cent. to be repaid at harvest. Later the loans were made compulsory on all. The people groaned under oppressive collectors.

(3) *Conscription.*—Every family with more than one son must place one at the State's disposal. Self-mutilation increased to an alarming extent.

(4) *Income Tax* was levied on owners of property of every kind. Correct returns were ensured by sharing all undeclared property between the State and the informers. Informers swarmed and prospered.

Drought gave warning of Heaven's displeasure. "Not at all," sagely replied Wang; "natural phenomena are the result of natural laws and have no relation to moral action." But the plight of the people, what with the tax-gatherer and self-mutilation, caused so much disaffection that the emperor was led to suspend the taxation, whereupon generous rains fell. Wang's legislation died with or soon after him, after laying the foundation of Sung ruin. The Tanguts slew 200,000 of a Chinese army sent against them. In

1111 another Tartar menace arose in the advent of the Kin (or Chin) Tartars. Returning for a moment to the Kitans, who have already been frequently mentioned, it may be remarked that their territory was in the present Manchuria. They first appeared as sporadic raiders about 480 A.D., but in the tenth century their tribes were united into a nation by Apaoki, and for long held possession of part of Northern China, with their capital first at Liao-yang, later at Peking. It is through early Russian contact with the Kitans that we receive the name of Kitai, or Cathay, for China. A branch of the same race, the Nüchên Tartars, were for long subservient to the Kitans, but under Akuta they threw off the yoke, smote their former masters, and founded the Kin, or "Golden" Dynasty, as superior to the Liao, or "Iron" Dynasty—*i.e.*, the Kitan.

In 1111 the Emperor Hui Tsung made an alliance with the Kins to drive away the Kitans, in order that he might recover the lost Sung territory. The Kitans were defeated, but the Kins seized the territory. Hui Tsung thereupon sought an alliance with the defeated Kitans to drive out the Kins, but the Kitans were overthrown, and the Kins then turned their forces against the Sung emperor. Their ruthless, intrepid cavalry pressed on to the rich Sung capital, which was at K'ai-fêng in Honan. Hui Tsung fled south to Nanking, and soon abdicated in favour of his son *Ch'in Tsung* (1126). The enemy ravaged a wide extent of country, went home laden with loot, came back in the winter, besieged the capital, to which Hui Tsung had returned, and carried him off, along with Emperor Ch'in and three thousand of the royal household, into a captivity from which he and they never returned. A ninth son of Hui succeeded as *Kao Tsung* (1127-1163). Driven to the south of the Yangtze, fleeing to Hangchow and then Wênchow, his reign begins the period of the Southern Sung, when all China was for 150 years again divided, the north ruled by Tartars, the

south by Chinese, after which, for still another ninety years, the whole was united under Tartar domination. The century which now follows is a record of struggle, of devastation and slaughter, when vast numbers of soldiers and people perished.

In 1135 a new foe of the Kins arose in the Mongols, who harried them and the north of China for over a century before finally destroying both Kin and Sung in a common downfall. Meanwhile the Kins followed the usual course of the Tartar conqueror in yielding to the educating influence of Chinese scholars. Devoid of a written system, they bowed before the might of the pen. Their sovereigns adopted Chinese learning and institutions, and some among them proved to be men of lofty and generous mind. As to the south, under *Hsiao Tsung* (1163-1190), the policy of diplomacy took the place of war, and the Tartar ruler manifested a similar generous spirit. *Kuang Tsung* (1190-1195) was dominated by his queen; because he was attracted by a concubine who brought him his wash-bowl, she next day sent him a eunuch with a salver, on which were the severed hands of the unfortunate woman. Her intervention in affairs of state brought about his abdication. His son of twenty-seven reigned as *Ning Tsung* (1195-1225). Amidst the disturbances of this period there were devoted ministers, officials, and scholars. With the aid of the engraver's art and the printer's skill—centuries before printing was introduced into Europe—scholars were pursuing their task of enlightenment. The greatest among them, Chu Hsi, died in 1200. His voluminous commentaries on the Confucian Classics have been the standard interpretation ever since his day, as his philosophical and literary treatises have been the orthodoxy of China. The Mongols carried their raids against the Kins deeper and deeper into Northern China, with terrible suffering to the stricken people. The Kins, under impotent rulers, quarrelled among themselves and some of their leaders, disgusted, threw in their

lot with the Mongols, who captured the Kin capital, filled with millions of refugees and enormous wealth. The Mongol chief ordered the customary total massacre and loot, but was dissuaded by his famous counsellor Yeh-lu-chu-tsai, a Kitan by origin, who secured the extraordinary leniency of plunder without massacre, by urging that the people would produce more wealth for the Mongols alive than dead. In 1233 the Kin emperor died fighting bravely against both Mongols and Chinese. His captured generals were taken by the Chinese to Hangchow and offered in sacrifice before the imperial Sung tablets. With great rejoicing the Sungs recovered K'ai-fêng, Lo-yang, and other cities, lost to them for over a century, but soon their armies were flying before the Mongol hordes. The Mongol ruler, Ogotai, advised by Yeh-lu-chu-tsai, instead of making a wilderness of his newly acquired Chinese territory, as the Mongols had done of Western Asia and Eastern Europe, began to put it in order, and 4,030 Chinese scholars, who had served the Kins, now transferred their allegiance to the Mongols and obtained official posts. In 1264 the new Grand Khan, Kublai, established Peking as the capital, which he had laid out in magnificent style.

In 1268, Kublai planned his campaign against the Sungs, and the official murder by them of his peace envoys only intensified his resolve. The boy emperor was captured and sent into exile. His two brothers were saved and carried south to Wenchow, the elder, eight years old, being proclaimed as *Tuan Tsung* (1276-1278). Bravely did loyal officers strive to support his tottering throne. Driven further southwards to Foochow, then by sea to Canton, his ship was wrecked, and he only escaped a watery grave to die of his exposure. His younger brother, *Ti Ping* (1278-1280), blockaded in an island harbour, was gallantly defended by loyal men, and when the day was lost, the noble commander first drove his wife and family overboard, and then, with the boy emperor on his

back, followed them into the deep. A hundred thousand corpses are said to have strewn the waters.

Thus ended the Sung Dynasty, renowned less for its emperors than for its statesmen and soldiers, less for its success against China's ancient foes, the Tartars, than for its scholars. These have left behind a legacy of literature that will be treasured for all time. The names of historians, philosophers, commentators, essayists, poets are writ high on the scroll of their country. Though books were first printed immediately before the foundation of this dynasty, it was during its existence, and notably south of the Yangtze, that the great writers existed and their books were published. Education was fostered and academies for students encouraged. The growing artistic taste still further stimulated the skill of workers in gold, silver, and the metals, in wood, textiles, and other materials. The manufacture of porcelain underwent a notable development. Pictorial art reached its zenith as also did the art of writing, engraving, and printing Chinese characters. The constant demands of war produced improved weapons and armour; the ballista for throwing stones was introduced, and fire-arms and cannons came into use in the twelfth century; shipbuilding for river and seafaring purposes also received an impetus, consequent chiefly on the requirements of naval warfare and transport. The population is computed at sixty millions. A still larger number perished from war, and its accompanying famine and pestilence. Territorially the Chinese nation, viewed as a whole, expanded. Though the northern half came under Tartar rule, the Chinese cultural influence became dominant. The Tartar invaders, savage in warfare, ruthless where life and plunder were concerned, with the manners of a nomad people, and devoid of a literature and written system, nevertheless fell under the taming influence of the superior Chinese civilization. The Tartar court, at first barbaric and brutal, led the way for its people in the refinement of manners

and the encouragement of education. There was again a widespread intermixture of the races in the north, which produced further changes in the language and in the character of the people. In the south and west the spread of Chinese education, manners, and ideals, amongst people of varied descent, led to extensive cultural changes along the maritime provinces, as well as through the central provinces to Canton, and even as far south as Annam. Westward much of Ssŭ-ch'uan and parts of Yunnan also came under Chinese leadership. It was in 751 that the Arabs learned the art of paper-making from certain Chinese prisoners they took, but it was only towards the end of the Sung Dynasty that this art was carried by the Moors from Africa to Spain. The sea-route from the West to Canton was maintained by the Arabs throughout the dynasty, but the expansion of Islam for long stretched a barrier across Western Asia impassable for the people of Europe; Russians alone had contact with China, but they were as yet an unwelded number of rival states.

CHAPTER X

THE MONGOLS

THE YUAN DYNASTY (1280-1368)

THE Mongols took their rise in the mountainous regions south-east of Lake Baikal, now part of Siberia. They were probably descendants of the Huns, and, if so, Attila, "the Scourge of God," who in the fifth century of our era swept with his massacring hordes almost from the Pacific to the Atlantic, was of the same race as Jenghiz Khan, born in 1162, whom now we meet. Mongol means "brave man," and the tribe began its bold struggle for mastery over the Golden Horde in 1135, under the father of Jenghiz. On the father's death, the mother of her

thirteen-year-old son was driven to raise the tribal ensign in her son's behalf, and while still a youth, after enduring great hardships, he hurled his 13,000 men against the 30,000 tribesmen who were opposing him, subdued them, and with the ferocity which stamped his career threw their leaders alive into eighty cauldrons of boiling water. By 1206 he had become master over the Tartars in what is now Mongolia, and was proclaimed Grand Khan. From his new capital at Karakoram he sent his fierce riders into Northern China, and by 1213 had shaken the security of the Kin throne. He then swept into Western and Southern Asia as far as Asia Minor and the banks of the Indus. Later his hordes carried death and destruction into Russia and Eastern Europe, leaving behind across Asia and part of Europe uncountable corpses, and the ruins of great cities, razed level with the ground. He is at once in extent the greatest conqueror in history, and at the same time the most horrible and destructive. His conquests have not a single redeeming quality, though some good resulted; for instance, the land route, barred by Islam, was for a time opened between Europe and China. By 1227, when he died, his generals had extended his power over part of Northern China, no longer as a raider but as a ruler. To his four sons he divided his vast empire. The two Western Khans again ravaged Western Asia and half of Europe. The Eastern Khans, Ogotai and Tuli, pursued the conquest of China. Ogotai was the Grand Khan, and when he died in 1241 after a drunken debauch, the Kin Dynasty had been destroyed, and the attack on the Sungs begun. His widow acted as regent for five years after Kuyuk, his eldest son, succeeded. Kuyuk died two years later, and his queen was regent till Mangu, the eldest son of Tu-li, succeeded in 1251. Mangu appointed his brother Kublai to subjugate Honan, he himself attacking in Shensi. In 1259 he died in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and his body was transported to

Karakoram, every living being met on the way being slaughtered, as was the Mongol custom. Meanwhile, Kublai's forces had successfully crossed the Yangtze, but on the death of his brother he made terms with the Sung emperor and transported his armies to defend his rights in Karakoram. During his absence his garrisons were treacherously attacked by the Sung generalissimo, and Kublai determined to avenge the act as soon as his succession was settled. His brother Arikbuga had usurped the throne, but Kublai and his troops overcame him on reaching Karakoram. The brother was forgiven, his advisers executed, and Kublai's accession as Grand Khan acknowledged in 1261. As already stated, it was Kublai who planned and built Peking, called by the Mongols Khanbalig (Cambuluc), city of the Khan. Educated and advised by a Chinese scholar, his tastes were Chinese, and Peking attracted him as nearer to Chinese civilization than the wilds of Karakoram, while it also possessed a somewhat similar type of country and climate.

By Kublai's conquest of the Sung Dynasty he reached the highest position in the world, for he became emperor of all China, as he was already the Grand Khan of the Mongols and of most of Asia. Not content with his immense empire, he brought the Koreans to acknowledge his authority, and sent envoys to Japan demanding its submission. In 1274 his armada of 900 vessels, with 250,000 Tartar and 15,000 Korean troops, was repulsed by the Japanese, and immediately destroyed by a terrible typhoon. In 1281 another force of 100,000 was despatched, when 30,000 Mongols were massacred and 70,000 Koreans and Chinese reduced to slavery. One of the greatest public works of his reign was the construction or completion of the Grand Canal, 1,000 miles long, which connects Hangchow with Tientsin. He also sent a Commission to study the sources and course of the Yellow River in order to remedy as far as possible its recurring floods.

Kublai was one of the most enlightened monarchs who have ruled China. He welcomed to his court men of all races. In religion his predilections were Buddhist. On the death of his son, a man well qualified to succeed his father, he employed 40,000 monks to conduct the funeral services. He was, however, tolerant towards all other religions, except Taoism, which indeed had long been the stronghold of magic and witchcraft. He ordered its books to be burnt, all save the Tao Te Ching, but paper books were now easier to hide than bamboo tablets. Keeping a magnificent court, he conciliated the educated Chinese by his love for literature, and the people by the liberality of his Government and the encouragement of industry and trade. During his reign Western traders and missionaries lived in Peking. Among the Venetian traders were the two Polo brothers, and a son, Marco Polo. Arriving in 1271, the boy Marco greatly pleased Kublai, and was especially favoured. He lived in China for seventeen years, was made a Chinese mandarin, travelled over much of the country, acted as escort to a royal princess sent as wife to a Persian Khan, reached Venice in 1295, fought the Genoese in a ship of his own providing in 1298, was taken prisoner, and while in captivity dictated the Book of Ser Marco Polo, veritably epoch-making, which first made known the facts of China to Europe, but which for long was treated as a "traveller's tale." The first missionary of the Western Church reached Peking in 1292 or 1293, where he was received by Kublai just before he died in 1294 at eighty years of age. Kublai's grandson Timur succeeded as *Ch'êng Tsung* (1295-1308), and was followed by a nephew as *Wu Tsung* (1308-1312), whose brother succeeded as *Jen Tsung* (1312-1321). In three generations the fierceness of his forefathers had died down. He was a scholar, and tender-hearted enough to sorrow deeply when duty compelled him to sign a death-warrant. His son followed as *Ying Tsung*

(1321-1324), but was murdered by corrupt officials, whom he planned to bring to justice. They placed on the throne a great-grandson of Kublai as *Tai Ting Ti* (1324-1329), who soon after put the murderers to death. *Ming Tsung* (1329-1330), son of Ying Tsung, was killed by his brother, who acceded as *Wên Tsung* (1330-1333), and the Mongol Dynasty was now well on the down grade.

Shun Ti (1333-1368), an unworthy scion of a virile ancestor, succeeded and handed the empire over to an unscrupulous Mongol prime minister, Bayan. By the time that Bayan was finally removed, rebellion had begun to rear its head in various places. The coast was harried by a pirate chief, Fang Kuo-chen, who aimed at driving out the Mongols and becoming emperor. Rebel leaders rose one after another with varying success, until in 1355 a Chinese, Chu Yüan-chang, became the leader of the most efficient body. His is one of the most romantic stories in the annals of China. When he was seventeen his whole family perished from the plague. In his desolation he became a Buddhist monk. Some years afterwards he doffed the cassock for the casque and joined himself to one of the principal rebels to drive the Mongol from the land. On his death Chu took command and was joined by other powerful rebels. He captured Nanking in 1355, and made it his chief centre. Rebellion under various leaders spread in province after province. The Mongols also fought furiously among themselves. As to Chu, he proved to be a statesman as well as a soldier. The pirate Fang was induced to place himself and his navy at Chu's disposal. In 1363 Chu was compelled to fight a tremendous but successful battle against his chief Chinese rival, who threatened him with *600,000 troops, and a huge* armada. In 1367 he accepted the royal title as Emperor Hung Wu. Marching on the capital, his victorious general, Su T'a, found only a demoralized foe and a cowardly Mongol emperor, who fled in the

darkness of the night towards the wilds, whence his fearless ancestors had set forth on their world conquest. Thus ended Mongol rule in China, its virility speedily sapped by the luxuries of a Chinese court.

The Mongol conquest, so far as China is concerned, is notable for its difficult and prolonged character. Both Chinese armies and Kins offered a brave resistance to the mighty foe. Satiated with killing, the Eastern Khans turned towards Buddhism, the religion of placidity, which exaggerates the value of all sentient life. They became its supporters, and, inviting the Grand Lama of Tibet to visit their court, adopted his degraded form of the religion for all the Mongol people. During the 650 years of its influence, while it has helped to tame Mongol fury, it has done little for intellectual or spiritual development.

During this period traders or missionaries found their way to China. The Polos have already been mentioned. John of Monte Corvino became the Apostle to the Mongols, arriving in Peking in 1292 or 1293. His sole companion died on the way. Friar Arnold joined him nine years later. In 1307 seven colleagues were sent, three died on the way, a fourth returned, and three only reached Peking. Odoric left Padua by sea in 1318, and found at every port Nestorians as the only representatives of Christianity in Asia. In Peking the Nestorians, long resented the advent of the Roman branch. In all, some tens of European missionaries reached China, and had considerable success, but their ministrations were seemingly to Mongols and Occidentals, for Christianity disappeared with the expulsion of the Mongols.

The chief effect of the Mongol conquest on China was the reunification of the empire, the order it produced, the reasonably good government that for a time it gave, the extension of its territory, and indeed the practical creation of the China of the last 650 years. The demands of the Tartars for entertainment in lieu of fighting led to the development of the

drama and fiction. China's greatest historical romance was written during this period. Music also underwent considerable change, and generally the stimulus of other forms of civilization was felt, though it is uncertain to what extent they influenced the people. So far as the West is concerned, the matter of greatest moment was the knowledge of China, which was conveyed to Europe, a knowledge which stimulated Columbus and the other great discoverers to seek a way to the East.

CHAPTER XI

A CHINESE DYNASTY

THE MING, OR ILLUSTRIOUS (1368-1644)

T'ai Tsu, or Hung Wu, (1368-1399), made Nanking his capital. He strove for the reform of the civil service, and though himself uneducated, promoted education, by encouraging the establishment of schools in the cities and towns, but it must always be borne in mind that the number of scholars was comparatively small, for 97 per cent. of the people then, as now, were illiterate. Through a Commission he endeavoured to simplify the administration of justice by codifying the laws, reducing them to 606 in number. The loss of his queen in 1382 and of his scholar-general, Su T'a, in 1385, was irreparable. Towards the end of his reign, his ambitious son, the Prince of Yen, so played upon his jealousy that he put to death without trial or justification fourteen of his most eminent officers, in one case the whole clan of fifteen thousand men and women being massacred at the same time.

During the greater part of his reign his generals were still engaged in fighting the Mongols, who re-

turned to the fray from time to time with large forces. A revolt in Yunnan was crushed by an army of 300,000 Chinese; and a revolt of the Burmese with the loss to them of 40,000 of their forces. The Japanese raided the coast, but the Chinese fleet pursued them as far as the Loochoo Islands, and captured a number of their vessels. The emperor, when dying, left his throne to a grandson of sixteen, and forbade his sons to come into the capital to his funeral, fearing conflict among them.

Hui Ti (1399-1403) was too young to bear the burden. Prince Yen was stirred to revolt. With 40,000 men he defeated a royal army of 300,000, and again of 600,000 with terrible loss. Three years of civil war and its devastation followed. Nanking was taken, and the palace fired, the queen and many others perishing in the flames. The loyalists and all their relatives were butchered. A noble minister, who refused to draw up an edict announcing Prince Yen's accession, was executed with 873 of his relatives. The young emperor escaped in the robes of a Buddhist monk, left for such a crisis by his grandfather, and was only discovered thirty years later through some verses he wrote.

Ch'êng Tsu, or Yung Lo, Prince of Yen (1403-1425), notwithstanding his cruelty, proved an able ruler. Within his empire he maintained peace, despite a rebellious brother and a violent son. Marauding Mongols were driven off, and he himself led half a million men into their territory. Japanese raiders on sea and shore were fought and overcome. Tongking was invaded, and its thirty million inhabitants were added to his rule, but regained their independence in the next reign, while still acknowledging China as overlord. In all these wars multitudes perished, but happily for China, the Mongol Tamerlane, who had piled up mountains of skulls, in Western Asia, died in 1405, and his plan of sweeping through China with fire and sword was thwarted. The present

Peking is Yung Lo's, for, before making it his capital in 1421, he greatly enlarged the city of Kublai Khan, and adorned it with fine altars and temples to heaven, earth, and other objects of worship. His interest in learning is shown by his magnificent *Encyclopædia* in 11,095 manuscript volumes, containing 22,937 treatises, with a table of contents in 60 vols. In 1900 the Boxers fired the Academy, where the remains of this *Encyclopædia* were housed, and only a few tens of volumes were saved by the energy of one or two Englishmen. Yung Lo proscribed Buddhism and ordered the burning of Taoist books.

His reign is notable for its embassies abroad. In 1403 he sent envoys to Java, Sumatra, Siam, and Bengal. In 1405 he sent Ch'êng Ho, an able eunuch, with a fleet of sixty-two ships, said to carry 37,000 men, with "presents" of silk and gold to Cochin-China, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Siam, and elsewhere, all of which countries were expected to send "tribute" in return. In 1408 Ch'êng Ho was again sent, and reached Ceylon, whence he carried the "king" and his family as prisoners to China. Malacca also became "tributary." Aden was reached in 1422 and 1431, when China's naval enterprise came to an end, just before that of Europe began.

Under *Hsuan Tsung* (1426-1436), bronze, lacquer, and porcelain reach a high state of perfection. His successor, *Ying Tsung* (1436-1465), was taken by the eunuch Wang Chên, along with half a million men, against the Mongols, who routed his army with a death-roll of over 100,000. Wang was killed and the emperor carried into captivity. Ransom was demanded and eight waggon loads sent; the Mongols kept both treasure and emperor, but sent him back next year. In the meantime his brother, *Ching Ti* (1450-1457), had acceded, and refused to abdicate. Amidst many disturbances the scholars of the empire were always busy. They now produced an exhaustive description of the Ming empire in ninety volumes, styled the

I T'ung Chih. When the preceding Ming emperors died, a number of their concubines had been buried alive in their tombs. Ying Tsung, who had regained the throne, ordered that none of his should endure this dreadful death. Under *Hsiao Tsung* (1488-1506), the Ming Dynasty reached its zenith. Peace and prosperity reigned in the land. In the meantime Marco Polo's book had done good work in making known to Europe the fame of China. Columbus and Cabot set off in search of it; instead, they discovered America, Columbus mistaking it for Champa, which was to the south of China. Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape and reached India. Hsiao's son of fifteen succeeded as *Wu Tsung* (1506-1522). A eunuch, Liu Chin, controlled the Government and executed all opponents, even the highest ministers. Risings followed; Liu was destroyed, and his immense treasure confiscated. The people in their hate tore his flesh from his bones and gnawed it. Again the emperor succumbed to a panderer to his vicious pleasures. Risings were suppressed with great loss of life.

The first of the European traders who were destined to link East with West now arrived by sea. The Portuguese Alvarez, who had made friends of Chinese traders in Malacca, set out for China in 1514, but only reached an island on the southern coast. In 1516, Rafael Perestrello, a relative of Columbus, first reached the mainland. In 1517 Ferdinand Andrade, with Tomé Pirez, carrying letters from the King of Portugal, followed. Pirez went to Nanking, Andrade returned to Malacca. Andrade's brother, Simon, set out for China in 1519, but soon roused the anger of the Chinese by his atrocious conduct. Two more Portuguese trading flotillas arrived in 1520, were ordered away, and, on refusing to go, were attacked, some of their ships being burnt and prisoners taken. Pirez, meanwhile, proceeded to Peking, reaching it in 1521. He was, however, sent away, and perished in Canton. All but five of his staff and of the above-

mentioned prisoners died there of torture, hunger, or disease.

Shih Tsung (1522-1567), a grandson of Hsien Tsung, was faced with insurrections in several provinces, and Mongol inroads carried desolation deep into the north. He had also to resist serious raids of the Japanese who, being refused trading privileges, harried the coast, sometimes with several hundred vessels. The Chinese massacred the Portuguese at Ningpo; 800 perished, and their ships were burnt. Their Ch'uan-chou settlement in Fukien similarly suffered; but in 1550 they secured a permanent footing at Macao, in the Canton River, and there Camoens, the father of Portuguese literature, wrote much of his *Lusiad*. *Wan Li* (1573-1620) reigned under an unworthy regent. The aborigines in Canton province were goaded into rebellion, and 40,000 of them slain. The Nü-chih, or Nüchen Tartars (related to the Kins), now appear. In 1583, Nurhachu, founder of the Manchu Dynasty, began his career of revenge against the Mings for supporting the murderer of his father and grandfather. In 1592, the Japanese also, under their famous Tycoon Hideyoshi, overran Korea and invaded China. After years of fighting they were driven back, but later the war was resumed with great slaughter. In one battle 38,700 Chinese and Koreans were slain, whose ears and noses were pickled, sent to Kyoto, and a mound raised over them, called the "Ear Mound." The death of Hideyoshi in 1598 resulted in a treaty of peace. For the third time Christianity was introduced into China. In 1579 PP. Ruggiero and Pasio founded the first station in Canton province. Matteo Ricci landed in 1583, and in 1601 reached Peking. By his presents he pleased the emperor, and his knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, geography, and other sciences opened his way into the imperial service, and won the confidence of high ministers and scholars, some of whom became Christians. Ricci

later obtained permission for missionaries to settle in important centres. He died in 1610, having led the way for a succession of able Jesuit scholars and the establishment of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans in various parts of the empire. In 1602, the 800 Spaniards in the Philippines, fearing a rising of the Chinese, massacred 20,000 of them, and repeated the crime in 1639. By 1619 the Manchus, under Nurhachu, had conquered Manchuria, having defeated both Chinese and Mongol armies, and were invading Liao-tung. In 1627, Nurhachu's son and successor, T'ai Tsung, conquered Korea, but was repulsed by the Chinese at Ning Yuan with cannon, some obtained from the Portuguese, some made by the Jesuits. But in the palace the eunuchs were again in control, and rebellions had broken out in the provinces. With the last of the Mings, *Chuang Lieh Ti* (1628-1644), came the end of a line of weak rulers.

The English, under Captain Weddell, arrived in Canton in 1637, were fired on by the Chinese at Portuguese instigation; in defence, returned the fire with vigour and sailed away. Peter Mundy wrote a valuable account of this voyage. In the same year other English ships sailed for Macao, and in 1643 the *Hind* also visited that part.

It was the great revolt within China itself that overturned the Chinese throne and restored Tartar rule. Rebellion broke out in Honan and Shensi in 1630, and for fourteen years the country was ravaged by rebels and imperial armies. Li, the principal rebel leader, deliberately broke the Yellow River dam to flood K'ai-fêng city, when over a million people perished. By 1644 he was strong enough to proclaim himself emperor. On his march to Peking, fortified towns were handed over to him without a blow. A Chinese general in charge of one of the Peking gates turned traitor and opened it to the rebels. The emperor, who had refused to flee, ascended Prospect Hill in the palace grounds, wrote a pathetic message

in his own blood on his garment, and hanged himself, as did also his faithful eunuch Wang. Li now took possession.

In the meantime the Chinese general, Wu San-kuei, had been defending the frontier against the Tartars, but was hastening to respond to his emperor's call when he heard of his death. His own father now wrote begging him to save the lives of his family by submitting to Li. Reluctantly he had assented, when he heard that his favourite concubine had been carried off by the rebels. Indignantly revoking his assent, he marched back to the Great Wall at Shan-hai-kuan and wrote his famous letter inviting the Manchus to help him in expelling the rebels. Terms were made. Meanwhile, Li advanced against Wu with 200,000 men, and led forth the son of the late Ming emperor and Wu's father, who implored him to submit. Wu steeled his heart, refusing to serve such a rebel, whereupon his father was slain before his eyes, and the fierce issue was joined. While it was still in doubt, the Manchus hurled their armoured cavalry into the fray; Li's army was mown down, and he fled to Peking, where he massacred all the royal household and also the Wu family, collected his immense booty, and set out westward. Wu pursued, and after eight great defeats Li fled to the mountains with only twenty men. Their brutal treatment roused some villagers to attack them, when the emperor of a day and his companions were hacked to death with farmers' hoes.

The Ming Dynasty, like its predecessors, began with a strong man, but its vitality was soon sapped by the luxury of court life, eunuchs playing a wretched part in its intrigues. Few men of noble character were produced, regents reigned in the name of children, and with two helpless boys the dynasty closed in death to millions and continental suffering.

During the Ming period, while the learned class were more than ever stereotyped as clerks, or pedants,

there were some not entirely devoid of the creative spirit. One of the most outstanding was Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528), who founded the idealistic school of modern Confucianism. The Ming was a period of great literary production, if not of great literature. Pictorial art was very highly developed, and 1,200 names of able artists are recorded. The perfection of Ming porcelain commands the admiration of the connoisseur, and Ming bronzes have not been surpassed in China. Cloisonné began to be made towards the close of the dynasty. Public works of importance were undertaken locally by the officials and people. It is probable that most of the canals which intersect the south of China were constructed or improved during this dynasty, as also many city walls. In no sense did China stand still. The progress may have been slow, as was progress in the West over long periods. This was less due to conservatism than to lack of new dynamic ideas. Ricci found Chinese scholars in Peking with understanding of mathematics, and the elements of such other sciences as he possessed, and ready to adopt the developments he brought. He presented, *inter alia,* the first map of the world in Chinese, a photograph of which has recently been brought to this country. He discovered the existence of an ancient Jewish colony in China. In 1625 the famous Nestorian tablet was also discovered, giving valuable evidence of the first known introduction of Christianity. The examination system for degrees, and thereby for the civil service, took the form that it afterwards maintained with little change for over 500 years, the subjects of examination being the Confucian classics with their historical, political, and moral teaching, and the extensive commentaries and literature upon them, together with poetic composition. Good though the study of the humanities was, it tended to stereotype form and fetter the mind with orthodoxy. The Ming was the period, more or less infertile, of scholasticism.

CHAPTER XII

ZENITH AND DECLINE

THE CHING, OR MANCHU—*i.e.*, PURE—DYNASTY
(1644-1912)

ONCE again a Tartar sat upon the throne of China, and he a child of six—*Shun Chih* (1644-1662). His uncle, Durgan, the regent, was a soldier and a statesman, and laid well the foundations of the dynasty. Seven years later Durgan died while on a hunting expedition, after planning to ascend the throne on his return. The central control had been vested in a Grand Council, consisting of two Manchus and two Chinese. The Six Boards, the most ancient administrative organ of the nation, were continued. In all the higher posts the two races shared equality of appointment; in the lower, eighty or ninety per cent. were always Chinese.

The north, already sufficiently stunned and despoiled, was not difficult to conciliate. But in the south a Ming emperor was proclaimed by a loyal minister, Shih K'o-fa. Defeated at Yang-chou on the Yangtze, the city fell, the inhabitants were massacred, it was burned to the ground, and K'o-fa perished. Nanking was next taken; the Ming emperor, chiefly concerned over the difficulty of finding a good actor, was awakened from a drunken sleep to make his escape, but was captured and executed. Other heirs were set up and bravely defended by better men, but in vain.

The Manchu custom of wearing the queue, or "pigtail," was imposed on all Chinese. As to the women's fashion of foot-binding, unknown among the Manchus, it was declaimed against, but the Chinese women—and men—were left to their curious and forbidding taste for the woman's crippled foot.

Throughout the dynasty the Manchus remained a separate people, under their own laws and institutions; intermarriage with Chinese was forbidden, as also was trade, for as the Manchus must maintain their virility as soldiers, they lived, like the Romans, in military colonies in the provincial capitals and elsewhere.

English ships reached Canton in 1658 and 1664 but official exactions made trade impossible.

The young emperor died in 1662, and his second son, only eight years of age, ascended as *K'ang Hsi* (1662-1723) under a regency. What T'ai Tsung was to the T'ang, such K'ang Hsi became to the Ch'ing Dynasty. Humane in his government, his tolerance of all religions is shown in his graciousness to the Jesuits. Under his father they had been employed at court, with Adam Schaal as astronomer. But his regents had thrown Schaal into prison, where he died, seventy-eight years of age. Two years after the emperor had taken over the government the accuracy of the Calendar prepared for the following year was in doubt. The Jesuit, Verbiest, who had shared imprisonment with Schaal, so proved his superiority over the court astronomers that they were dismissed, and Verbiest was made President of the Board.

In 1674, General Wu San-kuei, who now had princely rank and the governorship of the west, fearing that his power was about to be curbed, revolted with two other prince generals. Terrible civil war followed, and it was not till 1681, after Wu's death, that peace was restored after widespread carnage. From 1680-1696 prolonged war against Galdan in the north-west resulted in the annexation of most of Turkestan, and the beginning of the protectorate over Tibet. The first treaty with a European Power—Russia—was made in 1689 at Nertchinsk, and in it the law of extra-territoriality, already practised by the Manchus, is first introduced. In 1727 the boundaries of Eastern Siberia were fixed, with the Amur as the dividing line, but trade was not allowed within the

frontier. In the south there was trade with Europe at Canton and one or two other ports. Tea was first brought to England from Japan in 1615, with its Northern Chinese name of "cha," but in 1660 it came direct with its Southern Chinese name of "tay." The English in 1699 secured a footing at Canton, which remained the only trading port till 1842; all attempts to trade in other ports were prevented, not by the people, but by the officials.

Verbiest, with whom the emperor was on amicable terms, succeeded in obtaining a decree of toleration for Christianity in 1692, which permitted Jesuits and their rivals, the Dominicans and Franciscans, to settle in various parts of the country. Success seemed assured when the "term" controversy arose. The Jesuits used the term "T'ien," or "Heaven," for "God," and sanctioned ancestor worship. The others were opposed to both. When the opinion of the emperor was sought, he sided with the Jesuits. Appeal was made to the Pope, who, after many years of debate, decided against the emperor. Irritated that a distant foreign potentate should give orders within his empire, in 1716 the emperor ordered the withdrawal of all missionaries save those specially sanctioned by him.

Under K'ang Hsi's encouragement the foundation was laid of the dynasty's wealth of literary achievement. The Imperial Dictionary, containing 44,439 characters, with sounds, meanings, and illustrative phrases historically arranged, is still the national standard. Encyclopædias, including the great *Tu Shu Chih Ch'êng* in 1,628 volumes, and many other books, were printed by a specially prepared fount of 250,000 movable copper type. The Jesuits were commissioned to produce a great map of the empire, and on their work all subsequent maps have been formed. Porcelain, bronze, lacquer, cloisonné, and carving in jade, ivory, and other materials prospered. Peace stimulated the fundamental industry of agriculture everywhere, other industries and trade followed, and

the population greatly increased. Public works of utility were undertaken, and probably the roads, canals, and sanitation equalled those of Europe at that time, as did also the laws, administration, education, industry, and art. No Shakespeare, Bacon, Newton, Galileo, or Columbus appeared, but in general the literature was equal to that of Western scholasticism. The West, however, developed not merely the utilities of science, but the scientific mind, with its wealth of ideas for the artist, poet, and writer. K'ang Hsi died, leaving the greatest contemporary empire in the world, in the combination of extent, ordered government, and culture. His fourth son succeeded as *Yung Ch'êng* (1722-1736). As the late emperor left more than one hundred sons and grandsons, filial piety required the reinforcement of prison for some and vigorous measures for others, in order to insure obedience. The Buddhist monks of the north-west desert, and also the western aborigines, caused trouble, tens of thousands being slain. Secret societies now began their plotting, sources of later trouble. The emperor, for pardonable reasons, was opposed equally to the Roman priests and to foreign trade. He again proscribed Christianity, destroyed 300 Christian altars, ordered the expulsion of all missionaries, save those in Government service, and 300,000 converts were left to their own resources, not always the worst thing for religion. Yung Ch'êng was a tireless worker, just, humane, and generous to his people, and a devoted patron of learning.

Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), his fourth son, succeeded. As a scholar and ruler he was able and resolute. The two generals who had failed to suppress the aborigines were recalled and executed, according to rule. Their successor succeeded, but failure in a later expedition also procured his execution. In 1746 ferment in the north-west required repression, and after the extinction of ninety per cent. of the population—forty per cent. died of smallpox—an enormous area in Central Asia was added to the empire. Of political importance was

the war in Tibet and Nepal against the Gurkhas, begun by a Gurkha raid in 1790. It would need an epic to do justice to the march of the Chinese army over impossible Tibetan mountains to the outskirts of the Gurkha capital. There terms were made, and the Gurkhas became "tributary" to China. Burma was invaded in 1768 in reprisal for raids, and succumbed, agreeing to pay "tribute." In 1788 Cochin China was invaded to restore its dethroned monarch. The large Chinese army was severely defeated, but reinforcements succeeded, and China's overlordship was confirmed. In 1786 a strong Chinese force swept rebellion from Formosa with fire and sword.

Foreign trade was confined to Canton, where English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Americans, and others did their business. In 1759, Mr. Flint proceeded north and petitioned the throne for better regulation of trade, freed from unauthorized exactions. His temerity led to his expulsion from the country, to the beheading of the Chinese writer of the petition, to the dismissal of the Chinese Superintendent of Trade for his extortions and to the English merchants being shamefully whipped. No Chinese might teach a foreigner his language on pain of death. An English gunner, who accidentally killed a Chinese while firing a salute, was handed over to Chinese justice and executed. To seek some reasonable regulation of trade, Captain Cathcart was sent out in 1788, but the *Vestal* was lost with all hands. Lord Macartney followed in 1792. He was escorted from Tientsin to Peking with flags announcing him as bringing "tribute." Though handsomely received, he accomplished nothing. Neither did the Dutch next year. The people were everywhere desirous to trade; the Government alone opposed. In 1773 the Pope suppressed the Jesuits. In 1784, Ch'ien Lung suppressed the Catholics; many European priests were imprisoned, some of whom were martyred, others died the death natural to a Chinese prison.

In 1796, Ch'ien Lung abdicated, dying three years later. His people, now protected for 150 years as never before in their history, had increased enormously in numbers, wealth, and culture; 300,000,000 people owned his sway, and tens of millions his overlordship. Never had one man in history ruled over an area so great, containing a population so vast, enjoying the prosperity of peace. A scholar himself and a voluminous writer of poetry, he encouraged learning, not least by combing the empire for every book of repute. With these he formed a magnificent manuscript library of 36,000 volumes, all written by the hands of skilled penmen, and still housed in a beautiful building in the palace. Belles-lettres, art, architecture, the arts, industry, trade, agriculture, administration, education, all prospered during this glorious reign.

Chia Ch'ing (1796-1821), a son, succeeded, and with him began the usual dynastic decline. Peace, with its increase of population, especially urban, to the limit of the known means of subsistence, began to menace the nation. Secret societies spread their sinister influence among a people devoid of freedom of speech or of a newspaper, which few could have read. The Buddhist " White Lily " Society was suppressed with vigour, between 20,000 and 30,000 being executed, though not necessarily guilty, while officials waxed rich on the persecution, and the monarch remained self-indulgent and self-satisfied. In 1805 those Catholic priests who had secretly returned were expelled, imprisoned, or executed. In 1807 arrived Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary sent by the London Missionary Society. Being prevented from evangelization, he devoted his unique talents to the study of Chinese; by his great dictionary and his translation of the Bible he well and truly laid the foundation on which his successors have built.

Lord Amherst was sent to Peking in 1816 to endeavour to secure reasonable trading regulations, for

expanding trade brought with it possibilities of serious friction. He was met with the demand to "kotow," literally "knock head," or kneel with forehead touching the ground. As by this act Lord Amherst would have acknowledged the emperor as overlord of his country, he had to make it clear that the kotow was impossible. Conveyed to the Summer Palace, he arrived at daybreak, dishevelled and in advance of his baggage, but was at once ordered by the officials into the royal presence. Feeling that such an entry would be undignified, he asked for delay. The unwelcome visitor was thereupon misrepresented to the emperor and turned away with contumely.

Tao Kuang (1821-1851) cleared the court of his father's troops of actors, but the universal tide of official corruption required a greater energy than he possessed. In 1825, Turkestan revolted from official oppression under Jehangir, as did the Miao aborigines of Yunnan, and the people of Formosa and Hainan; all were mercilessly crushed. But the outstanding event was the first war with England. British envoys and East India Company officers had struggled in vain to secure a treaty for regularizing the growing trade. As long as the balance of trade required the import of silver it was to the advantage of China. With the increased demand for opium, the balance became adverse. Moreover, the smoking of opium was spreading deleteriously, the rich smoking the foreign import from India, Persia, and Turkey, the poor the native product, equally deleterious. From time to time edicts had been issued against the trade and equally ignored. Chinese buyers knew how to make the trade profitable to their officials, and as to the foreign importers, they were there for gain. After the prohibition edicts, the East India Company did not itself import the drug, nor did the leading English merchants; but British subjects from India and men of many nationalities plied a lucrative trade. In 1834 the charter of the East India Company came to an end,

and the British Government could no longer shirk its own responsibilities in India and the East. Lord Napier, a man of fine character, was sent to Canton, where his credentials were disdainfully refused, and he was ordered away. On his delaying, the unhealthy ghetto to which foreigners were confined was surrounded by the Viceroy's troops, business was stopped, Chinese employés withdrawn, and supplies cut off. After months of humiliation, Lord Napier was taken ill and died. The embargo was thereupon removed. Captain Elliot succeeded him, and sought approach to the Viceroy, but "barbarian" intercourse with Chinese officials was again contemptuously refused. In 1838 the Government in Peking, after prolonged and divided counsels concerning total prohibition or legalized control, finally decided on prohibition. Commissioner Lin, a determined prohibitionist, was sent to Canton. Lord Napier's successor, Captain Elliot, would readily have co-operated so far as the British were concerned; or, if Lin had suppressed the dishonourable native opium ring of officials and merchants, no foreign opposition would have been possible. Instead he threw the blame on to the British alone, and demanded from Captain Elliot all the stocks of opium owned by foreigners of every nationality, placing on the British entire responsibility for any further imports. The whole of the opium was delivered, Captain Elliot making his Government responsible for £2,500,000 to all importers of all nations. The opium was destroyed, and, of course, the market price went up inordinately. Lin now demanded sixteen British hostages against the arrival of more opium. Elliot could not accede, for some of the merchants were innocent of the trade, ships of many nations with opium on board were on the high seas, and the lives of the hostages would be at stake. The tiny foreign trading settlement was again blockaded, and only after six weeks of misery did Elliot obtain passports for his people to leave for Macao. Later, on being

imperilled there, the whole British community—men, women, and children—sailed away to a tiny fishing village called Hong-Kong, where, after resisting armed attacks and undergoing severe hardships, they settled. It is now the third or fourth seaport of the world.

If tea was the cause of America's War of Independence, and Serajevo of the Great War, then opium was the cause of war with China. It is, however, clear that in all three cases the real cause lay deeper. In China it lay in imperial disdain, perhaps even fear, of the "barbarian," an insulting term officially and always used. It was neither to force opium nor trade on China that the war of 1842 was fought, for it should be self-evident that to "force" either on unwilling buyers is impossible. The war was fought to obtain national recognition on terms of reasonable equality. It ended in the Treaty of Nanking, by which Hong-Kong was ceded to the British and five ports were opened to trade. America and other nations immediately followed Britain's lead.

Hsien Feng (1851-1862), a son of nineteen, who succeeded, was a weak youth in the hands of a court party, all equally ignorant, incompetent, and prejudiced. One of them nine years earlier had executed 180 British prisoners of war. The period is one of disaster internally and externally. The T'ai-p'ing, or Long-haired Rebellion, broke out in 1850. It arose out of an attempt to crush a native development of Christianity. A convert of the literary class, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, unconnected with any foreign church, obtained a considerable following. Official repression drove them into self-defence, further repression into open insurrection. They swept northward, then down the Yangtze, taking city after city. Nanking fell to them, and even Peking was threatened. Hung proclaimed himself king, and then abandoned himself to the luxuries of his court. For fourteen years civil strife reigned. Two Americans, Ward and Burgevine, were

succeeded by Colonel Gordon, in assisting the imperial troops to victory. In excesses there was little to choose between rebels and imperial armies. The fairest provinces were devastated, the finest cities destroyed, and at least twenty millions of people exterminated.

In 1856 the Chinese Commissioner, Yeh, at Canton seized the lorcha *Arrow*, hauled down the British flag, and carried off the Chinese crew. His attitude was considered to be a repudiation of the Nanking Treaty, and, after the failure of prolonged negotiations, England and France united to compel its fulfilment. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were sent out. At Singapore, Lord Elgin received urgent news from Lord Canning of the Sepoy Mutiny, and wisely diverted his valuable forces to India's assistance. Fresh detachments arriving, the Taku forts near Tientsin were finally taken, and a new treaty made at Tientsin in 1858. Next year, when Lord Elgin's brother, Sir Frederick Bruce, went out as the first minister to Peking, he found the river barred and the forts formidable. Two British gunboats were sunk, with serious loss. In consequence Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were again sent out in 1860 and fought their way to Peking. The treaty was ratified, and the court at last gave its reluctant recognition to foreign ministers. Russia also obtained the only eastern seaboard province possessed by Manchuria, in reward for the unnecessary " mediation " of General Ignatieff, who was then in Peking. One of the notable events of this reign was the establishment in Shanghai by the British, French, and American Consuls of the Maritime Customs. Its success was so pronounced that early in the following reign (Sir) Robert Hart and his staff were invited to Peking and became servants of the Chinese Government in the control of external Customs. The six-year-old son of Hsien Feng succeeded as *T'ung Chih* (1862-1875). The two empresses-dowagers were joint regents, but it was his mother who soon dominated everybody by her iron

will and became the famous Empress-Dowager. His reign saw the end of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, which was followed by the ruthless suppression and massacre of millions of Mohammedans in the north-western provinces and Central Asia. On the death of T'ung-chih the empress-dowager promptly staged another *coup d'état* and placed his nephew, a child, on the throne as *Kuang Hsü* (1875-1908). Until the Boxer outbreak in 1900 the country was fairly peaceful, the south slowly recovering from the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, and the north-west from that of the Mohammedans.

In 1882, China sought to neutralize Japanese influence in Korea by throwing it open to the world, but in 1885 both Chinese and Japanese forces landed in the country, and war was only prevented by a treaty pledging both nations not to land troops there without due notice to the other. In June, 1885, France compelled China to withdraw entirely from Tongking. In 1894, because of a revolt against the King of Korea, China sent there 2,000 men at his request, and then sent notice to Japan. The Japanese, warned of this procedure, and before receiving the notice, promptly sent 10,000 men to Korea. War resulted, during which the Chinese fleet was sunk or surrendered. The war was carried into Manchuria, the fortress of Port Arthur was taken, and the Treaty of Shimonoseki resulted. By this treaty Korea was declared independent, the Liao-tung peninsula, Formosa, and the Pescadores were ceded to Japan, more trading ports were opened, and an indemnity was fixed. On Russia, Germany, and France protesting against the cession of the Liao-tung peninsula, it was waived for an increase of the indemnity. Russia for reward obtained the right to build her railway through Manchuria to Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The French also obtained rights of railway construction on their Tongking frontier, and Germany railway and mining rights in Shantung. In 1897 two German Catholic missionaries were murdered in Shantung. France had

heretofore "protected" all Catholic missionaries. Now Germany claimed the right over German subjects, and occupied Kiao-chao in Shantung. This did not suit Russia's policy in Manchuria and the north, so Port Arthur and Talien-wan were leased from China, whereupon Britain accepted responsibility for Wei-hai-wei on a twenty-five years' lease and also acquired a defensive circuit around Hong-Kong; the French obtained a lease of Kuang-chow Bay, and even the Italians demanded but were refused San-mên Bay. "Spheres of influence" were blocked out, Russia claiming Manchuria to Japan's annoyance, Germany Shantung and North China, Britain the Yangtze Valley, Japan Fukien, France the southern borders of Yunnan; the "melon" seemed nearing division.

In 1898 the Cantonese reformer, K'ang Yu-wei obtained the ear of the emperor, supported by the Prime Minister, Wêng T'ung-ho, and others. Unless China were reformed, her collapse seemed to them imminent. Edict after edict was thereupon issued, perhaps with unnecessary haste, changing the systems of government and education. The country would have accepted the reforms, for the scholars generally were sympathetic. But the mistake was made of plotting to seize the empress-dowager, in fear of her leading the reactionary party. She moved first, seized the emperor, and the reins of power, executed a number of reformers, and, in repealing the edicts, tore down the last supports of the shaken throne. It never bore the emperor again, and the weight of a child broke it down.

In 1899 the Boxers, or "Fists for Justice and Peace," arose in Shantung. Begun as an anti-dynastic movement, it was astutely turned into an anti-foreign attack. Spreading over the north-east, it was taken up by the court party and the dowager; many foreigners, mostly missionaries, were killed or officially executed, thousands of Chinese Christians were murdered, the foreign legations were destroyed, all save the British

Legation, which was besieged by the Chinese and relieved by the allied forces on August 14, 1900. Enormous suffering was caused in the north, but the south was kept in peace by the wisdom of high Chinese and Manchu officials; some such in the north had resisted to their death the Manchu insanity. The dowager fled, carrying off the emperor. She was later recalled and reinstituted.

In 1903 the Trans-Siberian Railway reached Port Arthur, menacing what Japan considered its interests. February, 1904, saw the Russo-Japanese War begun. Russia lost her Far Eastern fleet, then her Grand Fleet with 14,000 men was sunk by Admiral Togo. The Russian army, ill-found and worse led, was driven back, Korea became Japanese, also Russian rights in Southern Manchuria, and half of Saghalien. And this war was fought on China's territory. Even the Manchu court could no longer resist reform. In 1905-1906 edicts ordained that the educational system should be modernized, the Manchu garrisons disbanded, the army and navy reorganized, railways extended, opium suppressed, and the laws and Government revised. Provincial and local councils were established, and a National Advisory Council called to prepare for a National Parliament in 1915. The progressive spirit of the nation revealed itself in its willing acceptance of these reforms. Begun in 1906, the patriotic fight against opium culminated in 1910 with amazing success. One per cent. of this energy rightly applied a century earlier would have prevented the dreadful scourge.

On November 15, 1908, Kuang Hsü died, strangely enough the day before the empress-dowager's demise. His younger brother's infant son acceded as *Hsuan T'ung* (1908-1912). "The Manchu Dynasty began with a child and a regent: it ended with a child and a regent." But what a difference between the virile Durgan and Prince Chun! "Every high office in Peking was soon filled with Manchu princes and

nobles with sharp appetites for the spoils of office." Suddenly an unseen cloud burst that swept away the dynasty and set up a republic for which there had been no preparation. Sun Yat-sen, a sincere revolutionary, gifted with powers of destruction, but of little beyond doctrinaire constructiveness, had for many years been preaching revolution, especially among and through the Chinese abroad, and with a price on his head. His life was saved by the English, as also had been that of the reformer K'ang Yu-wei. Seeing that the Manchus were not merely incompetent but foreigners in China, it was not difficult for him to stir the Chinese student class against them. He never sympathized with reform; revolution was his only doctrine. Yet revolution came as unexpectedly to him as it did to the Manchus. Railway trouble in Ssŭ-ch'uan led the way, but it was the accidental explosion on October 9, 1911, of a bomb in a revolutionary house at Hankow which compelled a body of military revolters to save their lives by prompt action. Colonel Li Yuan-hung (later President of the Republic) was made leader, and the Yangtze was soon ablaze. The Manchu "pigtail" was discarded, many Manchus were massacred, and the revolt spread far and wide among the educated and military classes, while the people, when permitted, pursued their peaceful avocations. Yuan Shih-k'ai, the strong man of China, had been virtually dismissed from office by the regent, who considered that he had betrayed his brother, the late emperor, in 1898. Now the regent was driven to recall him to save the dynasty. Probably Yuan could have saved it, though ten of the provinces and the navy had declared for a republic. Instead, on February 11, 1912, he brought about Manchu abdication and the end of its reign, a reign for the main part covering the most glorious period in the annals of the country.

During the Manchu domination the empire reached its zenith, and also, save for the brief reign of Kublai Khan

the Mongol, its greatest territorial expanse. The peace it insured for 200 years gave the people opportunity for increase and prosperity. Never had the population been so vast, never so prosperous or content. Learning had every encouragement, and literary production was at its highest, if not at its most creative period, though ninety-seven per cent. of the people remained illiterate. Art, industry, trade, developed apace. The country was a vast fertile farm which employed over eighty per cent. of the people. The laws and their administration were, on the whole, more humane than before, though torture and the prisons revolted the modern European. It was the advent of the West, and the bringing of China into contact with other forms of civilization and energy, which disrupted old traditions, leaving an ignorant and conservative court at the mercy of reactionaries or revolutionaries. Nevertheless, the period is one of which Manchu and Chinese may well be proud.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REPUBLIC

THE Manchus, guilty for some of the ills of China, unjustly burdened with them all, had now gone, but the millennium delayed and delays its dawning. Intermediaries between Yuan Shih-k'ai and the southern party negotiated the terms of abdication and the outline of a republican Government, but the Republic did not know how to function. There was, indeed, no historical foundation for republicans to build upon, *no preparation of either class or mass, no desire for it* in the stolid north, and only the eagerness of enthusiasts in the south, whose experience was on paper. Nevertheless, the Republic had come and must be organized, for it had come to stay. Yuan was elected President in place of Sun Yat-sen, who resigned in

favour of his more powerful and more experienced rival. Yuan took the presidential oath in Peking on March 10, 1912, in the presence of representatives of the five united peoples—Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans—and under the five-coloured flag. He swore to be faithful to the Republic, devote himself to its realization, and to retire on the National Assembly appointing his successor. A Prime Minister, with a Cabinet of Ministers, was appointed; and the National Council, transferred from Nanking, was reinforced with northern members.

The first difficulty was, of course, the crucial one of finance. The Government could neither pay its troops nor conduct its affairs without funds. It sought for £10,000,000 from Chinese investors, but they lacked faith. The obtaining of loans from abroad became essential, and over this the Prime Minister fell into trouble, for, while negotiating with the Banking Consortium, he borrowed, without disclosure, from a third party. The interests of China and of the Consortium were fundamentally identical, for a scramble on the part of foreign moneylenders and the debasement of its credit would be as detrimental to the interests of China as of the foreign banks. The cry was for foreign loans without foreign supervision; as a national aspiration this was as commendable as was the sense of responsibility of the foreign bankers to their clients, who felt that, without adequate security, loans were not to be had.

Throughout the country queues were shorn from millions of heads; foreign clothing of any sort became fashionable; the solar year was adopted; Sunday became an official holiday; freedom from old restraints, even reasonable restraints, was demanded by the young; equality of education and of the suffrage was demanded by young women; and socialism was advocated by the followers of Sun Yat-sen. The President rewarded him with the office for railway development, and his principles led him to advocate

the very nationalization which had initiated the downfall of the late dynasty. His railway schemes were never realized.

Two parties were formed about this time, one representing the Revolutionaries, at first called the T'ung Men Hui, then the Kuo-min-tang, or Nationalists; the other representing the Reformers, at first known as the Kung-ho, then as the Chin-pu-tang, Reformers, or Progressives. The Nationalist, or Revolutionary, was Sun's party, the Reformers supported Yuan. During 1912 there was continual friction between the two parties, the legalist "National" party severely criticizing the actions of Yuan, the practical opportunist. Parliament was called for April, 1913. In the meantime certain *difficile* Nationalists were assassinated, including their nominee for the Premiership. The latter crime was definitely charged against Yuan. When Parliament met it was bitterly hostile to him, and the hostility was increased by his borrowing the £25,000,000 Reorganization Loan from the Consortium, without the direct assent of Parliament. But funds were essential, and the Nationalists had no means of providing him with home-grown wealth; indeed, a year previously they had themselves begun negotiations for alienating valuable rights to Japan in consideration for a loan. Moreover, the corruptibility of the members of Parliament did not add to their efficiency. In July, Yuan dismissed the revolutionary Governor of the Province of Kiangsi. Thereupon Sun Yat-sen declared another revolution to punish Yuan, but, instead of flocking to his standard, the country remained unmoved. After many had been slain and Nanking once more destroyed, Sun Yat-sen again sought safety in Japan, as also did various coadjutors who were members of Parliament. In October the requisite majority elected Yuan as President, with Li Yuan-hung as Vice-President.

When the Parliamentary Committee for drawing

up the constitution brought in its report severely limiting the President's authority, the military governors of the provinces urged the dissolution of Parliament. In November, Yuan proscribed the Kuo-min-tang, and in June, 1914, dissolved Parliament. He now selected an Advisory Board of seventy members from various provinces, and promulgated a constitution drawn up by a special convention, which virtually made him dictator for life, with power to appoint his successor. His rule was firm, his military governors kept order in the provinces, the recrudescence of opium was suppressed, education was fostered, government finances were improved, and trade prospered. One of the best indications of confidence in him was a domestic loan made by Chinese bankers.

The European War of 1914 brought disturbance to China. When Japan became one of the Allies, an attack was made, over Chinese territory, on the German concession at Kiao-chao, and that port and other concessions formerly obtained from China by Germany were seized by Japan. Yuan protested, but the militarists who were in power in Japan resented his protests, and for this and other reasons, in June, 1915, made the now famous Twenty-one Demands in five sections. Though these were afterwards modified, they remained oppressive, and left behind a bitterness still unremoved. As the demands would have placed China in practical vassalage to Japan, Yuan refused his assent. Threatened, he surprised the West, busy with its war, by publishing the incredible details. America, in anxious isolation, made a mild intervention, but left Yuan to face and yield to an ultimatum from Japan. Unsupported and under compulsion, he agreed to four of the five sections, leaving the most humiliating section for further discussion. By his resistance Yuan had made himself an enemy of the party in power in Japan, and by signing aggrieved his people at home.

From the summer of 1915, Yuan's entourage began to manœuvre for an invitation to him from the nation to become emperor. Towards the end of the year a manipulated referendum demanded a constitutional monarchy. His Council urged his acceptance, and after the usual conventional refusals, he assented, and all preparations for his enthronement were duly made. Speedy defections among his responsible ministers and governors should have warned him. Yunnan was the first to revolt, but the Yangtze rulers, Yuan's men, offered no assistance in suppressing the revolt. His accession as monarch was thereupon postponed, and by the spring of 1916 so manifest was the opposition that the project was humiliatingly abandoned. Chagrin ended Yuan's life shortly after, and China was left leaderless.

Li Yuan-hung now became President. Parliament was again convoked, but when it produced an unacceptable draft constitution, was dismissed in June, 1917, by the northern *tuchuns,* or war-lords. In March, Chinese feeling was aroused by the Germans torpedoing the French steamer *Athos,* when 500 Chinese labourers were drowned. As the United States had in February severed relations with Germany, China followed suit on March 14. An attempt to restore the Manchu emperor in August was foiled by the attack on Peking of General Tuan Chi-rui. "The War-lords' Parliament," composed of their own nominees, assembled in August, 1918. As to the southern members of the former Parliament, they were called together in Canton as the "Constitutional Government," in which Sun Yat-sen took the leading part. Most of the southern provinces were now in revolt against Peking, but their own war-lords were too busy quarrelling among themselves to attack the north.

It would puzzle the reader, unversed in Chinese names, to follow the permutations and combinations of parties and the rise and fall of war-lords during the next few years, just as it puzzles an educated

Chinese to follow the changes of political parties and national rivalries in Europe. It is well to remember that China is as large as Europe with a larger population, and that for 650 years it had achieved a unity which was the envy of many in Europe. Its Government had lately formulated and was realizing an excellent programme of assured reform, until the Revolution split the country into fragments difficult to reassemble. Suffice it here that a southern war-lord expelled Sun Yat-sen and his Parliament from Canton. Some time later Canton was recaptured, and Sun returned to it from the safety of the Shanghai foreign settlement. In 1921, he was unconstitutionally elected "President of the Chinese Republic" in Canton by less than a quarter of the total membership of the National Parliament. As to the north, the War-lords' Parliament, sustained by borrowings from Japan, was the centre of unceasing struggle among parties for what was the mere semblance of power. Li Yuan-hung was again President in 1922, but next year retired once more to the safety of the Tientsin foreign settlement, his successor, Tsao Kun, having ousted him through the peaceful penetration of 15,000,000 dollars into the pockets of the M.P.s.

The rise to power of the ex-bandit chief, Chang Tso-lin, war-lord of the splendid territory of Manchuria; of Wu P'ei-fu, war-lord of Central China; of Fêng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General; of Sun Chuan-fang, lord of the Eastern Yangtze, and others, their influence on the Peking Parliament, their rivalries and wars, successes and defeats, would fill a book. In brief, Chang is still the dominant power in the north. Wu was betrayed by the sudden defection of Fêng with his army when fighting Chang, and heavily defeated. Chang then became supreme as far south as Shanghai. He invited Sun Yat-sen to Peking to negotiate a national settlement. Sun went north in December, was taken ill, and died in Peking, March 12, 1925, "his deathbed message enjoining the Kuo-

min-tang to continue to work with the Soviet." Sun Chuan-fang in 1925 seized the Eastern Yangtze, driving out Chang's men. Chang then united with his old enemy, Wu, to expel Fêng, who withdrew far westward.

Meanwhile Moscow had been busy. Joffe was sent in 1922, lectured in universities and colleges, and influenced the intelligentsia. Karakhan succeeded him in 1923, and secured recognition of the U.S.S.R. in 1924 by renouncing all special rights and privileges, including extra-territoriality and consular jurisdiction. Intensive Communist propaganda was carried on north and south amongst students and politicians. Fêng Yu-hsiang, who had also been driven into the open arms of Moscow through lack of military supplies, received material aid from them "in exchange for the Soviet's right to spread propaganda" in his armies and the provinces he then controlled. Scores of Russian-trained propagandists also proceeded to the chief industrial cities, with Shanghai as their centre. Michael Borodin became adviser to the southern Government in Canton, and by training its military officers, supplying arms and officers, and introducing the Soviet system with its Machiavellian propaganda, secured a powerful foothold amongst both moderates and extremists. On May 30, 1925, an unfortunate incident occurred in the Shanghai Settlement, when, after a riot in a Japanese factory and the arrest of some Chinese agitators, nine students were shot and killed during an attack on the Louza Police Station. The outcry which followed, and the boycott of British goods, enhanced Borodin's powers. The Shanghai police were those of the international settlement, but the officials actually in charge were British subjects. A later judicial inquiry held them guiltless, but the anti-British agitation was so unscrupulously conducted that British trade came almost to a standstill, and serious riots occurred in the interior. At Canton the Russian-trained cadets fired on the British Concession,

killing one foreigner and wounding others; the fire was returned, when several Chinese were killed. The British Government and people, sympathizing with the Chinese in their struggle for self-government, steadily maintained a policy of peaceful conciliation. They saw only a suffering people struggling for liberty. Even the advance northward of the Russian-directed Cantonese forces in July, 1926, the fall of Changsha and of Wuchang, and the attack on and surrender of the British Concession at Hankow left them sympathetic, but anxious. The threat to Shanghai made them realize the necessity for self-defence, and troops were sent there in the early part of 1927. That they did not arrive too soon is revealed by the outrages committed by the Nationalist army when Nanking fell on March 24.

A three-sided struggle is at present proceeding, in which Chang Tso-lin, the anti-Communist, and Fêng Yu-hsiang, the Communist, are separately attacking the so-called "moderate," Chiang Kai-shek, whose army holds Shanghai and the eastern provinces. Other war-lords await the issue, among them Yen Hsi-shan, Governor of "the model Province" of Shensi, who has so far maintained the integrity and prosperity of his province, thanks in no small measure to his fine staff of University men trained there and in Britain by British teachers.

The success of the Nationalist army over Wu P'ei-fu and other war-lords has been due less to fighting than to the defection of their erstwhile military supporters, brought about by promises and anti-foreign propaganda, unhampered by truth or moral scruple. Its strength lies in the fact that it has a principle to offer in the shape of a plausible nationalist programme, whereas the war-lords have proved powerless to end the ills of the nation, and seem to seek only their own ends at whatever suffering to the people. As to the policy of non-intervention on the part of foreign Governments, while it may have been necessary, it has

left the field to the extremists and given the impression, however incorrect, that Western nations are only concerned with their profits.

The greater causes of the present distress may be found, primarily, in the economic failure to meet the needs of a vast increase in the population; in the century-long failure of the ruling classes, Chinese and Manchu, to accept the fact of a changing environment and the wisdom of adaptation to it; in the attempt to create a republic for which neither people nor leaders had any previous training or programme; in the total failure to establish a republic through the rigidity of the doctrinaire mind and also the rivalry and strife of war-lords little interested in civil government; and in the students' justifiable revolt against these war-lords, arising out of a commendable patriotic spirit, which has been organized and exploited in the interests of Soviet Communism. These are the domestic causes. As to the anti-foreign outcry, so far as Britain is concerned it arises from treaties at first obtained by force from the Manchu Government, but confirmed and amplified by many other treaties, peaceably negotiated, through later decades. The principal points in them which are considered as infringing on China's "sovereign rights" may be expressed in the words "extra-territoriality" and "tariffs." Extra-territoriality means two principal things. Firstly, it means that the foreigner in China is not subject to the laws of China, but to the laws of his own land, the reason for this being that Chinese laws and administration have not heretofore been considered sufficiently just or humane. Secondly, it means that a few of the trading settlements are also independent of Chinese administration. It was not the wish of foreigners to dwell in settlements; they would have preferred reciprocal treatment: in other words, the same liberty of residence and trade which the Chinese possess here in England. But the Chinese Government preferred to segregate them by leasing them land, outside

certain towns, and to this leased land the foreign trader's establishment was and is confined. So great has been the development of these relatively small territories, and so much greater the sense of order and security which they give, that Chinese ministers and wealthy men have built costly mansions in them, in which, and in the banks there, they deposit much of their wealth. Indubitably there are certain objectionable complications arising out of this system, which may either be ended by reciprocal treatment or by revision of the treaties to meet modern conditions; but the Powers have found it difficult to make such revision in the absence of a responsible Chinese Government. As to the tariffs, the Maritime Customs was founded by the British, French, and Americans in Shanghai as a temporary measure, during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, because the imperial officials had fled. So honourably was it conducted, and so unused were the Chinese to the control of modern shipping, that, when the rebellion was over, the British head of the Maritime Customs was invited to Peking, and the collection of duties in the foreign trading settlements was placed under his care, then and now as a paid servant of the Chinese Government. Sir Robert Hart devoted his whole life to its service, and not only organized the fine Customs service, but lighted, buoyed, and charted the coast and the rivers, founded the national postal service, did much other valuable work, and remained the faithful friend and wise adviser of the Government for half a century. Sir Francis Aglen succeeded him and loyally maintained the traditions of the service. Sir Richard Dane at a later period admirably organized the Salt Gabelle. These two services have hitherto been considered reliable pledges for loans made to China, and their respective foreign heads, as servants of the Chinese Government, dispose of the income, not at their own will, but strictly according to the Government's instruction. Nevertheless, through treaties with

various nations, the Chinese Government has limited its freedom to raise its tariffs at will. If the consumer pays, such restriction is at present only a disadvantage to rival war-lords, certainly not to the people.

Another cause of anti-foreign feeling, not unjustifiable, lies in the scramble by the foreign Powers in the nineties for concessions and spheres of influence, and the fear of partition amongst those Powers. Later came the lack of support by the Allies at Versailles in regard to the request of China that the demands made by Japan should be recognized as not binding, and the consequent refusal of China to sign the treaty. Further estrangement was caused by the delay in acting on the decisions of the Washington Conference of 1921, due to difficulties which arose, chiefly with France over the question of the rate of exchange in payment of the Boxer indemnity.

That the anti-foreign outburst should have been directed almost entirely against England is due to the fact that this country was for long the most prominent foreign nation in China, and is still, Japan apart, economically the most vulnerable; to a virulent Bolshevist anti-English campaign; to our aloofness and strict policy of "keeping the ring," or non-intervention; to the fact that the deplorable shooting of May 30, 1925, however justifiable, was by the direction of a police inspector who was British; also, unintentionally, to American teaching of history; and not least to criticism, true but persistent, of certain British writers and journalists in China. Nevertheless, in view of the sincere good feeling which exists in this country towards China, the justice which its official representatives there have endeavoured to show, the uprightness of its traders, and the services that have been willingly rendered by a large body of fine-spirited men, it is reasonable to believe that a return to a more friendly attitude will not be long delayed.

During the fifteen years of the "Republic," despite the turmoil and chaos which have existed in almost

every province, progress has not ceased. If war was proceeding in one part, other parts were for a time in peace. Moreover, the main railway lines, while losing most of their value for commercial purposes, have limited the area of fighting in great part to their near neighbourhood. Civil war has seriously hindered, but not wholly stopped, either educational work or literary output. The mind of China has never been so independent or free from the fetters of the past. Liberty may have run to licence, but that is temporary. It is the foreign trained students, separated during their formative years from the old traditions, who have led the way in criticism and destruction as well as in constructive work. The modern industrial system with its huge factories has begun its development, providing for the needs of millions, but with conditions of long hours, woman and child labour, and often unhygienic surroundings. Of the 120 mills and workshops around Shanghai, three only are British, forty-five Japanese, and the rest Chinese. Railway building has made little progress, but only awaits peace for large extension. Banks have increased in number and influence. Trade has grown, both externally and internally, as the Customs increasing revenue bears witness. Women are ceasing to cripple their feet, and in consequence have a carriage and a courage unknown in the past.

The advent of the West has stirred the East to a changed order. Seed has been sown by trader, by teacher, by missionary, by philanthropist—mostly good seed. The harvest is not yet, but it should be a good harvest if the prevailing cult of hatred can be displaced by the happier and more profitable cult of goodwill.

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A HISTORY OF JAPAN

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PREFACE

JAPANESE history covers a period of over 2,500 years, representing the oldest unbroken dynasty in the world. The compression of so extensive a record within the limits of this volume excludes almost everything beyond a mere recital of the main events, without adequate development of their interpretation. It is all very well to contend that facts speak for themselves; but in history, and particularly Oriental history, it is one thing to know the facts and quite another accurately to interpret them. Yet it is hoped that even so brief a survey of the facts may prove sufficiently interesting to invite a study of their fuller interpretation from some of the works mentioned in the appended bibliography.

Japan is an empire with a population of over eighty-three millions, including the four main islands and Formosa, Korea, and part of Saghalien. The most modern and progressive of the Asiatic nations, and possibly already the greatest of them, Japan has some reason to regard herself the Great Britain of the East, ambitious to be to Asia what England has been to Europe. But what Japan is to be depends on what she now is. In her history, therefore, all English-speaking people should take an intelligent interest. Future relations between the East and the West assuredly must grow out of their mutual knowledge and consequent goodwill.

J. INGRAM BRYAN.

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A HISTORY OF JAPAN

CHAPTER I

JAPANESE ORIGINS

THE country we call Japan is known to the people themselves as Dai Nippon, or Dai Nihon, a name derived from the Chinese ideographs for Jih-pen, meaning Sun-source Land, hence the term Land of the Rising Sun. Dai is the Japanese term for great, and the whole may be translated Great Japan. The European transliteration of the name is due to Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, who found his way to China towards the close of the thirteenth century (1271-1295), and returned with enchanting tales of an empire still farther eastward so abounding in gold that its mansions were decorated with the precious metal; and the Chinese name of this Eldorado he pronounced Zipangu, which the French turned into Japon, and the English into Japan. The news excited such interest in Europe that Christopher Columbus, with Toscanelli's map of the world before him, showing "Zipangu" between himself and the Far East, set out on his famous voyage in search of a westerly route to the East, when he came upon the New World instead of Old Japan. Thus, Japan was indirectly the cause of America's discovery.

Up to the end of the seventh century A.D., however, the empire was officially known as Yamato, the name of the race that founded and colonized the country, as well as of the province where the first emperor established his capital. This designation included only the main island at first, but as the Yamato extended their

domain over the entire archipelago the empire accepted the Chinese descriptive name of Dai Nippon.

The Japanese date the foundation of their empire from the year 660 B.C., when the first ruler, Jimmu Tenno, is alleged to have set up his capital in Yamato. But the most reliable authorities are obliged to regard the first thousand years of this period as more or less wrapped in myth. Both ethnologists and anthropologists, as well as archæologists and historians, agree in ascribing the birth and rise of the Japanese to a blending of two main streams of immigration that invaded the islands in prehistoric time, the one from the continent of Eastern Asia, and the other from the archipelagoes of the Pacific, with infiltrations from Malaya, India, and perhaps Egypt. The southern colony, with its base in northern Kyushu, constantly strengthened by accretions from the continent and the oceanic islands, pushed farther north into the main island, where it came into conflict with settlements originally from Korea, China, Mongolia, and other races, with their chief centre in Izumo.

The southern contingents, pirates from the wild islands of the Pacific and the coastal waters of South China, being intensely warlike and aggressive, finally subdued and absorbed the less spirited but more highly civilized colonists of Izumo, at the same time almost wholly exterminating or enslaving the savage aborigines that lay between. It thus seems probable that the Japanese race is a fusion of vigorous bloods, after the manner of the English; for, just as the best of the European races concentrated on Britain to fuse and form one of the greatest of the Occidental races, so the more virile tribes of Eastern Asia and Oceanic regions focussed on Japan to produce the most modern and progressive of Asiatic nations. But in Yamato the progress of racial fusion was even slower than it was in Britain; for effective central government was not realized before the thirteenth century A.D. That feudalism, on its decline in the China of the second

century B.C., found rapid establishment in Japan, indicates that many of the great warriors of that country may have been driven to find refuge in Yamato, where the military and feudal spirit was already fostered by centuries of continued warfare, not only between rival clans, but in suppression of the fierce aborigines.

The above hypotheses are supported by such facts as the strong equatorial current rushing towards the coast of Japan, which must have been long a highway for streams of immigration from the Pacific Islands, while the Tsushima current doubtless carried invaders from the continent of Asia. Confirmation of this comes from tradition and archæology. National mythology ascribes the origin of Yamato to two deities, male and female, named Izanagi and Izanami, who created the islands and made one of their descendants the first ruler. The divine pair settled on Awaji, the first of the islands created: it was their Eden. And, then, seven other islands appeared, as by a wave of the divine wand, so that Oyashima, the Great Eight Islands, became a poetic designation of the new creation. As the northern island, Hokkaido, is not mentioned, it shows that the northern limits of the archipelago were probably unknown to the mythmakers. But, as in Eden, so in Nippon, there were quarrels in the sacred family, the divine husband retiring for peace to the land of Izumo; while the dispute between the brother and sister, Susano-ō and Amaterasuno-mikami, children of the creating deities, seems on a parallel with that between Cain and Abel, save that homicide was avoided. These original deities may be assumed to represent the first conquerors of the land, since, from the beginning, conflict between family interests was common; clans were incessantly at war with one another as well as with the savages. This was as marked a feature of racial fusion in Yamato as it was in Britain.

Archæology lends substance to tradition and mythology in throwing some light on the origin and development of the Yamato race and nation, fragments

of pottery and other artifacts pointing to continental and Pacific Island origins. The fusion of insular and continental tribes was not so rapid and complete as to obliterate all original differences of race and temperament. All the evidence leads to the inference that the Japanese are a mixture of Mongolian, Chinese, Korean, Fillipino, Anamese, Malayan, and Indonesian bloods, with possibly some slight tincture of Egyptian. Here language affords no assistance, as the Japanese tongue has no affinity with the languages of Asia, and yet it must have been the language of the race that dominated the islands and imposed sovereignty on the other tribes. Of course, the singularity of the Japanese language does not absolutely preclude an Asiatic origin, for the distance between it and any other language of Asia is not greater than that between English and Sanskrit.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF MYTH

(660 B.C.—A.D. 500.)

FOR reliable information on early Japanese history we are dependent on Chinese and Korean records, however meagre, corroborated, as far as may be, by native archæology and tradition. Setting aside as apocryphal a period of one thousand years from 660 B.C. onwards, it may be said that authentic history does not begin before the sixth century A.D. Up to that time the sole repository of Japanese annals were the *kataribé*, or minstrels, who recited or sang the national or tribal legends based on the supposed histories of sovereigns or great families. Having acquired the art of writing from China in the third or fourth century A.D., tradition and legend began to be compiled into history, as may be seen from the *Kojiki*, the oldest Japanese book, which did not appear until A.D. 712, and the

Nihongi, a more extended account of national affairs, which was compiled in A.D. 720. How much in these compilations is history and how much is myth can be inferred only by comparison with Chinese records. In some cases there is a serious degree of discrepancy between the insular and the continental accounts. Japanese mythology, however, cannot be wholly ignored, for if any real thought of the past is thus handed down, some knowledge of history may possibly be extracted.

This is especially true of Japan, where a highly developed civilization is found at the very dawn of written history, and which, therefore, must have been developed through a period extending back several centuries, since so considerable an advance in culture and achievement is never a sudden phenomenon anywhere. Though much of this early civilization came from China, it is remarkable how soon Japan succeeded in making it her own. The only inference is that the immigrants possessed a well-advanced culture before arriving in the islands.

The first glimpse we get of ordered society in Yamato is that of a great ruler surrounded by his subordinates, but while he is supreme, clan leaders are aggressive. Indubitably the first emperor established his rule by conquest. There is already an officialdom taking its orders from the ruler, who is obviously the clan chief. Already society has its guilds controlling arts, crafts, and various occupations, each with its hereditary chief. The nation is engaged in an incessant struggle with savagery. Social conditions are obviously primitive; marital obligations hardly exist, as sexual morality is absent; life is cruel and homicide is an offence only of the lower against the higher. Serfdom is apparent, and great personages have attendants buried alive with them. Religion is a mass of crude superstition: birth and death are defiling. All good and evil is from the gods, who appear devilish in character. Important decisions are reached by divina-

tion. Mention of millet, rice, barley, beans, and saké indicates an advanced degree of agriculture. Cloth was made from bark of the paper mulberry, and later we have mention of silk: all of which suggests Chinese influence. Such is the picture of Yamato to be gained from a study of the more mythical portions of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*.

Even after the veil of legend has been lifted there is a remarkable absence of data by which to estimate the character and achievement of the ancient heroes, or even to divest the first ruler of the myths that enshroud him. When Jimmu Tenno localized his first capital at Kashiwabara in Yamato, the gods gave him three sacred treasures—the sword, the mirror, and the jewel—which have remained the imperial regalia ever since, for the Emperor of Japan has no crown. Jimmu means Prime War Spirit, and Tenno means Lord of Heaven; and Tenshi, often used for the sovereign, means Son of Heaven, for Japan has always been a theocracy. Each succeeding ruler became to the nation an incarnation of all his predecessors, and to him absolute obedience was due.

During the first five hundred years of this legendary period the rulers and their doings are of little importance as history. The longevity of the sovereigns is their most interesting aspect. Perhaps this was essential to establish their divine origin. The first fifteen emperors were mostly centenarians, and for about a thousand years their ages average 107 years each. Either the years were not as ours, or the compilers of tradition, unable to find names to fill spaces between rulers, filled them with years instead.

Between Jimmu and the beginning of the Christian era eleven emperors are alleged to have ruled over a domain confined chiefly to the provinces around modern Kyoto, known later as the Go-kinai, or home counties; for, in outlying parts, such as Kyushu in the south, and the Kuanto region in the north, the authority of the central government was often chal-

lenged by insurrection. As the early European settlers in America were subject to raids from savages, so were the early Yamato always being harried by the Ainu, and had to withstand succeeding waves of invasion from the continent, as Britain had to meet Saxon, Danish, and Norman incursions.

The Emperor Jimmu is said to have died in the year 585 B.C. at the age of 127. Other long-lived rulers succeed him until we come to the Emperor Sujin (97-30 B.C.), who appears to have been nominated by his predecessor, but usually the succession was from father to son. Through fear of death contamination the capital changed with each accession to the throne, but remained always near the original site in Yamato. The fact that the Emperor Sujin (97-30 B.C.) promoted rice cultivation and formulated a system of taxation indicates a rapid development of civilization. That Yamato at this time objected to China's interference in Korean affairs suggests Japan's interest in the peninsula, as well as her relations with the continent. Suinin (30 B.C.–A.D. 70) abolished the cruel custom of *junshi,* whereby retainers had been buried alive with their deceased lords. Instigated by the Korean kingdoms, the tribes of Kyushu gave repeated trouble to the Yamato authorities during this century. In the ensuing wars and in the suppression of the Ainu aborigines Prince Yamatodaké arose to fame, and his beautiful wife, Tachibana, became the permanent ideal of Japanese womanhood by sacrificing her life to the sea-god to save her husband from shipwreck. In the reign of Chuai (191-200) there was further insurrection in Kyushu when the ruler died while quelling it; and his consort, the Empress Jingo, became an historic personage by conducting an expedition to Korea to punish the fomenters of unrest in Kyushu. Her son Ojin (270-310) was apotheosized as Hachiman, the national god of war, still worshipped in Japan. For the next two centuries there is nothing noteworthy about succeeding sovereigns, except that

their more than ample harems supplied numerous imperial rivals to keep up a state of bloodshed. Some rulers were unscrupulous and cruel, not hesitating to appropriate the wives of their subjects if attracted by them, nor to send men up trees to be hunted like monkeys by taking pot-shots at them with arrows.

CHAPTER III

THE DAWN OF HISTORY

(500—700)

With the opening of the sixth century A.D. Japanese annals are found to have a more authentic basis in history. The tradition that writing was introduced from China by a tutor employed in the imperial family, a Korean named Wani, in A.D. 284, probably had some foundation in fact, for there is reason to believe that soon after that date national records were kept. The material comprising the sources of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* was much older than the compilations themselves.

An outstanding feature of the next two centuries is the evidence of increasing intercourse with Korea and China, and its marked influence on Yamato civilization and government. But such influence must have been in process long before it found written record. That Buddhism made its appearance in China about the beginning of the Christian era proves intimate relations with India; by the end of the third century the new religion had made great headway. The famous Chinese monk, Fa H'Sien, made a pilgrimage to India in 399; and it is difficult to believe that Japan, in constant communication with China, did not know of Buddhism before its mention in the national records. In 470 a Chinese ambassador was entertained by Japan

in magnificent estate, suggesting close relations between the two countries.

It is apparent, moreover, that for a long time after the Korean expedition of the Empress Jingo (A.D. 202) some of the peninsular kingdoms continued to foment rebellion in Kyushu against the Yamato authorities. Between the second and the seventh centuries we have mention of no less than fourteen expeditions to the peninsula to punish one or more of its kingdoms and to exact tribute. It is obvious that Yamato endeavoured to retain an envoy in Korea. At the same time there went on intermittent conflict between rival factions at home, owing mainly to a succession of weak rulers given to sensual excesses and indifferent to the principles of good government. During the fifth century the whole of Korea appears to have suffered from dynastic revolts and changes, an echo of similar conditions in the China of that period.

But the most important event in the Yamato of the sixth century was the introduction of Buddhism, a religion destined to have a profound effect on the nation's character and civilization. The national religion of Yamato was Shinto, the way of the gods, as the name means; it consisted, as it still does, mainly of ancestor worship: all the dead are believed to acquire supernatural power, and are responsible for all the good and evil experienced by the living. Often this cult descends to mere animism and Nature worship generally, with special devotion to spirits in stones and trees and idols. In most cases it is a worship of moral inferiority and not calculated to enhance the progress of society. People are never better than their gods. Shinto has never had a moral code, contending that the children of the gods are born moral and have only to follow Nature to be perfect. But Buddhism, while not affording a more rational conception of deity, nor even a more definite or moral view of theogony, yet stood for an idea of the Universal unknown to Shinto, though its greatest work

was in bestowing on Japan the art, culture, and learning of China and India.

After five centuries of intercourse with China, during which the peninsula came under the suzerainty of that country, Korea now became more than ever the medium of knowledge and culture between Japan and Asia, though not quite what Italy was to Europe. In the reign of Keitei Tenno (507-531) Japan sent troops to Korea in connection with another outbreak in Kyushu, but that peace was soon restored is clear from what occurred in the next reign, that of Kimmei (540-571), who received from the King of Kudara in Korea a beautiful image of Buddha, with altar books and ritual directions pertaining to Buddhist worship. To the image and its implications the priests of Shinto offered strenuous objections; but the prime minister, Soga, of high descent, suggested that it was not unbecoming for Yamato to worship the god of China, India, and the most civilized nations, rather than a merely national deity. But trouble arose over it, and the emperor gave the image to Soga, who placed it in a shrine for worship. Soon afterwards pestilence began to decimate the population; it was ascribed to the anger of the national gods against the advent of a strange god; and the temple of Amida was destroyed, the image being cast into a river. This did not prevent lightning from striking the imperial palace and killing two important councillors who were against the image; and so it was recovered from the river and again set up in a temple for worship.

Under the auspices of the Emperor Bidatsu (572-585) more images were brought from Korea, together with the necessary paraphernalia for Buddhist worship, as well as image-makers, priests, nuns, and temple architects; and henceforth the new faith spread rapidly under an intensive and extensive propaganda. In the reigns of the next two emperors, Yomei (585-587), Sujun (588-592), Buddhism made somewhat less progress, owing to epidemics believed due to divine anger,

but the faith spread none the less among the common folk. With the accession of the Empress Suiko (593-628), Buddhism witnessed unusual development, especially under the zeal of the saintly Prince Shotoku, the regent, who utilized the new religion to introduce more universally the learning, laws, arts, and customs of China. He drew up the Daiho legal code, which aimed at humanizing the judiciary and improving the condition of the submerged masses who existed in poverty. This inception of Confucian ethics and polity had a far-reaching effect on Japanese government and civilization. Personal merit and ability now took precedence to heredity and family prestige in officialdom; but this was eventually used for the very opposite purpose intended by the Prince, as it led to domination of the State by family usurpation.

The convergence toward unity of faith which Shinto at first opposed so bitterly was soon overcome by Buddhist compromise, which agreed to regard the Shinto deities as avatars of Buddha, so that the new religion became as polytheistic as the old, while the pantheistic implications involved moral confusion, if deity includes both good and evil. But Shinto supplied Japanese Buddhism with personal deities, without which there can be no religion. The highly descended Nakatomi family, the hereditary high priests of Shinto, never quite acquiesced in this compromise, and the old rivalry with the Soga family continued and became a menace to unity of national government.

Under imperial auspices, supported by the influence of China and Korea, Buddhism continued to find acceptance in Yamato; the more elaborate Court ceremonial and official class rank of China were adopted by the Yamato Court and government, while the upper classes emulated the silken robes of the priests and had their mansions and gardens constructed after the manner of the temples. During the reign of the Empress Suiko more than 46 new temples were built, attended by 815 priests and 569 monks. In the year

593, Buddhism was formally made the established religion of the country.

But the new faith appears to have done no more for national unity in Japan than it did for unity in Korea and China, where civil wars were frequent, with constant reaction on Japan. The country was still constantly drawn into dynastic brawls in Korea, where the three kingdoms of Shiragi, Mimama, and Korai contended for supremacy, Japan siding with the authority historically the most friendly and ready to pay tribute. In 645 the Japanese envoy and the entire colony of his countrymen were driven out of Korea; but they brought home with them many Korean teachers and craftsmen; and there was a further immigration of skilled workers in 717 and 760, which had a lasting and beneficial effect on the nation's industries.

With the demise of the good Empress Suiko in 628, internecine strife arose over the succession, the Emperor Jomei (628-641) finally ascending the throne. During his rule there was a terrible uprising of the northern barbarians, when Yamato women distinguished themselves as warriors in suppression of the enemy. With the accession of the Empress Kogiyoku (642-645) there was quarrel between the two historic rivals, the Soga and the Nakatomi, when the Soga leader was assassinated and the Nakatomi leader made Kuambaku, the only recognized medium between the ruler and his subjects. The Nakatomi took the name of Fujiwara, the family dominating the imperial Court for centuries. Under the next two rulers, Kotoku (645-654) and Tenchi (668-671), Chinese and Buddhist influence much increased, Japan being divided into provinces with governors, using the official dress of China; and Chinese schools and calendar were introduced. Temmu (673-678) made the Buddhist faith obligatory, and the same policy was adopted by the Empress Jito (687-696), while Mommu (697-797) established a Chinese university, but had his Chinese medicine tested on monkeys before taking it himself.

CHAPTER IV

THE NARA PERIOD

(700—800)

THOUGH the Nara period lasted scarcely more than a century, it left so permanent a mark on Japanese history as to be memorable for all time. Society had then fully emerged from barbarism, and progress was evident in every direction. Hitherto each new reign had involved a change of capital, but Buddhist influence lessened fear of contamination from death, and the site of the new capital remained fixed for a century. Consciousness of permanency tended to establish more stable government, no less than to promote concentration on art, architecture, education, religion, and literature, to say nothing of moral and social ideas.

Successive waves of invasion from the continent and the southern islands had now ceased, and the various tribes and clans were beginning to fuse into nationality, with a gradually increasing realization of law and order. In sheer self-defence tribes were absorbed into clans, forming great families under one chief; for very early the family became the unit of society, as in China. But it was a family based on religion rather than blood: it included all the individuals yielding allegiance to the same clan chief and worshipping the same clan deity. Certain families were inherently distinct from the first: the imperial family and its relatives; the nobles that arrived with the first emperor and had always supported the imperial family, like the Fujiwara and the Soga; and the distinguished families of alien extraction who had been forced into allegiance to the imperial line. Owing to polygamous habits, the progeny of great families often extended beyond control, leading to frequent clan rivalries that menaced the nation with civil war. In the evolution of Japanese

history the clan has exercised greater influence than the imperial Court or the central government.

The greater families and their chiefs soon separated into two distinct classes: the *kugé,* or nobles of the imperial Court, who were concerned with civil administration; and the *buké,* or provincial nobles, who were more concerned with land and its military protection. The wealth of the more prominent clan chiefs consisted mainly of lands and their products. Much of their territory, as well as the slaves who worked it, was acquired by conquest of the aborigines; for by such aggression a family could acquire wealth and distinction more quickly than in any other way. Greater families often let some of their lands to lesser ones, collecting in rent a percentage of the produce. The imperial Court was given the proportion which the clan chief thought proper, and he retained the rest. Though the imperial Court was not dependent wholly on contributions from the provincial lords, yet the national treasury was seriously impoverished by diversion of tenants from crown lands to those of the provincial nobility who asked less rent, as all land reclaimed from the savages was free of taxation. With the depletion of the imperial treasury went on a corresponding increase of wealth and independence among the provincial clan chiefs, until the central government was ignored and the unity of the State threatened.

Quite early in their intercourse with China the Yamato imitated that country in giving each imperial reign, or part thereof, a *nengo,* or poetic name, signifying the spirit of the period, a practice continued still. The title of the period became the posthumous name of its ruler. Then, as now, the ruler was a priest-king, the head of the national religion. Official connection with deity, no less than blood descent therefrom, lent authority to sovereignty. But loyalty then had no national significance, being purely local, confined to relations with the clan chief. The subjects of the clan chief were literally his, and wholly at his mercy. The

influence of Buddhist and Confucian ethics, especially under the Daiho and the Daikwa codes, tended to consideration of the common people, relieving them from the tyranny of rapacious lords, but the eventual result was the ascendancy of one dominant family controlling the entire nation, without much regard for the masses, who, indeed, had no rights. The attempts of provincial lords to challenge this autocracy often caused cruel bloodshed.

It was during the Nara period that the Fujiwara family reached the zenith of its usurpation of imperial prerogative. The theory of absolute sovereignty was never abandoned, but it was now administered through the *kuambaku*. By introducing their daughters into the imperial Court the Fujiwara secured blood connection with the throne, in order to dominate its councils. To suit the convenience of this policy the Buddhist hierarchy extended its principle of compromise by establishing a system known as *insei*, or retirement, whereby emperors who proved too independent could be induced to abdicate and go into monastic seclusion with the title of Hō-Ō, or retired emperor. To aspire to this honour was advanced as the highest of imperial ideals. Being himself divine the retired sovereign could spend his last days supplicating his divine forbears to be favourable to the State. The gods were not expected to ignore the prayers of so highly a placed relative. Some rulers, it is only too true, preferred this luxurious leisure to the responsibilities of the throne and the perpetual interference of the Fujiwara. But in most cases retirement was compelled; and the custom left unscrupulous leaders free to usurp imperial authority and invite decentralization of government.

Over against the wealth and luxury of the imperial Court and the dominant families both at Nara and in the provinces, with their wide diffusion of concubinage even under Buddhist auspices, there was abounding poverty among the people. Plunder of the weaker farmers, confiscation of their holdings, and conquest

of the aborigines went on steadily. Many had to sell not only their lands but themselves into bondage or die of want. Rural life and property were so unsafe that clans had to organize their own defences to avoid the pillage of their estates; and the private police force thus created developed into the famous *samurai* class later. But the principle of hereditary rule was fast becoming discredited; the Fujiwara had all appointments of both local and provincial governors in their own hands.

Notwithstanding the adverse ethical and political aspect of the Nara period, it was Japan's golden age of æsthetic and literary progress. Schools for the study of history, law, medicine, and Chinese classics were promoted; and the examples of Nara culture that have come down to us, especially in poetry and art, reveal a remarkable degree of achievement. The elaborate artistry of Buddhist architecture continued to exercise a marked influence on domestic construction. The lovely gardens of the temple groves were emulated around the mansions of the rich, for the descendants had to maintain a style worthy of their divine ancestors. They housed themselves like their gods.

The temples at Nara remain examples of the art of the period. In 732 was cast the giant bell of the Todaiji Temple, 13 feet in height and 49 tons in weight. The Nara *daibutsu* cast in 747 remains the largest bronze statue in the world. Buddhism by this time had so far gained ascendancy over the nation that the erection and support of temples depleted the Treasury and left no more metal available. With elaboration of religion went on elaboration of numerous questionable amusements, accompanied by a serious degree of moral laxity.

But the most vivid picture of the æsthetic side of the Nara period is to be found in its literature. This is particularly true of poetry; never since has the native muse revealed such delicacy of sentiment, been so refined in language, or displayed such exquisite skill in phrasing and composition. The appearance of the

Kojiki in the reign of the Empress Gemmei (708-714) and of the *Nihongi* under the auspices of the Empress Gensho (715-723) shows not only the influence of women at this time, but indicates a long previous development of thought and action. There was also the *Manyoshu* anthology of 300 poems, throwing light on contemporary life and on the centuries beyond. Obviously the Japanese mind had begun to think and reason, assuming a philosophic attitude toward existence. But this literature is neither truly philosophical nor political, nor even didactic, but rather dreamy and introspective, concerned with impractical things, like Asiatic literature generally. The prose is too illformed and dependent on Chinese models to show literary merit. The poetry is better, but occupied mainly with love intrigues and domestic life, with the loneliness and abandon of Buddhism. There is, however, an amiable absence of war epics and cruel pictures, due surely to no want of subject. But this acquiescent attitude to life, due to Buddhism, forms a striking contrast to the earlier Yamato mind which, like its gods, could do things, and did them.

Indifferent to vice, crime, and prevailing poverty, Nara was mainly concerned with the pleasures of æsthetic. Art for art's sake was the rule. Chinese artists, artisans, scholars, and priests poured into Japan, and their influence remained uninterrupted for centuries. In glyptic, structural, and decorative art they were supreme. Under such incessant tutelage it was long before the national mind began to gain that degree of self-consciousness essential to creative rather than imitative ambition and achievement. The beautiful Horyuji Temple still stands as a monument to the nobility of art in the Nara age. And yet here, no more than in ancient Greece and Rome, was art able to compensate for lack of a superior virtue essential to a nation's moral fibre.

It is not without significance that of the seven sovereigns of the Nara period three were women, for

Buddhism had a penchant for easy manipulation of great ladies in the interests of the faith; and the Fujiwara co-operated with the hierarchy to promote mutual aims. Under influence of Komiyo, the beautiful consort of the Emperor Shomu (723-748), Buddhism made still more rapid progress, especially in the outlying parts of the empire. But this fair lady fell under the fascination of the Buddhist monk, Dokyo; and the emperor had to abdicate in favour of his daughter Koken (749-758), after which the nation had to face more civil war. The sinister aspects of that age should not be allowed to detract from its achievements. The three thousand examples of Nara art in the ancient *Shoso-in* Museum at Nara confirm the convictions of historians as to the great achievements of the period.

CHAPTER V

THE HEIAN ERA

(800—1100)

THE Heian era takes its name from the new capital which the Emperor Kwammu (782-807) built on the River Kamo, and called it Heianjo, the City of Peace. The removal of the imperial capital from Nara was due possibly to a desire to escape from the machinations of the Buddhist hierarchy; but the priests at once betook themselves to the new capital and rejoined forces with the Fujiwara in domination of the Court, as before. After a lapse of four hundred years, in the absence of peace, the name of the city was changed to Kyoto, or western capital, as against Nara, the old capital.

The new capital, laid out and constructed after the design of the contemporary capital of China, was completed by forced labour in eleven years; the expense was yet so enormous as to impoverish national re-

sources. On Mount Hiyei a great Buddhist monastery arose to dominate the situation and to ward off the demons that always came from the north-east. By the magnificence of its temples and the splendour of its vestments and ceremonial Buddhism added much to the outward glory of the new capital. Its lands and buildings exempt from taxation, the religion commanded enormous revenues, to which it added still further by allowing those who wished to evade taxation to register their lands in the name of a temple; and then if the bribes were not duly renewed such lands were confiscated. To those of low estate the Buddhist priesthood was the surest avenue to preferment. The priests and monks were the scholars of the time; through them knowledge continued to come from China, India, and beyond. Famous monks like Dengyo Daishi and Kukai brought back from China the more philosophic doctrines of the Tendai and the Shingon sects, whereas Shinto at this time remained quite passive and inept. All through the Heian era religion was utilized as a policy to control the masses in the interests of their superiors, both spiritual and temporal.

Moreover, all through this era Buddhism and Fujiwara influence conspired to reduce the throne to a subordinate position: the events and movements of history tend to centre around religion and family intrigue, rather than around the ruler and the State. Through the Buddhist system of *insei* emperors were created and deposed at will. After Kwammu few emperors appeared capable of resisting the dominant family. As the wives and mothers of the mikados, the Fujiwara were always in a position to control the imperial Court in family interest. The throne remained the fount of honour and the source of all authority, at least in name, for the dominant family always had to appear to be merely enforcing the imperial will, yet it was invariably the family will. This dual system of administration, arising out of Con-

fucian ethics, enabled Japan to avoid the dynastic revolutions of China, while giving political and military ability precedence over that of hereditary prestige and class. But it no more brought peace to Japan than it did to China.

In proportion as the Fujiwara domination became independent, it grew arrogant and inefficient. Owing to the effeminacy of the imperial Court, and the futile conventionality of the Fujiwara bureaucrats, the central government revealed a persistent inability to prevent anarchy and plunder in the provinces, driving the clan chiefs to take matters in their own hands. The northern savages, not yet subdued, continued to harass the frontiers of civilization; and the central government, to encourage suppression of the aborigines, rewarded the leaders of the most successful expeditions against them with the much coveted title of Sei-i-tai-shogun, or great barbarian conquering general. As time went on the *kugé,* or Court nobles, were content to leave the remoter provinces to the chiefs that ruled them. Thus while the Fujiwara faction and its Court nobles were spending their time in idle pleasure and futile æsthetic ease, the provincial nobles were acquiring soldierly habits and courage, whence emerged that samurai spirit and skill that ultimately revolted and overthrew the Fujiwara domination and instituted an ordered feudalism.

Among the leaders who arrayed themselves against the incompetency of the Fujiwara were the clans of Taira and Minamoto, both calculated to control Japanese history for centuries. Fierce jealousy between the Taira and the Minamoto forced all lesser clans to become vassals to either one or the other as leaders and defenders. Mutual interest in opposition to the Fujiwara enabled the Taira and the Minamoto for a time to sink their differences and pool their ambitions and rewards; but, after the overthrow of the enemy, they were certain to come into conflict. They were, in fact, the cause of civil strife for centuries. Both were

of imperial descent, regarded themselves as superior to the Fujiwara, and the question of supremacy in military affairs had to be decided.

Of these undercurrents of unrest and hostility leading on to open disaster the imperial Court and the Fujiwara councillors appeared to be quite unconscious. Of the twenty-five rulers during the Heian era, twelve abdicated or were deposed by the Fujiwara, while the rest were treated as nullities. Heijo (806-810) appears of little or no importance, while the Emperor Saga (810-823) supplanted Heijo and treated him cruelly. He utilized Ainu prisoners as slaves for the cultivation of crown lands, as the provincial lords had always done. Earthquakes and floods, always a menace in Japan, enabled the emperor to invite the rich to assist in relieving the distress of the people. The reign of Junwa (824-834), was marked by further distress, this time from drought and pestilence. The next emperor, Nimmyo (834-851), was noted for a spirited independence and high intellect, even inducing his advisers to promote agriculture to preclude famine, providing almshouses for the poor, and taxing the rich to relieve them. He was too much for the Fujiwara, however, and the child emperor, Montoku (851-859) was placed on the throne. Unable to cope with the savage incursions of the north, the government now had to entrust this duty to the Taira and the Minamoto clans, thus forcing them into still greater prominence and rivalry. During the reigns of the next three rulers, Seiwa (859-877), Yozei (877-885), and Koko (885-888), who were little more than puppets in stronger hands, the only events of importance were fierce raids on the Japanese coast by Korean pirates, probably in revenge for similar attacks on the peninsula by pirates from Japan.

During the rule of the Emperor Uda (888-897) the Fujiwara experienced courageous opposition from the famous Sugawara Michizané, still remembered, and even worshipped, in Japan, for his exemplary piety

and virile patriotism. But he was vanquished and banished to Kyushu; his friend, the emperor, was forced to abdicate, a child of twelve, Daigo (898-931), being placed on the throne. The spirit of Michizané has been deified and enshrined as Tenjin in numerous temples, where he is worshipped as the incarnation of loyalty. In the reign of Shujaku (931-946) Fujiwara supremacy began to be seriously threatened by opposition from the Taira and Minamoto, who refused longer to submit to any authority less than the emperor himself. Of imperial descent themselves, they were humiliated by deference to a family that had acquired imperial connection by forcing its daughters into the imperial Court.

In 940 a scion of the Taira clan, Masakado, stung by slights received at the hands of the Court during the days of his sojourn for education in Kyoto, now fomented rebellion, and for a time made himself independent in the Kuanto region, where he had been only a governor. The uprising was finally crushed by the assistance of the other branch of the Taira, and so the family was pardoned. But with this leniency the Minamoto did not agree, and the result was implacable enmity between the two houses. They were also constant rivals for the title of shogun, as they vied with each other in suppressing the savages. With the increasing wealth of the provincial nobles other families were now rising to positions of great influence, and these also the two historic rivals had to consider.

In fact, the most outstanding feature of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries in Japan is the increasing power and wealth of the landed gentry.

A general drift of tenants from the imperial estates continued. Puissant families like the Taira and the Minamoto came to own whole provinces. By the end of the eleventh century the latter clan owned fifteen provinces; and after they defeated the Taira and confiscated their estates, the clan wealth was doubled.

In the Heian era the literary and æsthetic traditions of the Nara period were continued. Even amusement, in almost every form, assumed an æsthetic significance. Graceful compositions in verse and prose developed skill in expression of indirect and impersonal ideas in the most elegant phraseology. The emperors held imperial tournaments amid cherry blossom scenes, wherein distinguished poets and poetesses vied with one another in producing examples of their art. Flower-viewing (*hanami*) came into vogue as an art and a pastime, with moonlight excursions for gay lords and ladies. Excess of elaboration in games and amusements and hobbies was not unlike that of Rome in its decadence. It was an attempt to forget the sordid realism of surrounding sensuality and poverty.

Music, dancing, and painting were cultivated from Chinese models. In silk fabrics, fine porcelain, brass-work, and lacquer there was marvellous achievement. The most permanent progress was in literature, the greatest being from a woman's pen. The *Genji Monogatari,* by Murasaki Shikibu, is delicate in language, brilliant in style, and characterized by a moral sublimity above anything of the kind in the Europe of that time. The *Makura-no-soshi* was another piece of clever composition by a woman, Sei Shonagon. This was also a period of great poetry, as may be seen from the *Kokinshu,* an anthology compiled by the greatest poet of the period, Tsurayuki, author of the *Tosa Nikki,* a work in prose, interspersed with gems of verse. The 1,400 examples of native verse in the *Kokinshu* are all in the vernacular. The native tongue, so long in subservience to Chinese idiom and convention, now showed signs of that freedom and naturalness essential to a national literature. The greatest authors were women, because men essayed only history, law, and theology, for which they preferred the more masculine language of China, just as contemporary intellectuals in Europe preferred to write in Latin.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF FEUDALISM

(1100–1300)

It has already been shown that the central government, under the indolent and effeminate Court nobles, dominated by the Fujiwara family, was ineffective to control the increasing independence of the provincial nobility, who were now beginning to range themselves either under the Taira or the Minamoto clan. These two clans did not see the sense of having to do all the fighting for the preservation of national unity and peace, while the inept central government got all the honour. The Taira were proud of their descent from the Emperor Kwammu (782-806), the ablest of the Heian rulers; while the Minamoto were descendants of the Emperor Seiwa (859-877). First, they had to eliminate the Fujiwara, and then adjust their own claims to supremacy by wars which continued so long that this period is known as the dark age of Japanese history.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries there were various local conflicts, in which the Taira had the best of it. Tadamori, head of the Taira clan, had a son born of one of the imperial concubines in 1118; this child, whom he named Kiyomori, became one of the greatest warriors of his day. In the successive wars that arose from disputes among provincial nobles, Kiyomori became the triumphant head of his clan. Then the Hogen tumult in 1085 led the Minamoto openly to challenge the authority of the Taira. The resulting strife was what is known as the *Gen-pei* wars, *Gen* being the Chinese ideograph for Minamoto, and *Hei*, or *Pei*, that for the Taira, who were also called the Heiki, and the Minamoto the Genji. Like the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibillines in Italy, or the Wars of the Roses in England, they deluged Japan with blood.

The Taira bore a red banner, and the Minamoto a white one, like the roses of Lancaster and York. In the Heiji conflict of 1159 the cruel conduct of the Taira leader in exterminating the non-combatants among his rivals left the Minamoto all the more determined never to submit. By this time the power of the Fujiwara had practically passed into the hands of the Taira leader, Kiyomori. In a battle with Yoshitomo, head of the Minamoto clan, the latter was worsted and slain. After the overthrow of the Genji forces, Kiyomori ordered the execution of all the Minamoto family. Tokiwa, the beautiful widow of the fallen Minamoto chieftain, came before Kiyomori to plead for the life of her two sons, Yōritōmō and Yoshitsuné, the former only a stepson. Overcome by her beauty, he spared the children on condition that the mother should enter his harem. This led eventually to the destruction of the Taira, as we shall see.

Having displaced the Fujiwara, and defeated his only other rival, the Minamoto, Kiyomori now dominated the imperial Court and became more arrogant and overbearing than even the Fujiwara had been. He forced the ruler to marry his daughter, tried to remove the imperial capital to Hyogo, now Kobé; and then, having established blood connection with the imperial family, he was determined to keep his own relatives on the throne, as the Fujiwara had done. The entire nation was offended. Yōritōmō, head of the Minamoto, who had been growing up in exile in Izu, now came forward to challenge the pride and power of Kiyomori, and was joined by the forces of the north. Before the ensuing struggle ended, Kiyomori died, and his place was taken by his son Munemori, as head of the Taira, or Heike. Yōritōmō held Kamakura; his younger brother Yoshitsuné invaded the imperial capital. The Taira fled, taking the young Emperor Anko, in order to secure the right to rule. The Taira forces were defeated with great slaughter at Ichinotani, near Hyogo. Driving the remnant before him to

Sanuki and thence to Dannoura, near Shimonoseki, the Genji leader decimated them both by land and sea in one of the great decisive battles of Japanese history, 1182. The Taira clan was forthwith exterminated, sparing neither age nor sex.

In the Battle of Dannoura the young Emperor Anko was drowned and the imperial regalia lost; but the emperor whom Kiyomori had deposed now reascended the throne and hailed Yōritōmō as the nation's deliverer, making him shogun, the office to remain in the Minamoto family. Yōritōmō was a great soldier, and a still greater statesman; but he now revealed an ungenerous and cruel side. Jealous of the superior military genius of his brother, Yoshitsuné, who had been the chief cause of the Taira defeat, and consequently the object of national acclaim, Yōritōmō had him assassinated and even his infant son killed.

Yōritōmō was, nevertheless, a man of great political insight and military ability. He set up a separate capital of his own at Kamakura in 1192, and there laid the foundation of the feudal system of Japan in its final form. It is obvious that the Chinese principle of basing the right to rule on personal ability rather than on hereditary rank had been taking root in Japan, and Yōritōmō was now its most illustrious exponent. The emperor made him shogun, and his one aim subsequently was to make the office hereditary in his family, in defiance of the principle itself. Under Yōritōmō the emperor was respected, but kept in seclusion at Kyoto.

Up to this time the various provincial lords were supposed to hold their lands in the name of the emperor, and never in their own right, a distinction merely *nominal*, however, since they treated their estates and slaves as their own, to do with as desired. Some of the serfs and slaves on the feudal estates in time became free for one reason or another, serving their lords in time of war or other need, instead of paying rent. Yōritōmō now asserted the authority of the central government over all feudal lords without

exception, and the long anarchy of the *Gen-pei* wars came to an end. In his new military seat of government he hoped to be free from the intrigues of the imperial Court; but he kept an official representative at Kyoto to guard against trouble. As government had always found religion useful in controlling political interests, Yōritōmō invited the priests to build temples at Kamakura, that the city might share, if not exceed, the splendour of the imperial capital. A vast city rapidly arose around the shogun; it soon reached a million in population. The shogun hoped to erect a temple more imposing than any at Kyoto, and for this purpose ordered a colossal image of Amida to be cast, but he died before it was completed. The image still stands at Kamakura, one of the few relics of the city's departed glory.

Yōritōmō established an executive of State ministers like a modern Cabinet, with military as well as civil governors in all the provinces, the one to keep an eye on the other. Until 1192 the provinces were under civil governors appointed by Kyoto, but Yōritōmō despatched military officials, because the civil governors were unable to maintain peace. These military governors eventually made the civil governors unnecessary; and as soon as they supplanted them the military governors were called *daimyō*.

To maintain the moral fibre of the samurai, a stern code, known as bushidō, was formed and rigidly observed. Its outstanding principles were loyalty and filial piety, but it was loyalty to the feudal lord, not to the sovereign; and to the higher, not to the lower. Superiors had rights but no duties; inferiors had duties but no rights. Society was divided into four classes, besides the imperial family and the nobles: the *shi-no-ko-sho,* or soldiers, farmers, mechanics, and merchants, ranked in the order named. Though bushidō was only a class code, the feudalism it represented was at that time essential to the stability and progress of Japanese society, after so many years of civil anarchy.

Upon the death of Yōritōmō the shogunate descended to his incapable son, who came under the influence of his grandfather, Hōjō Tokimasa, whom he spurned and was assassinated, and then his brother Sanetomo became shogun, and was assassinated by Kugyo, son of the assassinated shogun; and so in 1219 the direct line of Yōritōmō ended. But his mother-in-law, Masako, one of the greatest female characters in the nation's history, took control of things. The Hōjō family now became to the shogun what the Fujiwara family had been to the emperors of the Heian era, only the Hōjō manipulated shogun and emperor alike. To the Hōjō both emperors and shoguns were no more than puppets. From 1222 to 1332 the Hōjō family were virtual rulers of Japan. Here the Confucian principle was enforced with some show of reason, for the Hōjō regents were in some cases remarkably efficient, enforcing law and order when both emperor and shogun were helpless.

Masako made a relative of her own, Yasutoki, regent; she had an imperial prince from Kyoto made shogun; the reigning emperor she had deposed and, together with two retired emperors, banished into exile and left to die. When Masako died in 1225 the Hōjō power was fully established beyond question. Imperial princes proving failures, members of the old Fujiwara family were made shoguns. The emperor or shogun who attempted to interfere only invited his own removal. Between 1260 and 1274 we have the extraordinary spectacle of a child regent managing a child shogun under a child emperor. The average age of the eleven emperors of the Hōjō regency did not exceed fourteen years, while the shoguns were all children. At least three of the Hōjō regents were great men—Yasutoki, Tokiyori, and Tokimune. It was during the régime of the latter that Kublai Khan attempted his invasion of Japan, and was defeated. Having sent embassies to Japan to stop piracy of the Chinese coast, only to have them beheaded, he resolved to send an expedition against the country in 1282. Two fleets

were, in fact, sent, but the first one got only as far as Tsushima and suffered defeat; the second reached Kyushu and, after being driven to sea again, was destroyed by a typhoon.

But the nation groaned under Hōjō tyranny; the feudal lords anxiously awaited a change. During the frequent outbreaks of famine and pestilence the regents treated the populace with cruel indifference, while living, themselves, in luxury and indolence. A celebrated patriot, Kusunoki Masashigé, raised an army to set free the emperor and country, but was defeated. A scion of the Minamoto family, Ashikaga Takauji, now came to the rescue. In 1333 the Hōjō stronghold at Kamakura was taken, and another great family took the reins of government.

CHAPTER VII

THE HOUSE OF ASHIKAGA

(1333–1500)

After the fall of the Hōjō usurpation the Emperor Godaigo made the mistake of ignoring Kusunogi Masashigé and Yoshisada, the two great generals who had done most to bring about his emancipation, and fell under the wiles of Ashikaga Takauji, the general who could not be trusted, though he had united with the others in hastening the end of the Hōjō supremacy. Ashikaga desired to become shogun, and when the emperor refused this, he attacked Kyoto, defeating both Yoshisada and Masashigé. The emperor fled to Yoshino, with the imperial regalia, and Ashikaga placed Prince Kogen on the throne, as he agreed to make his patron shogun; and he, in turn, imitated Yōritōmō, in trying to make the office hereditary in his family.

Residing himself at Kyoto to keep guard over the conduct of the imperial Court, he sent his son Yoshi-

nori to keep Kamakura under observation. But the exiled emperor, Go Murakami, set up a rival Court in the south, and for fifty-five years Japan had two emperors. This led to greater contempt than ever for constituted authority. Loyalty was hopelessly divided, and treachery was rife. Feudal lords again found themselves as free as they were before the rise of Yōritōmō, and took advantage of it to fight each other at will. The attempt to impose Confucian ethics on Japanese politics had obviously failed, or else was administered with a vengeance, for inferiors were often found ruling their superiors. All questions were decided by military force.

The six occupants of the throne under the dual monarchy Japan has never recognized as legitimate rulers; nor did the nation then recognize them, and the schism had to end. In 1393, Komiyama came to Kyoto and handed over the imperial regalia to Gokomatsu, and unity was restored. But the chaotic conditions created by the imperial dissension were not easily allayed. Constitutional wars continued to disorganize society, impoverishing the peasantry and exposing them to marauding freebooters. The coast population was given over to piracy, ravaging the shores of Korea and China. For this China claimed and received indemnity, which she recorded in her annals as tribute from Japan. For eleven years, from 1467 to 1478, the country was deluged with blood. This internecine warfare produced some great soldiers, like Takeda Shingen of Koshu, and Uyesugi Kenshin of Echizen; and, indeed, most of the prominent names that figure in modern Japanese history took their rise then, such as the Shimadzu, Hosokawa, Mori, Tokugawa, Takeda, Mayeda, and Saraké. In the midst of this political confusion, needless to say, religion proved morally futile; and in spite of official and military luxury the masses constantly suffered from famine and pestilence. The imperial Court itself was at times in such poverty that food was insufficient. One emperor added to his in-

come by selling the imperial autograph; and at the death of another emperor the body remained unburied for months through lack of funds to defray the expense of the imperial obsequies.

The Ashikaga shoguns pursued relentlessly the policy of their predecessors in treating the rulers as puppets, to be made or unmade as expediency dictated. Nor were the usurpers themselves happy dictators, for during the two and a half centuries of their ascendancy two heads of the dynasty were slain by their own vassals, five died in exile, and one committed suicide, out of fourteen in all. Kyoto was overrun with jealous nobles who constantly quarrelled; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the streets of the capital often ran with blood, and once the city was burnt. The shogun Yoshimitsu bribed the Emperor of China to bestow on him the title of king, to the disgust of all patriotic citizens. But the age was not wholly abandoned.

This period is known as the Muramachi age, called after the site of the Ashikaga Palace. It was in some respects an age of great splendour. The shogun lived in a state approaching, if not exceeding, imperial magnificence. Yoshinori was himself a poet and an historian. Yoshimasa built the wonderful silver pavilion, the Kinkakuji, and Yoshimitsu, the gold pavilion, the Ginkakuji. The tea ceremony, known as *cha-no-yu,* was introduced as an æsthetic pastime of moral significance, though the effect in that direction was unapparent. The art of flower arrangement, called *ike-bana,* was another æsthetic amusement of the period. This art enables the student to set flowers, or blossoming shrubs, in a vase so as to reveal accurately their individual characters. *Bonseki* was another delightful art of this period—making miniature landscapes with sand and pebbles. In metal work and faience the art of the Muramachi period showed a high degree of perfection, while pictorial artists like Josetsu, Chodenzu, Mutsunobu, Motonobu, Sesshu, and Matsushigé were a lasting ornament to the time. Under the shogun

Yoshimochi the classic *No* drama flourished, but literature, as in the military age, declined into a priestly craft confined mainly to monasteries. The masks and costumes worn in the lyrical drama were triumphs of artistic taste and design deserving the approval of all time.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT TRIUMVIRATE

(1500—1600)

After the devastating wars and consequent misery that marked the Ashikaga usurpation, Japan was awaiting a man of iron hand and statesmanlike sagacity to restore order and reconstitute the social and political fabric, and he appeared in the person of Ota Nobunaga, of Taira descent, a great grandson of Kiyomori. Of fine physique and martial prowess, Ota had taken advantage of the nation's internal disorder to make himself one of the most powerful chieftains of the north. The last of the Ashikaga, Yoshiaki (1568-1573), enfeebled by indolence and sensuality, excited his ministers to revolt against him, and Ota then resolved to become another Yōritōmō and reunite the empire. Advancing on Kyoto he deposed the shogun and set about honest government in the name of the emperor; but the more lawless of the daimyo and the Buddhist hierarchy were against him, not liking to have their liberties curtailed. Feuds between Shimadzu and Mori, the most powerful lords of the south, and between Takeda and Hōjō in the north, Ota had first to quell, and in this he was assisted by the celebrated warriors, Hideyoshi, Shibata, and Ieyasu, who were afterwards to have so large a share in shaping the future of Japan.

The Christian religion was then a new element entering into Japanese politics and civilization, having

been introduced by Francis Xavier in 1549. The Church made rapid progress, and there were Christian soldiers and officers in Ota's army. He favoured the new religion as a possible aid against the Buddhists, whom he found at the bottom of many plots against him. He seems to have regarded the priests as hypocrites, and did not hesitate to make room for his palace by pulling down their temples. But the warlike monks challenged his authority by sheltering traitors; he attacked their stronghold on Mount Hiyei, the most famous religious foundation in the empire, destroyed the institution and put its occupants to the sword. He then moved against the Buddhist stronghold in Osaka, and compelled it to surrender. At the same time, he encouraged the Christians, and allowed them sites for new churches, of which there were some 200 in the country, with about 150,000 adherents. But with the exception of theological terminology, the new religion did not seem to the Japanese very different from the old, since deity still allowed persecution and even *destruction of enemies and their temples: in fact,* warfare to the death; while in the worship of the new deity there appeared the same rosaries, masses, altars, images, and silken vested priests. The presence of foreigners was also favoured, because they invited the regular visits of Portuguese ships bringing arms and ammunition, so useful in war.

Ota himself appears to have had only a military use for religion: at heart he was a Shintoist; and after finishing his imposing palace, he erected a shrine in which an image of himself was set up to be worshipped as the god of war. But at the height of his glory he was assassinated by one of his generals, Akechi Matsuhidé, in 1582, an act of revenge because, in a moment of bibilous levity, Ota once took Akechi's bald head under his arm and drummed on it with a fan.

Ota Nobunaga was succeeded by the second of the great three who had most to do with the unification

of the empire. Hideyoshi Toyotomi had been Ota's leading general, and was, indeed, the greatest military genius Japan ever produced. Starting as horseboy to Ota, this diminutive and awkward-looking son of a woodcutter raised himself to high fame as the winner of Ota's greatest victories, and now he held the whole empire in his hand. By sheer force of genius he maintained his position, conquered all the daimyo that opposed him, and for the first time brought all Japan under one undisputed rule. Notoriously independent feudatories like Hōjō, Mori, and Shimadzu he reduced to submission with his puissant army, to the awe of the whole empire. To tint himself with blue blood and be reckoned in rank as he was in ability, Hideyoshi had himself adopted by a scion of the great Fujiwara family; and then the emperor made him *Kuampaku,* and later *Taikō,* or commander-in-chief of the nation. Without Minamoto blood he could not be shogun.

As a tactician in any capacity—political, military, or domestic—Hideyoshi was unequalled; nor has he ever been matched in the art of deceiving, entrapping, and slaying an enemy. But he had some principles of higher statesmanship that less Machiavellian characters have lacked. Unlike his predecessors, he believed in reconciling rather than decapitating his foes, especially if they were men of ability. If a man had a good head it was Hideyoshi's policy to let him retain it on condition that it be used in Hideyoshi's interests. Dangerous ineptitude he simply exterminated. But honesty, purity, and humanity were not among his virtues. When in need of money he did not hesitate to threaten a whole town with destruction if the amount imposed was not promptly paid. He had six concubines beheaded on suspicion of infidelity, and he ordered twenty youths to be crucified for scribbling on his palace walls. Fearing the rivalry of his nephew, Hidetsugu, he sent him to Mount Koya monastery and then ordered him to commit *seppuku,* and his

whole family to be decapitated. Hideyoshi's harem of 300 concubines and 700 ladies-in-waiting amazed the missionaries. At first he pursued Ota's policy of tolerating the missionaries as attractions to foreign trade, but when they were found to interfere with his pimps in collecting pretty girls for his harem, and were violating his laws, he took a dislike to them and ordered their suppression.

But the laws that Hideyoshi enacted and strictly enforced were so practical and effective that the people, thus saved from the plunder and oppression of rapacious lords, believed that the days of Yōritōmō had returned. Society was rigidly regimented according to class and rank, even to the style and material of dress.

Hideyoshi could not have overcome the recalcitrant daimyo and delivered the nation from its long anarchy without having produced a fine army, officered by men of great prowess and skill. Consequently, upon the establishment of peace, the armies and generals were left at a loose end. To keep them out of mischief at home he sent them on an expedition to Korea, with a view to advancing thence against China in revenge for the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. In 1592 his two greatest warriors, Konishi and Kato Kiyomasa, embarked for the peninsula with 200,000 men, the largest army ever sent overseas down to the South African war. Korea offered obstruction, as Belgium did to Germany in 1914, and the result was a decimation of the country. In 1593 China sent a peace envoy to Japan, but his terms were refused. Then China came to the relief of the beleaguered peninsula; the Japanese sea communications were cut by the Korean gunboats, the first ironclads mentioned in history, and terms of peace were proposed. China's counter proposals enraged Hideyoshi, and the slaughter was resumed.

Hideyoshi was suddenly seized by some mysterious malady, and died in 1598. His death was kept secret

long enough to prepare for elaborate obsequies at the shrine of the new war god at Amidagaminé, where Hideyoshi desired to be apotheosized as Shin Hachiman. The vain ravaging of Korea now ceased, the armies were recalled, and returned with 37,000 human noses as trophies of war. Over these a monument was erected to appease the spirits of the victims. But Korea never recovered from the devastating results of Hideyoshi's expedition.

The Taikō's son and heir, Hideyori, was not yet of age to accept the responsibilities of a dictator, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, the ablest of the generals, and supposedly a trusted friend, was appointed guardian and head of the Council. Ieyasu was obsessed with the ambition of his predecessors to found a family of hereditary rulers, but he did not see how this ambition was to be gratified so long as his ward was nominally head of the government. For want of a Minamoto candidate, the shagunate had been vacant since the deposition of Yoshiaki in 1573. Ieyasu at once began to lay plans for the restoration of the Yōritōmō tradition, for he was of Minamoto stock.

Ieyasu believed he had as much right to set aside the son of Hideyoshi, as Hideyoshi had to set aside the heir of Ota Nobunaga, and this he proceeded to do with a cruelty as subtile and merciless as any act of his predecessor. In deference to his immense ability the Taikō had made Ieyasu lord of the eight *Kwanto* provinces, with his feudal city at Yedo. In the contest expected with the supporters of Hideyori, mainly southern daimyo, he could depend on the sympathy of the north. As Ieyasu had taken up his residence in Hideyoshi's palace at Fushimi, the southern confederacy, led by the daimyo of Satsuma and Choshu, became suspicious of his motives, and while he was engaged in the north, attacked the palace, precipitating civil war. Hastening back with a powerful army, Ieyasu defeated the southerners in the decisive Battle of Sekigahara, October, 1600, when great numbers

were slain. More than 40,000 heads were strung across poles on the bloody field, so that Ieyasu might promote his officers according to the number of heads each could produce.

Ieyasu was now master of the country. In 1603 he asked for and received the title of shogun from the emperor, but after two years he abdicated in favour of his son Hidetada, whom he desired to see safely installed before his own death, a precaution his predecessors had neglected, to their family loss. The estates confiscated after Sekigahara were divided among the daimyo most friendly to Tokugawa interests. As Hideyori approached manhood the disenfeoffed daimyo of the south, and their numerous *samurai,* now *ronin,* led by Shimadzu of Satsuma and Mori of Choshu, began to deplore their own and Hideyori's humiliation under the shogun. Ieyasu made up his mind to bring matters to a crisis. Failing, by an elaborate system of espionage to find fault with Hideyori, Ieyasu determined to reduce the large wealth the youth had inherited from his father by obliging him to rebuild Hideyoshi's great temple that had been destroyed by an earthquake.

At enormous outlay the temple was at last completed and ready for dedication. When Ieyasu arrived for the opening ceremony, he objected to the wording of the inscription on the giant bell, which included an ideograph also used in the name of Ieyasu. The position of the ideograph, he said, made him appear as the moon and Hideyori as the sun. Refusing to accept any explanation or apology, Ieyasu imposed terms which Hideyori could not approve with honour. Ieyasu laid siege to Osaka Castle, where Hideyori lived. The siege at first failed and Ieyasu sued for peace, the terms of which he afterwards deliberately violated by resuming the fight under more favourable conditions, in 1615, when the castle fell and Hideyori and his family were killed. Ieyasu himself died the following year from the effect of wounds received in the

battle. His family had him enshrined in a great mausoleum at Nikko as Gongen, an incarnation of Buddha. The system of government established by Ieyasu delivered Japan from anarchy and made a peace that lasted for more than 250 years. He had a palace with 20,000 servants, and Yedo vied in splendour with Kyoto. He compelled all daimyo to proceed there in costly array every second year to do homage to the shogun and make expensive presents. In Yedo the daimyo had to maintain private mansions where they left their wives and families as hostages. At the Kyoto Court he placed a *shoshidai* to keep the sovereign and the kugé restricted and acquiescent. They were encouraged to spend their time in æsthetic or more questionable dissipations to prevent their meddling in State affairs. The feudal lords he divided into two classes: the *fudai,* who had always been loyal to Tokugawa interests, and the *tōzama,* representing those who had submitted only after battle. Between doubtful or suspected lords he placed his best friends, so as to divide possible malcontents by loyal estates, to keep watch and ward. It is obvious that Ieyasu was in many ways a man of remarkable wisdom, with a great talent for statesmanship. Japan will ever remember and honour him, not only as the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, but as the creator of the greatest experiment in feudalism that the world has ever seen.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

(1588—1639)

The persecution and extermination of the Christian Church in Japan forms one of the most cruel and thrilling records in the annals of history. In 1549

Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary, arrived in Japan with a Japanese named Anjiro whom he had baptized at Goa. After a year of successful work at Kagoshima the missionaries moved on to Hirado, then the centre of Portuguese trade in Japan. Xavier was anxious to reach Kyoto to ask imperial permission for his propaganda, but he found the capital in disorder, and was content to open a mission and return to Yamaguchi, where the cause prospered. Suffering from the horrors of incessant civil war the Japanese were ready to hear any message of hope. After opening several mission stations and baptizing over a thousand converts, Xavier returned to Goa in 1552, and died on his arrival.

Xavier had left two Jesuits in Japan to continue his work; these were soon followed by several others, and the Church grew apace. Even feudal lords and their families were soon included among the converts, and these insisted on their subjects following their examples. Up to 1577 there were not more than eighteen Jesuits in the country, but in 1579 we find the number increased to seventy-five, with more than 100,000 converts. Hospitals and orphanages were opened, especially for lepers and syphilitics, but the people thought it strange to keep alive those who were better dead.

With the overthrow of the Ashikaga usurpation by Ota Nobunaga, the Church came under his protection, and prospered still further, many high-born ladies becoming nuns. Hideyoshi came into power after the assassination of Ota, and at first continued the policy of tolerating missionary propaganda. But when he saw that the Church could not approve of his character and was bound to oppose his principles and practices, he issued an edict against Christianity.

It was thirty-eight years since the landing of Xavier, and there were now over 200,000 Christians, some of whom were in the Taikō's palace. Hideyoshi said to one of the Jesuits: " Everything in your law

contents me except the prohibiting of more than one wife." With his enormous seraglio of wives and concubines Hideyoshi felt uncomfortable in a growing Christian population. We have seen how he was angered by the Church's refusal to allow Christian girls to be taken into his harem. Moreover, he took reasonable objection to the morals of the Portuguese who attended Mass in the morning and spent the afternoon in debaucheries to which even he would not stoop. During his campaign in Kyushu Hideyoshi saw how the Christians had more respect for their priests than for State officials, that the Church persecuted the Buddhists, and he feared that if the military principles of the Inquisition were allowed in Japan, the result would be disorder. He also fancied that he detected a spirit of arrogance towards him on the part of the Jesuits and their fellow-countrymen.

One day he visited a Portuguese ship and was regaled with wine, under the influence of which he suddenly turned to one of the Jesuits and demanded: Why the missionaries constrained the Japanese to be baptized? Why the Church persecuted the Buddhists and burnt their temples? Why they killed useful animals like cattle, and ate them? Why the Jesuits allowed their countrymen to sell Japanese in the slave markets of Asia? Shortly after this Hideyoshi issued an edict against Christian propaganda, ordering all churches to be destroyed and all missionaries to be banished. The edict not being obeyed as promptly as he expected, Hideyoshi had twenty-four Christians, including some Jesuits, mutilated and then marched all the way from Kyoto to Nagasaki, where they were crucified. Satisfied with this warning, Hideyoshi did not push the embargo further, owing, it is said, to fear of his two greatest generals, Kuroda and Konishi, who were members of the Church and whom he could not well do without.

In 1582 the Christian daimyo of Kyushu despatched an embassy to the Pope, travelling by way of Mexico

and Spain. Arriving in 1585, they were welcomed at Rome, and returned to Japan in 1590. On the way back the Portuguese Viceroy of the Indies had given one of the Jesuits a letter to Hideyoshi, which made him an envoy whom the government deemed it only courteous to receive. At this interview Hideyoshi did not offer any formal objection to Christianity, but he still forbade missionary propaganda, though allowing priests freedom to go about. Now, however, a new element entered into the situation, that was destined to drive the Church out of Japan.

The Pope had given to the Jesuits a monopoly of missionary work in Japan; to the Franciscans he had entrusted the Philippines. The Governor of the Philippines, hearing that the Church was under duress in Japan, and incited by the Franciscans to believe this was due to the ineptitude of the Jesuits, despatched an embassy to Hideyoshi, in which were several Franciscan monks, who were received as part of the suite of the embassy; but these remained secretly behind, and then proceeded to carry on Christian propaganda in rivalry with the Jesuits. But in their zeal the Franciscans observed none of the caution the Jesuits had found essential since the edict; they, indeed, openly defied the edict, and thus invited the resentment of the authorities. Moreover, they quarrelled with the Jesuits, which aroused further suspicion. Hideyoshi could not overlook this open defiance of his laws, so he made up his mind that such disobedience must cease.

Just about that time a Spanish ship was wrecked on the Japanese coast, and Hideyoshi claimed her as a prize, seizing the 600,000 gold crowns found in her cargo. The captain was angered at this, and threatened Japan with the vengeance of the King of Spain, assuring Hideyoshi that, as Spain had conquered other lands, she could as easily take Japan. The captain was so tactless as to suggest that the policy of Spain was to send missionaries first to win over the population, and

then an invasion would follow. By this time Hideyoshi had come to suspect that the foreigners were capable of almost anything, and that he could no longer trust them. But before he could act further he died.

After this the Church had respite while Ieyasu was dealing with the southern daimyo and getting rid of Hideyori. Nor could he forget that some of the greatest generals in his army were Christians. After the cessation of persecution there was an abnormal influx of foreign missionaries of all orders: Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustins, and the increase in baptisms was likewise phenomenal. Within two years fifty new churches were built and 70,000 persons baptized. Thus the work continued without official interference until Ieyasu had consolidated his position. Then another new element appeared to compromise the position of the Church.

After the arrival of the Dutch in 1600, the Japanese began to realize that they were no longer dependent on Spanish and Portuguese trade. The Church had been tolerated for the sake of foreign trade, for it had always been supposed that merchants would not go where there were no missionaries. But the Dutch did not bother about religion, never interfered with Buddhists, lived like the heathen, and were open enemies of their European rivals. The Dutch were pirates, capturing Portuguese or Spanish ships and selling their cargoes to the Japanese without scruple; but then the Japanese were pirates themselves, and Ieyasu had 200 native pirates beheaded because foreign ships were afraid of them. The stories which the Dutch told about the aggressions of Spain confirmed the suspicions already entertained. Spanish reinforcements were arriving at Manila; 20,000 Chinese were massacred there by the Spanish; captains of Spanish ships were seen taking soundings of Japanese harbours; there was a serious quarrel in Manila with the 15,000 Japanese colonists there; and Ieyasu now made up his

mind that the presence of the Spanish at Manila, and now in Japan, meant ultimately the conquest of his country.

In 1600, Will Adams, an Englishman, arrived on board a Dutch ship; he was detained by Ieyasu as an instructor in naval architecture and as an authority on European affairs. Adams confirmed the reports of the Dutch as to the danger from Spain. When the English merchants arrived in 1613 they supported these reports. To make quite sure about it, Ieyasu despatched spies to Europe in 1615; they learned that the Jesuits had been banished from England, Holland, and Germany as a menace to law and order; that Europeans were torturing and burning one another owing to religious differences; that the Pope arrogated to himself authority to enthrone and dethrone monarchs at will; that thirty years of religious war had decimated Germany; that great men like Copernicus and Bruno had been executed by the Church. Recently there had occurred another massacre of Chinese at Manila.

In January, 1614, the shogun issued his first edict for the suppression of Christianity in Japan. He had already, in 1611, banished all Christians from his palace, exiling the ladies to Oshima, and had ordered all daimyo to renounce the Christian faith. The Church's challenge to martyrdom led to persecution. The Japanese authorities had never tolerated any human being who defied their laws. Violation of law was a condemnation of the religion permitting it. They knew that if Buddhists had challenged the Spanish Inquisition, as the Jesuits and other Orders now challenged the edict against Christianity, they would have been sent to the rack and the stake. The shogun was determined to be master in his own country. But it was the Christian persecution in Europe that encouraged it in Japan. The edict ordered all priests, native and foreign, to be deported and all churches demolished. In October, 1614, more than 300 were deported, including the priests, except 18 Jesuits

and 9 brothers who had been concealed. At first the disobedient were treated leniently by persuasion; the obdurate were simply decapitated. This proving ineffective, the martyrs were crucified. But such martyrdoms were made occasions for Christians to assemble in prayer about the victims; and this the officials took for worship of criminals as gods, knowing that the crucifix was the central object of Christian altars.

In 1622 there were 120 martyrs, including 16 priests. The following year there were 500. With an increase in martyrdoms came an astonishing increase in baptisms. There were few recantations; mothers with their children went fearlessly to the cross or the fire. A religion of such obduracy signified itself as all the more dangerous to the State, and forms of torture became still more fiendish; indeed, too horrible for description here. Suffice it to mention the chief forms of death: decapitation, crucifixion, burning, drowning in icy water or boiling springs, suspension downwards in a deep hole until dead. It is believed that the number of martyrs between 1614 and 1638 was about 200,000, including many well-born ladies. At Nagasaki alone 40,000 had been martyred. In 1637 a rebellion broke out at Shimabara, incited by grinding poverty, unjust taxation, and religious persecution. Some 40,000 persons took refuge in a castle, where they were besieged and finally massacred. The Dutch ships at Nagasaki assisted in bombarding the castle.

In 1624 an edict was issued expelling all Spanish, and in 1638 all Portuguese, from Japan, merchants as well as missionaries. The English had left in 1623, and the Dutch and Chinese were the only foreigners now permitted to remain, as they had taken no part against the authorities. Though there were left a few Christians hiding in various remote parts of Japan, the Church was supposed to be exterminated, and here the story ends, until the reopening of missionary work in 1858.

CHAPTER X

THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

(1603—1868)

At the death of Ieyasu in 1616, his son, Hidetada, had been shogun since his father's abdication in 1603; and this office he held until his own abdication in favour of his son, Iyemitsu in 1623, the latter holding office until 1651. None of the shoguns in the Tokugawa Dynasty proved equal to the founder, though some of them inherited the shrewdness of Ieyasu as a statesman, especially Iyemitsu. Ieyasu had arranged that, in the absence of a direct heir, the shogun should be selected from a member of the Gosanké, or three illustrious families descended from the sons whom he made daimyo of Ki, Owari, and Mito. No approach could be made to the throne except through the shogun, who had all appointments in his own hand. Each daimyo had to connect himself with some sect of Buddhism, as that religion had been always loyal to the Tokugawa, and greatly assisted in the extermination of Christianity. Hidetada spent most of the few years of his independent shogunate in erecting the mausoleum to his father, the Tōshōgu at Nikko, the greatest triumph of architectural and decorative art in Japan.

In the shogunate of Iyemitsu (1623-1651) the Christian Church was exterminated, as we have seen. The government was reorganized under a council of five, known as the *Gōrōju,* all *fudai* daimyo; each member took a turn month about to be in charge of affairs. When the shogun was under age or incapacitated, the *Tairo,* or president of the council, acted as regent. All important decisions rested with the *Gōrōju,* whose members had had a long training in statesmanship. Only town mayors and magistrates ever came in contact with commoners. By a system of arbitration and

compromise the censors discouraged litigation, and yet saw that the shogun's laws were obeyed. About one-third of the population and one-quarter of the land were under the direct control of the shogun through his vassals. The administration came to be known as the *Bakufu,* or curtain government, a hint of the military origin of the shogunate. The total revenue of the empire at this time was about 150,000,000 bushels of rice, from about 20,000,000 of a population; and of this the *bakufu fudai* controlled some 90,000,000 bushels.

As a rule the *bakufu* did not interfere with the internal affairs of the greater fiefs, though it sometimes caused an exchange of fiefs to strengthen the position of Tokugawa vassals, acts implying sovereignty, as the emperor was not consulted. Next to the *fudai* daimyo, who numbered 177, and the *tōzama,* who numbered 86, came the *hatamoto,* a minor aristocracy of landholders, numbering about 2,000, from whom government officials were selected. Next to them were the *gokenin,* and then the *samurai.* Owing to the presence of so many daimyo mansions in the shogun's capital one-third of the population of Yedo was *samurai,* which gave rise to bloodshed, as the city was a rendezvous for *rōnin* and other masterless men. The *eta,* or out-casts, formed about one-third of the nation. There was another special class of yeomen known as *goshi,* who could carry two swords, like the *samurai,* and were free to sell their lands, as ordinary farmers were not.

The *samurai* continued to be the ideal man of the period. He had to take an active interest in arms, archery, and horsemanship, and even in art and literature, but drink and gambling were forbidden him. Criminals were promptly executed to save time and expense. Every department of life and conduct continued to be regimented, including dress, manners, amusements, and religion. The *Yuigon,* a code of moral and political precepts, attributed to Ieyasu, remained the guide of his successors.

When Iyemitsu died, six of his friends, whom he had previously selected, had to commit *junshi* to follow him into the unseen. Under the shogun Iyetsuna (1651-1680) the government became increasingly indebted to the wisdom of great *fudai* chieftains for its more progressive policy, for Japan has always been dependent on great families. The year 1651 was marred by the *rōnin* conspiracy under Maruboshi and Yui, who were captured and executed. Yui desired to overthrow the Tokugawa and make himself another Yōritōmō. The *bakufu* did everything possible to revive Confucian studies in order to instil a greater spirit of loyalty.

Two schools of Chinese philosophy contended for the mastery—the Sung and the Wang, which the Japanese called the Teishu and the Oyomei, and were represented by teachers like Hayashi Kazan and Nakae Toju, respectively. The Teishu interpreted life by theory only, while the Oyomei tested it by practice. To teach the Oyomei philosophy, Kamazawa Bazan in 1666 established the first public school, which was at Okayama. Teachers like Yamaga Soko and Ito Jinsai went back to the original Confucian sources, dissatisfied with the commentators. But Chinese civilization did not at this time command any influence in Japan; nor did the fall of the Ming Dynasty cause any immigration of scholars to Japan. In 1644 South China invited the assistance of Japan against Manchu domination, but the proposal was declined, thus changing the future of both countries. If the *samurai* had saved China from the Manchus, would Japan have been content to leave China to the Chinese?

When Iyetsuna came of age in 1663 he insisted on important modification of the laws, abolishing cruel customs like *junshi,* and the custom of exposing the heads of criminals to impress foreign envoys entering Yedo. The next shogun, Tsunayoshi (1680-1709), severely enforced the laws, and his chief councillor, Hotta, was assassinated. In later years the shogun fell into unnatural vice, and was obsessed with a mania

for dogs, ordering them to be treated as human beings, and making the killing of them a capital offence. But the execution of men for killing dogs was not less ethical than the burning of witches in contemporary Europe.

In this period Japan experienced a remarkable revival in art and literature. Chikamatsu (1653-1724), the Shakespeare of Japan, wrote his famous plays, and drama was well encouraged. The wealth of the great fiefs poured into Yedo with the feudal lords and swelled the coffers of the merchants. Yet debasement of coinage was used to replenish the Treasury, and many counterfeiters were crucified. Mount Fuji erupted in 1707, and earthquakes destroyed 30,000 lives. Then, too, happened the episode of the Forty-seven Rōnin (1703) who slew Lord Kira in revenge for insulting their master; and, after laying his head on their master's grave, all committed *harakiri*. The shogun was stabbed to death by one of his wives, and Iyenobu (1709-1712), the son of a waiting-maid by a Tokugawa lord, was selected for office. Under wise advisers like Arai Hakuseki the nation's fiscal policy was revised and closer relations promoted with the imperial Court. After the shogun's death a child of three held office until Yoshimuné (1716-1744) became shogun, and was distinguished for humanity and common sense, trying to free the country from irrational convention and the dead hand generally. Under him lived the famous Judge Oöka, who did so much to improve the judiciary, making law an ethical no less than a judicial function. Realizing the menace of so many idle daimyo and their retinues in Yedo, the shogun reduced the terms of their residence there. Though Yoshimuné was called the greatest gentleman in Japan's history, his son and successor, Iyeshigé, proved a profligate. He soon died and Iyeharu became shogun. This period was distinguished by Uyesugi Harunori, the model daimyo of Yonezawa, who set a noble example to the feudatories by proving the truth

of the Confucian principle that wealth is the fruit of virtue. His motto was: "Care for the tree and the fruit comes; care for the fruit and it comes not." In this way he raised his fief from poverty to plenty. His example was not widely emulated and bribery was rife. Cruel exactions caused the farmers to rise in a rebellion that had to be suppressed by troops. An eruption of Asama volcano in 1783 laid waste a large area and destroyed 35,000 lives. The population was also decimated by famine, owing to drought and lack of communications. In seven lean years more than a million perished.

While the country was in this sad condition the shogun Iyenari (1786-1841) took office as a child under supervision of Lord Matsudaira, until his majority in 1793. At this time appeared a strong feeling against the shogunate, with a corresponding growth of imperialistic sentiment that was to lead to important consequences later. The shogun had an enormous harem, with fifty-one children, few of whom survived infancy. While the Yedo Court aped the magnificence of an imperial establishment, the masses suffered from poverty, disease, and unjust exactions. The wealth of the country went into the cities to support the feudal lords. This led to revolt in various places, that at Osaka in 1837 being put down with vengeance. The country was ready for the great reforms that in time had to come.

CHAPTER XI

THE IMPERIAL RESTORATION

(1853—1868)

By the Imperial Restoration is meant the abolition of the shogunate and the restoration of the emperor to that supreme place in the councils of the nation, which he originally commanded. For such a revolution there had been long preparation, enabling the nation to re-

gard the shogunate as an anomaly in usurpation of imperial prerogative. The shogunate had arisen out of the civil anarchy due to conflict among provincial daimyo during the medieval period. To deal with this the imperial government proved incapable. Ability was obliged to take precedence to heredity in national affairs. The usurpation of imperial rule by puissant families became a feature of Japanese history. Fortunately for Japan, this adherence to Confucian ethics and polity did not lead to the successive dynastic revolutions that marked the course of its observation in China.

If Chinese philosophy had something to do with inaugurating the dual form of government, it had even more to do with its overthrow, true to the Japanese adage: "Bitten by a pet dog." Patriotic opposition to the *kangakusha*, or Chinese scholars, created a national school known as *wagakusha*, which promoted an intensive study of Japanese history, proving the shogunate to be anomalous. The Confucianists had to admit the ancient belief in the divinity of the emperor or cease to be Japanese; but this was inconsistent with the Confucian principle of the right of nations to replace incompetent rulers. All schools were forced to place loyalty as the first of virtues. The imperialists contended that this gave imperial authority precedence to all other. Leaders like Ogyu Sorai saw this a century before it began to press for solution.

Concentrating on national history and literature the *Wagakusha* brought about a tremendous revival of interest in national studies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mitsukuni, lord of Mito, and a near relative of the shogun, gathered about him a band of scholars who wrote commentaries on the native poets, novelists, and historians. At first the *bakufu* supposed this to be merely a flourish of literary æsthetics; and when it proved to be a powerful political influence, it was too late to stop the movement. The new literature stood for Shinto as against

Buddhism and Confucianism. Kado Atsumaro (1669-1736) opposed the domination of Japanese thought by Chinese ideas; his pupil, Mabuchi (1697-1769), insisted that Japanese literature and civilization had been vitiated by Chinese influence, while his notion that the Japanese were a divine race became popular among a people of inordinate self-esteem. Mabuchi pointed out the number of disastrous revolutions that China had suffered through adherence to Confucian theories of sovereignty, and ascribed the long internecine strife in Japan to the same cause. There was no one to answer him. This teaching was continued by the famous poet, Motoöri (1730-1801), in his *Kojikiden*, in which he showed the irrationality of the Confucian notion that principles can take the place of deity in ethics and theology, since principles were unthinkable apart from mind and personality. He preferred Shinto, which had gods in plenty; and objected to Shinto gods being made mere "domestics in the Buddhist household." Ignoring Japan's indebtedness to China for her arts, laws, science, government, and general culture, all parties now united in opposing foreigners and putting loyalty first, a loyalty now more imperial and national than feudal. Numerous *samurai* forsook their masters, became *rōnin*, and flocked to the capital to assist in overthrowing the shogun when the time came.

Confucian loyalty had been interpreted to mean that the weaker must serve the stronger in the latter's interest, without regard to right or justice. Absolutism and its attendant cruelty begat licence and sensuality. Nothing could save the *bakufu* from its demoralization and failure. The later shoguns had allowed themselves to lapse into indolent effeminacy, leaving national affairs to officials who had only their own interests to serve. Laxity of moral fibre afflicted all classes through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Buddhism and Confucianism had conspired to keep the masses subservient to the classes. Religion was unable to overcome the moral confusion of pantheism

and polytheism. A faith that became purely æsthetic proved futile as a moral force. The nation began to look elsewhere for light.

It was Japan's impact with the Occidental world that led to the ultimate abrogation of the shogunate, the restoration of the emperor, and the reopening of the country to foreign intercourse. By the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was a nation of some 33,000,000 people, ruled by 270 daimyo who lived in pomp and luxury, surrounded by bands of *samurai* who saw that their masters' word was law. Through the previous three centuries the population had increased by only four millions, for the people were always up against disease, poverty, and oppression. All the more intelligent leaders saw that a system of government so obviously antiquated and incompetent was no longer tolerable; the nation was ready to act upon the teaching of the Shinto scholars.

The gold rush to California in 1849 brought the United States to the Pacific, and American whalers were now seen in Japanese waters, where they often suffered shipwreck. Their cruel treatment as castaways led the Washington Government to despatch a fleet under Commodore Perry to open up friendly relations with Japan and secure protection to mariners. The fleet arrived in Yedo Bay in the summer of 1853, bringing a letter from President Fillmore requesting a treaty of amity and commerce. This was refused, and the Commodore sailed away to China seas, promising to return in a year for a more favourable answer. This time he refused to depart without a treaty; and the shogun, menaced by the gunboats that had filled the nation with consternation, had to acquiesce. As this was done without the formal consent of the emperor the patriots were indignant both with the shogun and the foreigners. But the futility of offering armed opposition to the admission of foreigners was duly realized by the *bakufu* authorities.

Townsend Harris, the first American consul, arrived

in 1856, demanding residence for himself and his countrymen, the first treaty with America being again revised in this direction. In 1859 similar treaties were secured by England, France, Holland, and Russia, and by other nations later. The portals of the gods were at last forced open, and the sacred soil of Nippon exposed to the defilement of foreigners. To this insult the nation was not prepared to submit. That the shogun now referred the dispute to the imperial Court at Kyoto, a condescension unknown for centuries, indicated that the *bakufu* itself was at a loss what to do. As the shogun just then died and a youth was appointed to succeed him, all responsibility was entrusted to the *Tairo,* Ii-kamon, lord of Hikoné, whose stern repression of his critics led to his assassination. Dangerous disorder prevailed for a time, and foreigners pressing into Japan for trade were exposed to the swords of the *samurai,* and some were slain. In 1861 the secretary of the American Legation was killed, and the British Legation attacked, several guards killed and two of the foreign staff wounded. The new British minister, (Sir) Rutherford Alcock, had arrived in 1859. In 1862 an embassy was despatched to America and Europe to see just what Japan was up against in the dispute with foreign nations; and the futility of further opposition was realized, but the nation could not thus be persuaded. The nation was split into two parties: one on the side of the emperor, opposing the admission of foreigners; and the other for the shogun, approving the foreign treaties.

The emperor ordered the daimyo to assemble and consult upon the situation. The lord of Satsuma made a special journey to Yedo to protest against the policy of the *bakufu.* On the way back his procession met a party of English people riding out from Yokohama, and because they failed to dismount and prostrate themselves when the daimyo's *norimono* passed, as native manners required, they were attacked by the *samurai* guard, and a man named Richardson was run

through with a sword. The British Government demanded from the *bakufu* an indemnity of £100,000, and from the lord of Satsuma £25,000. The shogun agreed, but Satsuma refused, and his feudal city of Kagoshima was bombarded by a British fleet in 1863; whereupon he gave in. Choshu then flung down the gauntlet and fired on foreign ships passing the Straits of Shimonoseki; and in 1864 the forts there were bombarded by a combined foreign fleet until they were dismantled, when a fine of £600,000 was imposed. That foreigners could not be attacked or insulted with impunity was now apparent to all. But the anti-foreign feeling ran none the less high. In 1863 the British and the United States Legations in Yedo were burnt to the ground. The following year two British army officers were assassinated at Kamakura. In the presence of foreign fleets the emperor saw no way out of signing the order to open the ports named in the treaties. But, when the new British minister, Sir Harry Parkes, was on his way to an audience with the emperor in 1868 his party was attacked and the minister escaped death with the skin of his teeth. From this time all who attacked foreigners were regarded as rebels against the throne, since the imperial signature had been given to the treaties. This somewhat reduced the menace to foreign life and property. But ten French sailors were killed at Sakai, the assassins being forced to commit *harakiri*. Foreign troops were stationed at Yokohama for the protection of the various nationals there in 1864. By 1868 five ports were open to foreign residence and trade—Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodate.

In 1867 the Emperor Komei died and was succeeded by his son Mutsuhito at the age of eighteen. At this time it was obvious that what the nation most needed was not the expulsion of foreigners so much as a new government. Led by the lords of Satsuma and Choshu, some of the greater daimyo presented a memorial to the shogun to the effect that he should resign and

restore the imperial rule. To the surprise of all the shogun acquiesced, and handed in his resignation to the emperor in November, 1867. The shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, historically known as Keiki, was a man of great nobility of character, and had a profound respect for the imperial House. Brought up in the erudition of the lord of Mito this attitude was natural to him. No sooner had the shogun resigned than the emperor found himself in the hands of Satsuma and Choshu, who were glad to find themselves free from Tokugawa authority, and soon proceeded to defy it. The emperor had requested the shogun to carry on as usual until a new government was appointed. But the southern daimyo, having taken matters in their own hands and dismissed the Aizu guards from the imperial palace, the shogun's troops marched to Kyoto to make inquiry, when they were opposed by the armies of Satsuma and Choshu, and defeated, thus ending what has been called a bloodless revolution, though many lost their lives. The Tokugawa vassals were not ready to endure such humiliation, but the shogun placed himself and his estates in the hands of the emperor, prepared to face whatever loyalty required of him. In this spirit all the other daimyo finally joined. Only the presence of great men could have delivered Japan from the situation in which the nation now found itself, without government, without modern knowledge, and without money. But she had the men, and the rest was easy.

CHAPTER XII

THE MEIJI ERA

(1868—1912)

THE rapid transition of Japan from a feudal to a modern State during the Meiji era, under the enlightened Emperor Mutsuhito, was obviously acceler-

ated by the arrival of foreigners, without whose practical sympathy radical changes could not have been so easily and effectively accomplished. Japan was especially indebted to England and the United States, who, from the first, were on the side of the Imperial Restoration. The influence of such men as Sir Harry Parkes and Mr. Townsend Harris was vital at a time when Europe itself was suffering from divided counsels, while, in Japan, Conservatives and Liberals were seeking foreign sympathy, and it was still doubtful whether the shogunate or the imperialist party would win. At the risk of their lives Ito and Inouye had stolen away to England in 1863, and now returned to inform their countrymen of the futility of attempting to defend the nation against foreign aggression until it had reformed and equipped itself with adequate defences.

As Britain was long indebted to the Teutons, the Franks, and the Classical civilizations, so Japan through many centuries was dependent for progressive ideas on China, India, and Asia generally, to say nothing of the century of influence imparted by the Portuguese and Spanish, as well as the longer influence of Holland; and now in the Meiji era there was nothing derogatory to national honour in welcoming the two humanizing influences of East and West to unite in creating a new civilization embracing the virtues of both without the vices of either. Japan herself would be the first to admit how far short of this ideal she still remains. Hers is the unique glory of having been the first nation to attempt it.

The young emperor and his advisers soon saw that Japan must become modern in order to survive her impact with the West. First the capital was removed to Yedo, so long the seat of the actual government. The emperor removed there in 1869, when the name was changed to Tokyo, or Eastern Capital; and Kyoto to Saikyo, or Western Capital. The place where the emperor had resided for more than a thousand years had to retain the status and dignity it had thus

acquired, to console the disappointed citizens for the absence of their ruler and the consequent loss to their city. The *nengo* of the new reign was auspiciously designated *meiji* (enlightened peace); and the year period was made coterminous with the entire reign, as an act of faith in the reorganization of the empire.

The first deliberative assembly was a Council of 213, representing the more important daimyo, which met at the new capital in 1869 to hear what has been called the " charter oath " of the emperor, promising to establish a form of representative government, to decide all measures by public opinion; to remove all that was obsolete, and introduce all that was best in modern civilization; for which purpose knowledge was to be sought from all sources, and teachers were to be imported to impart it. The *Kogisho,* as this first assembly was called, then dissolved to meet no more. Accustomed to bureaucratic government for centuries, the nation had still to rely on its great clans; and in this emergency the Sat-Cho combination took the lead —that is, Satsuma and Choshu, supported by Tosa, Hizen, and Saga. Members of these historic clans have ever since continued to hold the more important portfolios in each successive Cabinet, Satsuma representing the Navy, backed by the wealth of the great Mitsui family; and Choshu representing the Army, backed by the wealth of the great Iwasaki family.

The new administration, with Prince Arisugawa as president, had its departments of Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Judicial Affairs, as well as of Legislation, War, and Finance. A moving spirit in the new government was Okubo, the ablest of the Satsuma statesmen, at whose suggestion the capital was changed. It seems invidious, however, to mention individuals in a galaxy of great names the equal of which it would have been difficult to parallel in any country. Saigo, Kido, Okubo, Ito, Oyama, Goto, Inouye, Soejima, Iwakura, Sanjo, Matsukata, Yamagata, Inagaki, Okuma, Saionji, and, not least, Fukuzawa, the great

educationist: these were the makers of the new Japan. As time went on and age led these men into retirement from the political arena many of them became *Genro,* or Elder Statesmen, whose duty it was to advise the sovereign in relation to questions insoluble to the imperial Cabinet and the Privy Council, holding in their hands the destiny of Japan.

The early years of the Meiji period were almost wholly given to administrative reform, the aim being a complete reorganization of government on Western models. It is nothing short of marvellous what changes these men were able so expeditiously to accomplish. In 1869 the diamiates were abolished and their revenues restored to the national Treasury. By 1871 the feudal territories were formed into provinces, with their governors and subordinate officials, the feudatories retiring to their mansions in Tokyo on one-tenth the incomes of their former estates. The more than two million *samurai* were pensioned off by the State.

After 1871 reforms came too thick and fast to be more than mentioned: civil and penal laws were codified, finances placed on a more stable footing, with a national bank and subordinate institutions; railway, postal and telegraph facilities were all extended, harbours improved, lighthouses built, students sent abroad, and a whole national system of education established. In 1873 the European calendar was adopted, and the ban against Christian missions removed. The same year Kido, Okubo, Iwakura, and Ito went to America and Europe to study Western civilization and gain information useful in the reorganization of national institutions. Ito made a special visit to Europe in 1883 to assist him in preparing the new imperial Constitution introducing representative government. This was not promulgated until 1889; and the new imperial Diet was opened the next year.

Delay in summoning a national assembly led to much discontent and the formation of numerous political parties, like Itagaki's *Jyuto,* or Liberals; and

Okuma's *Shimpoto*, or Progressives; and Goto's attempt to unite all under the motto: "Similarity in great things and differences only in small." Meanwhile, a new nobility had been created dissolving the old class system and reforming it. The new nobility was drawn mainly from the old feudal baronage, but partly from the makers of new Japan in 1868. It consisted of five orders: princes, marquises, counts, viscounts, and barons. The nation itself was divided into three classes: *kwazoku* (nobility), *shizoku* (gentry), and *heimin* (commoners). Officials were of four classes: *shinnin*, *chokunin*, *sonin*, and *hannin*. For some the changes had been too many and too radical. Viscount Mori was assassinated on the eve of the announcement of the new Constitution.

The imperial Constitution was based on the Prussian model, as best calculated to crystallize all power in the Executive. Ito had been in consultation with Bismarck during his visit to Germany. It is well to understand that Japan is a theocracy, under a divine ruler descended from the gods: to him absolute obedience is due, as to deity. Relations between sovereign and subject being paternal and filial, the Japanese regard themselves the most democratic of nations. Unlike that of other lands, the imperial Constitution of Japan is a divine covenant between father and children, the ruler and the ruled, not demanded as a right but conferred as a favour.

The imperial Diet was made to consist of two chambers: the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. It meets once a year for ninety days, but may be convened any time. Membership in the upper House is hereditary, or by imperial appointment; the lower House is elective. The imperial Cabinet is not responsible to the Diet, but to the emperor alone. If the lower House obstructs the Cabinet it is threatened with dissolution, menacing many of the members with bankruptcy for election expenses. Political parties exist, and make much noise, but their

differences are personal and partisan rather than vital, and so do little to influence public opinion. Commercial and industrial interests are beginning to clash with clan interests, and this may do more to divide parties on more distinctive principles. The Seiyukai, representing Conservatives, and the Kenseikai, representing Liberals, were the chief parties in the Meiji era, though they have since changed somewhat with realignments. In this period labour counted for little; and socialism was too anarchical to gain a hearing. The latter never recovered from the blow received from the Kotoku affairs in 1911, when twenty-six conspirators were sentenced to death for plotting against the throne, of whom thirteen were commuted by the emperor to penal servitude, and the other thirteen were hanged, including Kotoku and his wife.

A very important aspect of progress in the Meiji era was the recodification of the laws and the reorganization of the judiciary in conformity with modern practice in order to hasten treaty revision and the abolition of the extraterritorial system whereby foreigners were under their own and not Japanese law. Japan had also been obliged to grant foreigners a minimum tariff of 5 per cent. on imports, and land free of tax on which to reside and trade. These concessions proved a cause of constant irritation, and the nation was restive until the recovery of national autonomy. Negotiations for treaty revision were begun in 1871 and continued intermittently but vainly until 1894, when Great Britain signed a new treaty, followed by the United States, Italy, Germany, Russia, France, and Austria-Hungary in 1897. Trouble still continued over the tax-free lands occupied by foreigners in the ports, because the occupants refused to pay even house tax. Japan appealed to the Hague tribunal in 1905 and the decision was given against her. Much of this land has since been purchased by Japanese. The new law codes were based mainly on the Code Napoleon, with traces of influence from Germany and the natives codes of Japan.

It is already apparent that early in Japanese history relations with the continent were considered of vital importance to the nation. The rights which Japan claimed in Korea from the third century A.D. onwards she never relinquished, though China prevented her gaining any permanent foothold in the peninsula. After Hideyoshi's failure in 1597 no attempt was made to reopen the question until 1869, when Japan notified Korea of the change of government in Japan, which Korea failed to acknowledge and sent no envoy. In 1875, Korean forts fired on a Japanese ship surveying the waters of the peninsula, which led to serious results; the Tokyo authorities were divided over the question whether to retaliate or to depend on diplomacy to settle the case. The Government's decision to adopt lenient measures, in order favourably to impress Western nations, led three of the most important members of the Cabinet to resign—Soejima, Itagaki, and Saigo—who thought Japan should not submit to a national insult. There were uprisings in Saga in 1874 and in other places, but they were soon put down. Saigo withdrew to his home in Satsuma, where he began to organize an army; and soon there broke out the famous Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, which cost 30,000 lives to suppress. Here, for the first time, the new peasant conscripts proved their equality to the *samurai* troops. Okubo was assassinated by Satsuma clansmen in 1878.

The trouble with Korea was not ended. In 1882 the Japanese Legation at Seöul was burnt and the occupants driven away. Japan had always regarded the peninsula as a sword aimed at the heart of the empire; the hand that held it would control Japan. In spite of a treaty in 1885, recognizing the independence of Korea, China still interfered, to the menace of Japan. Negotiations with China in 1894 only led to hostilities, in which China was defeated on both land and sea by the forces of Japan. The ensuing treaty of Shimonoseki, in April, 1895, conceded to Japan the independ-

ence of Korea, a lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, and 200,000,000 taels indemnity, as well as the island of Formosa and the Pescadores. Through the intervention of Germany, France, and Russia the Liaotung concession had to be restored to China, for 30,000,000 taels.

Conditions in Korea failed to improve, however, for both Russia and China were now working against Japan there. The Queen of Korea was assassinated in 1896, the plot being ascribed to the Japanese. Ten years later Japan had to cross swords with Russia on the question of Korea. After her retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula, at the instance of the three European Powers, Russia obtained concessions there, followed by concessions to other Powers in China. This led to the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, which the Powers sent joint forces to put down. Subsequently Russia failed to evacuate the Liaotung Peninsula, and took up a position menacing Japan's interests in Korea. Negotiations ended in the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, which ended in favour of Japan. The ensuing Portsmouth Treaty gave Japan Port Arthur and Dalny, concessions in South Manchuria, including the railway, half the island of Saghalien, as well as important fishing rights in Russian waters, and an indemnity of 20,000,000 yen for expense incurred by Japan on Russian war prisoners. Back in 1875, Russia had compelled Japan to relinquish Saghalien in exchange for the worthless Kuriles. Korea now came under the suzerainty of Japan; but the spirit of unrest so persisted that the Governor-General, Prince Ito, resigned, and matters continued unsatisfactory until the prince was assassinated by a Korean, when the peninsula was annexed to Japan in 1910.

Danger to their mutual interests in Eastern Asia brought Japan and England into an Agreement in 1902, which became a formal Alliance in 1905, and was renewed as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1911. This

important pact did much to preserve peace in the Far East during the twenty years of its history.

Japan's relations with the United States and British Dominions overseas were constantly disturbed by restrictions on the immigration of Japanese subjects, some of which implied racial discrimination, a principle to which Japan can never subscribe. With a population of 83,000,000, increasing at the rate of nearly a million a year, Japan must find a vent for density of increase, and naturally looks to the more sparsely settled portions of the globe. The "white Australia" policy Japan considers unfair to her nationals. In 1907 Japan agreed to a Canadian proposal to restrict the number of her subjects entering the Dominion. A similar agreement was concluded with Washington in 1908, after the United States fleet of sixteen battleships visited Japanese waters. American legislation in 1913 prohibiting land ownership to Japanese was regarded in Japan as a further example of unfair discrimination on a racial basis.

In 1910 Japan entered into an agreement with Russia for protection of mutual interests in China, which was renewed in 1916. She had already joined with Russia, in 1910, refusing to accept the American proposal for neutralization of railways in Manchuria.

The whole story of Japanese progress during the era under review is too comprehensive for recapitulation here. Development in industry alone was so phenomenal as to be one of the romances of modern enterprise. In cotton, silk, woollen, porcelain, lacquer, tea, brewing, and chemical undertakings production was unprecedented. A large proportion of mill and mine labour was and is done by women, under conditions seldom conducive to either health or efficiency. Foreign trade rose from 27,000,000 yen at the beginning of the era to 2,600,000,000 at its close. In all public utilities extension fairly kept pace with the need. Railways were nationalized. Coinage was and is a decimal currency on a gold basis, with the yen for

a unit, consisting of 100 sen. Naval and military organization was efficient, with the largest army and the third largest navy in the world. The system of national education provided primary schools for all of school age, but secondary education for not more than half the number of applicants for admission. The high schools and universities were flourishing. Missionary schools and colleges supplied an important deficiency in means for higher education.

After the opening of the country to foreign intercourse the missionaries at once returned, and found a welcome for the most part. Some 3,000 Christians were found to have descended from the Church of the Martyrs. Though Buddhism and Shinto still claimed the vast majority of the population the Christian Church made steady progress, and Christian ethics had more influence over the national mind than any other one moral force, as may still be seen from the Press, and public opinion generally. There are about 300,000 baptized Christians in Japan, and some 300,000 in Korea. Religion is free. Though not doctrinally imparted in the national schools, Christian ethics may be taught.

Diversion of the national mind to industry and trade weakened the interest in art, but æsthetic progress was scarcely less evident than before, especially in pictorial and glyptic art, as well as in the exquisite crafts of tapestry and silk brocade. The attempt at pictorial art after foreign models and *motifs* was not wholly successful, though hopeful. Pictures in purely native style remained still charming. Japanese workers in bronze, silver, gold, cloisonné, and lacquer still have no equals.

The period was marked by an enormous expansion in press and periodical literature, as well as in fiction. Most of the novels were after the Russian model, tinctured by Zola. Some of the psychological novels were on more ethical and æsthetic lines, but the preference seemed to be for life in its more sordid aspects.

The crown and glory of the period was the great

emperor himself. Brought up in the strictest traditions of Old Japan, not permitted to touch the common earth, or even to gaze on the faces of common folk, the ruler burst the bars of seclusion and came out upon the stage of history, acquired a working knowledge of government, became keenly alive to all national and international interests, and was ever bent upon promoting the peace and prosperity of his people. The Empress Haruko had scarcely a less wonderful influence over the nation, especially on its women, herself a patroness of all good works. The emperor and empress were both devoted to art and literature, and left poems of great merit.

After a short illness the emperor died on July 31, 1912. His posthumous name became Meiji Tenno, in immortal memory of a reign unparalleled in the history of a nation's progress. A strange hearse drawn by oxen, its wheels constructed to weep for the nation, expressed the woe of the inarticulate; more than a million stood along the route, with bent bodies, to say farewell, while the greatest of the nation's heroes, General Nogi, and his wife also took leave of this life to accompany the departed sovereign across the "yellow streams."

CHAPTER XIII

THE TAISHO PERIOD

(1912–1926)

Upon the demise of the Emperor Meiji, his only son, Yoshihito, ascended the throne as the 122nd emperor in the imperial line at the age of thirty-two. After the period of mourning was over the imperial coronation was celebrated with imposing ceremonies in November, 1915. As a fitting succession to the era of Meiji, or enlightened peace, the *nengo* for the new reign was

Taisho, or great righteousness, whence only enlightened peace was to be maintained. There could be nothing wanting in so high an ideal save the ability to realize it; but the young emperor made a brave attempt, though the previous reign set a difficult precedent to live up to.

The new sovereign had gone through the ordinary curriculum of the Peers' College, from which he graduated at the age of eighteen, and then came under the usual University tutors at the Palace, under supervision of General Nogi and Admiral Togo, before becoming an officer in the army. Betrothed to Princess Sadako, a daughter of Prince Kujo, a scion of the ancient Fujiwara family, the emperor, then Prince Imperial, had celebrated his nuptials in 1900. His eldest son, the Crown Prince Hirohito, he sent on a visit to Europe in 1921; and his second son, Prince Chichibu, he sent to Oxford in 1924. After the Crown Prince's return from abroad he was appointed regent, owing to the continued illness of the emperor.

The twelve years of the Taisho era were fraught with events of immense international interest to Japan, no less than to the world. After the annexation of Korea and the revision of the foreign commercial treaties, the premier, Prince Katsura, resigned in 1911, and was succeeded by Marquis Saionji, who had to ask for the return of Prince Katsura. His death brought in a new ministry under Admiral Yamamoto who had to resign owing to the appearance of a bribery scandal in the navy in 1913, when Prince Okuma took the reins of power. After starting Japan on her share in the Great War, the premier gave way to the great commoner, Mr. Takashi Hara, the first untitled premier of Japan, who had the task of piloting the nation through the Peace Conference after the war. Her conquest of Russia and her Alliance with England caused Japan to be ranked as a Power of the first magnitude. But the foothold she gained in China tended to excite more apprehension than satisfaction in

the international mind. The understanding between England, France, and Russia in 1907 had the friendly recognition of Japan, and did something to restore the balance of power in the Far East.

Then came the European War. Her treaty obligations arising out of the Alliance with England brought Japan into the struggle on the side of the Triple Entente. In co-operation with a small British contingent Japanese troops soon overran Kiaochau, the German concession in China; and the enemy fortress at Tsingtau was reduced to submission by November, 1914. The Japanese Navy convoyed the Anzac troops to Europe, patrolled the Pacific for the duration of the war, and sent a flotilla into the Mediterranean. Japan joined America and Canada in sending an expedition into Siberia to rescue the Tzech soldiers isolated by the Bolshevik Revolution. Later, Japan occupied Vladivostock and Northern Saghalien owing to the massacre of several hundred Japanese at Nikolaievsk in March, 1920. In accordance with the terms of the Washington Conference of 1921 Japanese troops were withdrawn from Russian territory, and differences were left for settlement to diplomacy, which was achieved in 1925, when the Soviet apologized for the Nikolaievsk out-ige and granted Japan important oil concessions in orthern Saghalien. Japan had to lose the debt of 20,000,000 owed by the former Russian Government. t all Russian Bolsheviks were deported from Japan, l Soviet principles placed on the list of dangerous ughts prohibited in the country.

During the war years Japan took advantage of her upation of the German concession in Kiaochau to engthen her hold upon Manchuria and eastern iner Mongolia. The famous twenty-one demands presented to China in 1915 included the extension of her lease of South Manchuria from twenty-five to ninety-nine years. As the demands seriously menaced the integrity of China as a sovereign State, they were refused by Yuan Shikai, who published them; and then, owing

to representations from the United States, the more objectionable Section V. was left in abeyance, and acquiescence in the rest enforced by an ultimatum. After the war China protested against the twenty-one demands at the Versailles Conference, and again at the Washington Conference. Owing to China's refusal to sign the Versailles Treaty and to negotiate with Japan concerning Kiaochau, both countries agreed to the mediation of England and America and to settle their differences in the light of the Washington Conference, according to which Japan had to relinquish Kiaochau, and be satisfied with rights of residence and trade at Tsingtau and possession of all German property there, the railway to be sold to China.

Moreover, Japan had added further to her insular territory during the war by taking the German archipelagoes in the South Pacific, the Marianne, Palau, Caroline, and Marshall Islands, for which the Versailles Conference made her mandatory. The total population of the islands is not more than 20,000, but they are of much strategic value. In them a colonial government has been established, and Japanese civilization is being steadily imparted by a modern system of education.

On the formation of the League of Nations Japa became one of the charter members, has taken an in portant place in its councils, and hopes that in time will be a means of obliging the white races to recogn duly the principle of racial equality. The Powers, the Versailles Conference admitted the right of t Monroe Doctrine for America; and Japan thinks it n too much to hope that they may some day recogni the same right for Eastern Asia.

At the Washington Conference of 1921 Japan agree to the resolution of the Powers to free China from h embarrassing dependence on foreign nations, by revi ing the unilateral treaties, with a view to China greater fiscal, judicial, and tariff autonomy. Alreac Japan had joined England, America, and France i

the Chinese Loan Consortium. Japan also accepted the proposals for limitation of naval armament, and became a party to the agreement not to enlarge or strengthen naval fortifications on the Pacific, excluding Hawaii, Singapore, and the islands of Japan proper. But the establishment of a British naval base at Singapore is, nevertheless, a cause of much irritation in Japan. The most important outcome of the disarmament conference was the Four Power Treaty between England, America, France, and Japan to replace the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which lapsed in July, 1921, owing to opposition from Canada and the United States. The new treaty obliges the signatories to co-operate in mutual defence of their interests on the Pacific for ten years. But the naval retrenchment, involved in the treaty, proved so objectionable to the more rabid patriots of Japan that Mr. Hara, the prime minister, was assassinated, even before the conference began. The reason given by the assassin, however, was that the premier had used his position to further party rather than national purposes.

Viscount Takahashi then became prime minister, until his resignation in 1923, when Admiral Baron ato succeeded him and held office until 1923, when dmiral Yamamoto was again asked to form a inistry, in which he was engaged when the great rthquake occurred.

The seismic upheaval of 1923 was the most destruc-ve in the entire history of Japan, a land of earth-uakes. Of the more than 5,000 shocks recorded nnually, the vast majority are harmless. But the hocks of September, 1923, resulted in the death of ver 100,000 people in Tokyo and left two-thirds of e city in ashes, and destroyed the whole of Yoko-ama and killed over 30,000 persons. Most of the deaths were due to fire which could not be extinguished owing to broken water mains. Losses in property totalled over £480,000,000 sterling, but Japan received nearly three millions in relief from foreign countries.

After the close of the European War Japan undertook a reorganization of her air forces, to accomplish which flying officers were brought out from England and France who had experience in the war. Forty officers from England instructed the naval airmen, and forty from France the army airmen, with very satisfactory results.

The general election of 1924 resulted in the defeat of the Seiyukai Cabinet, the first time a Japanese Government had been defeated at the polls, and a Kenseikai Cabinet came into office under Viscount Takaaki Kato, who at once introduced the famous Universal Manhood Suffrage Bill passed in 1925. The premier died in January, 1926, and was succeeded by Mr. Wakatsuki. The emperor, whose long illness had clouded the last months of the year, passed away on December 25; and Baron Ikeda decided upon *junshi* to follow his sovereign into the unseen, as General Nogi had followed Meiji Tenno. The imperial obsequies did not take place until February 7 the following year.

Though the Taisho era was comparatively brief, social and cultural progress was sufficiently marked to inspire national hope. The wars with China, Russia and Germany left on the Japanese mind a consciousnes of inherent power and an assurance of peace. Japa had now attained that capacity for self-defence whi the Meiji era had started out to achieve. But Jap could not forget that after a peace of over 250 years sl had been obliged to engage in three great wars since t opening intercourse with the outside world. All t greater was her goodwill in joining the League Nations as a hope for the old bushidō principle o victory without blood in future. Japan staked her future on the friendship and fair play of the English speaking peoples, but she began to realize, as never before, that the main dangers of a nation are internal While a remarkable expansion of trade and industry strengthened her belief in her own destiny, the profiteering and luxury of the war years and the selfish

parade of the *marikin* (*nouveaux riches*) distressed the nation with shame and high prices, and a consequent increase of strikes, after which came the seismic disaster, until the death of the ruler came as a sad climax to months of national misgiving.

CHAPTER XIV

MODERN JAPAN

(1926—1928)

In undertaking an appraisement of the past the historian, from innumerable events, can choose those which time has made most significant in linking the centuries and binding them to the present; but the historian who has to write of events through which he himself has lived is obliged to depend largely on intuition in hitting upon what time may select to fill in the true picture of the age. Of this disadvantage one must be especially conscious in attempting to record the most salient features of current Japanese history.

The eldest son of the late sovereign, the Emperor Hirohito, had been Crown Prince since 1912, and Prince Regent since 1922, and ascended the throne on December 25, 1926. Though it was not officially announced until 1922, he had been betrothed to Princess Nagako, daughter of Prince Kuni, since 1918. Owing to his European visit and the earthquake disaster in the capital, the imperial nuptials did not take place until January, 1924. The issue of the marriage has been two princesses: Terunomiya and Hisanomiya, the latter dying in 1928.

Hirohito is the first emperor of Japan to have a thoroughly modern education and outlook. After completing the usual course at the Peers' College he came under private University tuition, and then travelled

widely, not only in the Japanese islands but in Korea and Europe, being the first member of the imperial family to land on foreign soil, a statement rather rash, however, in face of the exploits of the Empress Jingo centuries before. In England the Prince was cordially welcomed by the King and the Royal Family, as well as by the whole nation. Thence he paid a visit to France, Belgium, Holland, and Italy; and, on returning home, he proceeded to live the free and democratic existence he had grown accustomed to abroad, to the alarm of the conservatives and the delight of the younger generation. The new imperial policy of more familiar association with the public was made still easier by the arrival of the Prince of Wales the following year; he proved to be the most popular prince that ever visited Japan.

When the young emperor's father was proclaimed Prince Imperial, the late Meiji Tenno said to him : " In the past those of high estate have too often shown themselves ignorant of those below them, and were even sometimes haughty and arrogant towards them. I pray let it never be so with you." This advice became a guiding principle in the life of Taisho Tenno, and it is still more conspicuous in the reign of the Emperor Hirohito. Significantly, the new era was given the *nengo* of *Showa* (radiant peace), a happy augury in succession to *Taisho* (great righteousness).

The new reign began, however, under the disadvantage of unprecedented economic depression following the European War, the disastrous earthquake, and the national mourning. Compared with the Occident, the average citizen of Japan is not wealthy; and, as economic pressure is always present, the masses of the people are naturally restive. Apparently passive and fatalistic, they are yet capable of sudden and violent extremes when unduly distraught. Wages have not increased correspondingly to the cost of living. The old social distinctions and classes are dissolving, and the new alignments are sharply dividing into rich

and poor, unfortunately too often forgetful of common interests. The paternal relations of master and servant, that so long survived the feudal age, have now almost gone. Industry is consequently unstable and strikes are frequent.

The pariah class, known as the *eta,* still numbers more than a million. Though the *eta* were made citizens by the Emperor Meiji they still suffer from discrimination, especially in schools and in the national services. The *eta* took an active part in the dangerous rice riots of 1918; and in 1928 an *eta* private rushed from the ranks guarding an imperial procession to present, on the point of his bayonet, a petition to the emperor protesting against the unjust treatment of his class. In April, 1928, more than one hundred arrests were made among communists of a dangerous type, drawing inspiration from Moscow.

For some years the franchise was limited to men over twenty-five years of age paying a tax of not less than fifteen yen a year. In 1910 the qualification was reduced to a tax of ten yen a year, and later it was reduced to three yen a year, which increased the list of voters to some 2,800,000. In 1925 the franchise was extended to all males of twenty-five years of age who were self-supporting citizens, which raised the number of voters to about 12,000,000, in a total population of over 60,000,000. In the first general election since the extension of the suffrage only about 10,000,000 cast their ballots, electing 665 members to the lower House. Political parties remain so evenly divided that it is difficult for the Diet to avoid frequent appeals to the country.

It was expected that the premier, General Tanaka, of the Seiyukai party, would take advantage of the revolution in China to develop a more aggressive policy toward that country; but Japan's experience at various recent international conferences did not encourage this. The Government's attitude to China is now one of practical sympathy in order to assist Japan's big neigh-

bour out of a difficult and dangerous situation. Moreover, Japan has to play the uneasy rôle of approving China's desire to recover national autonomy, while having to act as one of the Powers yet withholding it. She cannot very well urge relinquishment of foreign concessions in China while retaining herself control of a great part of Manchuria. Having shed so much of her blood on the battlefields of Manchuria, Japan must maintain her rights there at all costs. For this reason Japan for long did not suffer the Nationalists to enter North China; nor will she tolerate any belligerency within her zone in Manchuria.

While China is naturally a cause of deep anxiety to Japan, the deeper apprehensions of the new reign have been due to conditions at home. A nation's foes are they of its own household. Since the seismic disaster of 1923 economic depression went on increasing. Before the Great War the nation's gold holdings amounted to no more than 353,000,000 yen. By the end of the war they had risen more than sixfold, and one time totalled over 2,000,000,000 yen. After the war, with a steady adverse balance of trade, the national holdings fell to nearly one-half. A tariff of as much as 100 per cent. on imports of luxuries failed to adjust the adverse trade. In 1927 reckless speculation culminated in a financial panic that caused an unprecedented number of bank failures, including institutions that seemed among the most secure. Some great business houses also went down and out. From this economic strain it will take some years to recover.

Japan was ably represented at the Geneva Conference on naval retrenchment in 1927, and stood out nobly on the side of peace. Her delegates returned home with enhanced national prestige, knowing that no degree of failure was theirs.

The *Showa* era is too young to invite any detailed estimate of its progress. No more than in the Taisho period has the new era witnessed in literature and art the fulfilment of high promise inherited from the Meiji

masters. Russian influence tends still to dominate the atmosphere of fiction; there is a kindred spirit of crude realism and consequent pessimism common to the two races. Translations from English classics continue to be made, but such works are often incomplete and, consequently, a mutilation. Study of the English language is still compulsory in all higher schools. Indubitably this affords a wholesome dynamic against the static influence of a Teutonic educational system, the violence and pessimism of the Slav, and the melancholia of Buddhism.

In recent years the public mind has assumed a more favourable attitude toward Christianity. It is becoming increasingly understood that this religion makes it in general a moral obligation to obey the government and to revere the sovereign; and hence is beneficial to the nation. The scientists of Japan feel, too, that Christianity has more prospect of being able to endure the light of modern learning than either Buddhism or Shinto. If religion is to stand for truth, it must represent something wider than race, wider even than nationality : it must have a universal quality and value.

Officially, Shinto is not regarded as a religion, but as a national cult to promote reverence for national heroes, especially for the heaven-descended right and authority of the emperor. It is the symbol of a desire to balance the barrenness of the present by due reverence for the past. As a central sun the emperor radiates the virtues which he attracts from his subjects. If nations have souls they must have some centre of patriotic devotion; and a divine ruler is less mechanical and more inspiring than a constitution, a flag, or a mere war god.

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THE
ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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THE ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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NOTE

In preparing this short statement on a subject of great complexity, I have had occasion to consult many books and reports, but I should like to express special indebtedness to Birchenough's *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales,* Archer's *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century,* and Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge's *The Board of E[illegible]*

C. N.

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THE ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

This book must of necessity be small, and the subject is vast and complicated in detail. I shall attempt merely to trace the general outlines, and refer the reader to the books on individual parts of the English educational system, which will give fuller information both about the history of the past and the details of the present than can here be attempted. Statistics will be used sparingly, for they are apt to be dull, and in a short treatise cannot be complete. The endeavour will rather be to show what is being attempted in each field, the reasons why these efforts take their present form, and the ideals which lie beneath and inspire those who teach and those who administer.

The educational system of this country is not logical, nor has it symmetry: it has not been thought out by legislators or statesmen, and imposed from above upon the nation. At the same time it is not haphazard, but it has grown from practical needs, and is now indissolubly bound up with the national life. It cannot be understood apart from the national history, for it is the product of the national character. One striking feature of that character is its capacity for making an illogical compromise work in practice, and for getting things done without bothering overmuch about theory.

We are tolerant of anomalies, and patient with survivals, so long as they produce results that are worth while. The history of our education is full of instances of this genius for action and indifference to theory, which lead our critics to belittle our thinking powers and to represent us as a nation intimidated in the presence of a new idea. But in practice we have produced schools which are more powerful for the formation of character, which awake greater and more permanent loyalties, which provide greater scope for individual effort than those of any other people of the present or the past.

One general characteristic is to be noted which is due to the mode in which education has developed in this country. It has been inspired from above. Its ideals have come from the Universities, and from a few schools which looked directly to those Universities and were closely connected with them. Its ideals have, therefore, come from those who have been preparing for the learned professions, for Government, and for administration, and the standard has accordingly been high. There is a profound difference in outlook between a system which, as in this country and in Western Europe generally, has begun from the Universities, and percolated downwards, and systems which in modern times have been based on a good system of elementary schools, and built upwards from them. The observer will find that the general standard of attainment is higher in the former than the latter, and that the ideal of knowledge for its own sake, and of pure scholarship valued for itself and for no utilitarian reasons, is far more secure.

It has been rightly pointed out that past historical development is the reason why education in England is a landscape of peaks and valleys rather than that of a uniform tableland. The work of the twentieth century has been not to lower the peaks, but to raise the general level of the valleys in the hope that the

inequalities will disappear. It is not often realised how recent is the growth of our educational system, or how vast and full of promise of power for the future is that wide extension of education, in the midst of which we are living. A full history, such as cannot be attempted here, would make this clear, but it will be clear enough for our purposes if we look back a century. A century is not a long time, for it covers no more than the work of three full generations, and a rapid survey of the field of education as it presented itself in 1828 will enable the reader both to measure the immense distance that has been covered, and to understand how it has come about that our system has taken its present form.

In 1828 there existed at one end of that field two Universities and a few Public Schools. Both Universities had risen considerably above the idleness and corruption which had marked them in the eighteenth century. But the Nonconformists were excluded from Oxford, and could not graduate at Cambridge. Work at a low pass level was all that the great majority of students attempted. Genuine examinations had only very recently been introduced. Jeffrey and Sidney Smith, in the *Edinburgh Review,* were wholeheartedly attacking the whole performance of the Universities. They alleged that there was idleness in the atmosphere, that Oxford neglected mathematics and taught classics in a manner which condemned it to barrenness, that Cambridge clung to all that was obsolete, and that the Fellows sought to learn nothing new, and made no contribution of their own to learning. The Public Schools proper were seven only in number, Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Charterhouse, and Rugby, and they stood very low in public reputation. Bad feeding, bad supervision, and resultant bullying and immorality, were truly alleged against them. Their curriculum was confined to a selection of Greek and Latin

authors, chosen without intelligence, and taught without conviction. The numbers in attendance were very low. Outside this group there were over seven hundred endowments for secondary education, mostly grammar schools, some classical and some non-classical, but nearly all inefficient. The mass of the nation's children were being educated, so far as they were receiving secondary education at all, in private schools, of which there must have been several thousand: they were of every grade of merit, but few were good, and many were extremely bad. Elementary education had begun, but it was largely charitable in origin, and protective and preventive in object. The Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor was founded in 1796, the Sunday School Union in 1803, the Royal Lancasterian Institution in 1808, and the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in 1811. Bell and Lancaster had independently discovered how to teach on the cheap by the monitorial system, and the length of school life contemplated was from eighteen months to two years. Five years had still to pass before Parliament made its first grant in aid of elementary education (1833).

It is said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn, but 1828 would not fairly be so described. It was a period when the dawn was already breaking. Oriel College was in its great days, and if its Fellows were not so great as they thought themselves, it was producing great men such as Newman and Keble, and Arnold and Whately. The Oxford Movement was about to begin, and Mark Pattison was at the start of his career. University College, London, was founded in 1827, King's College in 1828, Durham University in 1831, and these were the pioneers of a movement which has since covered the country with a network of Universities. Arnold began his headmastership of Rugby in 1828, and from that followed directly the

revival, reform, and extension of the Public Schools. Bentham and his followers were demanding popular education on democratic grounds, and Robert Owen was preaching that "the best governed state will be that which possesses the best national system of education." Whitbread had unsuccessfully fought for the cause in Parliament, and his mantle had fallen on Brougham. Nearly a million children were receiving a brief course of training in the National Schools. Brougham's Royal Commission to inquire into educational charities was sitting, and his pamphlet on "Popular Education" (1825) had gone through twenty editions in a year. The spirit of the new movement was abroad, and already self-conscious, but hampered by vested interests in Church and State, by natural indifference, and by its own ignorance of the best way in which to advance.

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CHAPTER II

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

As has been seen, voluntary agencies were first in the field, and the State lagged behind. It is probable that the State would have frankly and fully taken up its burden much earlier if it had not been for inter-denominational jealousy, as some call it, or the difficulty, as others would say, of providing for sound religious teaching. At any rate, owing to this religious difficulty, successive governments, Liberal and Conservative, failed both in 1839 and 1843 to solve the problem, and having burned their fingers left the work to the volunteers, and mainly to the Church of England. By the middle of the nineteenth century a great denominational system, training nearly two million children in elementary subjects, was established, though its imperfections may be realised when we remember that a large number of children were in no school at all, and those that were in school attended generally for less than 100 days a year, and left at the age of eleven. A Royal Commission, which sat from 1858-61, reported that there were 573,000 scholars in private schools, 671,000 in denominational and factory schools, receiving no public grant, and 917,000 in schools, mostly denominational, and in receipt of grant. It was with this situation that the Act of 1870 dealt. It accepted the facts of the case, sought to fill in the gaps, and to provide a certain equality of opportunity. The voluntary schools belonging to the various denominations were recognised and encouraged, while it was enacted that in areas with inadequate or unsuitable provision, Board

schools might be set up by local bodies, elected for the specific purpose, and authorised to raise a local rate not exceeding 3d. in the pound.

Progress became more rapid, and in six years the number of school places was doubled. Compulsion to attend became possible, and between 1876 and 1900 the requirement of attendances was increasingly enforced. In the latter year, authorities were enabled to raise the age of compulsory attendance to fourteen. The policy of payment by results was tried, condemned, and abandoned. It had begun with the revised code of 1862, and had developed into a system under which an inspector tested all the pupils once a year, and the fortunes of the teacher depended upon the result. It led to cram and mechanical teaching, discouraged experiment, and enforced a wrong system upon the schools. A system under which an inspector could solemnly report that "the mental arithmetic of the junior babies left much to be desired" stands self-condemned, but it left its mark on the schools for more than a generation.

The gradual raising of the age to fourteen made it increasingly clear that there were many children in the elementary schools well qualified for more advanced education, and attempts were made towards the end of the nineteenth century to provide for these by scholarships to the secondary schools, and by "Higher Grade" elementary schools, first established in 1894. Even for Englishmen a system by which elementary schools gave secondary instruction was too illogical, and the "Cockerton" judgment of 1901, which declared the expenditure of the London School Board for this purpose to be illegal, brought that solution of the difficulty to an end. But the problem existed, and had to be faced. Other attempts of the School Boards, such as the provision of higher elementary schools with an age-range of 10-15, and of Pupil Teacher Centres, only served to show that the

problem was greater than with their powers they could solve.

The situation in 1900 had become difficult in other ways. The burden on the voluntary schools had been steadily increasing, and it was becoming increasingly clear that fees for elementary education would have to be abolished. In 1891 free schooling had been made possible, and in the next ten years was made a reality by many School Boards: yet without fees many voluntary schools could hardly carry on. The School Boards themselves, directly elected to perform a limited task in a field where co-ordination is necessary above all things, were proving unequal to their task, and were in any case far too numerous. In 1900 there were existing 3,351 separate and independent authorities for elementary education.

It was a period when it was rightly believed that centralisation and unification of control were necessary if efficiency was to be achieved. The Board of Education Act of 1899 had united the Departments of Education, and of Science and Art, and conferred on it the educational powers of the Charity Commissioners. The Education Act of 1902 which followed is a great landmark in educational history. It replaced the 3,351 independent authorities by 328, and made education a function of local government and an expression of local patriotism. It made possible the establishment of secondary schools, wholly maintained by public money, and in many areas it set up a single authority charged with the provision of all types of education. It took over the cost of secular education as one which fell entirely upon public funds. But great as was the advance which it made possible, it left untouched some abnormalities, nor did it remove the dualism which we owe to our religious denominations. It obliged the new local authorities in all cases to supply and control elementary education: it empowered the county councils and county boroughs to

provide technical and higher education. Thus it put county boroughs in control of all their education, with power to co-ordinate it, but it excepted from the authority of the county councils all the borough and urban districts with a population above 20,000. Thus, in many areas elementary education remained, and remains, under the control of several authorities, while higher education is under one. The Act left the buildings of the voluntary schools in the possession of the denominations, and the religious teaching of the schools under the authority of the school managers, who retained the right to appoint the teacher. All these anomalies left by the Act of 1902 still remain, and in varying degrees impede the course of educational reform.

Nevertheless, the Act removed many obstacles. The relation of elementary to secondary education began to be more fully explored. Continuation, trade, and vocational schools began; secondary schools were increased in number. In 1907 it was made a condition for the receipt of full government grant by a secondary school that it should admit 25 per cent. of its scholars as free places from the elementary schools, though, in practice, anything from 10 to 25 was taken as fulfilling the law. Denominational feeling was, indeed, strongly aroused by the Act of 1902, and various attempts by Mr. Birrell and others to find a way of reconciliation were made and failed. That feeling may now be considered to be dormant rather than extinct, and probably every year that passes makes its revival in the old intense form less likely. Statesmen, however, for the present, continue to prefer to put up with an inconvenient dualism rather than attempt unification at the cost of religious strife.

The feeding of schoolchildren was made possible by the Act of 1906, and medical inspection by the Act of 1907. Under these, and especially the latter, a great work has been accomplished, and it has been supple-

mented by a more enlightened system of physical training, and the work of voluntary After Care and Juvenile Employment Committees, which began in the period before the war, and have done much to humanise the treatment of children, and to state and face the problems that are before them.

The war did much to increase the national sense of the value of education, if only for its testimony to the superiority of educated soldiers over illiterate masses, however brave. It led immediately to further legislation, and the Fisher Act of 1918, however much high hopes have since been dashed, remains the charter of free elementary education. That Act, and the Education Act of 1921, have improved the salaries of teachers, given them pensions, and bestowed more liberal grants. Fees have been abolished, "half-time" forbidden, and attendance has been enforced up to the age of fourteen with the possibility of further extension. A frank partnership has been entered into with the local authorities, in which the initiative is handed over to them, and the preparation of ambitious schemes for development over periods of ten years has been encouraged. But on all this there fell a sudden blight, when the slump in trade occurred, and the national finances were found to be in difficulty. Projected schools were abandoned, the raising of the school age deferred, salaries were reduced. There was embittered altercation between economists and educational reformers. Perhaps the pause has been no bad thing. The nation was embarking on a number of schemes which would have proved expensive and had been insufficiently thought out. The cessation of active expansion has enabled educationists to do some quiet thinking, and the result may well be, when the opportunity arrives, the creation of an education which is really national and really a system.

It is not so very long ago that elementary education was thought to be something fit and proper for the

sons of the labouring poor, secondary education, if not too long continued, a suitable privilege for the middle classes, and University education the proper sphere of the rich, so long as the deserving and clever poor boy was enabled to make his way there by aid of scholarships. There are now many who see that elementary education is that which lies at the foundation of the whole, covering for all children the years from their second to the eleventh. The nursery school, the infant school, and the junior school are stages within the range of those important years. From the eleventh to the sixteenth or eighteenth year lies the province of secondary education, and it is realised that all who come up from the elementary stages need proper and suitable provision. It is here that the great gaps are found which prevent the English system from being really adequate to its full work, but a study of the defects may well be deferred until we have considered all the forms of education at present existent. Full provision for the nation's need can only be made by authorities dominant for the purpose over all types of education throughout large areas, and that full provision will be expensive. But all the omens go to show that in due time and with due consideration this full provision can be made, and that it will be made.

Eighty years ago Macaulay, referring to common schoolmasters, spoke of them as "discarded footmen and ruined pedlars," and our literature is full of terms of contempt for the humble pedagogue. The eighty years which have elapsed since Macaulay passed his judgment have brought higher status, better training, increased knowledge, and more adequate income. There were in 1925 165,047 teachers in elementary schools, an army in themselves, and the most valuable social service which we possess. Their training has greatly improved. Not so long ago it was carried on in sordid surroundings under monastic conditions: neither air nor variety nor exercise were thought

necessary for the future teacher. It was thought that he would thrive best on a consumption of textbooks for knowledge, and sectarianism for religion. But now many types of training are open to him, in a University or University college, or in a denominational or municipal college. The ideal for the future elementary teacher is that he should follow the ordinary school and college course in the company of those who will seek other occupations. Early segregation is certainly bad, and the spirit of the seminary is to be avoided. It will probably become more and more the custom to attach the colleges for the training of teachers to some University, and to endeavour to give them a tutorial staff. And it is to be hoped that future teachers will increasingly give three years to a course of study for a degree, and follow it with one devoted to professional training. It is better to have a wider equipment of general knowledge and a less intensive course of pedagogy than to pass through a long period of class management and class training on a very slender stock of knowledge and a very imperfect education. It should surely be sufficient, if a compromise were effected between the over-training of the elementary teacher and the under-training of the secondary teacher, if the former were trained less and the latter more. It is a wise suggestion that the difficulty of practical training should be met by making the first year in the elementary school probationary, and causing it to be spent under supervision, and thereafter that professional knowledge and technique should be renewed and increased by the institution of summer schools and refresher courses.

A generation ago unattractive conditions of training and poor prospects combined to make the output of trained teachers very low, and quite inadequate to meet the demands of the national service. In 1890 only 2,791 trained teachers were produced. But by 1914 this number had risen to 12,000, and by 1920 to 13,500.

Under the conditions of training now available, and with the improvement in salaries, pensions, and status, a supply of good material is available, and should steadily be forthcoming.

It may naturally be asked at this point: "What is actually taught in an elementary school, and how are the teachers equipped?" To take the latter question first, the teachers have as the basis of their training a knowledge of English, history, geography, elementary mathematics, and science, to which they can add certain optional subjects. They are trained in the elements of exposition, class management, hygiene, and psychology. The schools have become more free and more individual, thanks to the passing of a generation during which they have been free from the tyranny of the three R's, rigidly conceived, and the system of payment by results. The study of formal English grammar has declined, and the old-fashioned readers have given way to the use of literary readers of good prose and poetry, supplemented by the reading of recognised authors in whole or in part. Supplementary reading in history, geography, and nature study is encouraged: school libraries and travelling libraries are in use in country districts, and in towns and cities the use of the municipal library is encouraged and directed. The study of arithmetic has been widened to include the elements of mensuration and of simple algebra and geometry. Physical training has been reorganised, and the place of hand and eye in education has been realised. Handwork and carpentry are regularly taught, and drawing now includes the use of several media—pencil and pen and ink, pastels and paints. Subjects have not so much increased in number as received each a new and wider treatment. Children, for instance, in English not only read aloud and learn repetition, but are encouraged to compose aloud, to speak, and to read for their own enjoyment. Geography is so taught as to be a study of causes and

effects, and of how to read, understand, and make a simple map. Pictures and acting are brought in to help history, nature study and practical gardening to help elementary science. Needlework means not the production of specimen samplers, but household work and a knowledge of stitches and ordinary garments. Besides this, all, both boys and girls, have lessons in singing, in physical exercises, and in Hygiene.

The London Education Service of 1927 gives the following as a typical "time-table" of an upper standard in a London elementary school:

Lessons.	*Hours per Week.*
Bible instruction	$2\frac{1}{2}$
English (including reading and writing) and arithmetic	10
History, geography, singing, and dancing	5
Science and practical work (including needlework and domestic economy for girls, and woodwork and metalwork for boys)	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Physical education	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Play intervals, registration, etc. ...	3
Total	$27\frac{1}{2}$

There have been a good many movements in education in the last twenty-five years, and most of them have had their reactions on elementary education. Some of them have led in the direction of a break-away from ordinary class teaching, and of these the most influential has been the Dalton Plan, which came from America. Briefly, this method conceives of pupils divided into small groups, devoting their time continuously to one subject at a time, and helping one another to make the study effective. Discussion, read-

ing, consultation of books, are carried on by the pupils themselves with only occasional guidance from a teacher. It is claimed that the method promotes team-work, a sense of freedom, and the spirit of co-operation. At an earlier stage the influence that comes from Italy, from the teaching and example of Madame Montessori, has also made for freedom. That the child shall do what it wants to do, and that the teacher should use what the child wants to do, as the best means for its education, that the education consists in providing the best opportunities for individual development, are principles that are steadily gaining ground. From our own country, from the writings and example of Miss Charlotte Mason, who founded the Parents' National Educational Union, and conducted a model school at Ambleside, has also arisen a movement for securing the co-operation of class with teacher and for emphasising the same principle of freedom and self-education. The exponents of her method claim that they secure and maintain the interest of the pupils; and certainly in the hands of good teachers remarkable results have been obtained, in the elementary schools of Gloucestershire and elsewhere, and in preparatory private schools.

A good many people are apt to decry the product of elementary education, and in particular to allege that the old accuracy in the three R's has been lost and a sloppy impressionism substituted. Such people forget that the accurate exponents of arithmetic and spelling, who used to be found in the elementary schools, have now found their way with scholarships and free places to the secondary schools, and that in most cities and towns the elementary schools in the highest standards have more than once been skimmed of their cream. But if anyone doubts whether progress has been real, he need not rely on written argument or the consideration of conflicting opinions. He will be converted if he looks at photographs of elementary

school classes taken at intervals of twenty years. In the pamphlet called *The London Education Service*, issued from the County Hall, there is a photograph of the infants' class at the Oratory School, Chelsea, taken in 1905, and again in 1925, and of a class in an infants' school in Southwark in 1894 and again in 1924. These are more persuasive than many pages of discussion. The look of the face, the carriage of the body, the eye, the mouth, the hands, all tell the tale of improvement to those who look closely. It is not only treatment outside the classroom, but better and more humane methods inside the classroom that have combined to bring about this result.

There is in progress throughout the country an unequal, but still a general, movement towards the reduction of the size of classes. Classes of not more than 40 in the case of infants, and 48 in the case of older pupils are aimed at, and these, as soon as they are realised, bring with them the opportunity of better methods and an altogether higher type of education. At the start, when classes were huge, parents indifferent and hostile, and the child mind not studied, discipline and mechanical accuracy were all that could be secured. Now the elementary schools set themselves to do no less than impart the elements of culture. They rely mainly upon English as a written language and a spoken tongue, and on the cultivation and training of the hand, the voice, and the eye. Dr. Ballard, one of the London County Council's Inspectors of Schools, has said: "If the great discovery of the nineteenth century was the human hand, the great discovery of the twentieth century was the human voice—the discovery that by cultivating the tongue we are at the same time cultivating the mind." Speech, song, elocution, acting, all now have their place.

This chapter must not be closed without reference to the infant schools of this country, which, taking the children into the system of public instruction at

five, a year earlier than any other country, have developed an institution of individuality and peculiar merit. The note of the infant school is freedom and individuality, the children are not passive, but active, doers and not mere listeners, happy and not suppressed. The new methods have spread beyond the elementary school proper into the preparatory private schools, and everywhere in the country now it is possible to see classes of tiny children thoroughly enjoying school and manifestly profiting by it. There is certainly no more pleasant sight in the whole field of education.

Those who wish to know more about the many-sided activities of elementary education at the present day should consult works specially devoted to the subject. It is impossible to discuss them fully here. There are here and there schools with special curricula, devoted to practical work in very poor neighbourhoods, schools for nautical instruction in dockside districts, and for gardening and work on the land where the children come from the land. There is a hopeful movement towards organised games, and the provision of playing-field facilities. There are school journeys and educational visits, and the coming-in of broadcasting and the use of the cinema. Much more might be said about music and art. Much might be said about the whole subject of the treatment of the defective, divided in London into eight types—blind and partially blind, deaf and partially deaf, mentally defective, and physically defective, tuberculous and epileptic. Much ought to be said about the general organisation of After-Care. The impression which a study of the whole subject gives to the observer is that the situation is full of hope, that great things have been accomplished, and greater achievements await us, that we have a splendid body of teachers, and good material upon which they can work. There are defects and gaps in the general system, but they are such as

better organisation, patience, and, it must be added, the expenditure of more money, can certainly remove.

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CHAPTER III

SECONDARY EDUCATION

A. Revival and Extension of the Boarding-Schools

It was remarked in the first chapter that the old boarding-schools a hundred years ago were in a bad way, both in numbers and prestige, and also that a hundred years ago Arnold began his headmastership of Rugby. So far as one man was responsible for the revival and reinvigoration of the boarding-school system, that man was Thomas Arnold. It is fashionable among those who for various reasons dislike and distrust this system to belittle Arnold, and even to speak of his work as a myth. But the fact cannot be denied that after his headmastership all was changed: the old schools were one by one reformed, and new ones founded on the same model. Nor can it be denied that he made a reality of the prefect system, trusting his Sixth and moulding it by his personality, that he modernised and widened the curriculum by introducing French and mathematics as regular subjects, and by teaching history in a living way, and that he saw the proper use that could be made of organised games. Further, he made the chapel the centre of his appeal to the school, a thing which before his day had not been done.

It so happened that his work fell at a time when a larger demand was rising for the sort of education which had hitherto been mainly aristocratic. The middle classes were making their way to power, and seeking equal privileges for their sons. Railways were being built, and transit was becoming easy. Wealth was growing, and there was a very large increase in

the number of those who were earning up to a thousand a year and beyond. The service of the dominions beyond the sea and foreign trade were augmenting the number of those who, compelled to live abroad, yet demanded an education at home for their sons. As a result, a large number of schools came into existence, which were boarding-schools on the old model, as interpreted by Arnold. Some were old foundations, half derelict, but converted by the headmasters from the service of a purely local to that of a national field. Others were completely new, and specifically devoted to the education of the sons of a particular class, as Marlborough for the sons of the clergy, or Wellington for the sons of officers. If any-one were to go through the list of the great boarding-school he would find that, apart from the seven already mentioned, they have nearly all found their origin in their present form in a space of about twenty years in the middle of the nineteenth century, beginning with Cheltenham in 1841 and ending with Malvern in 1862. Since the war the inability of the existing schools to accommodate all who seek to go to them has led to further extension, and Stowe is only the best known of a group of several schools which have been quite recently established on the same model.

The question is often asked, "What is a Public School?" and it is one to which it is impossible to give a clear answer. It is a term supposed to apply especially to the great boarding-schools, and in popular use it is frequently confined to them. But this use is not justified. The great day schools, such as St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', King Edward's, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol, Bedford, Grammar Schools, have all been in the great tradition. A Public School is one which has a real measure of independence, and can direct its own policy, which keeps its pupils to the full limit of age of eighteen and over, and which has a direct and regularly maintained con-

nection with the Universities. It is obvious, therefore, that every school may aspire to this status, and realise it, and that any school may drop out of it.

Just because of their independence, these schools are of peculiar value, for they are the spheres of influence of remarkable men, prophets of their generation, who can work out unhampered the ideal which possesses them. Moberley of Winchester, Vaughan of Harrow, Thring of Uppingham, Bradley of Marlborough, Benson of Wellington, Percival of Clifton, Almond of Loretto, Sanderson of Oundle are examples of the truth that a great work for education can be done under these conditions. In a great State system of education it is probably vital to its health that there should be a group of schools which stand outside it, where experiment can be tried, and personality find expression. It is worth while to recall that Thring gave six reasons against State-maintained education: (1) That it places the ignorant community in the position of judge; (2) that it places the skilled teacher under the power of the ignorant official; (3) that experiment and improvement are prevented by the regulations of authority; (4) that new types of school cannot be started by individuals who have new ideas; (5) that it destroys interest, since people are indifferent to that for which they do not pay; and (6) that it is undenominational, and no undenominational education can be really religious. The case has gone against Thring, and we have now a great State-aided system of education, doing work which he would have been the first to value, had he lived to see it. But there is enough truth in the objections which he urged to show that it would be a disaster to sweep away all independence from our national provision, as some doctrinaire system-mongers would like to do.

As things stand to-day, a public boarding-school is usually a school of from 450 to 750 boys (though Eton

is considerably larger than this), divided into Houses, in which the House-master stands in close personal relation to each boy. They generate an intense school feeling, and often a still intenser "House" feeling. The curriculum is much the same as that of other schools in the secondary system, save that Latin holds a stronger position, and science is begun later. Their enemies say that they make a fetish of games, and their friends that they realise the value of games in the building of character, as a moral safeguard, and as an instrument for founding physical health, strength, and grace. They teach boys self-government, and they inculcate the spirit of service. They seek to make the chapel the centre of a definite religious appeal.

They are much studied by observers from abroad, and are the centre of incessant controversies at home. They are the most individual institution of all that this country has created in education, in their merits and their faults the most English. They awake strong hostilities, but intenser loyalties. At their best they have much to give to national education, the tradition of friendship between teacher and taught, the tradition of discipline and loyalty, the tradition of co-operation, and government for the good of the governed, the tradition of service and of the religion which proves itself by its practical fruits. But they are confined to the children of the well-to-do, and neither masters nor boys have sufficient contact with the rest of the national system; for it is clear that social prestige can become snobbery, and isolation can become exclusiveness, and segregation can establish caste.

Beneath these schools, and supplying them, are several hundred private preparatory schools, many of them very efficient, some too luxurious, and some incompetent. It is the most favourable field left for private adventure, and it invites equally the prophet and the charlatan, for anyone may start a school. On

the whole, the work of these schools is conscientious, and in some of them remarkable personalities have given their lives to the well-being of boys from nine to fourteen. But their work tends to be dominated too much by the requirements of the Common Entrance Examination, which has to be passed by nearly all the boys who would enter the great boarding-schools. This tends to cram and mechanical and unintelligent teaching, so that the sons of the well-to-do are now suffering from the very evils which were rightly discarded from the elementary schools of the people towards the end of last century, when payment by results was abolished.

B. Secondary Education during the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was a period when there was much talk about secondary education, but remarkably little was done. There must have been in existence when the century began some 500 endowed grammar schools, and a large but varying number of private schools. Some were wealthy; most were very poor; practically all had been neglected. Their distribution bore no relation to population, and their resources bore no relation to their needs. The Schools Enquiry Commission of 1864 recommended that their finances should be reformed, and that authorities should be set up with power to supplement existing schools. The first recommendation was carried out, and led to a valuable revival of existing schools, but the second was neglected, and nothing was done. Hence arose the need on the elementary side to provide some sort of secondary education for the best schools, and the experiment of those higher grade schools which was stopped by the "Cockerton" judgment of 1901, already referred to. Hence, also,

as a side development of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, there came into existence what were known as Organised Science Schools, which devoted an excessive amount of time to science and art, but represented a genuine attempt to give secondary education. Finally, Pupil Teachers' Centres were started to educate the future elementary teachers from fourteen to eighteen. In the last ten years of the nineteenth century all these were in existence, together with a large number of preparatory schools, and schools founded by religious bodies and by companies. Not unnaturally, Lord Bryce's Commission in 1894 posed the question, "How can the sporadically created and unorganised secondary education of England be organised into an efficient and satisfactory system?"

C. Progress since 1902

The Education Act of 1902 empowered county and borough councils to establish and maintain secondary schools, and little by little the new authorities were drawn into taking interest in secondary education, and the existing and struggling secondary schools learned to lose their fear of the newly created authorities and the Board of Education. By 1904 the Board was able to issue its first Regulations for Secondary Schools, and it defined a secondary school as that which offered to its scholars up to and beyond the age of sixteen "a general education, physical, mental, and moral." It required a four-year course, which should embrace English, geography, history, at least one language other than English, mathematics, science, and drawing, together with manual work, physical exercises, and, for girls, housewifery. In 1907 the Board removed inequalities by fixing a uniform grant of £5 for all pupils between the age of twelve and eighteen, and sweeping away the preferential treatment of the

organised science schools. But they imposed two conditions—that the majority of the governing bodies should be representatives of popularly elected authorities, and that the schools should offer 25 per cent. of their places free to ex-elementary schoolchildren.

It would have been, perhaps, better at that time if the State had been more generous and provided the schools with greater means to meet their new obligations. The cost of the free-place system took away the benefit of the increased grant, and what was needed at the time quite as much was the improvement of the salaries of those who taught in secondary schools. But with much searching of heart the schools, on the whole, faced up to the new position, and the free-place system may be said to have justified itself. The free places have become virtual scholarships, and brought into the schools excellent pupils, who remain at school for a longer period than the fee-paying boy. These boys have in a very few years considerably strengthened the fifth and sixth forms, sparsely filled in old days, and many of them have become school-leaders. More than 30,000 such pupils are now being admitted free to the secondary schools each year, and there were in 1925-26 134,177 in attendance.

The period up to the outbreak of the war was one of quiet and solid, but by no means rapid, development. The more progressive authorities surveyed their means, noticed the gaps and the weak places, and made plans to supply the deficiencies. The main struggle of the period was to secure an earlier age of entry to the school, and at the same time to extend the school life; for the four years' course assumed by the Board's regulations was a four years' course only in theory. What results were secured may, perhaps, be best judged statistically. The average school life went up in the case of boys from 2 years 7 months to 2 years 9 months, and in the case of girls from 2 years 7 months to 3 years; the average leaving age of boys was

15·7, and of girls was 16. In 1904 there were 575 schools for boys, for girls, and for boys and girls, and in 1914 1,047, the pupils in attendance had gone up from 97,698 to 178,884, and the number of pupils per 1,000 of population had risen from 2·9 to 5·5.

The war changed the situation. Whatever the cause, it brought with it an intensified desire for education, and it provided large sections of the population with the means to pay for it. Nor was it a passing desire. It warmed suddenly into life a growing appreciation of the value of education which had been steadily gathering force under the surface. This demand, while embarrassing to the schools because of the numbers who clamoured for admission and could not be accommodated, nevertheless enabled them to set their houses more in order, to cut down their purely preparatory departments, to secure a standard of attainment and a proper age for entry, and to increase school life. Again the progress made may be measured statistically. The average school life in 1924-25 had risen to 3 years 8 months in the case of boys, 3·9 in the case of girls, and the average leaving age to 16·1 and 16·3 respectively. The number of schools had increased to 1,301, and the number of pupils in attendance to 367,564. The average size of schools, which had been 190 in 1914, was in 1925 283. The number of pupils per 1,000 of the population is now practically 10.

But the main progress was made in strengthening, and providing for the maintenance of, good work at the top of the schools, and creating sixth forms of respectable numbers. Advanced work had engaged the attention of the Board from 1913 onwards, but progress became really possible when Mr. Fisher in 1917 offered grants of £400 a year for each advanced course which a school could maintain. These were, and continue to be, mainly for science and mathematics, classics, and modern studies, though combinations of these, and geography, have recently appeared. In 1917

there were 82 such courses recognised in science and mathematics; 20 in classics, and 25 in modern studies; in 1925-26 these had become 283, 38, and 189 respectively, apart from 15 others of varying types. In other words, in nine years the advanced courses had nearly quadrupled in number, the most satisfactory evidence that can be offered that the work of the secondary schools as a whole has greatly improved in quality.

In a period of less than twenty years, again, the number of boys proceeding from a secondary school to a University has more than doubled, and the number of girls has more than trebled. And, on the other hand, the newer Universities are set free from the burden of doing elementary work with which they used to be vexed, for it is done in the schools. No University now admits any student who has not matriculated.

Space does not permit of a description of the chaos of examinations which afflicted the secondary schools during the nineteenth century. It must be enough to state briefly the system which, as the result of long consideration and many efforts, is now in force. There are two examinations approved by the Board in secondary schools. The first is for pupils about or just above the age of sixteen. The subjects are divided into four groups: (1) English subjects, (2) languages other than English, (3) science and mathematics, (4) a group of subjects outside the main curriculum, such as music, art, carpentry, domestic science. Every candidate must pass in each of the first three groups. The second examination tests work at a stage two years later, after specialisation in the advanced courses, and is designed for sixth form work of a good standard. These examinations are conducted by eight examining bodies. The school certificates gained at the first examination may exempt from matriculation and from the preliminary examinations of professional bodies.

They have also a definite value in the commercial world. The higher certificate may, under conditions, exempt from University intermediate examinations, and is freely used for the award of scholarships. The whole system is under the general surveillance of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council, established in 1917. In that year (1917-18) 14,232 candidates took the first examination and 550 the second; eight years later the numbers had become 43,092 and 6,380, and they are still rising steadily.

There has therefore been a great and very rapid advance in secondary education during the present century, and the causes have been so admirably summed up in a pamphlet issued by the Board of Education in 1927, "Recent Development of Secondary Schools in England and Wales," that it seems well to close this chapter by quoting it.

"(*a*) First and most fundamental among these (causes) stands the new fact of public control, without which none of the other developments would have been possible.

"(*b*) Directly dependent on this stands proper financial provision, both for building and maintenance.

"(*c*) The regulation of age and conditions of entry have rendered possible effective internal organisation.

"(*d*) There has been developed a reasonable system of examinations, which afford a test of ordinary school-work, to which the whole of the appropriate forms are submitted, and not merely selected pupils.

"(*e*) Of great importance has been the development of sixth form work, aided by the Advanced Course Regulations. This is of value not only to the relatively few pupils who take part in it, but generally because of its reactions on the whole school, staff and pupils alike.

"(*f*) Most essential of all has been the growth of a body of teachers, better educated, more generally

interested in their work, and—though much remains to be done in this respect—with fuller opportunities for learning the technique of their profession."

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CHAPTER IV

TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION

It is impossible to give more than a bare outline of the multiform development of this side of national education, and an imperfect sketch of the present position. The movement has had two sides to it, and these have intermingled, though they are still distinguishable. From the start it has represented a desire to give some form of education, or the opportunity of continued education, to the working classes. But it has also been an attempt to give technical instruction in arts and crafts, and so to produce the skilled operatives who will promote national efficiency, and enable us to hold our own in the field of international trade.

As early as 1760 a Scotch Professor, Anderson, of Glasgow, was holding evening classes for working men, and he left a small fortune, used to establish a chair of physics, of which Birkbeck was the first occupant. Carrying on the work in Anderson's spirit, Birkbeck gathered round him at Anderson's Institution as many as 500 working-class students. In 1823 the mechanics, as they were called, went off and founded an institution of their own, which became the parent of similar Mechanics' Institutes all over the country. By 1858 there were 600 of them. But they subordinated too often their educational work to the demands for recreation, changed their membership, and found no future in the educational system. But Anderson's old Institution survived, and in process of time has become part of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.

The nineteenth century was a period during the greater part of which little was done. Success in industry had come easily to this country, favoured, as it was, by nature and fortune: it was assumed that it was due to innate natural superiority. The success of the great Exhibition of 1851 enabled £200,000 to be set apart for science, and caused the Science and Art Department to be set up. Its purpose was to promote general education in science in order to produce men of adaptable intelligence, but specific instruction in particular industries was left to the industries themselves. Meantime, apprenticeship was fast decaying, Germany was applying scientific research to industry, and developing a great system of technical instruction. The United States were beginning to imitate Germany. None too soon, a Royal Commission was appointed, and sat from 1880 to 1884. Its work marks the turning-point in the history of technical instruction in this country, for it roused the country to the need for better secondary education as the foundation of industrial success, and for first-class technical instruction built up on that basis. It certainly produced the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, which empowered local authorities to raise a penny rate for the maintenance of Technical Schools, and it may not unfairly be regarded as the inspirer of the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education and of the Education Act of 1902.

Since then the field has been occupied in a great variety of ways, for the needs are manifold. There are the students who have left the elementary schools, and want to go further, those who have had a secondary education and want to go further, those who have been at technical classes, and want to study at a University, those who have been at a University and want to specialise and to conduct research. There are now available the Universities and University Colleges which, particularly in the case of the newer Uni-

versities, provide technological instruction to the highest level, while at Oxford and Cambridge in the last fifty years scientific research has been carried to the highest degree. There are also University Departments of Agriculture, and agricultural colleges and schools which lie outside the province of the Board of Education. Organised under the general control of the Board are very many categories of instruction: (1) Day continuation schools or courses; (2) evening schools; (3) full-time "technical instruction courses," which must include science, and be post-secondary in standard and organisation; (4) courses of advanced instruction in arts, also post-secondary in character; (5) "day technical classes" either of advanced standard, or post-elementary for pupils under sixteen; (6) junior technical schools; (7) schools of nautical training; (8) schools of art; and (9) day art classes.

The faults of the system as a system are that it has grown up in a sporadic and haphazard manner, but, at any rate, it is very flexible, and each part of it has grown to meet a need. As a result, the relations between instruction and industry itself are not close enough, and too frequently there are gaps of one, two, or more years between the close of elementary education and the beginning of technical instruction. Too much of the work has to be done in the evening, when students are tired by other occupations. The technical school is too much cut off from the elementary school which precedes it, for they are controlled by different departments of the Board, and by different administrative bodies in their localities: it is cut off again from the University institutions, which should naturally follow in the case of the best students. There is, therefore, still much to be done to create a more effective organisation, much, too, to create better buildings. For since evening work is alone possible in a very great number of instances, the classes must be held in the centre of cities, and at present many of the build-

ings in which they are held are unsuitable, cramped, or obsolete.

At all times evening schools of one sort or another have played a large part in further education. They have been for pupils of all ages, and, until general elementary education was organised, frequently provided the only available means of instruction. They had their origin in private benevolence, or the corporate activities of religious bodies, and they always tended to fail, because of the difficulty of obtaining regular financial support, and because there was no foundation of elementary and secondary education on which to build. The movement has had its prophets, and Owen, Maurice, Kingsley, and Ruskin all deserve their place of honour for what they have done for this side of working men's education. To-day, with the coming-in of a full system of State education, the position is materially altered. Evening classes under the Education Act of 1902 have become a definite part of the provision for higher education, and apart from this, there has grown up a large and promising organisation for adult working-class education, through the combined efforts of the Workers' Educational Association and the University Technical Classes Committees. In these classes the study is continuous, and lasts for two years: the method followed is that of lecture and discussion. The lecturer gets to know his students, and reading and essay-writing are expected. The classes are organised by the local branches of the Association, and the University Committees provide the teachers.

The extent of the field which is covered on this side of national education may be realised by the quotation of a few figures from the Board of Education Survey of Technical and Further Education, issued in 1926. Of individual students in evening schools and classes there were in 1924: in "colleges" 103,500 boys and men, 38,814 girls and women, and in other evening

schools, 251,155 boys and men, 243,360 girls and women, making a grand total of 636,829 students of both sexes and all ages. There were 23,416 in day continuation schools, 11,988 in junior technical schools, 12,233 in day technical classes, 4,127 in courses of advanced instruction in art, 49,939 art students of one kind and another, and 1,529 boys receiving nautical training. About 3,000 teachers give the whole of their time to this type of work.

Very various, of course, are the motives among the students who attend these courses; the ambitions of some are humble, of others far-reaching. It requires tenacity of purpose if a student is to go far. But not a few have gone very far, and risen to positions of high responsibility, and it is due to the work of these classes that there is not in this country that deep division between the higher and the lower ranks of industry which characterises some countries. The classes themselves are never likely to be uniform in quality, but that level of attainment is bound to rise steadily as the secondary and other post-elementary schools increase, and become more efficient. The raw material should become better, and the teachers better qualified to make use of it. Already, to quote the pamphlet of the Board, "within the limits permitted to them the schools have wider aims, and with larger opportunities and better prepared students will more completely succeed as places of higher education. The responsible teachers at the present time claim it as their province to develop the intellectual powers of the students, to widen their horizons, to kindle their imaginations, to help them to find legitimate satisfaction in the exercise of their callings, and, in general, to guide them along the way of good citizenship."

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CHAPTER V

A GAP AND SOME LOOSE ENDS

It would not be fair to the unprofessional reader to leave him after this rapid survey of our educational system with the impression that all is well in organisation and quantity, and that all that is now necessary is an improvement in quality. On the contrary, it is to be hoped that we are approaching a reorganisation which will amount to a revolution, and a great extension of the duration of school life for large numbers of the adolescent. The organisation of the Board of Education itself into Elementary, Secondary, and Technical Departments is an indication of the wrongness of the lines on which we have been thinking. The basis of that division is not educational or psychological: it is merely historical in origin, and largely based on social distinctions. Elementary education retains its pupils to the age of fourteen, and thereby occupies three, or at least two, of the years which in the case of the normal child should go to secondary education. Those responsible for it have been forced to make uneasy and incomplete efforts to provide something like a secondary education, though under another name, for this period of overlap. Secondary schools were awkwardly linked on to elementary, for in origin there was a social distinction, and it was supposed that they provided for different classes. Secondary and elementary schools were for long, and to a large extent are, two separate worlds, and when pupils were first transferred from the latter to the former, they were transferred much too late. A large part of technical education is secondary education, or at any rate post-elementary:

many of the old technical classes and science schools have as a matter of history developed into normal secondary schools. There are, for instance, 202,202 students in evening schools who are under sixteen: there must be well over 10,000 students of the same age in the art schools: similar statements may be made about all the forms of instruction which fall within the survey of the Technical Department of the Board. The natural deductions have been made from these facts by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, which has just issued a report on "The Education of the Adolescent," known from its Chairman as the Hadow Report. That report recommends that at the beginning of the school year, 1932, the school leaving age should be raised to fifteen, and the necessary legislative and administrative steps taken to make this effective. It calls for a complete re-organisation of the schools, and demands that every normal child should pass about the age of eleven to a new type of school with curricula varied to meet the many aptitudes of the children and the needs of the varying localities. This means that elementary education is a stage through which all pass, but which stops at the age of eleven. After that, begins the secondary stage, which may extend to eighteen. But the Consultative Committee propose more than one type of school. A curriculum of the literary and scientific type is to be the feature of grammar schools, but other secondary schools with a four-year course, and a practical or material basis, are to be known as Modern Schools.

Some such reorganisation is clearly necessary if we are to deal with what at the head of this chapter has been called the gap—that is, the very large number of children who pass out of the region, not only of day-school instruction, but of all instruction and discipline whatever, at the age of fourteen. It is no exaggeration to say that by neglect of these children

a large part of the effort and money devoted to the task of elementary education is consigned to waste. The children themselves are driven into temporary and blind-alley occupations, forget what they have been taught, and lose good habits. The Reports of the Poor Law Commission twenty years ago brought out the fact quite clearly that the unemployed tend largely to be young, and the unemployable not old.

Those who wish to make a close examination of the figures involved in the full consideration of this problem will find them in the Report of the Consultative Committee, or in "The Next Step in National Education," a private report on the same important subject. It appears that 348,000 children of the age fourteen to fifteen are outside the national system altogether, and 565,000 of the age fifteen to sixteen. Allowing for the fact that in any one year about 45,000 pupils may be found in the schools that are independent of the national system, that still leaves 303,000 and 520,000 as the number who have slipped through the meshes. That is a very large number when it is remembered that the total estimated population in any one year is very slightly above 700,000.

The chief attempt which has been made legislatively to deal with this problem was that of Mr. Fisher in the Act of 1918, which would have eventually required every adolescent, who was not at school till sixteen, to attend a part-time school for 320 hours a year (four hours on each of two days a week) till 18. A start was made with this scheme in London and elsewhere, but the compulsory schools perished in the campaign for economy. They had, however, brought into relief the difficulties of working them, and particularly perhaps the fact that it is not practical policy to impose the obligation on part of the community and not on the whole. If one Authority imposes it, and the next-door Authorities do not,

difficulties at once arise. Compulsion was abolished in London in 1922, and the schools are continued on a voluntary basis. It is satisfactory to know that even so some 12,000 pupils are in attendance.

The scheme was ambitious, based on insufficient experience, and in the nature of a compromise. It is more worth while to consider what attempts have been made from the side of elementary education to provide for their senior pupils. It has been noticed already that the higher grade schools and schools of science were absorbed into secondary education, but this, of course, left the main problem untouched. Certain head teachers began to experiment with their curriculum and to give special teaching to their top standards to suit the commerce or industry of their localities, and it was found that children left other schools in order to secure the benefit of this instruction. So arose the idea of central schools: the term originally meant that selected pupils from a number of schools were sent to a school which was geographically central, but it now means a particular type of post-primary education. Pupils in London are selected at the age of eleven, either by examination or by record, and they follow a four-year course on secondary lines: the curriculum has a practical trend, but it is not devoted to technical training for any particular industry or business. But the system is being tried out in many areas, and at Manchester, where there are now nineteen schools, Mr. Spurley Hey reports that while these schools admit pupils from the same areas and on the same examination as the secondary schools, yet the school life is shorter, classes are larger, the cost is cheaper, and the pupils more commonly enter upon industrial occupations. Non-selective central schools are being tried in Surrey, but owing to the difference of attainments of those who enter have to be worked in each case as virtually two schools.

Elsewhere the same problem is dealt with from

within the elementary schools themselves. Leicester maintains two types of elementary schools for children over eleven, for those who are fit for secondary education but cannot find places, and for those who have a practical rather than an academic bent. Nottingham, by examination, finds out which at eleven years of age are the abler children, and proposes to send 10 per cent. to secondary schools, 30 to 40 per cent. to central schools, and the remainder to special elementary schools with a wider curriculum. Carlisle organises its education in such a way that all pupils at the age of eleven go either to secondary schools or to district senior schools. In all these cases it is obvious that the more progressive authorities feel that elementary education proper ends at eleven, and that a new organisation is then necessary. Experience goes to show that the next step should be not to endeavour to float a large scheme of part-time education, but to secure a firm hold on all the children from the age of eleven to fifteen, and to make this definitely a course of secondary education, the characteristics of which shall be flexibility and variety.

A thorough-going reorganisation of the Board of Education's constitution will be necessary, and equally a rearrangement of the Local Education Authorities. The sphere of authority of a local authority in education should be large, for homogeneous communities are widespread, and people to-day sleep and have their homes at considerable distances from their work. Above all, there should be a single authority within an area for all forms of education, and the anomaly at present surviving, that there are 318 authorities for elementary education, and 145 for higher education, should be swept away, for no truly national and co-ordinated system can be made until this occurs.

Another survival which hampers progress is the dualism in elementary education of the "provided" and "non-provided" schools. As has been

said, this has been left alone, and the denominations are still charged with the maintenance of fabrics and the selection of teachers, because attempts to alter this awaken at once the fire of religious controversy. To many it seems that this controversy has no substance, and that the denominations would serve their own purposes better if they combined to secure in every area an agreed syllabus of Christian instruction under a conscience clause for teachers and taught, and devoted the effort and expenditure, which they now devote to the task of maintaining their schools, to the reform and expansion of their Sunday Schools, where the denominational teaching could most properly be given. The problem of how to secure adequate religious instruction within the rapidly growing sphere of secondary education is one which is really of more vital importance, but the old embers still smoulder and engage the attention of denominationalists, and they are not awake to the greater danger, that in a very few years from now all children over the age of eleven will be in courses of secondary education which so far offer little scope for religious teaching of any sort. There is, however, increasing goodwill, and a general, almost universal, desire that the principles of Christianity shall be adequately taught. It is much to be hoped that the denominations will bury old animosities and combine to bring it about that the coming system of national education shall be effectively Christian.

[NOTE.—The magnitude of the problem can be estimated from a few figures. In 1924-25 there were 11,698 voluntary schools, with 15,461 departments, and 1,759,998 children; 9,038 Council schools, with 15,592 departments, and 3,180,463 children. The number of Council schools tends to increase at about the rate of 150 a year, and of voluntary schools to decrease at the rate of 120 a year.]

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CHAPTER VI

THE UNIVERSITIES

ABOVE the great system of secondary and technical education lies the sphere of the Universities and University Colleges, self-governing and independent, though not entirely unaided by the State. In the last hundred years Oxford and Cambridge have been several times reformed, and all the others have been born—of many of them it can be said that they were begotten in the nineteenth century and born in the twentieth. The two oldest Universities, which were for so long a period of English history the only Universities, are still expensive and residential, but by the aid of scholarships and grants of many kinds they are in effect open to, and used by, all classes of the community. They have discarded all tests, even for theological degrees. They are governed by a council of residents, with a final right of veto reserved for the whole body of masters, both resident and non-resident. In spite of the jests that this only means that country parsons are privileged at will to block reform and change, it remains true that Oxford has admitted women to degrees, and Nonconformists to theological degrees, and has abolished compulsory Greek. Neither fellowships nor scholarships are any longer abused, and the compromise between the professorial and tutorial system has worked singularly well in practice. The professors in a real measure control policy and research, and have a very dominant position in the natural sciences. The tutors lecture publicly, and not to their own pupils only, while with these pupils they have established a tradition of cordial relationship which is one of the happiest features of the old

Universities. Both Universities have done much for research, especially of late years, in all branches of human knowledge, and those who regard them as in the main cultivators of the obsolete and the traditional are very wide of the mark. At no period of their history have they been in closer touch with the full stream of the national life, and their primacy is not likely to be shaken in the least by the growth of newer rivals.

University College, London, was founded as long ago as 1827 as the nucleus of a University from which theology was to be excluded. King's College was the answer of the religious to the secularists, and it began its career in the following year. Eight years later a charter was granted to the new University of London, which was to consist of the two already existing colleges and any other of University rank that should be founded. Owens College, Manchester, did not follow till 1851. Both in the south and in the north these new institutions opened higher education to those who refused religious tests: they recognised from the start the value of applied science, and they were homes of learning possible for the poor.

The fortune of development prevented London from being the teaching University which it had set out to be, though University College and King's College continued their full University work; in 1858 it took the unhappy step of awarding its degrees solely on examination. This has only been reversed in quite recent years, and London University, after two Royal Commissions, remains a very complicated body. It is organised by faculties, and it embraces a variety of institutions as schools in these faculties, the two original University Colleges, Bedford and Holloway, the women's colleges, the medical schools of the hospitals, the East London College, the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the Royal College of Science, the School of Mines, the City and Guilds

Colleges, the South-Eastern Agricultural College, and the London School of Economics. It has, moreover, six schools in the faculty of theology. It still retains a large number of external as well as internal students, and has at last found the definite home which it has long wanted, in the site behind the British Museum.

In the North, Durham University began as long ago as 1831, and was meant to be a group of residential colleges after the ancient model. In 1882 it absorbed the Newcastle Medical School, and later the Armstrong College of Science, so that it combines two atmospheres, the cathedral city with the industrial, the old with the new.

Owens College, Manchester, was the first of a vigorous progeny. Founded in 1851, and passing through a delicate infancy, it then developed steadily, and Yorkshire College was founded in 1874 in imitation of it. These two were combined into the Victoria University in 1880, which was to contain also a college at Liverpool, as soon as it could be erected. University College, Liverpool, came into being in the following year. In 1870, Mason College had been founded in Birmingham with a strong, practical, and utilitarian bent, which it lost only slowly, but it had the distinction of becoming the first University confined to one provincial city, and in 1900 took rank as the University of Birmingham. Almost immediately Victoria University defederalised itself, for the constitution had proved itself in practice very inconvenient, and all the colleges had grown. In 1903, therefore, Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool took rank with Birmingham, and from similar origins Sheffield followed in 1905, and Bristol in 1909. Similar movements which will convert provincial University Colleges into Universities are in progress elsewhere.

These modern Universities were meant to bring intellectual life into the daily work of the modern world, to spread humanism, and to develop the

application of science to industry. They have been greatly successful on the whole. They have opened the highest education to many who were entirely shut off, and have brought it to the doors of all large centres of population. They have not neglected the older subjects of culture, while they have widely extended the range of subjects, largely technological, which are proper to University work. They have knit together English society, for, while the remoteness and aloofness of Oxford and Cambridge had put the professions out of sympathy with industry and commerce, the new Universities created a new sympathy, and at the same time reacted on the old, so that these, too, learned to meet the new needs. Their weakest point is their lack of true corporate life, but this, too, is being met by the creation of Halls of Residence, and it may well come about in this century that a morale and a corporate spirit will be engendered which will enable these Universities to stand comparison with any of the old.

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CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

THE history of the movement by which women claimed, and made good, their right to an equal education with that of men, is one of great interest, but it is too long for a handbook. Those who would understand its spirit rightly should read the biographies of the women who were the pioneers, for the success which was gained was the personal achievement of a few great women of the middle class. Here can be set down only a few of the important events, and a brief statement of the position as it stands to-day.

It has been on the whole a movement led by women for women, though Queen's College, in date (1847) the first college for women, and really a lecturing agency and offshoot of King's College, was the creation of Maurice. In 1869 Bedford College, now a constituent college of London University, followed, and Miss Emily Davies founded at Hitchin her college for women, which has since developed into Girton. In 1875 Miss Clough became the first Principal of Newnham. The attack on Oxford developed a little later, but Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall were established by 1879.

They were tolerated by some, derided by many, and the object of the boundless enthusiasm of a few. London University, after long controversy, admitted women to its degrees in 1878, Victoria University in 1880, the Scotch Universities in 1892; in Wales, from the foundation of the University, men and women were equal. It was not till after the war that

Oxford granted the same privilege, and Cambridge has not done so yet.

On the whole, in accordance with the general English tradition, the inspiration for women's education has come from the Universities, and thence descended to the schools. Those who care to inquire into the condition of girls' education in the early part of the nineteenth century will find store of very amusing reading, but they will be very sorry for the girls who had to endure it. Whether the schools were expensive (and some were very expensive) or cheap, they seem to have been uniformly bad: repression, superficiality, and convention were their features. The Schools Enquiry Commission in 1868 summed up the complaints which were made against them as: "Want of thoroughness and foundation; slovenliness and showy superficiality; inattention to rudiments; undue time given to accomplishments, and those not taught intelligently, or in any scientific manner; want of organisation." It is a sufficiently damning indictment. In 1857 Miss Beale was an assistant-mistress at the School for Clergymen's Daughters, and was required to teach, week by week, Scripture, arithmetic, mathematics, ancient and modern history, geography, English, French, German, Latin, and Italian. Further comment is needless.

In the following year Miss Beale was appointed to Cheltenham College, and found her life's work. She created a great model, at once a day-school and a boarding-school with a range covering the whole field of elementary and secondary education. Some years later Miss Buss handed her flourishing school over to a trust, and it became the North London Collegiate School, the model of the high schools. In 1872 the Girls' Public Day School Company was founded, and the movement became committed to the ideal of day-schools in towns and cities. It was largely the result of private effort, and means were lacking to create

boarding-schools of the type then becoming common for boys.

The Schools Inquiry Commission only considered girls' schools because they did not happen to be excluded by its terms of reference, but its report in 1868 is a great landmark. It led to the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which made possible the foundation of girls' schools out of the surplus funds of the boys' schools, where these existed, and by the end of the nineteenth century there were in existence upwards of 80 endowed schools for girls. On the whole, the dominant tradition of the day-school has been maintained, but in the last twenty-five years public boarding-schools have been founded in fair numbers, and have succeeded; it is probable that a considerable future lies before them.

Inspiring as this movement had been, it had owed very little to the helping hand of the State, which did not take part until the Education Act of 1902 made it possible for Local Education Authorities to do their duty by the secondary education of girls in their areas. What has happened since then can be summed up in a few telling statistics. In 1902 there were on the Board's list 99 girls' schools; in 1925 there were 403; in the same period 184 co-educational schools had grown to 361. The 33,159 pupils had increased to 173,273, and had more than quintupled themselves.

It is impossible for growth to take place as rapidly as this without developing strains in the fabric, and those responsible for the schools are finding it very hard to bring this great mass of new material through the full course of secondary education without imposing upon them undue strain. Hitherto, and quite rightly, the leaders of the movement for women's education have been concerned to demonstrate the equality of men and women, boys and girls, and they have therefore tended to insist on following an identical course of instruction. There are many who

think that, so far as secondary education is concerned, for the great mass of girls this has become an illogical procedure, and they look anxiously for the coming of some personality strong enough to shape the new education into a form which will suit the needs of girls as such, the future wives and mothers of the men of the nation.

But women have already made considerable contribution to the general good of education. More than men they have realised the value of training, and devoted attention to method and the art of exposition. It is to be noted that the two most valuable recent developments on this side of education have both come from women, working out theories in practice, from Madame Montessori, who is exercising a great influence on the training of the early years of childhood in many nations, and from Miss Mason, whose methods inspire a good many primary and private secondary schools in this country, and are gaining ground.

Co-education offers a vexed field of discussion into which there is not space to enter fully. There are 361 co-educational schools known to the Board, and there are a few others. Most of these are co-educational simply for reasons of economy: the few are the creation of those who believe intensely that the sexes should throughout be educated together. There is, however, no doubt that the bulk of teachers, both men and women, like the mass of the nation, believe that while boys and girls are fitly educated together in the earliest years, and should meet again at the University, the intervening years are better spent apart in the interest of both sexes alike.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE ADMINISTRATORS OF THE SYSTEM

A. The Board of Education

In 1829 a Committee of the Privy Council was charged with the duty of "superintending the application of any expenditure which might be approved for the purpose of assisting public education. By 1856 this grew into an Education Department, which was still in theory a Committee of Council. Its powers were increased in 1870 when the Education Act gave it power to extend and to improve elementary education, and its sphere of influence continued to extend. So did that of the Science and Art Department, and such was the overlapping and interpenetration of the two authorities that all saw that a single central authority was necessary. In 1899 accordingly the two Departments were constituted into a Board charged with the care of education in England and Wales. It has a President, who has a seat in Parliament, and changes when Governments change: but as a Board it never meets, though it has a definite membership and could meet if it were desired.

There was much anxious consideration in those days, for it was feared that to place all education under a Government Department would deaden it until it became mechanical, that it would fall under the influence of party politics, and that the transient politicians who were at the head of the Department would inevitably concede power to the permanent officials. Various schemes for the setting up of an educational council were proposed, discussed, and in the end rejected. Probably this was wise. The system

has not worked at all badly, and the evil consequences have not made themselves very apparent. The Board have made no attempt to grasp the whole of power, and the freedom which they have left to secondary schools has reacted with good effect on elementary education. It is improbable that better results would have followed if such bodies as the Teachers' Registration Council or the Consultative Committee had been in charge of national educational policy. It has become increasingly clear that it is the business of teachers to teach and to mind their schools, and of trained specialists to administer. For the educational machine has become very complicated, as it has developed, and it is the work of a lifelong apprenticeship to learn to manage that important side of the system that consists of organisation and finance.

In the years following its institution the Board was organised into the three departments of Elementary, Secondary, and Technical, and concentrated in Whitehall: of these it still consists. Reasons have been stated in a previous chapter for the belief that this organisation no longer meets present facts. The work of organising the new office and adjusting its operations to the activities of the new Local Education Authorities, when they came, was performed with distinction by Sir Robert Morant, who was Permanent Secretary from 1903 to 1911.

Since the Education Act of 1918, and the consolidation of the law relating to education in the Act of 1921, the Board has come to hold itself to be in partnership with the Local Authorities for the promotion of a common task, with which it endeavours not to interfere too much in detail, and leaves to the other side the larger measure of initiative. It trusts to the local bodies to be the best judges of local needs, and to local enthusiasm to carry through the necessary tasks. Hence, it has of late years called for schemes of development to be framed by the varying localities

for themselves, and has abolished the system of particular grants, establishing in their place the minimum percentage grant in aid of the total local expenditure. It has so far as possible frankly dispensed with detailed codes of regulations, and trusts to the spirit of co-operation and the awakened keenness of all members of the educational service. Nothing, for instance, could be wider or less hampering than the following regulation, which comes from the Regulations of 1926: "Secular instruction in a school or centre must be in accordance with a suitable curriculum and syllabus framed with due regard to the organisation and circumstances of the school or schools concerned."

The Board is not supreme over the whole of national education. It has no authority over Universities or University Colleges. Save under the Endowed Schools Act or Charitable Trusts Acts, it has no authority over endowed schools which do not receive grants of public money, none over schools conducted for private profit, of which there are very many, and none over the comparatively few schools under other Government Departments. It has nothing directly to do with the payment, appointment, or dismissal of teachers, the choice of textbooks, or the details of the curriculum.

It is a friendly critic, adviser, and helper, spurring on the backward authority, and sometimes of late, under the pressure of public economy, holding back the eager. It has to count the cost, for while it does not order schools to be built, it contributes largely to the necessary expenditure: it must take long views. It is easy for the reformer to say that at least twenty in every thousand of the population should be at secondary schools, but this means in effect doubling the number of schools and doubling the supply of teachers: both problems very much concern the Board. It is responsible for the efficiency of schools,

and for seeing that the nation receives value for its money; here again the Board endeavours not to apply stereotyped standards, but within the necessarily complicated organisation which it maintains, to leave room for flexibility and experiment. Efficiency in particular it is impossible to define, for education is qualitative, not quantitative: Browning has pointed out that the man who misses a million may for all that produce a far higher result than the man who is content with a hundred. But the latter could, on a narrow definition, be efficient, and the former not. The Board declares that every school must be kept on a satisfactory level of efficiency, but all that it can do is to help to bring each group of schools up to the level of the next above. The methods which it can employ are effective, for it has in its hands the use of regulations, the visits of criticism and advice paid by inspectors, the training of a large part of the teaching profession, and all that can be done by the distribution of information.

Certain organisations, subordinate to, or connected with the Board, deserve to be mentioned, for they have all played their part in the development of English education. (1) The Consultative Committee, which now consists of twenty-one members, appointed by the President for a term of six years. In its origin it was all that came out of the plan for a governing council for education, propounded, and strongly advocated, at the end of last century. But it has justified its existence by producing thirteen important reports, not the least valuable of which have been the two recent ones on differentiation between the sexes, and on the education of the adolescent. It is still disputed whether it has a statutory power to offer advice or merely to be consulted at the discretion of the Board; it is a theoretic difficulty which offers little difficulty in practice. (2) The Teachers' Registration Council, which has had a troubled history, like the register which it keeps. It was established in 1912,

reconstituted in 1926, and is now independent of the Board. Registered teachers, divided into 23 groups, elect its members. It is charged with the duty of keeping a register of teachers, and ultimately of enforcing training. In October, 1926, it had 74,000 teachers on the register, of whom 45,000 were elementary, 19,000 secondary, 8,000 specialist, 400 University, and 2,000 private. As there must be considerably more than 200,000 teachers altogether, this is not an altogether impressive result of fifteen years' work, and to many its practical good is not apparent. (3) The Secondary Schools Examinations Council, consisting of members who are partly representative and partly nominated by the President. It is charged with the duty of helping in the organisation and co-ordination of school examinations. It is, in the main, responsible for the system of the First and Second Examinations in the secondary schools, and it has carried out two sets of "investigations" of these examinations as conducted by the eight examining authorities, which have been valuable, because they have brought school and University teachers, inspectors, and administrators together in a common task. (4) The Juvenile Organisations Committee, a product of the war, which was meant to stimulate voluntary effort to supplement State education. It is understood that this now languishes through lack of funds. (5) The Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, inspired in its inception in 1894 by Sir Michael Sadler. It has produced 28 volumes of reports. (6) Special Committees: (*a*) those known as the Prime Minister's Committees, which after the war reported on English, Natural Science, Modern Languages, and Classics—a valuable series of reports, which expressed the mind and experience of one generation on the greater part of the subjects of secondary education; (*b*) those presided over by Viscount Burnham, which have successfully dealt with the problems of the pay and the pensions of

teachers, and are known as Burnham Committees. (7) Educational Pamphlets and Circulars of the Board, which from time to time summarise the history and present position of some portion of the educational system, or of some subject of the curriculum, and are frequently documents of great educational value.

B. The Inspectorate

This is so important a part of the educational machinery maintained by the Board that it requires separate treatment. It was last organised in 1904-05 into five groups for five main branches: (1) elementary, (2) secondary, (3) technical, (4) training of teachers, and (5) art. The first three groups have each a chief inspector, one of whom is the senior for control and co-ordination. There is a Chief Woman Inspector, nine Division Inspectors, and below these District and Assistant Inspectors. There are some who hold strongly that inspectors should always be drawn from the ranks of those who have actually taught in schools. A certain number undoubtedly should be so chosen, but it is probably wiser to say that they should be appointed wherever the right personality is found and whatever the previous training, for they need personality, tact, sympathy, and some measure of statesmanship. They are sent out not to spy and to restrict freedom and experiment, but to help good work wherever they see it, and by criticism and advice to improve bad work. They carry ideas from one school to another, and they carry the ideas of the schools back to the Board. They prevent undue pressure on schools, particularly the pressure of political and social propaganda. In two words, their function is protective and constructive, and they have been, so far as any one body of men can claim the honour, the main agents of the undoubted advance which has been made in education in the last twenty-five years.

In elementary schools inspection began as long ago as 1839, but it became a formidable system when in 1862 payment by results was instituted, and he who should have been the friendly inspector became the dreaded examiner. He had to examine all the children in the elements, and two-thirds of the grant depended on the result. The system was bad for teachers and taught, but when it was abolished the pendulum swung too far the other way, as usually happens; in 1901, for instance, the inspector was confined to criticism and advice, and it was held that the teacher was the only proper examiner. Now things are moving to a more sensible compromise. Inspectors freely question elementary pupils, and inspect their work, but it has been well pointed out that the new spirit is shown by the fact that the Board no longer issues Instructions to Inspectors, but Suggestions to Teachers. It is to be noted also that examination is coming back again into the elementary schools in the shape of tests for scholarships and free places. There were 134,177 free places in 1925-26.

The inspection of secondary schools naturally did not begin until after 1902. It was made a condition, if a school was to receive grant, but it was also offered free to schools which were not in receipt of grant, and after 1906 to such as wished to be styled "efficient." There are very few schools which have not undergone, to their own great profit, inspection by the Board, for the Board's secondary inspectors by long practice have become specialists; and no private agency or University can provide men and women of equal sagacity and experience. A "full" inspection means that a team of inspectors spend the greater part of a week within a school, and observe the curriculum, the teaching, the buildings, the finance, and the whole life of the place; they then confer with the governing body, and subsequently issue a report. It is an exhausting process for those concerned, and inspection

has been freely attacked, and sometimes unreasonably, for, after all, the public has a right to know that its money is being properly expended, and how else or more helpfully could this knowledge be gained? However, the Board's are not the only inspectors: the local authorities sometimes maintain them, too, and there has in the past been something in the complaint that schools were too much inspected, too harassed and interrupted, and too liable to be exposed to the "fads" of successive inspectors. The other line of attack, that inspection makes for a rigid uniformity, and the suppression of initiative and experiment, is simply without foundation: the opposite is rather true. And even the outcry against the frequency and the interrupting character of the Board's inspections must in honesty be tempered by the reflection that a school is exposed to full inspection only once in ten years.

C. The Local Education Authorities

It has been observed already that there are 318 authorities for elementary education, and 145 for higher education, and that this arrangement, which cannot last beyond the next reorganisation of our national system, greatly complicates the vitally important work of co-ordinating elementary with secondary education in all its forms. They are of very varying sizes, for at one end of the 318 may be found Rutland, with a population of 18,368, and at the other Lancashire, with a population of 1,746,139, and London, with 4,483,249, in itself as big as a small nation. The County Boroughs range from Canterbury, with 23,738, to Birmingham, with 919,438. Strange as it may seem, even London for all its size is not big enough, for it has very many outside its borders who properly belong to it, and it is debarred from doing many things if its neighbours do not follow suit.

Each authority has an Education Committee, the members of which are elected by popular vote, though they can by co-optation add to their numbers experts and advisers. They may be, and are, elected for quite other non-educational qualifications. But this system has undoubtedly worked better than the old School Boards, which were elected specifically for educational work, and in which denominational feeling was apt to run riot. Close upon 10,000 men and women are giving their time and money to this valuable educational service, and perhaps do not receive the full measure of honour which is their due. They are assisted by permanent officials, who since 1902 have become a necessity. All the larger authorities have a Chief Education Officer with a trained staff, a Director of Education, or a Secretary for Education —in the smaller boroughs these duties are often part of the work of the Town Clerk. This permanent staff of the local authorities has a great field of public service in front of it in organisation and finance. But there are some who feel—indeed it is a universal feeling in the schools—that there is a danger that some of these officials may unwisely interfere too much with that freedom and initiative which the Board of Education has been careful to safeguard, and done much to promote, in the schools themselves.

Those who would know how many-sided is the work which a Local Education Authority has to conduct could not do better than study such a book as *The London Education Service,* which has been prepared for the London County Council largely for the service of the thousands of visitors who come each year to study what is being done. It is, of course, far the largest of our Authorities, but that enables the reader the better to estimate the multiplicity of the task. It maintains a large administrative staff, and an Inspectorate of its own. It has within its survey 913 ordinary elementary schools, 74 central schools, 10

open-air schools, 153 schools for children in one way or another defective, 5 industrial schools, 79 secondary schools, and 5 training colleges of its own with 1,398 students in attendance. The work of medical inspection occupies 23 doctors whole time, and 70 part time, 60 dentists, and 350 school nurses. There are 250 day and evening continuation schools, and adult education is promoted through the London University and its colleges, the Workers' Educational Association, the polytechnics and settlements, and men's and women's institutes. There are four ways of circulating books, and 2,000,000 volumes in the circulation scheme alone. The Council further works in close touch with the University, aids many sides of its work, and entirely maintains one school of the University—the Day Training College. These examples, chosen at random and by no means complete, show clearly enough how great a part the local Education Authority plays in securing the well-being of London.

The partnership of the Central with the Local Authorities in the work of national education is fraught with great hope, if it continues to be animated by the spirit with which it has begun. The absence of detailed regulation secures to the local Authorities and to their schools a greater measure of freedom and of responsibility: equally it makes the Central Authority more absolute, because its discretion is unfettered. Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge rightly says, in his book, *The Board of Education,* speaking of the new regulations: "Whether they are successful will depend entirely on the way and on the spirit in which they are worked. If they are worked in the spirit of paymaster and claimant, they will make matters very difficult for both parties, especially as their form exposes their working more, and not less, to the influence of political fluctuations. If they are worked in the spirit of partnership, and a genuine acceptance on both sides of the obligations and conditions of

partnership, they may contribute greatly to the consolidation of that relation."

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CHAPTER IX

HEALTH AND PHYSIQUE

THERE is one form of progress which is visible to the eye of even the casual observer, and that is the health and general well-being of the children at the schools. It is nearly all a progress of the last twenty years, for the feeding of schoolchildren began with the Education (Provision of Meals) Act of 1906, and medical inspection was brought in by the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907. Much educational progress is invisible, and often it is disputable; but the annual report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education always records progress, and is among the most inspiring educational documents of the year. It is odd that the nation should have waited until the twentieth century before realising that it is as important to make the child fit to receive education as to devise an education to fit the child. Fifty years ago in the elementary schools of London there were 85 children on the average to a single teacher: they were badly fed and clothed in rags. Child misery was so common that it moved Dr. Barnardo to enter upon his life's work to succour their destitution. What has been done since may be illustrated from the following passage taken from the Report of the Education Officer for London, 1926: "The following notes on a school, which for many years was looked upon as probably the poorest in London, may be of interest. In the early days the school was a battle ground. The neighbourhood was at war with the school authorities: the children were at war with the teachers; and the parents took the side of the children. Physical violence was frequent, truancy was common. The

children were sent to school wretchedly clothed and wretchedly fed: in winter, even when snow was on the ground, many boys came to school without boots and stockings. The teachers often used to buy bread at their own expense for the children." The first struggle was to make them obey rules, the next to overcome sullenness, indifference, and hostility, the next to win their goodwill. Now the next generation has arrived at the school, but the whole neighbourhood has improved. Housing is better, and wages are better. "No child is now without boots: hardly any are in torn clothes: none is in rags. There are no truants, for the children like the quietness of the school. The parents are better than the previous generation. The present generation is better than its parents. The parents trust the teachers, upholding them in any disciplinary measures they may take." In producing this happy result medical inspection and physical care, and the treatment of children as human individuals, have played the largest part.

The object of the medical service is to detect all departures from normal health, and growth, and to advise the proper remedy. This in the first place; but it seeks to go farther, to find out the causes of the defects, and to prevent them: last, its purpose is to teach, and to cause the children to practise, personal hygiene in every school. As a matter of routine every child is medically examined three times in its school life, at the ages of five, eight, and twelve, but opportunity is given both to parents and to teachers to consult the medical adviser at any time, if need arises. Every year sees an advance made, which is not surprising to those who reflect that less than the space of one generation has elapsed since neglect was total. But much further progress can still be made. The life of the child before it arrives at school requires more supervision and care, for the schools are the receivers of damaged goods, and that damage has been done

in the very early years. Hygiene can be better taught, and experience is always improving the methods and adequacy of clinical study. More use can be made of open air and sunlight. But already Sir George Newman claims that there are at any rate six points in which the London school child of 1924 differs favourably from the child of 1894. (*a*) He is better clothed, and he is cleaner; (*b*) his posture and carriage are improved; (*c*) he is more intelligent and happier; (*d*) his physique is stronger; (*e*) mouth breathing has ceased to be common; (*f*) the carriage of the hands is different.

In a progressive authority such as London all the children are examined by nurses in all the schools every term: they are made to wash and keep themselves clean. This inspection enables all departures from normal health to be brought to the notice of the doctors. The children are weighed and measured, and their sight roughly tested: they are sent on, if need be, to the dentist or the opthalmologist. When the children are found to be ailing, they are dealt with by the School Care Committees, who are groups of voluntary workers attached to each school, or small group of schools. In London these committees now number one thousand: they give personal service and bring the human touch and individual care into the child's life. They choose the children who are insufficiently fed, and arrange that they shall receive proper meals until they can be properly fed at home. They visit the homes, get to know the mothers, and arrange how best the treatment advised by the doctor can be carried out; they make the appointments at the treatment centres. They give special attention to those children who for any cause are going through a bad time, and facing difficulties whether they come upon them from within or without; they advise parents as to employment, and try to obtain a suitable future for the children when they leave. There are special Care

Committees for the after-care of the blind, deaf, and defective children, and they are singularly successful. The last London report says: "Numbers of children are also sent away from London into the country to epileptic colonies, to open-air camp schools, to the ophthalmic school at Swanley, to the ear hospital at Sutton, to tuberculosis sanatoria, and to hospitals for the rheumatic. Remedial classes are also held in many schools for the benefit of children requiring more than the usual amount of physical exercises. Provision is thus made for dealing according to their physical needs with every type of child, and the help and solicitude evinced by the whole school organisation for the exceptional child has borne fruit in the much improved standard of health and physique which has been established in London."

One other reflection may be put on record. There has, in recent years, been a wonderful fall in infant mortality and a remarkable saving of child life. This has been directly due to the teaching of doctors and nurses, but its real cause lies deeper. It is that the parents of the present generation are those who have been through the reformed type of elementary education which has now so happily established itself.

Books for Reference

Annual Reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education.

The London Education Service.

CHAPTER X

THE TEACHERS

IN a book of this character least need be said about those who are most important, for every reader will have had acquaintance with schoolmaster or schoolmistress. The purpose of the book is to describe the system of organisation, supply, and control behind the fighting line, not to discuss the thoughts of those who man the trenches and bear the brunt of the battle. In spite of all the great work which the nineteenth century accomplished for education, it left the status of the teacher too low, and his salary too meagre. The elementary schoolmaster received payment of a very moderate kind, whatever his responsibilities, and the pension to which he looked forward was a mere pittance. In secondary schools it was found in 1894 that the average salary of 800 masters in some 200 schools was only slightly in excess of £100 a year: the portion of women teachers was worse. In neither case was there any pension for them to look forward to. Many of them had undertaken their life's work from a sense of vocation, and did not complain: but there were many hardships, and even tragedies, which closed lives spent in the public service, which were in truth a disgrace to a wealthy nation. Improvement began after 1902, but even in 1914 the average salary of assistant masters in secondary schools stood at £174, and of women at £126. Circumstances are now changed. In 1925 the average salary of headmasters was £763, of headmistresses £598, of assistant masters £390, and of assistant mistresses £310. What is still more important, all those who serve in the State-

aided schools and classes look forward to a pension.

It is generally agreed that the quality of teachers has improved. In the case of elementary teachers, they have usually had the advantage of a much more humane and liberal education than their predecessors, and a course of professional training is a regular thing with them. In secondary schools there has been very great expansion, and for a time the war very seriously interfered with supply. There were in 1908 9,325 men and women teachers in this type of education, in the State-aided schools for which alone figures are available, and in 1925 these had grown to 19,604, 9,718 being men and 9,886 women. The percentage of graduates among the men had risen in the same period from 62 per cent. to 80, and among the women from 41 to 62. On the other hand, in the matter of training undergone before teaching, the women are superior to the men, though in both cases the proportion of the trained to the untrained steadily rises. Just over 40 per cent. of the men, and over 50 per cent. of the women have undergone some course of training. It is to be remembered that the fact that a teacher is not a graduate does not mean that he or she is inefficient, for there are many subjects in secondary education for which qualifications are required other than those of a university degree.

The benefits which have been showered upon the teaching profession in the form of assured salary-scales and pensions are not entirely without drawbacks. They mean that it is far less possible for a teacher to pass to another school once a certain seniority, and therefore expensiveness, on the salary-scale has been reached: it is far less possible to pass the gap which divides the State-aided from the independent schools. Interchange and free movement between types of schools are in themselves good, and the limitation is to be regretted. It is also a more serious thing than it

was for a teacher to become unemployed in middle-life, for new appointments in the interests of economy are almost always made from those who are beginning their career. These defects are not to be lost sight of, but they weigh little in comparison with the great advantages which have been conferred.

Teachers have organised themselves into Sectional Associations, which once a year fill the papers with their discussions, and do perhaps more useful work in their committees and councils, meeting throughout the year and discussing privately questions of professional interest. Most would agree that educational conferences are too numerous, and meet too frequently: they are more in the nature of parades than councils, and their programmes are too frequently artificial. Thring first convened what became the Headmasters' Conference in 1869. It is a misunderstood body. It numbers about 150 members, the headmasters of schools which have a separate and independent Governing Body, and some regular connection with the Universities. It meets for discussion, interchange of ideas, and the settling of common action about questions where common action is desirable. It has never pretended to govern the profession or its constituent schools, or to settle the vexed question of what is or is not a Public School. In the following year, 1870, that which is the largest association was formed, the National Union of Teachers, a powerful body, something of a great trade union of the elementary teachers, which has maintained its representatives in Parliament. Others came thick and fast: the Headmistresses in 1874, the Private Schools in 1883, the Headmasters, a much more catholic body than the Conference, in 1890, the Assistant Masters, and the Preparatory Schools in 1892. There are a good many others. They have to do in the main with educational policies and professional questions, and in other associations teachers, either in common with

others who are not in schools, or segregated into societies, whose members are all of one kidney, discuss the questions that concern the curriculum and the staple subjects of education. Such are the English Association, the Historical Association, the Modern Language, the Geographical, the Classical Associations, or that of the Science Masters. There are many others of smaller range and membership, for they are apt to shoot up wherever two or three enthusiasts gather together.

All that has been considered in this book ends ultimately in the teacher in his classroom, standing in the presence of those whom he teaches. That alone is of supreme and ultimate value. In two ways there has been great progress. The old aloofness of the teacher and the old hostility or indifference of the taught have disappeared. Whether it be the tutor in the University, or the secondary teacher in schools ancient or new, or the elementary teacher in city or village, it is true that the spirit of the relationship between teacher and taught has changed for the better: the teacher tries to be the friend, philosopher, and guide of his pupils. Secondly, slowly as the national system of education takes shape, there emerges a sense of unity throughout the whole teaching profession, a self-consciousness of high vocation which may be capable of great things. The profession begins to feel that in every part of it it is engaged in the national service which is most vital of all, the creation of an educated democracy such as the world has not yet seen. Unless that democracy is created, Britain will prove unequal to the burden and responsibility of her position in the world; unless it is created, there is strong probability that the country will work its own ruin. It feels, also, with growing conviction, that it alone can build that education on the basis of practical religion, since through its hands alone passes the whole youth of the nation. In face of its great work it asks in all its branches for the

fullest measure of freedom, and the amplest room for initiative and experiment that can be conceded, that it may not fail in the task which is set before it.

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A HISTORY OF IRELAND

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A HISTORY OF IRELAND

By THE RT. HON. SIR JAMES O'CONNOR
P.C., K.C.

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A HISTORY OF IRELAND

Physical Features—Early Settlers—A Dialogue

An island, of an average breadth of 140 miles and of an average length of 225 miles—its area 32,000 square miles, which is less than Indiana, more than a third of the size of Britain (88,000 square miles), and more than a hundredth of the size of U.S.A. Some good natural harbours and sizable rivers, the greatest of which is the Shannon, two hundred and fifty miles long. A flattish island, the mountains mostly on the western rim, the highest 3,414 feet. An equable and somewhat moist climate, the rainfall increasing from east to west. A good deal of rich soil; Solinus, writing about A.D. 200, speaks of the country as "so rich in pasture that the cattle, if they be not kept now and then from grazing, are put in danger from overeating." But this observation applies at best to about a third of the area; an eighth is rocky or barren or water swamped, the remainder being moderate mixed land. There are no snakes in Ireland (outside the Dublin Zoo). Nor were there in A.D. 200, for Solinus tell us so, and a Fenian lay of a still earlier period, quoted by the eminent Gaelic scholar, Mr. John MacNeill (*Phases of Irish History,* p. 140), claims for Fionn MacCumhail the credit of clearing the island of all serpents. The legend that St. Patrick banished the serpents from the island has no historical foundation.* The island of which we speak, and which

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* The reason why there were—and are—no snakes in Ireland is to be found in its geological history.

is distant fourteen miles (measured between the nearest points) from the adjoining island of Britain, is Ireland —the Norse form—or *Eire*—the Irish form—meaning the land of Ir, a son of Milesius, an early settler who came from the shores of the Mediterranean—though in writings up to the eleventh century the country was called Scotia, Scotland being then called Caledonia or Scotia Minor.

Ethnologists divide the inhabitants of Europe (excluding the Slavs) into Nordics from Northern Europe, Alpinists from Central Europe, and Mediterraneans from the shores of the Mediterranean. Accepting this division, the basic element of the Irish stock is Mediterranean, and that of the English stock is Nordic, though the Irish people have much mixture of Nordic blood and the English have much mixture of Mediterranean blood. Britain was at one time peopled by a Celtic-speaking Mediterranean people, who, however, were largely submerged by various waves of Nordic immigrants. The Nordics did not come to Ireland in the same proportionate numbers. It is a curious fact that the Romans, who occupied Britain for four hundred years, never came to Ireland at all.

The estimates of the population of Ireland in early days are necessarily more or less guess-work. Early writers are notoriously inaccurate, not to say reckless, in dealing with figures. Nor do the number of churches or bishops in early times help, for the churches were very tiny and the bishops were very plentiful. Thus, the "great church" of St. Patrick, described by the old chroniclers as "a church of unusual size," was only 60 feet long—this would accommodate, say, 200 people; and as to bishops, "once the practice of bishops without sees was introduced, bishops multiplied like flies" (Bury's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 181). Ireland was almost purely pastoral up to the Danish invasion, before which time there were no real towns.

We know that the population of England in 1600 was only 2,500,000. The population of Ireland at various times has been estimated as follows: 1169 (date of Anglo-Norman invasion), 300,000 (Mason's parochial survey—probably an underestimate); 1641 (beginning of Great Rebellion), 1,460,000; 1652 (end of Great Rebellion), 610,000—probably an underestimate; 1700, 1,250,000; 1800 (Act of Union), 4,500,000; 1845 (the year preceding the Great Famine), 8,300,000; 1911 (the last census before the establishment of the Irish Free State), 4,390,000.

But while Ireland is a small country with a small population, it is, nevertheless, a country of great importance. (1) Strategically, its possession by a hostile power in time of war would probably render England's position untenable, for not only is Ireland a great source of England's food supply, but foreign submarines sheltering in Ireland's harbours would work havoc upon Atlantic as well as Channel traffic. (2) The history of the unfortunate past relations between England and Ireland has always been, and perhaps always will be, a handy weapon of offence in the hands of England's enemies. (3) But still more important than the matters mentioned is the growth of the Irish race abroad. The Irish Catholic population in Great Britain is about 2,500,000; in the British colonies perhaps 1,500,000; in U.S.A. nearly 10,000,000. All these exiles or descendants of exiles are bound together by the tie of race and by a common creed. The Irish, in America as well as elsewhere, are bettering their position and increasing their power every day; their attitude can do much to better or worsen Anglo-American relations. The Irish are the great pillars of the Catholic Church in English-speaking countries. (4) No country has shown such tenacity—despite fierce and long-continued persecution—in preserving its ancient Faith and its spirit of nationalism.

The tragic story of Ireland is largely the story of the Anglo-Irish conflict. Let us put it in the form of a short dialogue.

Irishman: "You have been in my country for seven centuries and a half. During that period your policy was one of absolute selfishness. You acted as if you owed no duty to the country which you had mastered. You treated no part of the Irish people fairly. You strangled a growing commerce, then in the hands of people of your own stock, by the most severe restrictions upon export. On one pretext or another, you filched our lands and transferred them to people of your race and stock. You tried to kill our religion by infamous penal laws which endured for over three centuries. Any reforms you granted were wrenched from you by violence. You broke your solemn word to us over and over again. You killed, or nearly killed, our language. You prevented our civilization from taking its own course and developing in its own way."

Englishman: "All, or nearly all of what you say, I admit. But, in all friendliness, I make this charge against you. I and mine sometimes admit we were wrong. You and yours never do. What you have said is, substantially speaking, true, but it is not all the truth. Ethics had no place in international dealings during most of the period of our occupation of Ireland. The strong nation oppressed the weak and took and used for itself the enemy's country. In fact, your ancestors tried to oppress us; for they attacked and landed on British soil centuries before we attacked you. Had your people been strong enough, they would have treated the British as, in fact, the British treated them. Submission on the one hand, expulsion or extermination on the other, were in old days the alternatives. As to religious persecution, it was universal. What you call Catholic Emancipation did not come to pass till 1829, but Protestant Emancipation did not come to

pass in the Catholic countries of Europe (including Italy) till very many years afterwards. Universality of oppression does not justify it, but must be taken into consideration in passing judgment upon the country that practised it. Your propaganda has been unjust, both in misstatement and in omission. It is true that we destroyed your woollen trade, but one of your greatest thinkers and patriots, Isaac Butt, thought that this was a benefit to the Irish, for Ireland was saved from being a mere sheep walk, and Froude, the great anti-Irish historian, was emphatically of opinion that but for the destruction of the woollen trade there would have been four Ulsters in Ireland instead of one—which is the last thing you would have desired. Our policy was foolish, unjust, and wicked, but it was not out of conformity with the ideas of the time, which permitted colonial trade to be encouraged or depressed in the supposed interest of the mother country. Your countrymen speak as if, so far as suffering and oppression are concerned, you were the only pebble on the beach. English Emancipation came only in 1918, for the Reform Act of 1832—itself won by a threatened revolution—gave the vote to a minute fraction of the English people. The miseries and horrors of the English industrial revolution or of the 'hungry forties' are scarcely credible to-day. From a score or more of false statements concerning our dealings, I select a few. Your people are led to believe (1) that when the Anglo-Normans first came, you were a highly civilized, prosperous, and united people; (2) that we conferred no benefits whatever upon you; (3) that the initial violence in the beginning of the Great Rebellion, 1641, was not on the rebels' side; (4) that the rebellion of 1798 was 'fomented by Pitt' to carry the Union; (5) that the Irish people were over-taxed, contrary to the provisions of the Act of Union; (6) that English rule was responsible for the Famine; (7) that Ireland was a poor, un-

developed, oppressed country at the outbreak of the war in 1914, and of the rebellion in 1916, and at the date of the Treaty in 1921; (8) that there was a 'war' between England and Ireland from 1919 to 1921, in which the Black and Tans were the sole culprits. All these *statements are untrue. Moreover, you do not* seem to appreciate that your present laws, your present judicial system, even your present Constitution, and all your present institutions are fundamentally British, being accepted (with minor changes) by you as the best to be had; that your literature, of which you are justly proud, is mainly Anglo-Irish, as were many of your people who made history; that you received from us the incomparable benefit of the English language, which, amongst other things, greatly helped you in the propagation of the Catholic Faith; that, while you have all the benefits of British citizenship and your people come every year to a country which is so over populated that State-aided emigration on a large scale is being tried to relieve the congestion, you give nothing whatever in exchange. When we left the Irish Free State in 1921 it was a rich country in the van of civilization. It never seems to occur to you that many of your misfortunes have been largely your own fault. Your disunion, for example, has been a most fruitful source of your evils. If I were minded to bandy reproaches with you, I should, too, have something to say about your methods of fighting from 1919 to 1921.

Irishman: I deny most of your statements, and I call it most ungenerous of you to reproach us with disunion. Any nation that started, as mine did, with the tribe or clan as the political unit was at first necessarily disunited, and much wicked, senseless, and cruel war was the result. We were no exception to that rule. But union must come either from within or be *forced from without. Your occupation prevented the* former and was too feeble, spasmodic, and unintel-

ligent to achieve the latter. As to the revolution of 1919-1921, our guerrilla warfare succeeded where other means had failed, and your greatest statesmen, by their conduct, have condoned it—if it needs condonation. Our people have much to regret, no doubt, but we have now sloughed off the tendencies to violence that were the inevitable result of the circumstances in which we found ourselves.

Englishman: I shall close my side of our discussion by saying that we are anxious to help you, as far as we can, to prosperity and happiness for the future. Let us be friends and none the worse friends for my candour.

Irishman: We shall be good neighbours, but we shall not be friends. We are not of your stock. Nor do we share your philosophy. We shrink from a civilization that permits so much that our Catholic civilization abhors—dangerous sex literature, the weakening of the marriage tie, advocacy of birth control, growing tendency to rationalism, and so on. These matters we regard as fundamental, not merely from the point of view of Catholic dogma, but of their social danger. That the very closeness of our necessary intimacy with you must also keep us in a state of perpetual recoil from you is inherent in the situation.

Early Times

The pagan Irish were sun worshippers, having little or no regard for human life, living in mud cabins, and very scantily attired. Their political and social structure, however, survived the introduction of Christianity by a thousand years. The inhabitants were divided into tribes or clans, each claiming a common ancestor and occupying a territory which would perhaps be about a sixth the size of a modern county. Each

clan had its chief or king, and the clan chief or king owed allegiance to a provincial king, who, in turn, owed allegiance to the Ard-Ri or High King. There were five provinces and five provincial kings. There was no private property in land, which was owned in a species of commonalty by the clan.

This clan system, which was very common in Europe at the period and which survived in some countries for many centuries afterwards, kept the country in a perpetual state of warfare, the clans being constantly at war with one another, and the authority of the High King being always extremely shaky. During the pagan period the Irish and Scottish made unprovoked attacks upon their neighbours and cousins in Wales and other parts of the adjoining island of Britain, so much so that at the beginning of the fourth century the Britons appealed to Rome, in a document called "The Groans of the Britons," to save them. The Brehon laws, made by Brehons, or judges, date back to the pagan period. They are an elaborate and ingenious code, bearing, as is natural, the marks of a primitive civilization; for example, murder could be atoned for by the payment of a fine to the clan to which the murdered person belonged. It is clear that, side by side with the faults of the clan period, there were the beginnings of a real culture. Every chief or king had his official poet, love of music was cultivated, working in metals had begun.

Introduction of Christianity (400)

Christianity was brought to Ireland before the time of St. Patrick, and paganism was still very strong when Patrick died—it was not till 600 that paganism disappeared. But Patrick converted great numbers to the Faith and he organized the Church and made it per-

manent; he well deserves the title "Apostle of Ireland." The birthplace of St. Patrick is in controversy, three places having some evidence to support their claims—Dumbarton in Scotland, Nanterre in France, and a place then called Baunaventa near the mouth of the Severn in England. In one of the Irish predatory incursions into France or Britain—it is uncertain which—Patrick was captured and brought as a slave to Ireland, and for six years he served as an Irish swineherd. He then escaped, made his way to a famous monastery in the Island of St. Honorat in the Mediterranean (off Cannes), was educated there, went to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop and commissioned to preach the Gospel to the Irish. He died in Ireland in 461.

Ireland's remote situation, which had prevented her receiving the benefits of a Roman occupation, now proved a great blessing. While all Europe was in the turmoil that followed the break-up of the Roman Empire, Ireland was free from foreign interference until the Norse invasion. The Church produced great schools and men of great sanctity and learning; many students, scholars, and thinkers were attracted to the country. Irish missionaries preached the Gospel all over the Continent of Europe—in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. The names of Columba, Columbanus, Kilian, Livinus, and Virgilius rank very high among the pioneers of Christianity.

But the schools and monasteries were the schools and monasteries of churchmen, and literary and artistic output was the work of, or directed by, churchmen. There is a good deal of evidence that the teaching and culture of the clergy made no very deep impression upon the lay section of the community.

The old social order was allowed to remain untouched; no real effort was made to produce a strong and effective central government. "Untroubled by either Frank or Saxon, Ireland was allowed to pursue

its destiny in peace, and yet it is only the truth to say that from the sixth to the ninth century its record was one of turbulence and blood. A crowd of chieftains or petty kings, careless of the national welfare and intent only on preserving the lawless independence of their clans, were for ever contending with each other." This is the language of a distinguished Irish Catholic dignitary, Monsignor D'Alton (*History of Ireland,* 1902 ed., vol. i., p. 74). The author goes on to enumerate the causes for this perpetual warfare, some trivial, many the endless struggles for the position of Ard-Ri. "Of the twelve kings who ruled in the sixth century all but two were either murdered or fell in battle, and their successors in the two following centuries were pursued with similar misfortune" (*ib.,* p. 74). An industrious compiler, speaking presumably of the entire period down to the Norman invasion, is responsible for the statement that in the list of 178 monarchs of the Milesian line enumerated by the Irish historians only 47 died natural deaths, 77 were slain in battle and 60 were murdered (Taylor's *History of the Civil Wars in Ireland,* vol. i., p. 19).

Norse Invasion (795)

The Northmen who plagued Ireland from 795 to 1014 (the Battle of Clontarf) were Danes and Norwegians—mostly the latter—hardy, fierce, pagan, seagoing freebooters. At first they merely made fugitive raids, but in 833 they made a mass attack, swept the country, and then established themselves in fortified towns on the seaboard, the principal being the city of Dublin. They pillaged freely and did irreparable damage to the churches and shrines, though in process of time such of them as were left in the country

were converted to Christianity. The attempts made to dislodge the Norsemen were for long frustrated by the disunion that, in these days at least, was the curse of the Irish people. "The thoughts of each clan was centred in itself. A neighbouring clan it regarded with jealousy, viewing its increasing power with alarm, its influence with envy, its wealth with cupidity, and its misfortunes without regret" (D'Alton). Even Brian Boru was a usurper and achieved the Ard-Riship by violence; and in the Battle of Clontarf, near Dublin (1014), in which Brian crushed the Danes, the invaders had the assistance of the men of Leinster. Brian was killed after the battle by some fugitive Norsemen. His successful example of snatching the High Kingship without a shadow of title to it had a disastrous effect, for after his time there was an unfailing supply of "kings in opposition." It is possible that Brian injured his country more than he served it.

It is absurd to say that no good whatever followed from the invasion of the Northmen. They founded towns, established trade and commerce, minted money, and opened Irish eyes to the world that lay beyond the Channel. On the other hand, they stayed the progress of Christianity, and their period of semi-occupation had a most demoralizing and unsettling effect upon the population.

Free Ireland (1014-1169)

Ireland had now another period of freedom from foreign interference (1014 to 1169, 155 years). From the Irish point of view this is perhaps the most dismal period of a dismal story. Christianity seems to have lost its hold upon the people; Irish princes who professed it plundered the monasteries, put in abbots of

their own choice, who were frequently married laymen; monks fought with monks, those of Armagh and those of Kells had a pitched battle for the abbacy of Armagh in 1060; bishops were guilty of simony; wives were not infrequently exchanged, and in the opinion of St. Bernard, who wrote the life of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh (d. 1148), the people were Christians in name but pagans in reality. Under the Brehon laws a husband and wife could separate by mutual consent, and the same laws enumerated seven grounds (several of them trivial) on which a wife could separate from her husband. Temporary, or what are now called companionate, marriages were not infrequent. The Synod of Kells, held under Cardinal Papiron in 1152, found it necessary to pass enactments against concubinage and irregular unions. According to Monsignor D'Alton, "What was said of the Irish in a later age" (that is, by Spenser in his *View of the State of Ireland*) "was at least as true as in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that the Irish knew no industry but war" (D'Alton, 1902 ed. vol. i., p. 147). "Nor was there," in the opinion of the same authority, "the least prospect at the end of the period of a central government being established, nor the least hope that the end of the long struggle was at hand" (p. 197). Horrible cruelty prevailed, and to blind a possible rival to the kingship was a common practice. In the year 1141, seventeen of the royal house of Leinster were removed by killing or blinding. On the other hand, music was held in high esteem. The illumination of manuscripts, chiefly and perhaps altogether the work of the monks, showed remarkable industry as well as high artistic skill. The chalice of Ardagh and the cross of Cong are beautiful specimens of working in the precious metals. "Ireland's wonderful handiwork, executed under the patronage of the Church, on vellum, in metal and on stone . . . has taken its place

—no mean one—in the history of the evolution of art" (Orpen's *Normans in Ireland,* vol. i., p. 5). Through all the turmoil the monasteries struggled on, and there is evidence to show that things were getting better when another invasion cut across the current of national development.

There has always been a controversy as to whether the Irish Church owed allegiance to Rome at the date of the Anglo-Norman invasion. Monsignor D'Alton advances convincing arguments establishing the fact of such allegiance.

Anglo-Norman Invasion (1169)—Reformation (About 1500)

Pretext or no pretext, an invasion of Ireland by England was inevitable. The prospect of an easy prey so close at hand would have been an irresistible temptation to the most splendid and unscrupulous adventurers of the day, who had recently conquered England and consolidated their position in that country.

Two pretexts were furnished. Henry II. of England in 1154 presented a petition to Pope Adrian, an Englishman, on the subject of the condition of Ireland. The Pope, exercising the power then claimed by the Popes to deal with nations as if they were the subjects of the Holy See, granted a Bull to Henry conveying to him the overlordship of the country. This Bull was confirmed (in 1172) by a letter from Pope Alexander III. The authenticity of the Bull and the letter is beyond all question. They were referred to at the Synod of Waterford in 1175, and at the Synod of Dublin, where Cardinal Vivian, a papal legate, presided, in 1177, were relied upon by Donal O'Neill

in a letter to the Pope in 1318, and are accepted by such eminent Catholics as Monsignor D'Alton and Professor John MacNeill and by all non-Catholic writers. The other pretext arose out of a petty Irish squabble. Dermod MacMurrough, who became King of Leinster in 1121, seems to have been an ambitious cruel, and unscrupulous monarch. At the age of sixty, he abducted the wife of O'Rorke, Prince of Breffni. Fighting ensued, and Dermot, getting the worst of it, went to England to beg for aid. With the King's authority, a batch of Normans under Fitzstephen came in 1169, and were followed in 1170 by the Earl of Pembroke, nicknamed Strongbow, who brought with him 20,000 troops. MacMurrough gave his daughter Eva to Pembroke in marriage and her dowry was to be the kingdom of Leinster. In 1171 Henry II. crossed to Ireland, and at a synod, held at Cashel in 1172 and presided over by a papal legate, submission was made to Henry. A Treaty of Windsor (1175) followed, made between Henry and Roderick O'Connor, the High King. Under this treaty Henry was to have authority over Meath and Leinster, while Roderick was to remain King of Connaught and to have a sort of lordship over the rest of the country, paying a tribute to Henry in respect thereof. The submission to Henry of all Ireland outside of Ulster was complete and bloodless.

Had the Anglo-Normans been content with a mere suzerainty over the island—which is substantially what the Treaty of Windsor aimed at—it is possible that the further relations of the two countries would have been cordial. But the rapacity of the Norman barons demanded something more substantial, and King Henry soon made grants of considerable areas to his principal followers. Moreover, taking advantage of a revolt by Roderick O'Connor's son, Connaught was invaded. Thus was commenced the process which led to the

landlord and tenant question—one of the biggest factors in the hatred of Ireland for its conqueror.

The clan system was now both the strength and the weakness of the nation. United, the Irish might have stayed the invasion or made honourable terms with the stronger country. As it was, the existence of so many political units made real conquest a matter of difficulty, if not impossibility. To beat one chief was easy enough; to beat a great number of chiefs one after another, in a country which lent itself to guerrilla warfare, was another matter. For centuries the power of the English rose and fell. At times the English settlement, which came to be called the Pale, was reduced to a very small area, comprising Dublin and some adjacent territory. Occasionally a vigorous English King or a vigorous viceroy extended it, but when the pressure ceased, the Irish chiefs rose again with undiminished courage and tenacity. Henry VIII. (1509-1547) and Elizabeth (1558-1603) did much to strengthen the English power, but not till the time of Cromwell (1649-1650) was there a real conquest of the country. The struggle was bitter, and there were shocking atrocities on both sides. The Irish still remained at variance with one another. "It could not be said that the native chiefs fought or quarrelled more than did their ancestry, but neither could it be said that they quarrelled less" (D'Alton, vol. i., p. 365).

Every attempt was made to keep the Irish in a state of servitude. When the Irish demanded the benefit of English law it was denied them, so that if an Irishman killed or robbed an Englishman, he was hanged; but an Englishman who killed or robbed an Irishman went scot-free. By a Statute of Kilkenny (1361) intermarriage with the Irish and the use of the Irish language was prohibited; no "mere Irishman" was allowed to enter a monastery. Much oppression was wrought in the name of the King, but worse

happened without the slightest colour of authority. "Since the days of Strongbow the scourge of the native Irish was the rapacity and insolence of the Anglo-Irish lords. They seized their lands, they hunted them into bogs and mountains, they harassed them with continued war, they denied them justice or law, and in every case frustrated the designs of the English Government to admit them to the status of English subjects. These lords acted ostensibly in the interests of England, but in reality in their own interests, and much of what they did was unknown in England and much of what they did when it was known was condemned" (D'Alton, vol. i., p. 318).

Henry VIII. was the first English monarch who took the Irish question seriously. His policy was to conquer the country, impose English law upon all, to conciliate and Anglicize the chiefs. In pursuit of this policy O'Neill was created Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell Earl of Tyrconnel, and a Dublin parliament, held in 1541, included Irish chiefs and English nobles sitting side by side. The clan system of holding land was abolished and the English system of tenures substituted (1541). This last measure was beneficial, for "under the Irish system progress was impossible. The peasant would not drain or fence his land or improve the character of his dwelling, as the law gave him no permanent interest in it and men will not sow that others may reap. His life was a pastoral one, easy, careless, and free, an unsettled and nomadic one. There was no incentive to thrift, for the exactions of coshery and bonaght and the rest" (impositions exacted by the chiefs), "were such that the savings of a year might be dissipated in a single night" (D'Alton, vol. i., p. 417).

No degree of culture or civilization could be expected from such misgovernment and non-government as has been described. Fynes Morrison describes the

dreadful poverty and degradation—even in the homes of the chiefs and princes—that four and a half centuries of non-rule and misrule had brought upon the country. To a similar effect is an earlier description by two Jesuit priests, Fathers Broët and Salmeron, in a report written from Edinburgh and dated April 9, 1542.

Parliaments, after the English model of the period, were called from time to time, and one of them, under English pressure, surrendered its independence. Poynings' Act (1495) declared that no Bill should be introduced into the Irish parliament unless the heads of it had first been submitted to and sanctioned by the English Council. This remained the law of the land till 1782, when Grattan's independent parliament was established. An English statute of the time of George II. declared that England had the right to bind Ireland by laws made at Westminster, but this right was always denied by the Irish parliament. The alleged right was renounced in 1782.

Reformation to Rebellion of 1641

The change of religious doctrine, which the English call the "Reformation," profoundly altered the character of Anglo-Irish relations. There could be no compromise between the Catholic and the non-Catholic civilization. Not merely the two islands, but the two races in Ireland were thenceforth to remain apart—in thought, philosophy, and even social intercourse. The gulf was not merely one of race and interest, but of conscience.

The sequence of events, in broad outline, was this: penal laws provoked rebellion; rebellions were followed by land confiscations and attempts to expropriate the

native Irish and supply their place by English and Scottish settlers; the Irish chiefs, the natural leaders of the people, fled to the Continent or were reduced at home to insignificance; large numbers of the people were driven beyond the Shannon; in spite of all, the prolific Irish race increased in numbers; in the north-eastern corner the Scottish settlers, who were genuine land workers themselves, held on, so creating the Ulster question; in the south the English adventurers whom Cromwell or his policy had sent over and who were supposed to farm the land, let it instead and became country gentlemen; the penal laws, which applied (though not with so much stringency) to Presbyterians and Methodists as well as to Catholics, made few perverts; and their enforcement varied greatly. The ownership of the land and the religious question were the serious questions till the time of William III., when England, jealous of Ireland's growing manufacture of woollens, killed the industry and generally discouraged, by tariffs and otherwise, other Irish activities. In consequence a threatened Protestant rebellion produced Grattan's parliament in 1782, which was destroyed—after an intervening Catholic rebellion in 1798—by the Act of Union in 1800. All the time, in spite of the most tremendous obstacles, the Irish Catholics carried on, during the penal laws, growing in numbers and importance, determined upon a separation from England as complete as possible, until, in 1921, the Breen-Collins gunmen carried their "war" to the portals of Chequers itself, and won a settlement whereby the tremendously important position of Ireland at Westminster was surrendered in exchange for an independent twenty-six county political area.

In Elizabeth's time, one of the penal laws forbade the Mass, and the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. Three formidable rebellions took place in this reign—Shane

O'Neill's in Ulster (1560), Desmond's in Munster some ten years later, and Hugh O'Neill's in 1595, which was aided by a landing of 3,500 Spanish troops at Kinsale. In Hugh O'Neill "the Irish lost their greatest leader. . . . In his own day, against the whole forces of England, he all but succeeded, and failed only because of the universal treachery which surrounded him, a treachery so appalling, so shameful, that, except O'Donnell and Maguire, there was not one on whom honest men could rely, none that was not a trickster and a cheat" (D'Alton, vol. ii., p. 213). All these rebellions were ruthlessly crushed and punished. After the failure of the Munster rebellion, the Viceroys Pelham and Grey let loose the soldiery upon the province, who pillaged, laid the country waste, and murdered indiscriminately. That bitter anti-Catholic and anti-Irish writer Froude says (*English in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 54): "Elizabeth's soldiers, with their pay for ever in arrears, and not choosing to starve, lived almost universally on plunder. Placed in the country to replace banditti, they were little better than banditti themselves. Their scanty numbers were a temptation to disturbance. Too few to be able to take prisoners or hold a mountainous district in compelled quiet, their only resource was to strike terror by cruelty. When sent to recover stolen cattle or punish a night foray, they came at last to regard the Irish peasants as unpossessed of the common rights of human beings, and shot and strangled them like foxes or jackals. More than once in the reports of officers employed on these services we meet the sickening details of these performances related with a calmness more frightful than the atrocities themselves; young English gentlemen describing expeditions into the mountains 'to have some killing,' as if a forest was being driven for a battue."

There was some attempt to plant Ulster with

English settlers in 1573. In 1583 a considerable number of "undertakers," as they were called, were planted in Munster. In 1609, James I. planted the Scottish settlers in Ulster, who took root and whose descendants are there still.

Rebellion of 1641

The rebellion of 1641, which cost 600,000 lives and lasted for ten years, is advanced by some writers as a palliation for the barbarities, the penal code, and the confiscations that followed it. The following observations of Froude are probably correct as far as they go: "Population, which had remained stationary for 1,000 years, began swiftly to expand. In 1580 the inhabitants of Ireland were reckoned roughly at half a million. . . . In 1641 the population was a million and a half." Commerce had grown up, trade had been established with England and the Continent, there was great improvement in agriculture. "Meanwhile, though the Earls of Tyrconnel and Tyrone had failed to repeal the penal laws, the Catholics remained substantially unmolested. There was a full staff of archbishops and bishops. Chapels sprang up on all sides. Monasteries were repaired and filled with friars. Priests multiplied with the growth of the people and were distributed in parishes without the need of concealment. The Church throve with the country. . . . Two-thirds of the lands in the four provinces still remained in Catholic hands. In the House of Commons . . . they returned nearly half the members. In the Upper House they had a large majority" (*English in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 78). The picture, however, has another side, which is equally true: "But sixty years had passed since Pelham and Grey and wasted Munster; and the Munstermen remembered how their fair province had been turned into a desert; how famine had been deliberately pro-

voked; how neither age, nor sex, nor innocence could protect the people from the soldiers' fury" (D'Alton, vol. ii., p. 243). "In Ulster all these causes of animosity could be found, and in an aggravated form. The people had seen war, wasting of crops, destruction of houses, universal famine, men and women feeding on docks and nettles, children eating the carcase of their dead mother, O'Cahan's country covered with the unburied corpses of the starved. They had seen a whole province planted by foreigners. . . . The fields which their ancestors owned were tenanted by English and Scotch . . . regarding the natives in their midst with that haughty disdain with which conquerors look upon the conquered; regarding Catholicism as superstition and Catholics as idolators and priests and bishops as public enemies, unworthy of the most elementary rights of subjects. Such were the feelings with which the Catholics rose to arms, and in such circumstances it was inevitable that they should have been guilty of cruelties and crimes" (p. 244). Moreover, while English law seems to have been in some sort established, and the landlords held from the Crown as in England, "the tenants still held by Irish tenure and had no certain lands, but were allowed to graze a certain number of cattle on the common lands of the septs. They tilled but little; they ploughed with short ploughs tied to the horses' tails; their houses were of boughs coated with turf. Even the chiefs dwelt in clay houses; and one of these chiefs, Conn O'Neill, advised his people not to learn English nor sow wheat nor build houses, for the first, he said, breeds conversation, the second commerce, and with the last they should fare as the crow that builds her nest to be beaten out by the hawk" (D'Alton, vol. ii., p. 215). The habitations, according to Clarendon, writing of the period about 1640, even near Dublin "are perfect pigsties; walls cast up and covered with straw and mud; and out of one their

huts, of about ten or twelve foot square, shall you see five or six men and women bolt out as you pass by, who stand staring about. If this be so near Dublin, Lord! what can it be farther up in the country?" Ploughing by the horses' tails had been made illegal by Strafford's Parliament (1634), but public opinion favoured it and the Catholic Confederates stipulated (in 1648) that this Act should be repealed.

The rebellion, engineered by Roger, or Rory, O'Moore, who was promised aid by France and Spain, took place on October 23, 1641, and the entire countryside was immediately in the hands of infuriated peasants, the English garrison, then only a few thousands in number, being confined to the towns. A great number of murders and atrocities were perpetrated by the peasants, especially in Ulster, the murders being put as high as the ridiculous figure of 300,000 and as low as 8,000; it may be taken that 10,000 is an outside figure. But "it is also true that many acts of kindness were done by successful insurgents, and that the retaliation of the English was cruel and indiscriminating" (Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts,* vol. i., p. 333). The Ulster Scots at Island Magee, County Antrim, in January, 1642, murdered great numbers of Catholics in cold blood.

What is known as the Confederation of Kilkenny was established in 1642. It consisted of the Catholic archbishops, bishops, and principal gentry of the country. They acted as a sort of parliament, denounced murder and outrage, appointed military commanders, professed loyalty to the Crown and merely claimed liberty of conscience, political liberty under the Crown, and some redress as to confiscated lands, and stability as to the future. A desultory warfare went on, the principal event of which was the defeat by Owen Roe O'Neill of a Scottish army under General Munro in the Battle of Benburb (1646). Complications

ensued when a papal legate, Cardinal Rinuccini, came over and demanded a complete severance from England, in which policy most of the clergy followed him. A peace called the Ormonde Peace was patched up in 1646, by which the Irish got liberty of conscience, but little else. Rinuccini, disgusted, left Ireland, having previously excommunicated Owen Roe O'Neill.

On the execution of Charles I., Charles II. was proclaimed King in Ireland, and the Irish took his side. They had now to face more formidable and more ruthless foes than any they had yet encountered, but "even in this supreme crisis, when their race and faith were threatened with extinction, the assembly at Belturbet was dominated by faction" (D'Alton, vol. ii., p. 323). Apparently because the lay-bodies would not agree upon one of themselves, a bishop (Bishop MacMahon of Clogher) was appointed commander-in-chief.

Cromwell landed in Ireland in August, 1649, and left in May, 1650. Save at Clonmel, he met with no check. He captured several towns, including Drogheda and Wexford, and put the garrisons to the sword. His soldiers ran riot, murdered priests and many of the innocent civilians in their houses. Before New Ross Cromwell announced his policy in the following terms: "For what you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience, but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it to use plain dealing and to let you know, where the Parliament of England has power, that will not be allowed of." The insurrection was finally put down in April, 1653, by Cromwell's generals, and ruthless measures taken to punish it. The miseries which the people endured at this period included a famine and a plague (1652 and 1653).

The confiscations that followed the rebellion were on a much greater scale than any that had taken place

previously. Most of the country was planted with undertakers. These ready-made gentry are variously described "*volunteer peers and baronets and knights and ministers of religion, physicians and clerks, drapers and grocers, scriveners and even blacksmiths and tailors and weavers and bakers and skinners and cooks*" (D'Alton, vol. ii., p. 343); "these tailors, tinkers, smiths, cobblers, drummers, and trumpeters, after the slaughter of 100,000 persons, obtained various estates and lands amongst us" (Denis Scully, *circa* 1797); the last passage being treated by Dr. Duigenan—a bitter pervert—in the Union debates as a "gross libel" on "the gallant army which went to Ireland to punish the Irish rebels and murderers of 1641," "the superior officers of this gallant army thus reviled by Mr. Scully . . . their descendants at this day comprise a most considerable part of the Irish nobility and gentry." An attempt was made to transplant the Catholic Irish beyond the Shannon—to the province of Connaught and the county of Clare. Many Catholic families were so transplanted, finding it difficult when they got there to get the lands which were supposed to be allotted to them, for there was not land enough to go round. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the settled districts were denuded of Catholic Irish. The Catholic landlords were stripped of their possessions, but in a great number of instances the land tiller remained on, changing his landlord or changing his status from that of tenant occupier to casual labourer or cottier peasant. We find that less than thirty years after the "Act of Settlement," as it was called, had been carried into effect (1672), all Leinster was Catholic; in Connaught the Protestants were comparatively few. In Munster the Protestants were in a hopeless minority (Bagwell's *Ireland Under the Stuarts*, vol. iii., p. 201). It is, in the sense indicated, true to say that while, before the rebellion, two-thirds of Irish

land were in Catholic hands, after the confiscations two-thirds were in Protestant hands. There were many executions, and many priests and laymen were shipped to Barbadoes.

Some constructive statesmanship in Ireland stands to Cromwell's credit. He established a parliamentary union between the islands,* under which Ireland had thirty representatives at Westminster; he encouraged the woollen industry, and he gave Ireland the benefit of the Navigation Laws, so that she could trade direct with the British colonies and abroad without the necessity of shipment through England. On this, Froude says, "the two trades" (linen and woollen) "were equally thriving; and had they been allowed to stand, there would have been four Ulsters in Ireland instead of one" (*English in Ireland,* vol. i., p. 181). This has always been a favourite theory of Protestant writers, but its soundness is open to question. Whether Ireland could compete—outside its own shores—with the products of huge Yorkshire mills operating on Australian wool is doubtful.

When the Catholic James II. ascended the English throne (1685) an attempt was made to undo the Cromwellian confiscation. The Irish Parliament gave the proposal a fierce opposition, but it was being renewed when William of Orange landed in England and chased James out of that country. James fled to France, whence, helped by French money and munitions, he was escorted by a French fleet to Ireland. A parliament which he called in Ireland totally repealed the Act of Settlement, pronounced for an independent Irish parliament, and adopted a strict protective policy, one of the items of which was a complete prohibition of the importation of coal, on the ground that it prevented the employment of poor people in the business

* This ceased at the Restoration.

of turf making and firewood collecting. In the war upon Irish soil which took place between William and James, the Catholic Irish and considerable French troops were on the side of James, while the Protestant Irish were on the side of William. Its chief incidents were the gallant defences of Derry by the Protestants and of Limerick by the Catholics under Patrick Sarsfield, the victory of William over James in the Battle of the Boyne, and the final defeat of the Irish and French armies under the French General St. Ruth in the Battle of Aughrim (July 12, 1691)—the last supplies the date for the annual demonstration of the Orangemen in Ulster.

1691 to Grattan's Parliament (1782)

The period of Irish history from the time of King William to shortly before the Union shows the British Government at its height of stupidity. Every section of the Irish community was driven to disloyalty.

There was a flourishing woollen industry, in English Protestant hands. England became frightened of it and (1698) by a statute passed in England and another forced by England upon the Irish Parliament it was destroyed, for all export was forbidden. Certain encouragement to the linen trade given in alleged return was inadequate, and after some time a stupid protectionist policy hit that trade also. The trade, however, which was started by one brother Crommelin in the north and by another in the south, survived in the north. The same protectionist policy forbade at one time the import of Irish provisions into England. A wise measure promoted by the Irish Parliament in 1716 to promote tillage was held up by the English Council for nineteen years.

While the dominant section in Ireland was thus outraged, for their rents and well-being depended upon Ireland's prosperity, the English Council permitted the Irish Catholics and Presbyterians to come under the lash of the penal laws.

In the case of the Catholics this persecution was especially shocking and acute. In return for the surrender of Limerick, King William's generals and the Irish generals signed the Treaty of Limerick, which (1692) was ratified by William. It provided, in effect, for an amnesty and liberty of religion. The Irish Parliament would not ratify it unless certain important words, omitted, as King William agreed, through an oversight from the actual treaty though included in the approved draft—no reasonable man can have any doubt as to the facts and as to the real intention of the parties to the agreement—were excluded from the Act of ratification (1697). The treaty was, in effect, torn up; the only part of it that was kept being the permission to such Irish troops as desired to leave the country.

A terrible list of penal laws followed. Catholic schools were forbidden, and Catholics were forbidden to send their children abroad for education; there were stringent limitations upon their right to hold land or to inherit land; Catholics were disqualified from the parliamentary and municipal franchise; bishops and regular priests were ordered to leave the country, and only one secular priest was allowed for each parish; and so on.

The exercise of any form of public worship except that of the Established Church was forbidden. As this applied to Presbyterians and Dissenters, and as they were also made ineligible for office, or for having a school, a body of industrious, prosperous, and contented people, introduced or encouraged to settle in Ireland by previous British Governments, were driven to discontent, sedition, or emigration. A large number

emigrated to the United States and were the strongest opponents and the most bitter haters of England in the War of American Independence.

The Irish Catholics, in spite of penal laws and landlord and parson tyranny, increased in number and importance. In 1727 the average size of Irish farms was over 1,000 acres; there was little tillage, and all corn was imported. But the pressure of a land-hungry and growing population led to these farms being gradually broken up, and sublet and sublet again. Thus, many of the English settlers, having become landlords, left the country and their estates to be looked after by an agent whose sole interest was to see that his principal got his rents without having trouble or risk or diminution of income; many of those who stayed in Ireland became thriftless and extravagant, with no sense of responsibility.

The land pressure brought its own evils. The landless men formed themselves into secret societies, the object of which was to moderate rents, tithes, and even priests' dues and to have the grazing lands split up. The term "Whiteboys" was applied to such societies, from the members wearing, by way of disguise when engaged in their operations, white shirts over their clothes. A Peep o' Day society was founded to counter the activities of the Whiteboys. Friction over land led to much hostility between the Catholics and the Protestants in Ulster, and after an encounter between the factions in 1795 (called the "Battle" of the Diamond), the Protestants formed the Orange Society, the object of which was to preserve the Protestant ascendancy.

IRELAND AGAIN FREE (1782–1800)

The War of American Independence produced the Irish volunteers, formed for the purpose of defending Ireland in the case of a foreign invasion. They were exclusively Protestant, for no Catholic was allowed inside their ranks. Curiously enough, the Catholic leaders at this time seem to have felt or affected an enthusiastic loyalty, for they presented, in 1775, a petition to the King (which was not granted) "presuming to lay at his feet two millions of loyal, faithful, and affectionate hearts and hands" for service in the "unnatural rebellion" that had lately broken out in America. But this was rather tall talk, and the authority of the one hundred and twenty-one Catholic signatories to pledge two millions or any considerable number of the Irish Catholic populace to any adventure of the kind is open to question. At any rate, the war turned people's minds upon the question of Ireland's economic grievances and of her political freedom. With the volunteers, who numbered at one time 200,000, behind him, Henry Grattan demanded political independence. England, fearing an Irish revolution, gave way. An Irish Constitution was established under which the only link with England was that of a common sovereign. So came into being (1782) the independent Irish Parliament, which lasted till the Act of Union in 1800. It was in no sense representative of the Irish people. The House of Commons consisted of 300 members, of whom 110 pocket boroughs returned 220, and it was calculated that two-thirds of the members were returned by less than 100 persons. With bitter exaggeration, it has been described (by the Irish extremist, Tynan, in his *History of the Invincibles*, p. 3) thus: "This assembly, which sat in Dublin, was in no sense 'Irish,' and had the same claim to the title 'Irish

Parliament' as would have had a legislative chamber of African cannibals who, after settling in Ireland's metropolis by force, assume to themselves the power to make laws, and to enact some measures as to how or in what manner they would cook the natives to make them more palatable eating." Its own ineptitude led to its extinction. It spent State money on such absurd projects as subsidizing internal trade to Dublin and stimulating the coalmining industry of the country, and in its seventeen years of existence ran up a National Debt of £28,000,000, under which load it was finally unable to raise money at less than 8⅜ per cent. It had tariffs against English manufactures, and when Pitt tried to negotiate some reciprocal terms, it rejected a very favourable offer. When the King's insanity made the appointment of a regent necessary, it claimed an independent right to appoint an Irish regent, even though warned by Lord Clare that its action would force on a Union.* This parliament, no doubt, passed many measures to relieve the Catholics, but it did so under pressure from England, whose statesmen plainly hinted at a withdrawal of English support if no attention was paid to the petitions presented in England by the representatives of the Irish

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* "If it be the scheme," said he, "to differ in all imperial questions from England; and if this be abetted by men of great authority, they mean to drive us into a Union, and the method they take is certainly more effectual to scrap away opposition than if all the sluices of corruption were opened together and deluged the country's representatives, for it is certain, nothing less than the alternative of a separation could ever force the Union." The memory of this able and far-seeing statesman is detested in Ireland, because he helped to carry the Union.

Catholics, who made several pilgrimages to London for the purpose of enlisting English aid to remove their grievances. The great relief measure of 1793, which, amongst other things, gave the Catholics the franchise, swept away all disabilities relating to land, and gave them equal rights as jurors, "was forced through the Parliament of Dublin by the strong hand of Pitt, when the same members had by a majority of almost ten to one rejected with contumely the petition of the Irish Catholics made but the year before" (Rev. Timothy Corcoran, S.J., in *State Policy in Irish Education*, p. 34).

This parliament did nothing to help the Irish peasant or relieve him from rack-renting or tithes—as to tithes, simultaneously with voting its own death, it passed a law exonerating pasture lands from tithes, thus freeing the Protestant grazier and putting the burden on the Catholic small tiller. Against this tyranny was directed the rebellion of 1798. The country or its industries as a whole did not prosper under this Parliament.

That rebellion which, after five years of preparation, broke out on May 24, 1798, and ended on July 14, 1798, was planned on a large scale, the number of persons enrolled and armed as insurgents being over 200,000. In the North, from which the greatest danger was expected, a disarmament on a large scale was effected by General Lake, who used the lash unmercifully for the purpose of extorting confessions and compelling discovery of concealed arms. Moreover, in the same area, when the rebellion did break out in the South, it was represented to be a religious contest, and the Presbyterian farmers went back to their farms. In the result, the bulk of the fighting was done by the men of Wexford, and great gallantry was shown. But, like all servile wars, the fighting was marked by many atrocities on both sides. During the rebellion and the

period of unrest that preceded it, the French made several attempts upon Ireland—a storm scattered a great fleet that left Brest in December, 1796, for Bantry Bay; a French landing was effected in August, 1798, but, after a preliminary success, the French were defeated; in October a French fleet which carried Wolfe Tone was defeated. Tone was captured, sentenced to be hanged, but committed suicide in prison.

ACT OF UNION (1800)

Pitt, the British Prime Minister, was moved to the Union by the following considerations: (1) the strategic position of Ireland and the inability of the country to defend itself, its unwillingness to pay for its defence; (2) the tendency, if a separate Irish Parliament were allowed, towards complete severance; (3) the certainty that with separate legislatures there would be a tariff war, to the detriment of both islands.

The Act of Union passed the English Parliament and the Irish Parliament in 1800. A great deal of absurd nonsense has been spoken and written concerning the corruption alleged to have been practised to win over the Irish Parliament. The facts are these. Each borough owner received £15,000 compensation (a borough at that time was saleable, and was constantly leased, sold, and even settled by marriage settlement). There were a number of jobs created and titles given, but the eminent biographer of Pitt, Mr. Rose, seems to be not far from the truth when he says: "These sordid bargainings cannot be said to amount to wholesale corruption, and did not much exceed those which normally were needed to carry an important Bill through Parliament" (Rose's *Life of Pitt*, Part II., p. 429).

At the date of the Union the population of Ireland was 4,500,000, of whom 3,150,000 were Catholics, having more than trebled itself in the preceding century—in 1700 it was 1,250,000. Its cultivable area in 1800 was 13,454,375 acres. The Catholic disabilities in 1800 were: a Catholic could not sit in Parliament, or fill certain offices. The industries were very small. The linen industry was a domestic industry, in which the weaving was done by means of a hand-loom at home, intermittently; the shipbuilding industry was negligible; the cotton industry was apparently the largest, giving employment to 13,500 hands; the total annual output from all the Irish breweries was about 500,000 barrels, or one-seventh of what it was in 1914; the output of Irish distilleries was one-third of the output in 1914. The value of Irish exports and imports combined in 1800 was £11,000,000. The condition of the tillers of the soil was miserable, most of them living on the potato. Not a half of the inhabitants had shoes or stockings. All the cottiers and many of the small farmers lived in mud cabins, shared with the pigs and the poultry. The common people were subject to the most flagrant oppression. "I know," said Lord Clare in one of the Union debates, "that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentless landlords." A landlord could punish disrespect with his cane or horsewhip—"a poor man would have his bones broken if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence" (Carr's *Stranger in Ireland*, pp. 40, 41). The rents were high.

By the Act of Union the Irish Parliament was abolished and the Parliament at Westminster was thenceforward the ruling power over Ireland as well as England, Wales, and Scotland. The House of Commons was to consist of 658 members—England and Wales 513; Ireland 100; Scotland 45. Taxation was to be the same in both islands, subject to such

discrimination in favour of Scotland and Ireland as Parliament might direct. At this time of the day, it is a mere pretence to say that Ireland was overtaxed under the Union. The statute was observed in the spirit and the letter; and for a good many years before the Great War Ireland was run at a loss.* To protect Ireland's industries a scheme of tariffs to endure for twenty years was inserted in the Act.

Pitt had the support of the Irish Catholic Bishops and of most of the educated Catholics for the Union, for he had promised to do his best to remove the remaining Catholic disabilities. In this, however, he failed, for King George III., who was a great bigot, forbade it. Pitt accordingly resigned—he returned to office a couple of years later. A street riot in 1803, at the head of which was Robert Emmet, was an expression of the popular disappointment.†

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* For a full examination of this alleged grievance see the author's *History of Ireland*, 1798-1924, vol. i., p. 124. Bishop Kelly of Ross, who, as Ireland's greatest financial expert, was appointed to represent his country on the Primrose Financial Commission of 1911, entirely agreed with the author's view. See his letter quoted *History of Ireland*, 1798-1924, vol. ii., p. 156.

† According to Monsignor D'Alton, "no story in Irish history is better known than that of Emmet and Sarah Curran" (who was secretly betrothed to Emmet), "the story of how she pined and drooped like a lily on its stalk, in a foreign and sunny land, and then came back to Ireland to die." But the facts are otherwise stated in Mr. Michael MacDonagh's *The Viceroy's Post Bag*: "Within two years of the execution of her lover she was married. Her husband—Captain Sturgeon, nephew of the Marquis of Rockingham—lived in Sicily. The *Gentleman's Magazine* tells of her premature death: 'May 5, 1808, at Hythe, in Kent, of

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

For twenty-nine years Ireland kept hammering at the gates of Westminster for the removal of the disabilities from which Catholics, in England as well as Ireland, suffered. In the British Parliament, the great advocate of the cause of Catholic Emancipation was Henry Grattan, an Irish Protestant of good family. Grattan, who had been foremost in establishing the independent Irish Parliament and who had striven in the Irish legislature for Catholic Emancipation, amendment of the tithe laws, and land and parliamentary reform, now devoted the rest of his life in the English Parliament to the Emancipation question. He was the most unselfish, the most enlightened, and the most eloquent of the Irish patriots of that day, or of any other day. Originally opposed to the Union, he became reconciled to it before his death, and several times expressed a wish that no effort would be made to disturb it. It was largely through his passionate pleading that the House of Commons in 1820 decided in favour of Emancipation,—the vote, however, being the other way in the House of Lords. While Grattan was the great advocate of the Catholic cause in Parliament, it was O'Connell's mass agitation in Ireland that won the day.

O'Connell was born in County Kerry in 1775, the son of a grazier, or gentleman farmer. He was a most successful barrister, but abandoned the profession for politics. Always a constitutionalist, he joined a loyal regiment, "The Lawyers' Artillery," in 1798, to put down the rebellion. He was one of the greatest

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a rapid decline, aged 26, Sarah, wife of Captain Henry Sturgeon, youngest daughter of Right Hon. J. P. Curran, Master of the Rolls in Ireland.'"

agitators of all time. His Emancipation campaign was a marvel of organizing genius and mob oratory. Ireland seemed to be heading for a rebellion when the English Tory Government gave way, and Catholic Emancipation was passed in 1829. In truth, the measure, though it removed a grievance and a humiliation, was of little practical value. Voting was then open, and a Catholic tenant dared not vote contrary to his landlord's wishes. It was not till the Ballot Act of 1872 made voting secret that the Act of 1829 bore full fruit and Ireland was enabled, for the first time, to send real representatives of its opinion to Parliament. The Act of 1829, however, enabled Catholics to become King's Counsel, judges, and so forth, but that was of little help to the oppressed Irish tenantry.

Tithe War

There was a tithe war, on and off, until 1838. It is strange to us, but it is true that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the imposition of tithes seemed natural enough; thus, one Catholic bishop put a chapel under an interdict because some of the parishioners had put up in the chapel a notice against tithes, and another, writing in 1799, complained of the method of collection, but remarked, "Far be it from me to harbour the most distant idea of lessening in the smallest degree the income of the gentlemen of the Established Church." The peasant who had to pay took a clearer view of the situation, which was that it was legalized robbery, and his grievance was not lessened by the knowledge that grazing lands were exempt and that the tithes were usually farmed out to a tithe proctor, whose exactions and method of collection were harsh in the extreme. To raise a few pence seizures were

frequently made on poor widows living on a small patch of land. The country resolved not to pay. Some encounters took place between the collectors and the police on the one side, and the people on the other, and on two occasions there were a few dozen casualties. Ultimately, the cost and trouble of collection forced Government attention, and in 1838 a statute was passed reducing the burden of the tithes (some £400,000 a year), and passing it on to the landlords, who, no doubt, passed it on when they could to their tenants. The tithe rent charge disappeared altogether with the disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869).

Education Question

That a better spirit was growing in England is shown by the divisions in Parliament on the Catholic Emancipation question, but still more by the National Education Act, 1831. In spite of the attitude of the King—and in these days the Sovereign had, and exercised, tremendous influence in affairs—in the course of five Parliaments, those of 1807, 1812, 1818, 1820, and 1826 (with one exception, 1818—the voting being 243 against and 241 for), the House of Commons was in favour of Catholic relief. The National Education Act, 1831, was a statute passed as the result of a reasoned petition from the Catholic bishops. It provided for the primary education of the country on denominational lines. It has stood the test of time as a fair and workable system, and, beyond the fact that Irish was not taught—or was scarcely taught—in the schools, no reasonable complaint could be made either against the schools or the system. The great Cavour spoke of the system as the "establishment of a vast system of popular education on a wide and popular basis in-

finitely superior to the English primary schools, and I doubt that there are in Europe any that equal them." (Cavour, *On Ireland*, p. 58). The teaching body called the Christian Brothers, established in 1802, has also been highly efficient.

As Catholics would not enter the University of Dublin (Trinity College), an attempt was made to solve the University problem in 1845, when Peel established the Queen's Colleges of Cork, Belfast, and Galway. The Catholic ecclesiastical authorities in 1854 founded a "Catholic University," and Newman came from England to help. It had no State help or recognition and was not a success. Another abortive measure was brought forward in 1873. In 1879, the Royal University of Ireland was established, but it was a mere examining body with a right to confer degrees. In 1908, Mr. Birrell created the National University, a teaching and examining and degree conferring, but non-resident, institution. It has worked satisfactorily; at all events, since the inception of the Irish Free State in 1921, no criticism of it has appeared, notwithstanding that no provision for residence is made.

Trinity College was founded in the time of Elizabeth. It has always been a highly flourishing institution, and up to recent times it was the stronghold of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. It has produced many famous men, amongst them Usher, Swift, Berkeley, Grattan, Burke, and Goldsmith. At present the Catholics are entering the College freely, and it is fast losing what was termed its "Protestant atmosphere." The roll of Irish writers is remarkable—including, besides those mentioned, Shaw, Joyce, Moore, Yeats, and O'Casey.

Secondary education, which in Catholic Ireland is almost entirely in the hands of the clergy, received a fillip by the operation of the Intermediate Education

Act, 1878, under which considerable sums in prizes and results fees were awarded. The standard of teaching in these schools has been quite as high as that in English public schools, and the cost—owing to the fact that the clergy are unpaid workers—astonishingly low. Every diocese has had for years its diocesan school, where students are prepared for entrance into Maynooth College; in some dioceses they are prepared for ordination in the diocesan school or college. Many students from Maynooth and other ecclesiastical colleges take their University degrees simultaneously with their course in theological studies. Maynooth College was founded in 1795, with the aid of a State grant. An annual State subsidy was given to it until 1869 (the date of the disestablishment of the Irish Church) when it was given a bulk sum by way of equivalent. There are several other purely ecclesiastical colleges in Ireland.

Secession Campaign

O'Connell was one of those who, in 1805, founded an association for the repeal of the Act of Union. The agitation for repeal took different shapes at different times. Starting with a demand for repeal of the Act of Union, it dwindled in Butt's time (1870) and Parnell's (1879) to a demand for a subordinate parliament with comparatively little taxing power. Later, when the Great War came and the party known as Sinn Fein came into power, it developed into a claim for a republic, and was eventually compromised (in 1921) by a grant of Dominion Home Rule to twenty-six counties—the six counties of Ulster being excluded. O'Connell deprecated force; the Young Irelanders of his time preached it and tried it, for they had an abortive rebellion in 1847. Parnell, who succeeded

Butt, was also a Constitutionalist, but managed to keep in hand and, at the same time, gain the support of the physical force men in America and Ireland. There was another abortive attempt at a rebellion in 1867. The last unsuccessful rebellion against Westminster rule was in 1916. This, though crushed, had its sequel in what is known in Ireland as the "Anglo-Irish War," which, commencing in 1919, ended with the compromise of 1921. The intensity of the movements for secession also varied greatly. O'Connell had Ireland in a ferment of agitation until the proclamation of a great meeting which he had called at Clontarf in 1843. The movement lost ground until 1879, when the wretched situation of the farmers, suffering from a world-wide agricultural depression, gave it a great impetus. Gladstone introduced two Home Rule Bills—in 1886 and 1893—which, however, were defeated. A further Home Rule Bill was introduced by Mr. Asquith, the leader of the Liberal party, in 1912. Ulster threatened a rebellion. Asquith's Bill was defeated in the House of Lords, and matters were in this stage when the Great War broke out in 1914.

The principal argument used by the various political leaders in the secession movement was that Ireland would achieve great prosperity and be able to sustain a great population if Irish rule and not English rule prevailed. The way to achieve this result was to be the establishment of a tariff to keep out British manufactured goods. If that were done, Irish manufactures would grow up and support a population which was usually put at 20,000,000—this was the figure of Arthur Griffith, the founder of the Sinn Fein movement. Many extravagant statements were made to support this forecast. O'Connell, for example, told his people that Ireland's "water power is equal to turning the machinery of the whole world." In a similar strain spoke Arthur Griffith, who offered investors "the

assistance and good will of the Irish people in turning our coal, our stone, and our turf into gold," and complained that "by the lack of a mercantile marine we are debarred from our best markets, deprived of our share in the world's carrying trade, and are lost to Europe's interest." The people were taught by the leaders and the Press that there were vast mineral resources in the country. The exchange of Irish agricultural products for English manufactured goods, according to O'Connell, "by no means proved the existence of a profitable trade." But what made these things appear credible to the nation was the bitter memory of the past—of the fraud, treachery, and oppression from which she had suffered—as well as the natural and ineradicable desire of a people to manage its own business in its own way.

The Famine (1846-1847)

The population, as already stated, had grown from *1,250,000 in 1700 to 4,500,000 in 1800.* In 1848 it mounted to 8,500,000. Marriages were contracted at a very early age. Before the Poor Law Commission of 1840 a priest from Templemore, Co. Kerry, deposed to marriages of girls from twelve to thirteen, to a woman in his own parish having a child before the age of fourteen, and to another in the parish of Killarney having two children before the age of fifteen. The male labourers married in Mayo and Sligo under twenty years of age, those of King's County from seventeen to twenty, and all over the country at ages little beyond those stated.

The philosophy of the Irish peasant upon the subject was touchingly expressed before the same Commission: "If I had a blanket to cover her, I would

marry the woman I liked; and if I could get potatoes enough to put into my children's mouths, I would be as happy and content as any man and think myself as well off as my Lord Dunlo."

In those days, and one may say at all times in Ireland, emigration was denounced as if it were a plague. This was no exceptional phenomenon, for Wilmot Horton, while advocating it in England in the thirties, was vehemently denounced.

The density population of Ireland when the famine came may be compared with other countries: England and Wales, 271 to the square mile; Scotland, 86; Ireland, 251; U.S.A., 14; Denmark, 93; France, 161; Papal States, 158; Switzerland, 143; Prussia, 138. Kerry had 416 persons to the square mile of arable land. If we deduct, as we safely may, one-third of the area of Ireland for lakes, rivers, mountains, and bog, the density all over was nearly 400 to the square mile.

Subdivision of farms had proceeded apace and long before the famine had passed the danger-point. The Government, by several statutes, tried to check it, but Government policy upon this point was bitterly opposed by all political leaders and by Irish public opinion generally. From the unduly high average, in the three southern provinces, of 1,000 acres to the farm in 1727, subdivision had reduced the average in 1847 to the unduly low average of 25 acres. There were 300,000 farms from 1 to 5 acres; 250,000 from 5 to 15; 78,000 from 15 to 30; 48,000 above 30. There were nearly 3,000,000 people in the island living exclusively on the potato.

The potato blight first appeared in North America in 1844. It struck Ireland in 1845. In 1846 and 1847, its ravages were so severe that in the words of the great temperance reformer, Father Mathew, in place of "the luxuriance of an abundant harvest," was sub-

stituted in a week or two a "waste of putrefying vegetation."

The Government seems to have done all that was possible to succour the people. Great works were set on foot to give employment; maize was imported upon a huge scale. In March, 1847, 734,000 persons were employed. In the first six months of the same year maize costing nearly £9,000,000 was imported and a great part given away gratis. £7,000,000 of public money was spent; Great Britain sent over £1,100,000 raised by private subscription. An idea of the value of these sums can be had when it is noted that Great Britain's national income was then only £57,000,000.

Nevertheless, there were many deaths from starvation—in 1845, 516; in 1846, 2,041; in 1847, 6,058; in 1848 and 1849, 9,395; total from 1841 to 1851, 21,770. There were also many deaths from fever and other disease. The total mortality for the five years ending in 1851, from all causes, in Ireland was close upon a million. The famine produced two beneficial results: (1) it stimulated emigration—from 1847 to 1854, no less than 1,600,000 persons emigrated, most of them to U.S.A.; (2) it was followed by a marked tendency to increase in the size of farms.

The Land Question

By reason of its origin, landlordism was an impossible institution in Ireland. The tenant thought that the landlord had no moral right to the soil; the landlord looked upon his tenant as a serf of an inferior race, steeped in superstition. There was no bond of common nationality or religion between them. Most of the tenants held under tenancies from year to year, so that they could be dispossessed of the holding—which

in many cases owed any value it had to their labour—at twelve months' notice. If a tenant improved his holding, up went the rent. If he displeased his landlord, or a better rent could be had from an outsider, eviction followed. The situation was intolerable.

After some paltry attempts at land reform, the first great measure of relief was passed in 1881. This statute was the result of strong pressure at Westminster from the Irish Parliamentary party combined with a vigorous agitation at home. Three bad harvests—1879 to 1881—coupled with a wide-world agricultural depression led to a "land war," which, though ostensibly a constitutional movement, was accompanied by much crime. Obnoxious landlords or their agents were shot; cattle were houghed; boycotting and intimidation were rife. The curious mentality which the long conflict between the nations engendered is shown by the defence of the shooting of landlords by the guerrilla chief, Michael Collins. After describing the origin of landlordism, he says, in his *Path to Freedom*, p. 57, "but for this" (*i.e.*, the fact that the ancestors of the landlords acquired the land by force or fraud), "the shooting of landlords would have been murder."

The Act of 1881 gave the tenants the three F's: Fair Rent, Fixity of Tenure, and Free Sale. Thereafter, a tenant could go into a land court and have a fair rent fixed against his landlord, in the computation of which the tenant was to get credit for his buildings and other improvements. He could not be evicted save for a breach of a term of his tenancy. He could freely sell his interest. This statute was amended in various respects, but eventually landlordism was got rid of by the Land Purchase code, the first statute of which was passed in 1885. The system was this: If a landlord and tenant agreed upon the sale of the holding, the State would pay the landlord the agreed price, and recoup itself by a terminable annuity payable by the

tenant. Thus, if a holding were let at £50 a year, and the agreement was for a sale at 18 years' purchase (£900), the State would pay the landlord the £900, and receive from the tenant an annuity, for 49 years, of £36 per annum, being at the rate of 4 per cent. on the £900 purchase money. The tenant thus became the proprietor of the holding, subject to a terminable annuity, which was less than the rent he formerly paid. Under this system, which, with modifications (one of which was the free gift by the State of a bonus to help to finance the transaction) prevailed till 1921, over two-thirds of the land of Ireland passed to the tenants. The remaining one-third has been dealt with on similar lines by the Free State Government.

The Irish Nationalist Party

Of the 103 representatives that Ireland sent to Westminster 86 were Nationalists. In 1880 they came under the leadership of a Protestant squire, Charles Stewart Parnell, a dominating personality who exercised undisputed sway over his followers until 1890, when he was deposed owing to the divorce proceedings in which he was co-respondent. From that time to the triumph of the Sinn Fein party in 1918 there was great dissension amongst Irish Nationalists, and the party lost much of its influence and power. But while it existed, its policy was clear, intelligible, and effective. Keeping itself aloof from English politics, having and professing to have no interest in Empire or British affairs save so far as they directly affected Ireland, the Irish Nationalist party, by taking advantage of the conflict between the old English parties—Liberal and Conservative—was able to exercise a much greater effect upon British policy in Ireland than could be

expected from its numbers. The prodigious improvement in the British outlook upon Ireland, manifested for more than half a century, was due partly to the growth of intelligence, education, and political power in the English masses, partly, too, it must be admitted, to the fact that in times of distress Irish crime, fixing its mark upon those of the English connection, forced Government attention, but in great part, also, to the zeal, ability, and vigilance of the Irish party at Westminster.

Home Rule—Ulster Question

That Home Rule would have been conceded far earlier, probably in Gladstone's time, is certain had not the Ulster question arisen. Six counties of the north-eastern province of Ulster, comprising the important city of Belfast, are inhabited mainly by men of Scottish breed and Presbyterian religion. Belfast and many places in its environment had prospered exceedingly since the Union. Belfast was a town of 25,000 inhabitants in 1800; it is now one of about 400,000. The linen industry, started at the end of the seventeenth century, had always thriven. Harland and Wolff, unable to get a site in Dublin for their shipbuilding, started operations in Belfast about 1850. Shipbuilding employed the men; linen employed the women. The city throve, and is now one of the big shipbuilding centres of the world, while its linen is unequalled. Other industries, such as rope making and tobacco manufacture, have also flourished. This state of affairs owes nothing whatever to Government assistance.

The doctrine of tariffs preached by Irish politicians found no favour with the business men of Ulster. Belfast, a raw-looking manufacturing city, was jealous of Dublin, which, if somewhat shabby, had an air of

old-world gentility. There was hatred of Catholicism and some genuine fear of Catholic oppression, and the Orangemen manifested their feelings annually on July 12 (the anniversary of the Battle of Aughrim) by breaking the heads of the Catholic workmen in Belfast. When the Liberal Government were trying to force on the Home Rule Bill for all Ireland, Ulster rebelled. A provisional Government was formed to exercise its functions in the event of the Bill becoming law, and over 200,000 volunteers were enrolled at Belfast, with great solemnity, to defend it. The treasonable character of this movement is beyond dispute, yet no prosecution of the leaders took place. Lord Oxford, in his *Fifty Years of Parliamentary History*, gives as one of the reasons for Government inaction that a prosecution could be taken only in Ulster, where the overt acts of rebellion took place, and where the proceedings were bound to be abortive. It is almost incredible that such legal advice could have been given. An application could have been made to the judges in Dublin or London or both to bind the culprits to keep the peace, and evidence could have been given on the application of acts by them wherever done. The application could not have been refused, and imprisonment in default would have ensued. This procedure would have been ample to test the constitutional question involved. Another reason given by Lord Oxford is that the Irish Nationalist party entreated the Government to take no action. This is beyond dispute. An information at the suit of the Crown was prepared in Dublin Castle, engrossed and ready for service on the Ulster gun-runners, when a telegram was received to stop the proceedings, this telegram having been the result of advice given by the Irish leaders.

The Ulster opposition was the chief of the forces that beat the Gladstone Home Rule Bills. The Asquith measure did become law in 1914, with, however, a

Government pledge not to put it into force till the question of Ulster was reconsidered. Ultimately, it never applied to any part of Ireland, being replaced by the Treaty of 1921, so far as the south was concerned, and by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, so far as the six counties were concerned.

Sinn Fein Rebellion of 1916

When the Great War came, the Irish Parliamentary party, under the leadership of John Redmond, declared itself in favour of the Allies, and voluntary recruiting brought in 135,000 recruits. But the war went for a time badly enough, and there was a growth of anti-British feeling, induced, no doubt, by an apprehension that compulsory service, which first became law in Great Britain in 1915, would sooner or later be applied to Ireland.

The party called Sinn Fein (=*nous-même*) now came into prominence. The founder of this party was Arthur Griffith, an Irish journalist of Welsh extraction, who believed in making Ireland a manufacturing country by means of high tariffs. The party now started a number of small news-sheets of very strong anti-British tendency. A body called the Irish Volunteers had been formed before the war as a sort of counterblast to the Ulster Volunteers, and some arms were smuggled into the country. The Sinn Fein party attracted to its side the extreme members of the Labour party, under the leadership of James Connolly—an able Socialist with communistic leanings—and of James Larkin, an agitator of the ranting type. A rebellion was resolved on, and German aid was sought, through the agency of Sir Roger Casement, who had gone to Berlin at the beginning of the war. The re-

bellion was fixed for Easter Monday, 1916. But, largely owing to divided counsels amongst the leaders as to the advisability of going on with it, the rebellion was a smaller affair than anticipated. About 2,000 men were engaged in it all told, most of them in Dublin city, where the fighting, which lasted a week, was largely in the nature of street fighting. The German vessel, *The Aud,* which was bringing guns and ammunition to the rebels, was sighted by a British cruiser and sunk. Sir Roger Casement, who had been put ashore on the coast of Kerry from a German submarine, was captured and afterwards executed. Sixteen other rebel chiefs, including Connolly, were also executed.

Though this rebellion was on a small scale, easily put down, and generally reprobated in Ireland, it profoundly affected Irish history. It produced an immediate attempt by Mr. Asquith to settle the Irish question. This was a failure, as also was a convention of representative Irishmen convened by the Government to try and overcome the Ulster difficulty. But the fact that the fighting had brought these things to pass was looked upon as its justification, and there was a strong tendency in the country to swing to the left. Still, things might have quieted down, and a peaceful solution have been achieved, but for the introduction (1918) of a compulsory service Bill extending to Ireland.

Catholic Ireland rose as one man against it. Bishops, priests, men and women of all ranks enrolled themselves to resist this invasion of Irishmen's liberty. A sum of nearly £250,000 was subscribed as a fund to fight the conscriptionists. Ireland for a while was in a ferment. At the General Election of 1918 the Irish Parliamentary party was swept away, and of 106 members 73 were Sinn Fein.

The war came to an end, the conscription Act was never enforced. The zeal and enthusiasm ebbed. Had it not been for the ingenuity of a Mr. Daniel Breen, it

is likely that Ireland would have gone back to constitutionalism.

"ANGLO-IRISH WAR"—TREATY OF 1921

Mr. Breen, who was a track walker or ganger, in the employment of the Great Southern Railway Company of Ireland, tells us, with great candour, of the beginning of the "Anglo-Irish War" (*My Fight for Freedom,* or *Dan Breen's Book*). He and some comrades, finding that when the threat of conscription "faded away, so, too, did our great army," resolved to commence a "war" against the police, who were undoubtedly the eyes and ears of the British Government in Ireland. The first "battle" in this war was at Soloheadbeg, in the County of Tipperary. Mr. Breen and seven comrades on that occasion encountered and shot dead two armed policemen who were escorting gelignite to be used for quarry purposes. They followed up this success by similar enterprises. The idea of attacking the British Government in this way soon caught on. Michael Collins engaged in it, and an organization of sorts was formed. Those engaged in the business shot the Royal Irish Constabulary—that is to say, the country police, who carried arms—wherever they found them. They left untouched the Dublin police, who were unarmed. There were occasional scraps with the military. People who gave information were shot out of hand. The principal Irish daily paper, for calling the attempted shooting of Lord French, the Viceroy, "murder," was sacked, and £17,000 worth of damage done. There was widespread espionage and intimidation.

The Catholic bishops, in secret conclave, were unanimously of opinion that the "war" was not justifiable, but made no pronouncement as a body to

that effect. Many priests, including most of the younger priests, held that the war was as justifiable as any war, and a Maynooth theological journal took that view. There is good authority for saying that no more than 2,000 gunmen were engaged in the war.*

The official *Life of Michael Collins* tells us that the greatest number engaged in any "battle" was 200, and that was on the occasion when the military operation involved was the burning down of the Custom House, Dublin, an unguarded building. These essential facts are not altered by a body directing these operations calling itself G.H.Q. The Irish Republican army, according to a speech of General Mulcahy in the Dail (December, 1923), "was left to carry on the war on its own initiative, on its own resources, without either approval or disapproval from the Government of the Republic"—which sat in secret conclave, as we shall see.

Being ambushed—that is to say, being shot at by men without uniform and in hiding—is an unpleasant business. There were some defections from the Royal Irish Constabulary, and outlying barracks were abandoned. The "war" had been going on for some eighteen months—January, 1919, to July, 1920—when a new force, consisting of 1,500 Auxiliaries and 5,800 Black and Tans—so called from their improvised garments—were brought to Ireland. It is said, possibly with truth, that some of the Black and Tans were gaol birds, but the English General Macready says they were good material. At any rate, the new force behaved shockingly. They murdered any person

* Speech of Mr. Bartholomew O'Connor, reported in the *Irish Times* of August 17, 1923. Mr. O'Connor was a prominent man in the Sinn Fein movement. The same figure has been given to the writer by a prominent Constabulary official.

whom they suspected of complicity in the rebel movement. They also burnt down creameries and the houses of suspects. No serious steps were taken by the Government to compel a cessation of these detestable activities. On the contrary, a *Weekly Summary* or news-sheet was published in Dublin Castle, the effect of which was still further to inflame the angry Black and Tans.

The Irish people, as a whole, had no sympathy with the gunmen, until the English murder and arson campaign commenced. So far as England is concerned, the only creditable thing is that the Black and Tan outrages aroused a strong feeling in England, and produced withering denunciations from (amongst others) the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Presbyterian Moderator, and many other people of consequence.

During the "war" there were 566 English killed in all. From the rebellion of 1916 to the truce in 1921, 750 Irish in all were killed, according to the official Irish figures.

In the same month in which Mr. Breen commenced the "war," the Sinn Fein representatives met, called themselves the "Dail," or National Assembly, made a declaration of independence, and elected Mr. De Valera first President of an Irish Republic. On its suppression soon after, the assembly met in private. The Dail affected to be a *de facto* Government, but was not so in reality, for the British Government had control of all the finances, the judicial proceedings, the public buildings, and the policing of the country; functioning quite openly. The operations of the Dail and its purported measures were all in secret. The essence of a *de facto* Government is that it has superior strength behind it.

Embarrassed by English public opinion, and by the necessity of strenuous and expensive efforts if the gunmen were to be overcome, Mr. Lloyd George—

who had previously passed the Home Rule Act, 1920, which nobody wanted—agreed to a conference with representatives of the Dail, and on December 6, 1921, a Treaty was agreed to, under which Ireland was to have the status of a Dominion, reserving to Great Britain the right to enter certain strategic positions in the event of war. Six counties, however, were to have the right to opt out and to stay under the Act of 1920—which they did—but a clause was inserted by which an independent boundary tribunal was to be set up to adjust the boundaries between the six counties and the new Irish Free State. There was also a clause that the Free State should pay such portion of the British National Debt as another tribunal should determine. The boundary commission, consisting of Mr. John MacNeill representing the Free State, Mr. Fisher representing Ulster, and a South African Judge, agreed to a unanimous finding. This finding, which was not favourable to the Free State, and was prematurely published in a London daily paper, aroused much wrath and disappointment in the Free State. To get over the difficulty it was agreed that the six-county boundary should remain as it was, and the British Government agreed to forego its financial claim against Ireland—a claim which Mr. John Dillon, the last chairman of the Irish Nationalist party, publicly stated would result in a finding of £100,000,000 against the Free State. The Ulster six counties are at present functioning under the Act of 1920, which merely transfers administration to Irish hands and confers no real taxing powers.

During the "war" and civil war the feeling between the Orangemen and the Catholics in Ulster was very bitter. There were many murders and attempted murders; several hundred casualties on each side.

Civil War

The Treaty was ratified by the Dail as well as by the British Parliament, but the extremists were not satisfied. A civil war ensued, in which the extremists, under Mr. De Valera, were easily defeated. Severe measures were taken by the Free State Government during this fighting to put down anything in the shape of guerrilla warfare, no less than seventy-seven persons being executed. There was during the civil war and for some time afterwards a great wave of crime—murder, burning of mansions, robbery of banks. But in two or three years peace was restored. Michael Collins was killed in the civil war.

Ireland Since the Union

Ireland had made magnificent progress since the Union. It had not progressed under its own Parliament (1783 to January, 1801). The Irish Government was nearly bankrupt in 1797; the Government had to pay 8⅜ per cent. for a loan. The National Debt had swollen from £1,917,784 in 1783 to £28,551,157 on January 5, 1801. The currency was in an unsatisfactory condition, shopkeepers in Dublin being in the habit of weighing coin to prevent loss, owing to the great number of deficient coins in circulation; and in country places acute blacksmiths could be found issuing notes for such small sums as 6d. and 1s. The police force was a laughing-stock, and so were some of the courts of justice. Landlord tyranny was rampant and Catholics still suffered from disabilities. Dublin had a population of 172,000, and, though it had some fine buildings and streets, its poorer parts were slums of an appalling character. There were

covered cesspools in Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street) and open sewers elsewhere. According to Wolfe Tone, the populace were "a despicable populace whom no change could make worse"; in the narrow streets, according to the poet Shelley (writing in 1812), "thousands are huddled together—one mass of animated filth." The population of Belfast was only 25,000. The condition of the Irish peasantry was appalling, most of them living in mud huts; the children scarcely ever had shoes or stockings; a great number of men and women also went without them. The peasants were mere serfs, ground to powder under the weight of rack-rents, tithes, and other exactions. The chapels in which they worshipped were wholly unsuitable—thatched buildings, many with walls not above 8 or 10 feet high, 12 or 15 in breadth, and 40 or 50 in length. Even as late as 1837 the yield per acre of Irish land was only one-half that of English land. Industries in the country were almost negligible. There were nearly 8,000,000 acres of waste land.

R. M. Martin, writing in 1843, truly describes the improvement to that period:

"Since the Union, Catholic Emancipation has been granted; the commerce between both countries has been put upon the footing of a coasting trade; the Irish and British currency has been assimilated; the municipal corporations have been reformed; tithes have been converted into a rent charge, thereby relieving the poor cultivators; taxation has been materially diminished; £10,000,000 sterling of Imperial revenue have been spent upon public works; a national system of education has been established; Orange associations have been abolished; a legislative provision has been made for the poor, sick, and destitute; public banks and companies have been formed with British capital for the benefit of Ireland; Church rates have been abolished; the prison laws amended and consolidated;

a survey and valuation of Ireland of a most complete and extensive nature has for some years been in progress as a remedy for the inequalities of local taxation; improved grand and petty jury Bills have been passed; the criminal code has been reformed; the numerous abuses in every court of law have been rectified; a valuable and commercial system of county courts where justice is cheaply and effectively brought to the door of every man has been established in every part of Ireland; dispensaries have been formed in every village in Ireland for the relief of the poor; free hospitals and lunatic asylums, not surpassed in any part of the world, have been established in every district; excellent and numerous roads now intersect the whole island."

To take up the tale from 1843. In 1921, Dublin, with suburbs, had a population of 400,000, with the largest and richest brewery in the world and one of the largest biscuit factories, with every sign of wealth in its shops and streets, and with a horse show that attracted every year visitors from over the world; Belfast was a city of 400,000 population, with large shipbuilding, linen, and tobacco industries: the land question had been settled by the transference to the farmers of the full ownership of the soil; if a farmer wanted to improve his holding by the building of a barn or the like, he could borrow the money from the State and pay it back by a terminable annuity; drainage Acts enabled drainage schemes to be initiated and maintained at the expense of the area benefited; there were only 1,000,000 acres of waste land; 50,000 agricultural labourers' cottages had been built and were let, with half an acre or an acre of land, to agricultural labourers, at rents varying from 10d. to 1s. 6d. a week; in the towns the Housing Acts, common to both countries, had almost settled the city slum problem; the standard of living, taken all round, was high, and

the country in 1914 was spending over £10,000,000 a year in alcohol; a National University acceptable to Catholics had been established; the primary and intermediate education was on a satisfactory basis; country patronage and power had passed from the old ascendancy to the people (by virtue of the Local Government Act, 1898); an admirable Agricultural Department—which a Canadian Commission recommended its Government to take as a model—was in full swing; there was a full railway system, which included some light railways run by the State at a loss; the production per acre of most crops exceeded that of England; the Catholic churches in Ireland were edifices in all respects worthy of their great purpose, and many of them were costly and elegant; there was an admirable voluntary co-operative movement; Ireland had all the benefits of the various statutes passed at Westminster for the betterment of the people, such as the Factory Acts, the Children Act, the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Acts, the National Insurance Act, the Old Age Pensions Act, and, in addition, of such statutes as the peculiar conditions of the country required, thus, the Town Tenants Act, 1908, preventing the disturbance from their holdings of town tenants, ante-dated in this respect legislation for England by fifteen years; there was a splendid postal telegraphic and telephonic system; the judicial system was up to the British standard.

For a dozen years or so previous to the war, Ireland was subsidized by England—that is to say, more was spent upon Ireland than Ireland yielded in taxation, the excess being over £1,000,000 per annum. A strong middle class had grown up. Exports and imports, which in 1800 were £11,000,000, were £147,000,000 in 1913, and reached—largely owing to war or post-war conditions—£400,000,000 in 1921. The Irish people

had £250,000,000 on deposit in their own banks, and £300,000,000 of Irish money were invested in English securities—a colossal sum for a country of about 4,500,000. Ireland was a rich country, and for an agricultural country a very rich country. The only serious fault in the economic structure was the existence of a great number of farms, too small to give the holder a decent livelihood.

The political influence of Ireland at Westminster was great and becoming greater in every way. In 1868, Gladstone offered the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland to a great Irish Catholic, the O'Conor Don; the same position was several times subsequently offered to other Irishmen, one of them being Parnell; the post of chief administrator of the country was refused. At Westminster, out of 670 members of the House of Commons there were, in 1921, 106 Irish members, or more than 1 in 7, though the population ratio was 1 in 10, and the tax-yielding ratio 1 in 16. It is curious but true, that had there been no revolution, the English, in self-defence, would have been compelled to ask the Irish to get out of the Union on their own terms. It is also curious, but true, that in the long fight for secession no count seems ever to have been taken of the considerable Irish population in Great Britain. There are probably as many Irish in London as in Dublin; nearly as many Irish in Great Britain as in the Irish Free State—the number is put at 2,500,000. It is certain that in process of time there will be far more Irish in Great Britain than in Ireland.

Before the revolutionary process commenced, Ireland was the most crimeless country in the world. The general standard of conduct was also extraordinarily high.

THE IRISH FREE STATE

The constitution of the Irish Free State does not differ in essentials from that of Great Britain. Parliament consists of the King (represented by a Governor-General) and by two Houses of Parliament—the Senate, the election to which lies mainly with the Dail, and the Dail, elected by the people on a universal suffrage basis and by proportional representation procedure. The Dail is supreme in matters of finance.

The present Free State Government has been in office since 1921, having been twice re-elected since. It has shown an admirable spirit—tolerant, courageous, zealous for the welfare of the country. It has, in the main, kept the Treaty in the spirit and in the letter. There has been, however, one disturbing incident. The Privy Council, in a question affecting the rights of Civil Servants who lost their positions owing to the Treaty, adjudicated upon an appeal in an action brought by the Civil Servants against the Free State Government. Responsible Irish ministers have announced that the Government will repudiate the adjudication. Such action would clearly be a breach of the Treaty, for Dominion status, agreed to by the Treaty, involves submission to a judgment of the Privy Council. The matter is, however, in course of negotiation, and there is ground for hoping that an accommodation will be reached. At the same time, the position of the Privy Council, on which the Dominions have no strict right of representation, is anomalous, and some reform is needed, especially as lawsuits in which Great Britain on the one side and a Dominion on the other are the real contestants may come up for adjudication—a case relating to the payment of duties on the death of the late Lord Iveagh has arisen in the Irish Free State.

The Irish Free State Government holds office by an extremely slender majority. Mr. De Valera and his followers are the chief element of the opposition. They are sincere Republicans, and their programme is directed to abolition of the oath of allegiance to the King, the repudiation of the moneys advanced by the British Exchequer towards the payment out of the landlords, and a high tariff wall. This party at first refused to enter Parliament, the taking of the oath of allegiance being a condition precedent. Ultimately they took the oath, announcing at the same time that they did not regard it as binding on them. Very curiously, this performance has been defended by some Irish Catholic theologians, and a speech in the same sense has been delivered by Archbishop Mannix, of Melbourne. By most people, however, it is regarded as blasphemous.

The Irish Free State, for all practical purposes, has absolute independence. If Great Britain goes to war it need not—and probably will not—enter the conflict. Its only obligation so far as war or apprehended war is concerned is the obligation (laid down by the Treaty) to admit the British to certain harbours and strategic points. On the other hand, Irish Free State citizens have all the advantages of British citizenship—including (amongst others) the right to go and live in England, Scotland, or Wales, to enter the British Civil Service, and to practise as medical men in Great Britain without a British degree or qualification. The arrangement is obviously more advantageous to Ireland than would be a republic. It is probable that the Republicans, if they achieve power, will find their republican policy impracticable, but the existence of a powerful party with its avowed aims introduces an element of uncertainty in the political situation which is a serious handicap upon the country's progress.

The Irish Free State is now perfectly peaceful, and

admirably administered. A new and thoroughly competent police force has been formed. The detection of crime is efficient and its punishment adequate. With some statutory additions, British law has been adopted. The new judicial system differs little from the old, and such alterations as have been made are now under review. Such land as had not at the time of the Treaty been sold to the tenants has been transferred by a single sweeping statute at a flat rate, the price being somewhat less than that which the landlords received under the old voluntary system. Unworthy city corporations have been abolished, and paid State commissioners put in their place—Dublin has been vastly improved in consequence. It is noteworthy that it is not only in this respect that the Government policy is conservative, with a tendency towards Fascism. Important limitations have been imposed upon the right to old age pensions; taxation on beer and postage is very high. On the other hand, income tax has been reduced to 1s. lower than the British rate, with the obvious intention of tempting back the well-to-do Anglo-Irish whom the revolution drove in great shoals from the country. People are to be forced to use electricity, whether they want it or not, as they are rated for it, whether they take it or not.

Taxation is very high—over £20,000,000 per annum, or nearly £7 per head. Excluding the war period, under the British régime taxation never reached £3 per head. Owing partly to expenditure on the Shannon Scheme, and partly to payment for damage caused by the civil war, there is now a national debt of nearly £20,000,000. Tariffs varying from 15 per cent. to 33⅓ per cent. have been imposed. It is claimed that employment has been thereby created for 11,000 hands. On the other hand, cost of living is higher than in Great Britain or free trade Ulster, and this has, in part, contributed to a great tide of emigration that has flowed since 1921

to U.S.A., Great Britain, and the other British Dominions. An agricultural slump, which has affected other countries as well, has diminished the great national wealth of 1921. National income is falling, owing to the diminution of population, to the reduced purchasing power of excisable articles, to a State reduction of public-houses, and to a growing temperance movement. For a good many years prior to the Treaty, Irish imports and exports about balanced. Since 1921 there has been a large adverse balance, which in 1926 was over £19,000,000. The adverse balance is now steadily going down—in 1928 it was only £12,000,000 odd—exports £36,750,000; imports £49,000,000.

Of Irish exports, Great Britain takes over 95 per cent. It is an astounding fact, but is regarded with mixed feelings in Ireland. "Ireland lies in England's economic grip," it is said. Of England's exports, the Free State takes 7 per cent.

According to the last estimate (1928), there are in the Irish Free State 2,957,000 persons. Of these, 1,307,662 are employed persons, comprising—in agriculture, 672,129 (of these 206,000 are farmers' sons and daughters, 67,713 other relatives—these receive only their board, lodging, and clothing—and 139,109 paid hands); 11,974 civil servants; 2,939 local government officials; 7,158 civic guards; 1,076 army officers, and 13,869 non-commissioned officers and men (this force is being reduced); 2,364 persons in 41 woollen factories; 4,650 persons in 15 breweries; 397 in 4 distilleries. While in Scotland 801 and in England 713 out of every 1,000 engaged in agriculture are wage earners, in the Free State the figure is only 207—nearly every agriculturist in Ireland is a farmer or peasant on his own account. Also, while in the Irish Free State 514 out of every 1,000 occupied persons are engaged in agriculture, in Scotland only

89 and in England and Wales only 73 are so engaged.

The emigration figure for the Irish Free State for 1927 was 27,000, of whom 14,000 were males—this has been about the average since 1921. There were 2,084 immigrants. Of the 27,309, 23,947 were bound for U.S.A., 1,815 for British North America, 1,036 for Australia, 132 for New Zealand, 106 for British South Africa, 87 for India, and 186 for other countries. The figures take no account of the emigration to Great Britain, which must be considerable. The Scots are much perturbed by the growth of the Irish Catholic population in Scotland, which numbered 338,000 in 1890, and now amounts to 700,000.

It is estimated that there are in England, Scotland, and Wales, about 2,750,000 Catholics, mostly Irish. The distinguished sociologist, Professor McDougall, in his *Group Mind*, points out that if a community consists of two sections, equal in number, Section A having a family of three and Section B a family of four, the proportion at the end of three centuries will be—Section A, 15 per cent.; Section B, 85 per cent. As the Catholics do not practise birth control, and as the practice of birth control amongst the non-Catholics in Great Britain is increasing rapidly, it is reasonably certain that, for this reason as well as others, the Irish Catholics in Great Britain will eventually constitute a very considerable part of the population of Great Britain. It would be a humorous exaggeration to say that the conquest of Britain by Ireland has begun, but the statement would contain a spice of truth.

The primary education of Catholics in Great Britain has some State help. If the Catholics provide the school, the State pays its running expenses. An agitation is on foot with a view of receiving from the State some contribution at least towards the building

of the Catholic primary schools. The Irish Catholics in Great Britain are, so far as this issue is concerned, much disadvantaged by the absence of the eighty-six Irish members formerly sent to Westminster by Irish Catholic constituencies.

The estimated revenue from "foreign" (this means English) investments held by residents in the Free State was £12,500,000 in 1927, which must be less than in 1921, having regard to the depression between 1921 and 1927. The Irish in U.S.A. sent over to needy relatives in the same year £2,150,000, which surprising figure is probably the average. This sum goes mainly to the agricultural slum population. As this little book is passing through the press, the report of the banks shows £176,000,000 invested in Free State banks.

A serious problem is that of the agricultural slums. A great number of farms in Ireland are too small to afford a decent livelihood for the smallest of families —there are some 500,000 holdings, of which a half are less than 30 acres in extent. Under the British régime, the Congested District Board had certain powers of enlarging holdings and encouraging migration. These powers, much enlarged, are now vested in another body. But the task of migrating uneducated peasants, without much real knowledge of farming, and with little or no capital, is one of great practical difficulty.

The Free State Government is making a valiant effort to revive the Irish language. The difficulty is that the main body of the people are apathetic and some actually hostile. The Government has had recourse to stringent compulsion, making Irish compulsory in the schools and necessary for all positions in the State. *The experiment is an interesting one, for* before the Government took up the question the language was all but dead. In furtherance of the same policy, an area in the West of Ireland—very poor and

backward—has been selected as a place where the language and ancient Irish customs are to be still more strictly enforced.

An Irish currency has been established. Being linked to the £, there is no risk in it, though a dual currency, no doubt, causes some little inconvenience. It is part of the de-Anglicizing policy which is the main plank in the Sinn Fein platform.

A Censorship Bill is at present on the stocks and is certain to pass. It prohibits any publication in furtherance of the practice of birth control and it gives power to a censorship board to prohibit any publication it thinks harmful to morals. Non-Catholics, in general, protest against the measure and allege oppression. To the Catholic mind, the measure is not only just, but necessary and commendable. The bill and the opposition to it are signs of the two wholly irreconcilable philosophies.

Following England's example, the Free State Government is giving large subsidies for the encouragement of a beet sugar industry. It was pointed out some time ago by a sugar refiner in the *Manchester Guardian* that if Mr. Churchill's forecast was right—that in three years' time England would be producing sufficient beet sugar to satisfy one-third of its requirements—that the subsidy on this would be £12,000,000 a year, whereas the same quantity of sugar of a superior quality could be provided by the refiners of foreign sugar for £8,000,000. This is not encouraging.

At the time of writing, the hare which has been chased many a time has again been started—that Ireland has minerals. So it has, but they are of no commercial value whatever. Coal in the Free State is poor anthracite found in seams of twelve to eighteen inches. Other minerals are also in the like small quantities. English capital, which has its agents looking for profit in every part of the earth, would not have failed to

find Irish minerals if there were any. As a matter of fact, many a finger has been burnt in Irish mineral enterprises.

In an interesting article recently published in *The World To-Day*, Mr. F. O'Hanlon, B.Sc., says: "The tide of emigration which halved the population in the space of eighty years is still unchecked. To provide work for willing hands and thus to stop the outward flow of life-blood is the riddle which the new Ireland must answer or perish. . . . It is necessary to transform the face of the land, to compel a changed outlook, and to reconstruct economic life. For this, the Shannon Scheme has been born."

At the present time the Irish Free State consumes annually 50,000,000 units of electricity per year.* This is a very small consumption of electricity, and is entirely confined to the towns. Most of it is taken up in the lighting of the City of Dublin and its suburbs (pop. 400,000); and in the supply to the Dublin trams. Dublin City takes 19,000,000: the trams 17,000,000. The idea of the Shannon Scheme is to furnish electricity at a cheap rate to all parts of Ireland—taking in the farms—and thereby to stimulate manufacturing industry and agriculture.

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* The unit of electricity is the kilowatt hour. Definition of terms.—The amount of current flowing from a generator does not by itself give the power of the generator. We must know the pressure. The *amount* of current is measured in amperes; the *pressure* in volts. If we multiply amperes (the amount of current) by volts (the pressure), we get watts, the power. A kilowatt is 1,000 watts. A kilowatt hour is the amount of electric energy produced by a one-kilowatt generator in one hour. A horse power is the power required to lift 550 pounds 1 foot in 1 second, or 1 pound 550 feet in 1 second. One horse power is ·746 of a kilowatt.

The plant at present in process of installation* is of 85,000 horse-power capacity. It will be able to produce 150,000,000 units of power in a year, if that amount of power is required. This is a big plant, but for a plant serving national needs it cannot be called—as it has been called—"vast." The Lochaber Scheme in Scotland, designed to serve a great aluminium factory, will have a plant of 100,000 horse-power; Battersea Corporation has a 500,000 horse-power plant in course of construction; the City of Sheffield (pop. 511,748) has a plant of 400,000 horse-power, and consumes 210,000,000 units per annum (this does 85 per cent. of the factory work, and gives light to one-third of its houses).† The Tay in Scotland was surveyed by Signor Omodeo, an Italian engineer of world eminence, and was found to have a capacity of 300,000 horse-power, but it was also found that the project could not compete, for example, in Dundee, with electricity produced from coal.‡

Some idea of what is really vast in industrial power can be gleaned from the letter of Professor J. A. Fleming, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., of the Electric Engineering Dept. of University College, London, to *The Times* (September 25, 1926): "In Switzerland at the

* That is, in its primary development. Secondary and tertiary stages of development are mentioned, but it is sufficient, for the present, to consider the works in course of construction.

† For England, Sheffield is a highly electrified city. Some big firms—Vickers, John Browns, Hadfields, Cammells, and others—make their own electricity for power and smelting purposes.

‡ "Electric power can be generated from coal at prices that compare favourably with all but the very cheapest waterfall plant."—Mr. C. Dampier-Whetham, F.R.S., in *The Times,* April 23, 1928.

present time about 1,500,000 horse-power, drawn from waterfalls and high-level lakes, is being taken for the electrification of main-line railways and factories. With the best modern boilers, engines, and dynamos, 1 horse-power for 1 hour can be generated in the form of electric energy by the combustion of 1 pound of coal. If we take the working hours of the year at 8,000 at most, then 1,500,000 horse-power for the year can be obtained by the combustion of 6,000,000 tons of coal. This is only about one week's output of coal in Great Britain. If it were possible to increase our coal output by only 5 per cent. in Great Britain without lengthening hours of miners' labour, that increase would be the equivalent in power generation of all the water-power at present being used in Switzerland and Sweden." Canada has 4,778,000 horse-power installed, and a potential 43,000,000 horse-power.

The work at present in course of construction consists of (1) the dam and plant necessary for the generation of the power; (2) the carrying of the electricity on overhead lines to the vicinity of 132 towns or villages in Ireland; and (3) the erection at or near those towns of the necessary transformer stations. Up to the present nothing has been said as to the low-tension transmission of the electricity from the power-houses to the consumer, nor has any estimate been made of the cost thereof.

Work on the Shannon Scheme was commenced in July, 1925. It was not a fixed price job, but either on priced schedule or on cost of material and wages plus profit. The estimate for the work was £5,200,000; the estimate for the time which the job was to take was *three years. It was also estimated that at the end of* two years from the opening of the works 110,000,000 units of electricity (that is, 150,000,000 after deducting 40,000,000 for loss in transmission) would be sold. These estimates seem to be optimistic. The work will

take nearly five years instead of three (thereby adding to the interest cost); already £4,250,000 have been spent; it is in the highest degree unlikely that 110,000,000 units (that is, 60,000,000 units in excess of the present consumption) will be absorbed in two years in a non-industrial country. Mr. O'Hanlon, who accepts the German estimate *in toto,* and takes no account of the cost of low-tension transmission to the customer or the farmer, or of the fact that if brought to the farmers the estimate of staff charges must be greatly exceeded, calculates that the electricity could be sold at a flat rate of ·84d. per unit. If the corrections and omissions suggested be made, the cost will be very much more.

But, even if, to make the scheme pay for itself, the cost of electricity cannot be low, the cost can be made low by scrapping the capital cost of construction altogether. Possibly this may be done. The debt of the Irish Free State is small, and its finances would stand the strain. But the advisability of this policy is doubtful. It is not true that cheap power produces manufacturing industry. The following figures, *though some modification of them should be allowed* for to meet European conditions, give us to think on the subject. According to R. F. Pack, first Vice-President of National Electric Light Association, U.S.A. (letter to *Electric Journal,* May, 1925), the cost of power enters into the products named in the following proportions: 1·26 per cent. to 2·70 per cent. of finished metal, 1·26 to 2·70 of finished stone products, 1·69 per cent. of bakery, 1·11 of furniture, 0·92 of canned goods, 0·38 to 0·94 of food, 0·51 of boots and shoes, 0·22 of clothing products. Power cost is, therefore, a very small part of the ultimate cost of production of manufactured goods. It is, of course, of importance where other favourable factors exist, such as the existence of an industrial population and an industrial tradition;

the presence of large capital in industries or of industrially inclined capitalists; an industrial temperament; the presence or accessibility of raw materials, and the like.

It is also something of a fallacy that cheap electricity is of enormous consequence to the small farmer—Ireland is a country of small farmers, the average farm being thirty acres. It will not—save at a capital outlay which is out of the question in Ireland—perform the major work of the farm—ploughing, sowing, reaping, weeding, draining, fencing, etc. It will do the work about the house, which in the case of the Irish farmer can be done by the household staff, mostly consisting of the farmer, his wife, and family. In U.S.A., where electricity is very cheap, and the farms are huge, out of 16,000,000,000 horse-power hours of energy used annually on farms, only 5½ per cent. is supplied by electricity—the amount increases, however, very fast. It is conceived that the true view as to the effect of electrification of rural areas is correctly stated by Mr. W. G. Dampier-Whetham, F.R.S., in *The Times* of April 3, 1928: "The present troubles of agriculture are economic—low prices and high costs of production. Cheap electric power can do nothing to raise prices, though it may do a little to lower costs. It is not a universal panacea, but it may make labour somewhat more efficient, and save heavy and unpleasant toil. Its greatest benefits are the increase of amenities: clean, good, convenient light; telephones to give ease of communication; and power which, by the motion of a hand, is available in large or small amounts. Electricity will not of itself bring prosperity to agriculture but it will increase the attractions of country life, and help the process of rural repopulation." This was said of a country of large farms.

The reasonable conclusion to be drawn from an investigation of the Shannon Scheme is that, while it

will not fulfil the great expectations it has aroused, it will effectually light the country and probably produce some small manufacturing industries. For the sake of the probable psychological effect, it may be worth the money. There is a prosperous future for the Free State; but it is to be found in agricultural rather than industrial pursuits.

Northern Ireland

The six counties that are now called Northern Ireland have a Parliament modelled after the British. Under the Act of 1920 Northern Ireland is supposed to contribute £8,000,000 a year towards the British Exchequer, after paying for its own services. This has been found impossible. The Belfast Parliament has merely certain residual powers of taxation and the entire yield of taxation imposed at Westminster (where Northern Ireland is represented) and at Belfast leaves something over £1,000,000 as a contribution to the Imperial Exchequer. Religious feuds have disappeared from Northern Ireland, and the district is pursuing its own humdrum existence. Any prospect of fusion between the two parts of Ireland seems to have been extinguished by the compulsory Irish policy of the Free State.

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A full and readable history. The author obviously desires to be impartial, but accepts at their face value most of the Irish illusions of the Union period, and he should be checked with *History of Ireland* (2 vols.), 1798-1924, by the Right Hon. Sir James O'Connor, K.C.

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THE ISLAMIC FAITH

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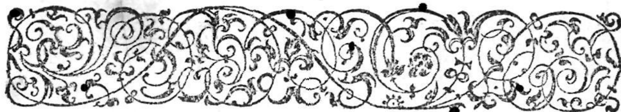

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THE ISLAMIC FAITH

THE CREED OF ISLAM

THE faith of Islam is professed by about 239 millions of persons, distributed mainly throughout the continents of Asia and Africa, but found also in smaller groups in many other parts of the world. Their creed is expressed in the brief sentence: "There is no god save God; Muhammad is the Apostle of God." Around these two central dogmas of the Unity of God and the prophetic mission of Muhammad, the whole of Muslim theology has been built up, and whatever may have been the variations in the exposition of religious doctrine and the diversities of ecclesiastical organization, all the sects (and they have been many) agree in the acceptance of these fundamental articles of the faith and repeat the creed in the same words. It is whispered in the ear of the new-born babe; it is one of the first sentences the growing child is taught to utter; on all possible occasions, the pious Muslim loves to repeat it, and these should be the last words on the lips of the dying.

The two parts of which this creed are made up, nowhere occur together in the Qur'ān, but are taken from separate chapters—viz., xlvii., 21, and xlviii., 29. The implications of the first clause are that God is One and Unique in His essence; the qualities of the divine nature are, indeed, enumerated at great length in the Qur'ān, but throughout the whole of Muslim theological literature the heresy most dreaded is that of *Shirk*, or giving to God a partner, and the exposi-

tion of the Being of God is set forth in such a way as always to emphasize His absolute Unity. A large part of the dogmatic theology of the Muslim world is taken up with the problem of the relation between the essence of God's nature and His qualities, such as His power, knowledge, and goodness, etc., as will be shown later on.

The second article of this creed implies a doctrine of God's relation to His creation, according to which God, having first instructed Adam in divine truth and explained to him his duties, in succeeding ages, as the knowledge of this truth became obscured, and men lapsed into unbelief, sent a succession of prophets—Noah, Abraham, Moses, etc.—to proclaim anew the primitive revelation. This series of prophets comprises many of the familiar names of the Old Testament, and leads through St. John the Baptist and Jesus to Muhammad, "the seal of the prophets," after whom no further inspired teacher is held to be needed. According to this theory of God's revelation to men through prophets, Muhammad was not the founder of any new religion, and he constantly emphasized the fact that he was an apostle of no new doctrine (Qur'ān, xlvi., 8), and described his own teaching as being the religion of Abraham. It is, therefore, misleading to call the Muslim faith Muhammadanism, as though the adherents of it considered Muhammad to be the founder of it, and the name which the Muhammadan world gives to its own faith is Islam—that is, resignation to the will of God. Thus, by theory, there is nothing new in Muhammad's teaching, and in the Qur'ān he represents himself as bidden by God to say: "We believe in God and in what hath been sent down to us and what hath been sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and in what was given to Moses and to Jesus and to the prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between them; and to Him we are resigned; and

whoso desireth any other religion than Islam, it shall by no means be accepted from him, and in the next world he will be among the lost" (Qur'ān, iii., 78, 79). But despite this self-depreciatory attitude, the person of Muhammad fills a large place in the religious consciousness of his followers, and his name is constantly on their lips. As no biography of him appears to have been written by any of his contemporaries, the details of his life became early wrapped around with miraculous narrations; and the earliest biography that has survived to us, compiled in the second century of the Muhammadan era, is already filled with narrations which historical criticism is unable to accept as authentic. All such details of his life as are in harmony with the text of the Qur'ān, which all authorities are agreed in accepting as the utterance of Muhammad himself, may be accepted as historically correct, but these details are few in number compared with those which his numerous biographers relate of him. Born in the city of Mecca some time in the second half of the sixth century, he came forward as a religious teacher among his fellow-townsmen; but they rejected his message and his warnings of the impending Day of Judgment and the wrath of God upon idolaters, and the number of his adherents appears to have grown very slowly, and he and they were exposed to much contumely and rough treatment. Historical research into this earlier period of the Prophet's career, the years spent in Mecca, has left little that can be accepted with any degree of certainty; but the historian reaches firmer ground when Muhammad determines to leave his native city and migrate to Medina, about eight days' journey from Mecca.

This event, from which the Muhammadan era commences, took place in the year 622, and for the following ten years, up to the death of the Prophet in June, 632, there are more reliable details of his career and activity. Soon after his arrival his followers came into

armed conflict with the people of Mecca. The first Muslim success was gained in the Battle of Badr (624), which is attributed in the Qur'ān (iii., 119) to the direct intervention of God, Who sent His angels to succour the faithful. The devotion with which his followers had by this time come to regard the Prophet may be gauged from the fact that their defeat in the Battle of Uhud, in which Muhammad himself was wounded (625), did not shake their confidence in him; and the indecision of the army of the Meccans, as shown in their failure to consummate their success by assaulting the city of Medina both after the Battle of Uhud and two years later, when they brought a much larger force up to the confines of the city, enabled Muhammad to fortify his position and so to extend his influence in the neighbouring territories that in the year 629 he was able to enter his native city at the head of a large force of his followers, and Mecca, which had so long rejected his mission, submitted without striking a blow. The Ka'bah, which had been the sanctuary of an earlier cult, was purified of its idolatrous associations, and became the focus of the new religion.

But more important for a study of the faith of Islam than the actual events of the life of Muhammad is an appreciation of the attitude of his followers towards him and the place which he has filled in the minds of the Muslims in succeeding ages. Whether historical criticism is willing to accept their account of the Prophet's life or not, the biographies of Muhammad current in the Muslim world are supremely important for an understanding of the faith of Islam. Though the Prophet repeatedly repudiated any claim to miraculous powers, maintaining, "I am but a man as ye are," later generations produced innumerable recitals of his miracles. In these it is possible to recognize the influence of the Gospels, and particularly of the Apocryphal Gospels, and a desire that the

founder of the new religion should not in any way fall behind the founder of the rival faith. Accordingly, the birth and childhood of Muhammad are heralded by prophecies and accompanied by marvellous events. He performs miracles of healing and miraculously feeds his followers. Particularly detailed and marvellous are recitals of his ascension to heaven, where he interviews the prophets who had preceded him, and is finally admitted into the presence of God himself. Muhammad also becomes the pattern for the devout life and the exemplar of all virtues, and innumerable anecdotes of his speech and behaviour on all possible occasions were recorded, and the faithful in all generations have aimed at modelling their lives upon that of the founder of their faith. One great Muslim legist is said to have always refused to eat a water-melon because he was unable to discover what had been the practice of the Prophet in regard to melons, and therefore decided to abstain altogether.

THE QUR'ĀN

The sacred scriptures of the faith of Islam are known as the Qur'ān (the recitation)—*i.e.,* the divine revelation which Muhammad was bidden to publicly recite to his heathen fellow-townsmen in Mecca, and later to the growing body of his believing followers. In the form in which it has come down to us, it represents the recension of the text which was issued in the reign of 'Uthmān, about twenty years after Muhammad's death. There is a general agreement by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars that the text of this recension substantially corresponds to the actual utterances of Muhammad himself.

But the arrangement of the text, divided as it is into

chapters of unequal length, does not correspond to the chronological order in which the various parts were said to have been revealed. For the principle generally adopted appears to have been to place the longest chapters first, and let the rest follow in a diminishing scale with the shortest at the end. This principle is disregarded in the case of the first chapter, the Fātiha (*i.e.*, the opening chapter). This is generally believed to have been one of the oldest portions of the Qur'ān, and to have been already commonly used as a prayer by the little group of believers in Mecca before Muhammad migrated from his native city to Medina. It has ever since formed an integral part of the daily devotions of the Muslim world, and is repeated on all kinds of solemn occasions—*e.g.*, at the shrines of the Saints, by the bedside of the sick and dying, and before undertaking any important enterprise. It runs thus:

"Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,
The Compassionate, the Merciful.
The King of the Day of Judgment.
Thee do we worship, and to Thee do we cry for help.
Guide us to the straight path,
The path of those to whom Thou art gracious;
Not of those with whom Thou art angered, nor of those who go astray."

The Qur'ān, as revealed to the Prophet, is represented as being the counterpart of the original Scripture in heaven, and as being in agreement with the earlier revelations given to Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, all of which were derived from the same divine source; but the Jews and the Christians are declared to have corrupted the original text of the Scriptures in their possession.

Much ingenuity has been exercised, both on the part

of Muslim theologians and European scholars, in the attempt to ascertain the correct historical order of the chapters of the Qur'ān. The shortest ones, placed at the end of the volume, are certainly among the earliest, and a general agreement has been arrived at as to which of the chapters were revealed in Mecca and which in Medina; but the longer and later chapters present numerous difficulties, since it is not certain that some of them have not been made up of revelations given at quite different periods in the Prophet's career.

A large part of the earlier chapters is taken up with descriptions of the Day of Judgment, when the trumpet will blow, the dead will arise and will stand before the throne of God; and into the hands of each individual will be placed a book containing a record of his or her deeds. A few verses will suffice to illustrate the vivid character of these descriptions.

"On that day shall every soul find present whatever it has wrought of good; and as to what it hath wrought of evil, it will wish that wide were the space between itself and it" (iii., 28). "Each shall have his book put into his hand, and thou shalt see the wicked in alarm at that which is therein, and they shall say, 'Oh, woe to us, what meaneth this book, it leaveth neither small nor great unnoted down?'" (xviii., 47). "We will set up just balances for the day of the resurrection, and no soul will be defrauded in aught; and even though (a deed) be but the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, we will bring it" (xxxi., 48).

The rewards of the blessed in Paradise and the torments of the wicked in hell are described with a lavish use of picturesque imagery. The righteous, clad in green silk, will recline on couches, under the shade of flowering trees, with clusters of grapes hanging over them, in gardens through which flow streams of water, milk, wine, and honey; here they will enjoy the company of dark-eyed, ever-virgin Houris, while im-

mortal youths will go about among them, pouring out drink from vessels of silver and glass. The damned, on the other hand, will be tortured in the fire of hell, amid scorching winds and scalding water; bound in fetters they will have no respite from the torment, and will be fed with choking food and boiling water, and their mutual wranglings will add to the woe of their distressful state.

Such descriptions are frequently repeated, for the people of Mecca, to whom Muhammad delivered his message, expressed great scepticism as to the possibility of the resurrection of the body. He insists, therefore, again and again on the power of God to bring the dead to life, after their bodies have become mere dust and bones, even as He created life in the first instance out of nothing.

It is impossible here to give an account of all the varied contents of the Qur'ān. They comprise theological dogmas as to the nature of God's existence, His attributes, His creative activity, His relation to mankind, especially in connection with His sending of prophets from time to time to reveal to men the truth as to the proper object of their worship and their duties towards God and one another; regulations as to the waging of war against unbelievers, the division of the spoil, and the disposal of captives; a certain number of legal enactments, such as those prescribing the punishments for criminal offences—*e.g.*, murder, theft, adultery, etc.; ordinances of civil law, dealing with marriage and divorce, and inheritance, which is dealt with in some detail. Insistence is laid upon right faith, repentance of sin, and the performance of good works, and special emphasis is laid on the fulfilment of the specific obligations of Islam, of which a separate account will be given below.

The ethical teaching of the Qur'ān is closely bound up with its theology, and the principles of morals are enunciated as commands of God. In the following

passage right conduct receives the same emphasis as right belief:

"There is no piety in turning your faces towards the East or the West, but he is pious who believeth in God and the Last Day, and the angels, and the Scriptures, and for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred and to the orphans and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming; who observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms; who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged them, and are patient under ills and hardships and in time of trouble. These are they who are just, and these are they who fear the Lord" (ii., 172).

Here the virtues of charity, patience, and the fulfilment of promises are given as important a place as loyalty to the true faith. Among the other ethical duties upon which emphasis is laid in the Qur'ān are kindness and gratitude towards parents, and one of the Traditions of the Prophet declares that Paradise lies at the feet of mothers; the care of the orphan; the reconciliation of contending groups of believers; the payment of debts; the forgiveness of offenders. Several rules are laid down for behaviour in society—*e.g.,* no house should be entered without first asking permission and saluting the inmates (xxiv., 27); a greeting should receive a courteous response (iv., 88); in social intercourse rules of politeness should be observed (xvii., 55, and ii., 77); and modesty of demeanour is commended (xxiv., 30, and xxv., 64).

Certain injunctions in the Qur'ān have had a lasting influence upon the general character of Muhammadan society; such has been the prohibition of the drinking of wine, which is described as "an abomination of Satan's work" (v., 92). Though there have been flagrant breaches of this commandment in most periods of Muhammadan history, yet its widespread observance has given to Muslim society a general

stamp of sobriety and austerity, and there have been times when Muhammadan governments have taken stern measures in insisting that the prohibition was observed. The eating of pork was also forbidden (v., 4; xvi., 116); this command has been more rigidly observed than the other, and thus an obstacle has been put in the way of social intercourse with Christians and other non-Muslims, which has emphasized the separate character of the Muslim community.

The prohibition of usury (ii., 276) has also exercised a profound influence on the commercial life of Muhammadan countries, and has, on the whole, been very strictly observed, in spite of its obvious disadvantages; even among such fanatical Muslims as the people of Afghanistan, toleration has been extended to the infidel Hindus who practise usury in that country, for otherwise any resource to the moneylender would be impossible, since none of the faithful could follow such a calling.

The marriage law of the Qur'ān admits of the marrying of four wives, and, consequently, from the earliest days of Islam, polygamy has been a characteristic institution of Muhammadan society, though among certain converts, whose former social usages did not include it, the practice has always been rare—*e.g.*, the Islamized Hindus of Northern India and the Muhammadans of Albania. The prevalence of polygamy in Muhammadan society has tended to lower the status of women, in spite of the fact that the Qur'ān allows them to hold property of their own and to share in the inheritance of their husbands, and commands that wives shall be treated with love and tenderness and with strict impartiality. But the possibility of frequent divorce has militated against a high ideal of family life, though the Sacred Law limits the number of wives at any one time to four, for even a reformer such as 'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn, in the eleventh century, who was horrified at the disregard of the

prescriptions of the Sacred Law in this respect on the part of the Berbers, whom he was endeavouring to lead into the strict path of the faith, used to marry four new wives every month, carefully, however, avoiding having more than four at one time. Similarly, Ibn Sa'ūd, the present king of the Hijaz and Najd, is said to have already married as many as one hundred.

A very common error in European writings on Islam maintains that Muhammadans believe that women have no souls. That this is entirely incorrect is shown by the verse in the Qur'ān, which promises the joys of heaven to women equally with men: "The men who resign themselves (to God) and the women who resign themselves, and the believing men and the believing women, and the devout men and the devout women, and the truthful men and the truthful women, and the patient men and the patient women, and the humble men and the humble women, and the men who give alms and the women who give alms, and the men who fast and the women who fast, *and the chaste men and the chaste women, and the* men who remember God oft and the women who remember Him, for them hath God prepared forgiveness and an abundant reward" (xxxiii., 35).

The religious duties imposed upon the faithful must be fulfilled by women as well as by men, and they even undertake the arduous and at many times very dangerous burden of the pilgrimage to Mecca. In the Acta Sanctorum of the Muslim Church women saints have filled an important place from the earliest period in the Muhammadan era to modern times, and there have been men saints who have sat at the feet of women saints and have humbly accepted them as their guides in the devout life. Similarly there have been separate convents for women who devote themselves entirely to the religious life, and most of the religious orders of Islam to which lay folk are affiliated enrol

women among their number. These women are initiated into the order by women instructors, and take part in its special religious exercises, such as frequent repetitions of the name of God, or some religious formula. Naturally, women take an active part in the devotions during the festival of Sayyidah Zaynab, the daughter of 'Alī, and granddaughter of the Prophet, whose tomb is one of the most revered shrines in the city of Cairo, and frequent the tombs of other women saints in other parts of the Muhammadan world.

ISLAMIC THEOLOGY

The Qur'ān is far from being a systematic manual of theology; even the two phrases of the creed occur in separate chapters, and not in any single continuous sentence. The task of drawing up the articles of faith and of arranging the doctrines of Islam, scattered throughout the pages of the Qur'ān, according to some logical method, was left to succeeding generations. The first impulse to such theological activity was probably given by contact with Christian controversialists, who, by their attacks upon the teachers of the new faith, forced upon Muslim thinkers the need of an exposition of their own faith in an orderly and logical presentation.

In the course of the performance of this task, it was found that the text of the Qur'ān did not provide all the material necessary for a complete statement of certain fundamental dogmas of the faith, or of the duties of religion; for example, in the Qur'ān there is no clear mention of the five times of daily worship, though these appear to have been of primitive institu-

tion; in many other details, both of faith and practice, reference to the revealed Word of God failed to discover a solution to the difficulty. Hence, in the formative period of the development of systematic Muslim theology, during the first two or three centuries of the Muhammadan era, resource was had to the Traditions of Muhammad, which claimed to report his utterances and actions on various occasions. Of these Traditions various compilations were made, and the authority assigned to them caused them to assume an importance in the theological thought of the Muslim world equal to that of the text of the Qur'ān itself. The authenticity of these Traditions has been much disputed, even in the Muhammadan world itself, and Muslim historical criticism began with the elaboration of principles for testing the genuineness of the utterances that claimed to come from the mouth of the Prophet. Rival theologians, as early as the second century, often criticized the Traditions when brought forward as evidence by the defenders of doctrines which they themselves condemned, and the unreliable character of many of these Traditions becomes obvious when they uphold the claims of rival political parties which did not come into existence until after the death of Muhammad. Others are manifestly borrowed from the Gospel narrative, with the object of assimilating the character of Muhammad to that of Jesus. Indeed, modern European critics tend to reject this whole accumulated mass of thousands of Traditions as having no historical value whatsoever, but the fact that they are accepted as genuine by the theologians of Islam gives them an importance in the formation of Islamic doctrine and observance which cannot be exaggerated.

On the basis, therefore, of the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet, the theologians of Islam erected the fabric of the dogmas of their creed, and they are practically all agreed in including among the

articles of the faith which every true Muslim must accept, the following: (1) Belief in God; (2) in His angels; (3) in His revealed books; (4) in His apostles; (5) in the Resurrection and the Day of Judgment; and (6) in His predestination of good and evil. To each of these articles of belief some separate consideration may be devoted.

1. One of the first problems with which the early theologians were faced was that of determining the relation between the essence of God's nature and His attributes. Throughout the Qur'ān reference is constantly made to God as merciful, eternal, wise, self-sufficing, loving, etc., and in order to preserve the absolute Unity of the divine nature, which is a cardinal principle of Muslim teaching, it was necessary to make clear the exact relation of these qualities to the divine essence, so as to avoid any hypostatizing of these attributes such as would cause them to be in any degree approximated to the Persons of the Christian Trinity. One of the earliest solutions offered for this problem was that given by the Mu'tazilah school of thinkers, who held that the attributes of God are not *in* His essence, but *are* His essence—that is, God is Omnipotent, not through power as one of His attributes, but His power is His essence and likewise His omniscience is His essence, etc. The aim of these thinkers was to maintain the absolute Unity of God, and accordingly they held that there is no distinction between knowledge, power, and life in God. They are all one, and they *are* His essence.

This explanation was rejected by later theologians, who fixed what was destined to be the orthodox doctrine for succeeding generations, by declaring that the eternal qualities of God exist *in* His essence; they are not He, nor are they any other than He; they are not to be explained by reference to anything upon earth or in the nature of man, for there is nothing whatsoever which resembles God. By such an exposi-

tion they attempted to remove the difficulties raised by the anthropomorphic language of the Qur'ān, when God is described as seating Himself upon His throne, and as speaking with a voice, commanding and prohibiting, etc.

Other problems which called for discussion were those connected with the nature of the vision of God, promised to the faithful in Paradise; but it is impossible here to enter into so vast a subject, which has given birth to an enormous mass of theological literature in all the learned languages of the Muhammadan world.

However, before leaving the consideration of this primal article of the faith of Islam, reference must be made to the abiding place that the thought of God occupies in the mind of the devout Muslim. The mere mention of any proposed activity or even of the recurring phenomena of Nature is accompanied with the phrase, "If God will"; and pious phrases such as, "God is great," are frequently upon the lips of the devout, and are used to fill up pauses in ordinary conversation. For the same reason the use of the rosary is common from one end of the Muhammadan world to the other; it is made up of a hundred beads, and while these are passed through the fingers, the ninety-nine attributes of God are recited, ending with the name of Allāh.

2. The second article of the faith concerns the angels of God, who receive frequent mention in the Qur'ān; they bear up the throne of God, they are guardians of the fire of hell, they come to the assistance of the believer on occasions of danger and perplexity, even as they succoured Muhammad and his companions at the Battle of Badr (Qur., iii., 120). The promise of their assistance is given to the faithful in the following verses: "As to those who say 'Our Lord is God,' and who walk uprightly, the angels shall descend to them saying, 'Fear ye not,

neither be ye grieved, but rejoice in the Paradise which ye have been promised; we are your guardians in this life and in the next; yours therein shall be your soul's desire, and yours therein whatsoever ye shall ask for, the hospitality of a Gracious and Merciful One'" (Qur., xli., 30-32).

The angels are also sent to receive the soul of the believer at the hour of death (Qur., vi., 61). Popular belief also holds that two angels visit the dead, after the corpse has been laid in the grave, to interrogate him as to his faith; if his answers are satisfactory, he is left to sleep peacefully until the Day of Resurrection; if he has to acknowledge that he is an unbeliever, he is tortured there continuously until the Last Day.

Some theologians explain that the salutations "The peace and mercy of God be upon you," with which the divine service ends, as the worshipper turns his face first to the right and then to the left, are addressed to the guardian angels who watch over every believer and note down all his actions. Certain of the angels hold a higher rank than others, such as Gabriel, who announced to the Virgin Mary the birth of Jesus, and brought the revelations of God to Muhammad; Isrāfīl, the angel who will sound the trumpet on the Last Day, and 'Azrā'īl, the Angel of Death.

3. The Scriptures of God are those that have been revealed to various prophets from Adam onwards, including the Torah given to Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospel of Jesus; but according to Muslim doctrine the text of all these earlier Scriptures has been corrupted by the followers of the prophets to whom they were given, and they have all been superseded by the final revelation of the Qur'ān.

4. By the Apostles of God are meant the prophets of God, unto whom He has granted His revelation. The series begins with Adam, and as men fell into error and sin and the knowledge of divine truth

became obscured or forgotten, successive messengers were sent by God to lead men again into the right way. Of these prophets, twenty-eight are mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, and they include several of the famous personages of the Old Testament, and Zacharias, John the Baptist, and Jesus in the New. Added to these are certain obscure teachers—*e.g.*, Dhu'-l-kifl, "he with the double portion," whom some have identified with Job; Luqmān, commonly supposed to be Æsop; and Dhu'l-Qarnayn, "he with the two horns," whom the majority of Muslim commentators explained to be Alexander. Of the two first of these no biographical details are given, but the exploits of Dhu'l-Qarnayn, as recorded in the Qur'ān (chap. xviii.), correspond to some of those found in the Alexander romance, which was current in a Syriac version before the birth of Muhammad.

Three prophets are mentioned as having been sent to the Arabs: Hūd, Sālih, and Shu'ayb; but besides these, it is stated that an apostle had been sent to every nation (Qur., x., 48), and accordingly one Tradition gives the total number of the prophets of God as having been 124,000.

5. The doctrine of God's predestination of good and evil is distinctly set forth in the Qur'ān, but the exact definition of it was the subject of discussion by Muslim theologians for many centuries. Though the Mu'tazilah school, already mentioned, claimed for men freedom of choice between good and evil and freedom of action after having made that choice, the prevailing doctrine as formulated by the theologians of the tenth and following centuries left to men no personal freedom whatsoever. In the creed of al-Ash'ari (*ob.* A.D. 935), who did more than any other thinker of his time to fix the articles of Muslim belief for succeeding generations, the doctrine of predestination is stated as follows:

"We believe that there is nothing on earth either

good or evil that happens except by the will of God; everything comes about by His will; no one can perform any action except as God does it. . . . There is no Creator except God, and all human actions are created by Him and are predestined by Him, according to His words: 'God has created you and your actions' (xxxvii., 94). . . . God guides the true believers, but leads astray unbelievers. . . . God has power to save the unbelievers. . . . But He wills that they remain infidels in accordance with His foreknowledge; . . . consequently good and evil depend upon His decree." This uncompromising statement was somewhat modified by a later theologian in order to make it clear that though God predestined evil, He did not order it. "Faith in predestination is believing in the heart and confessing with the tongue that God has predestined all things and the circumstances of things, so that everything that happens in the world—good and evil, obedience and disobedience, faith and unbelief, health and disease, riches and poverty, life and death—exist by the predestination of God, by His creation, by His will, and by His decision. Good and obedience and faith exist by the predestination of God, by His creation, His will, His decision, His guidance, His good pleasure, His command; but evil and disobedience and unbelief exist by His predestination, His creation, His will, and His decision, but not by His guidance, His good pleasure, and His command; but, on the contrary, by His leading astray, by His wrath, and His forbidding."

This doctrine is based upon the clear statement in the Qur'ān of the all-embracing power and knowledge of God as follows: "Unto God belongeth all sovereignty of the heavens and of the earth, and over all things doth His decree extend" (v., 1, 20). "Say: Nought can befall us save what God has written for us" (ix., 51). Similarly, the almighty power of God extends over the volitions of men. "They wish for

nothing except what God wishes" (lxxvi., 30). Consequently righteousness and wickedness, faith and unbelief, are in accordance with God's decree. "God leadeth astray whom He will and whom He will He guideth" (xiv., 4). "If thy Lord had pleased, all men on the earth would have believed together . . . no soul can believe but by the permission of God" (x., 99-100). "We will set hell on that day close before the unbelievers, whose eyes were veiled from my warning, and who had no power to hear" (xviii., 100-101).

But, at the same time, there are many verses in the Qur'ān which imply the moral responsibility of men, whom God has reasoned with and has invited to the good and warned of the consequences of evil, just as if their choice of right or wrong depended on themselves alone—*e.g.*, "Whatever good happens to thee is from God, and whatever evil happens to thee is from thyself" (iv., 81). "God hath promised to those who believe and do the things that are right, that for them is pardon and a great reward" (v., 12). Of the unbelievers who were punished in former days, it is said, "God was not unjust" (xvi., 35). "A man has a succession of angels, before him and behind, who guard him by God's command. . . . God does not change the condition of a people until they change their own condition; and when God willeth evil to a people, there is none can turn it away" (xiii., 12). "Those who believe and do what is right and pray and give alms, they shall have their reward with their Lord" (ii., 277).

We thus find in the Qur'ān, as in the Bible, opposite truths enunciated with equal distinctness and seeming unconcern about their reconciliation. Consequently, while Islam has been throughout its history an ethical religion, and stress has been persistently laid upon due performance of moral duties, there has been in the Muslim consciousness an abiding realization of the unceasing manifestation of God's creative activity in each

and every one of the actions of His servants, and the thought that every righteous deed is an embodiment of the will and command of God Himself has lent to the life of the believer a dignity and a sense of self-respect, which has found corresponding expression in outward behaviour and bearing. Likewise, in times of trial and suffering, this creed has produced that uncomplaining and dignified attitude of resignation which has often been noted as one of the most characteristic features of Muslim life. Human misery and suffering have become more endurable when they are recognized to come from the hands of the Merciful and Compassionate. The doctrine of Predestination, therefore, in Islam, is not a doctrine of fatalism, as though the affairs of the world were the result of a fortuitous concomitation of atoms, but a recognition of the all-embracing activity of the wise and loving Creator. Accordingly, the devout Muslim is taught to cultivate an attitude of confidence in the divine governance of the world and a ready acceptance of whatever fate is apportioned to him. He must accept with patience and resignation the course of human events, as being the results of the operation of divine wisdom, even though the workings of it may be to him obscure. This lesson is constantly re-iterated in the works of later theologians, particularly in the writings of the mystics, and is set forth in the Qur'ān in the well-known story of Moses, when he asked permission of one of the servants of God (whose name is not mentioned in the sacred text) to accompany him on his travels. Common opinion has identified this unknown personage with the mysterious being Khidr, who is reverenced throughout the whole Muhammadan world as a deliverer in all occasions of peril. In the Qur'ān he is only described as one to whom God vouchsafed mercy, and to whom He had communicated His knowledge. He is represented as being at first unwilling to allow Moses to travel with him on the ground that

Moses would be guilty of impatience with him, as he could not be expected to show patience in matters that he did not fully understand. However, they set out together and embarked upon a ship, in which the servant of God proceeded to stave a hole. Moses protested, saying: "Hast thou staved it in so as to drown the crew? a strange thing, indeed, it is that thou hast done!" The other answered: "Did I not tell thee that thou wouldst not be able to have patience with me?" They went on farther until they came upon a boy, whom the mysterious stranger put to death; Moses exclaimed in horror: "Hast thou slain one who is free from the guilt of blood? Surely thou hast done an evil thing!" Again comes the protest: "Did I not tell thee that thou couldst not have patience with me?" Moses begs to be excused, and agrees that if he again asks such questions, he shall no longer be allowed to remain in his company. They come next to a city, the inhabitants of which refuse their request for food and will not receive them as guests. The travellers find a wall, which is on the point of falling, and the companion of Moses proceeds to put it into a state of good repair; whereupon Moses again criticizes his action, saying: "If you had wished you might surely have received a reward for this." The servant of God can bear this interference no longer, but exclaims: "Now it is time for thee and me to part; but I will first tell thee the meaning of those matters in regard to which thou couldst not have patience with me. The ship belonged to some poor men who toiled upon the sea, and I wished to damage it, because coming after them was a king who took every sound ship by force. As to the boy, his parents were true believers, and we feared lest he should cause them distress through his perversity and unbelief when he grew up, wherefore we desired that God should give them in his place a more virtuous and affectionate child. As to the wall, beneath it was hidden a treasure

belonging to two orphans, the children of a righteous man, and I built it up so that the treasure should remain concealed until the orphans were fully grown, and not of my own will did I do this, but by God's direction. Such is the interpretation of that which thou couldst not endure with patience" (xviii., 64-82).

A further ground for confidence and resignation is presented by the widespread belief,—not, indeed, authorized by orthodox theologians—that the profession of Islam by itself is sufficient to obtain for the believer ultimate admission into Paradise, however long he may have to endure the torments of hell, in punishment of his offences. Support for such a hope is given by such verses as xix., 96, which declares that on the Day of Judgment, "God will vouchsafe love to those who believe and work righteousness." Another common belief is that Muhammad's intercession will obtain for all his followers entrance into heaven.

GOOD WORKS

FAITH includes works, and in addition to the fundamental articles of belief, there are certain practices, the performance of which is incumbent on the believer. These are five in number:

1. Bearing witness that there is but one God.
2. The performance of divine worship* at the five appointed canonical times.

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* The Arabic word (*salāt,* lit., "bowing") is incorrectly translated "prayer," for which another Arabic word is commonly used, since this service contains but a modicum of prayer or petition.

3. The payment of the legal alms.
4. The keeping of the fast in the month of Ramadān.
5. The making of the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime.

1. The creed is whispered into the ear of the new-born babe, and the repetition of it marks the admittance into the body of the faithful of the convert who, in adult life, enters the fold of Islam from any other religious body. The theologians demand that not only should there be audible repetition by the lips, but that the believer should fully understand the meaning, recite it correctly, and believe it completely in his heart. It should be also the last utterance on the lips of the dying.

2. Five times a day should worship be paid to God.

(1) In the early dawn before the sun has risen above the horizon.
(2) In the early afternoon when the sun has begun to decline.
(3) Later, when the sun is about midway in its course towards setting.
(4) Immediately after sunset.
(5) In the evening between the disappearance of the red glow in the west and bedtime.

The ritual observances laid down in connection with these services are minute and detailed. They must be preceded by an ablution, which includes the washing of the hands in water, the cleansing of the mouth and the nose, the washing of the face, and of the right and then the left arm up to the elbow; the head is wiped over with the wet hands and the feet are washed up to the ankles, first the right foot and then the left. If socks or boots are worn, and such an ablution had

been performed before they were put on, then it is not necessary to remove them, but the wet hands are merely passed over them. Under certain conditions the ritual ablution must include the washing of the whole body. It is held to be more meritorious to perform these acts of worship in a mosque in company with a congregation; but it is equally permissible in a house or at any other place where the worshipper may happen to be, provided that the place itself is not unclean, such as a slaughter-house, etc. The worshipper begins by standing with his face turned towards Mecca, and after declaring his intention of offering his worship to God, he raises his two hands up to his ears and repeats the words: "God is great." The ritual positions that must be assumed are as follows: First, the worshipper stands erect, placing his hands one above the other in front of the body, or otherwise according to the particular sect to which the worshipper belongs; then he bends his head till the palms of the hands rest upon the knees; standing erect again, he lets his hands hang down on either side; then dropping on his knees he touches the ground, first with his nose, then with his forehead; lastly, raising his head and body, he sinks backwards upon his heels and again repeats, "God is great," followed by a second prostration. This series of devotional exercises, with the repetition of appropriate versicles and passages from the Qur'ān makes up what is called one bowing; and for each separate period in the day, a certain number (from two to four) of these bowings is prescribed. The whole ends with the ascription of glory to God and a prayer for the blessing of God on the Prophet and on the faithful, the recitation of the creed, and, finally, the turning of the head, first to the right and then to the left, with the words: "The peace and mercy of God be upon you." For specially devout persons there are similar services prescribed to be performed during the night, and there are special

directions for services on a journey or at the burial of the dead.

This ordered service of divine worship is one of the most characteristic features of the religious life of Muslim society, and its impressive character has frequently been noted by travellers and others in the East. The late Bishop Lefroy thus commented upon it: "No one who comes in contact for the first time with Mohammadans can fail to be struck by this aspect of their faith. . . . Wherever one may be, in open street, in railway station, in the field, it is the most ordinary thing to see a man, without the slightest touch of phariseeism or parade, quietly and humbly leave whatever pursuit he may be at the moment engaged in, in order to say his prayers at the appointed hour. On a larger scale, no one who has ever seen the court of the great mosque at Delhi on the last Friday in the Fast Month (Ramazān) filled to overflowing with, perhaps, fifteen thousand worshippers all wholly absorbed in prayer and manifesting the profoundest reverence and humility in every gesture, can fail to be deeply impressed by the sight or to get a glimpse of the power which underlies such a system; while the very regularity of the daily call to prayer, as it rings out at earliest dawn before light commences or amid all the noise and bustle of business hours or again as evening closes in, is fraught with the same majesty." Again, Renan said that he never entered a mosque without a lively emotion, or even without a certain regret at not being a Muslim. Such a sight has, indeed, been one of the contributing motives to conversion, as an Alexandrian Jew who embraced Islam in the year 1298 wrote of his own experience. During a severe illness he had had a vision in which a voice bade him declare himself a Muslim: "And when I entered the mosque," he goes on, "and saw the Muslims standing in rows like angels, I heard a voice speaking within me, 'This is the community whose

coming was announced by the prophets (on whom be blessings and peace),' and when the preacher came forth clad in his black robe, a deep feeling of awe fell upon me . . . and when he closed his sermon with the words, 'Verily God enjoineth justice and kindness and the giving of gifts to kinsfolk, and He forbiddeth wickedness and wrong and oppression; He warneth you; haply ye will be mindful.' And when the prayer began, I was mightily uplifted, for the rows of the Muslims appeared to me like rows of angels, to whose prostrations and genuflections God Almighty was revealing himself, and I heard a voice within me saying, 'If God spake twice unto the people of Israel throughout the ages, verily He speaketh to this community in every time of prayer,' and I was convinced in my mind that I was created to be a Muslim."*

The public services in the mosque are characterized by an austerity and solemnity which do not ordinarily admit of any external exhibition of religious emotion, and to the observer they appear to lack that unction and emotive quality which are characteristic features of the devotional practices of other faiths. But there are certain occasions on which this apparent coldness takes on a character of public rejoicing. This is notably the case in the two great festivals of the Muhammadan year: (1) The Feast of Sacrifice, which commemorates Abraham's intended sacrifice of his son; and (2) the festival of the breaking of the fast at the end of the month Ramadān. Both these festivals are observed as times of rejoicing in all parts of the Muhammadan world. Prayers are generally celebrated outside the city in spacious enclosures, specially set aside for these occasions, in order that the whole Muslim population may be able to join together in one public act of worship, and at the close of the service the members of the congregation salute and

* *Revue des études juives*, xxx. (1895), pp. 17-18.

embrace one another and spend the rest of the day in feasting and merriment. On these two great occasions, most persons dress themselves out in new clothes, and friends visit one another's houses, and the streets of a Muhammadan city present a gay appearance, and various forms of amusement are provided for the crowd.

But such scenes of rejoicing are rather the social accompaniments of the festival than actual characteristics of the religious service itself. Examples of more emotional forms of religious worship are found in the devotional exercises known as *Dhikr,* and on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet, known as *Mawlid.* The latter festival is celebrated with great fervour and enthusiasm, especially in Africa, India, and Turkey, and many hymns have been written for the occasion. One of the most famous of these is the poem written in praise of Muhammad by Sulaymān Chelebi, one of the earliest of Ottoman poets, who died about the middle of the fifteenth century; it has been sung on such festivals in Turkey for centuries, and the recitation of it moves the audience to tears. A portion of it is quoted here, as indicating the rapturous devotion that Muslims often express towards the founder of their faith:

"Hail to thee! O Sun of fulgent splendour! Hail!
Hail to thee! O Soul of Souls most tender! Hail!
All the world is drunken for thy love indeed!
Hail to thee! O Loved One of the Lord of Power!
Hail to thee! O Mercy to the Worlds—to all!
Hail to thee! O Pleader for the folk who fall!
Hail to thee! to God most near and dear art thou!
Hail to thee! O thou of Either World the King!
Yea, for thee this universe to life did spring!
Even as thy Light hath all the world illumed,
Through thy rose-face hath the world a garden bloomed!

Lo, thou art the Sovereign of the Prophet-host!
Light of eye to all the saints and all the just!"*

Religious fervour is also excited in connection with the form of devotion known as a *Dhikr* (lit., "mention" of the name of God). Such special forms of religious exercise are common throughout the whole Muhammadan world, and are generally held in connection with one of the religious orders, to one or other of which most devout Muslims are affiliated. The prevailing feature of these religious gatherings is the repetition, many hundreds of times, of the name of God, or the creed, or some other pious utterance; and in the ecstatic condition induced by such a devotional exercise, the worshipper is believed to attain communion with the divine. There is a considerable variety in the ritual of such services according to the particular religious order which organizes them. They generally take place, not in a mosque, but in a room connected with the convent of the order, in the presence of a Shaykh or spiritual director occupying a position of authority in the order, and the worshippers follow his guidance in their proceedings.

He opens the service with a few simple prayers, and then begins to repeat the particular religious formula which is in favour with his order, the worshippers either sitting on the ground or swaying backwards and forwards; as the rate at which they repeat the formula grows faster and faster, so their movements become more rapid, until a state of religious excitement is produced.

In the case of the Mevlevis, an order founded by the great mystic and poet, Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī, the members of the order accompany their devotions with a solemn dance to the sound of flutes and drums. The

* E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i., pp. 246-247.

ritual they observe is as follows: After the dervishes have collected in a hall, the Shaykh enters and seats himself in front of the prayer niche, and opens the proceedings with the recitation of the opening chapter of the Qur'ān and a few special prayers. Then rising, he bows to the right and to the left, which is said to indicate an invitation for the founder of the order to be spiritually present. The dervishes then rise one after the other and slowly pace round the hall three times, bowing to the Shaykh as each one passes him. They then go in single file to the Shaykh, kiss his hand, and, after making an obeisance, commence turning slowly round on the left foot, using the right foot to produce the circular motion, but keeping both feet close together. The pace is at first very slow, but gradually increases in speed, and the dervish gradually raises his arms, which at the outset he held crossed over his breast, until they are stretched out on either side, the left palm being turned down and the right upwards towards heaven; the head is held slightly bent over one shoulder, and the eyes are closed. As the speed increases their long skirts, which, when in repose, reach the ankles, gradually unfold and spread out in a circle around them. On such occasions the dervishes are described as "passing into a trance," and in such a condition are believed to obtain knowledge of divine mysteries. After an interval, the dervishes again march three times round the room, and resume this dance as many times as the Shaykh may direct.

Other religious orders condemn both the use of music and the practice of dancing, and in their case the Dhikr consists merely of the repetition of some prescribed formula. Characteristic of the Shiah sect are the violent expressions of grief excited by the lamentations for the martyrdom of Husayn. Tears stream down the cheeks of the mourners as they listen to the recital of the sad story of the murder on the field of Karbala, and they give way to extravagant

exhibitions of grief; some beat their breasts or even slash themselves with knives.

But such emotional forms of devotion are peculiar to special occasions only, and are in striking contrast to the austere and sober solemnity that characterizes the ordinary public services in the mosque.

3. The payment of the legal alms is one of the primitive institutions of Islam, and the technical term for such alms—*zakāt* (lit., "purification")—implies that the dedication of a portion of the believer's property to pious purposes constitutes a sanctification of the remainder to its owner. This annual payment also impresses upon the believer a sense of corporate unity and the duty of sharing in the common burdens. Such contributions were, in primitive times, collected by officials of the State and devoted to the ransoming of slaves, the relief of the necessities of the poor, of travellers and of debtors, and the payment of those who were fighting in the way of God for the extension of the domination of Islam. The amount to be paid varied according to the character of the property possessed—whether animals, gold or silver, articles of merchandise or fruits of the earth; but the regulations connected with it are too complicated to be set down in detail here. Under an independent and regularly constituted Muhammadan government, *zakāt* was collected by government officials and formed an important part of the revenues of the State, and such an arrangement still survives under a government organized in accordance with the primitive law of Islam, such as that of the Wahhabis in Najd, where it is still the custom to collect the *zakāt* in kind on the basis of one camel or sheep out of ten. In some sects, such as those of the Khojahs and Bohoras in India, this yearly contribution may amount to as much as one-fifth of the total annual income of each member to the head of the community. But under Muhammadan governments of a more modern type, other

systems of taxation have taken its place, and the payment of the legal alms has fallen into disuse, as, of course, is also the case under the European governments which control a Muhammadan population. In such cases the fulfilment of this religious obligation is left to the conscience of the individual believer. In addition to this payment of a proportion of their property, the faithful are enjoined to show charity on all occasions. "Those who expend their substance in alms, by night and day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with their Lord" (ii., 275). "If ye give your alms openly, it is well with you; and if, ye conceal them and give them to the poor this will be better for you and will expiate your sins" (ii., 273). A wide interpretation is given to this voluntary form of alms-giving, and a tradition ascribed to the Prophet says that "a camel lent out for milk is alms, good words are alms, and your smiling in your brother's face is alms."

4. A characteristic part of the religious ordinances of Islam is the fast during the month of Ramadān. This is an obligation binding on men and women alike, with the exception of children and aged persons, travellers, and sick persons. During the whole of this month of thirty days, no particle of food and no drop of water or any other drink can be taken from daybreak until sunset, and if, through any impediment, this obligation is not fulfilled, the fast has to be kept as soon as the impediment is removed, for as many days as have been omitted. As the Muhammadan calendar is a lunar one, the month of Ramadān may occur in various seasons of the year, and if it comes in the summer, the ordeal is very severe, and especially the prohibition of any form of liquid refreshment imposes a severe strain on the endurance of the believer, for the fast is broken even by the swallowing of the spittle.

One of the most characteristic features of Muham-

madan society is the conscientious devotion shown in the rigid observance of this religious obligation, and many devout persons spend much of this month in the mosque or in the reading of the Qur'ān, and special religious services are performed during the night.

A remarkable instance of the strict observance of this ordinance of the Muslim faith occurred during the Murman expedition in 1918. A British vessel, having a number of Muhammadan lascars on board, was sent so far north into the Arctic circle that the sun did not set. It was unfortunately the month of Ramadān, and these unfortunate Muhammadans waited in vain for the coming of night in order that they might break their fast; in spite of all efforts to persuade them to take food, some of them starved themselves to death rather than fail to fulfil what they considered to be a religious obligation, and the lives of the rest were only saved by hurrying them back to England at the earliest opportunity.

5. Muhammad carried over into his own religion the practices which he found observed by his fellow-countrymen in connection with the Ka'bah, or cubical erection in the central shrine of Mecca, in a corner of which is situated the famous Black Stone. Towards this building in Mecca every Muslim turns his face when engaged in religious worship, and, if circumstances permit, the performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca during the month of pilgrimage is incumbent upon every believer at least once in his lifetime. This pilgrimage is not so strictly obligatory as the fast in Ramadān, because those persons are held to be excused who are in ill-health or do not possess sufficient money for the expenses of the journey and for the support of their families during their absence from home. The obligation also ceases in time of war or during any political disturbance which renders travelling unsafe. Many regulations are laid down for the performance of this pilgrimage. A special dress is to be assumed

as soon as the pilgrim reaches the last stage outside the sacred city, when he has to put on a garment consisting of two seamless wrappers, one wrapped round the waist and the other thrown over the shoulder. Immediately on his arrival in Mecca, he visits the great Mosque and kisses the Black Stone, and then perambulates the Ka'bah seven times, three times at a quick pace and four times slowly, kissing the Black Stone each time he passes it. A number of other ceremonies have to be performed during the ten days over which the rites of pilgrimage extend, ending up with the Feast of Sacrifice, which is commonly held by Muslims to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to offer his son as a sacrifice. The animal sacrificed may be either a goat, a sheep, a cow, or a camel.

This great international gathering, attended by thousands of pilgrims every year, not only from adjacent countries, but from such distant places as China, Senegal, or Cape Town is an impressive manifestation of the unity of the Muslim world, and serves to keep alive the feeling of brotherhood in Islam. The same thought is impressed upon those Muslims who have been unable themselves to make the pilgrimage, in that on the very same day in which the sacrifices are being performed outside the city of Mecca, the faithful in every other part of the world celebrate the Feast of Sacrifice in a similar fashion, and are thus linked by bonds of sympathy with their more fortunate brethren in the sacred city.

CHURCH AND STATE

No correct conception of Islam is possible if it is regarded merely as a body of religious doctrine to which intellectual assent is given by the believer, for the circumstances of its origin made it not merely a religion, but also an organized political society. In Medina Muhammad was accepted not merely as the teacher of a creed, but also as the founder of a state; he was the sole head of the civil administration, supreme judge, and commander-in-chief of the army. The revealed Word of God, which promulgated the dogmas of the faith and the religious duties of the true believer, likewise laid down such principles of statescraft and such political obligations as the infant Muslim community required, and they may be summed up in a doctrine of the divine origin of the civil government and the duty of unquestioning obedience to the Prophet as the messenger of God's will: "O believers, obey God and obey the Apostle and those who have authority among you; and if ye have a dispute on any matter, refer it to God and the Apostle, if ye believe in God and the Last Day" (iv., 62).

After the death of Muhammad, his successor, the Caliph, was considered to have assumed all the functions previously exercised by the founder of the faith, with the exception of the prophetic office, for this was held to have ceased with the death of the "Seal of the Prophets," and no further divine revelation was felt to be needed to take the place of the Qur'ān. Thus, the Caliph was at once the head of the military, civil, and judicial administration; he was the protector of Islam and the guardian of religion and of the sacred law; as the successor of the Prophet, he led the faithful in prayer, and used his power for the

extirpation of heresy and the preservation of the purity of the faith. Church and State were thus inextricably bound up with one another, and the Muslim State became established as a religious organization, in which the only bond of citizenship was the acceptance of a common faith—the faith of Islam. The impressive character of the Arab conquests, the vast extent of the Muslim empire, extending at one period from the shores of the Atlantic, in Morocco, to the River Indus and the borders of China, and the enormous wealth and influence which consequently came into the hands of the Caliph, tended enormously to magnify his office. Moreover, the rapid success of the victorious armies of the first two generations of the faithful and the divine command in the Qur'ān (viii., 39; ix., 29) to wage war against the unbelievers until they acknowledged the superiority of the Muslims and the religion of God prevailed, bequeathed to later generations the aggressive ambition of making Islam the dominant power in the world and of creating a worldwide empire.

So long as there was unity of government in the Muslim community, whether the capital was Medina, Damascus, or Baghdad, such an ambition could be cherished; but Spain made itself independent of the central power as early as 756, and the break up of the rest of the empire proceeded rapidly after the death of the Caliph Hārūn in 809, and the last Caliph of Baghdad, Musta'sim, in 1258, perished miserably at the hands of the heathen Mongols in the city where his ancestors had ruled for nearly five centuries.

By this date the political theory of Islam as elaborated by the Muslim legists and theologians had caused the institution of the Caliphate to be regarded as an integral and essential part of the organization of the community, for the Caliph was held to be the source of all authority, and all judicial procedure was considered to be legitimatized by the assumption that

all officers of the law ultimately derived their appointment from him. So the fiction was maintained that the Caliph was the head of the whole Muslim community throughout the world, even after the holder of this ancient office had ceased to be able to exercise any effective authority whatsoever. The Caliphate recovered some small measure of its former glory when the title was arrogated to himself by the Ottoman Sultan, and in the days of the decline of Turkish power, Sultan Abdul Hamīd II. (1876-1909) endeavoured to add to his prestige by a revival of the old theory of the Caliphate, and claimed that all the Muslims scattered throughout the world, whatever might be the government to which they owed political obedience, should recognize him as their spiritual leader. But it was Abdul Hamīd who ultimately brought about the ruin of the institution whose past glories he had endeavoured to restore, for his despotic rule and his ruthless tyranny created in the minds of his subjects feelings of antagonism and distrust towards a political theory which could be made the instrument of such tyranny, and the abolition of the Caliphate by the Turkish Republic, in 1924, was the logical consequence of the deposition of Abdul Hamīd in 1909.

But however despotic the government of a Muslim ruler might be, in theory at least, he was not above the law, for the law of any Muslim state was held to be fundamentally derived from the Qur'ān—the same revealed Word of God as laid down the dogmas of the faith—and was, therefore, as much binding upon the Caliph or Sultan as upon any other believer, the meanest of his subjects. For a proper understanding of the faith of Islam, therefore, it is important to recognize the place of law in the Islamic system. In this religion, law has not the restricted application which it has in Christian Europe, where the Christian faith has been superimposed upon a pre-existent body of civil law and an organized system of administra-

tion, which the religion made no attempt to displace. For in Islam, from the same sources as provided the dogmas of the faith and the principles of morality and the rules for divine worship—namely, the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet—were derived the equivalents of the civil and criminal codes in a non-Muslim state. The Sharī'ah, or Sacred Law of Islam, claimed to be all-embracing, and concerned itself with every department of the life of the believer—religious, political, social, domestic, and private; accordingly, the science of law was defined as the knowledge of rights and duties, whereby a man might guide his life fittingly in this world and prepare himself for the world to come. It deals, therefore, not only with the punishments assigned to various offences against the welfare of society, but with the fundamental articles of the faith and the proper observance of religious ritual; it governs the relations between husband and wife, enters minutely into the problems connected with the division of inheritances, and regulates contracts of sale; a large part of it is taken up with rules for the division of the booty after a successful conflict with the armies of the infidels, and for the imposition of the tax (*jizyah*) to be paid by the non-Muslim inhabitants of a Muhammadan country, who accept the rule of the faithful but elect to retain their original, ancestral religion; it lays down rules for eating and dress and the proper use of toothpicks, and prescribes limits for the activity of the painter and the musician.

The elaboration of this Sacred Law was the work of the legists of the first century and a half of the Muslim era, and by the middle of the ninth century A.D. the four orthodox schools of law which are recognized throughout the greater part of the Muhammadan world, were fairly established—the Hanafī, Shāfi'ī, Mālikī, and Hanbalī. Later legists, until modern times, contented themselves with commenting on and elaborating the works of the great exponents of one

or other of these four schools of law. The followers of them must not be regarded as forming separate sects, for the differences between them are mainly trivial, and their relations with one another have, for the most part, been friendly. Among the problems they discussed are details of ritual observance—*e.g.*, should the believer while in the standing position during divine worship hold his hands above or below the navel? Under what circumstances is water to be considered to be sufficiently clean to be used for purposes of ritual purification? Can the worshipper content himself with rubbing his boots before taking part in the service in the mosque, on occasions when it is not convenient for him to remove them and wash his feet? Again, must infidel prisoners captured during a holy war be either put to death or enslaved, or can they regain their freedom by paying a ransom? Is a foundling to be assumed to be a Muslim, or not? What constitutes apostasy? Is a change of intellectual attitude enough, or must there also be verbal expression of the loss of faith? Though a dog is an unclean beast and cannot therefore be regarded as property, is it lawful to make a shepherd dog or a hunting dog a part of an inheritance?

Absorbed in the discussion of problems such as these, the legists of Islam elaborated a body of law, largely divorced from everyday life and inapplicable to the most pressing needs of human society; accordingly, the Sharī'ah tended to become more and more academic in character, and contemplated an ideal order of society in which the Sacred Law was credited with being more successful in its operations than the unrighteousness of the rulers and the degeneracy of the world actually allowed it to be. But enough of this law was really operative, and it was so closely concerned with the family and social life of the faithful, particularly in matters of marriage, divorce, and inheritance, that it appeared to be intimately bound up

with the lives of the faithful, apart from the fact that it was cherished as embodying the ideal of Muslim society. Any attempt at change was regarded as disloyalty to the Word of God, and even the reforming efforts of the Sultans of Turkey in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were resisted with the cry: "The Sharī'ah in danger." The framers of the liberal Constitution, proclaimed by Sultan Abdul Hamīd in 1876, were careful to state that one of the chief causes of the disastrous condition of the country was the neglect of a strict observance of the Sharī'ah, and that whatever new regulations were to be passed would be in accordance with it.

The guardians of the Sharī'ah were the 'Ulamā (*i.e.*, the learned), the only equivalent to a priesthood in the Muslim world. But they were laymen only, and could claim no status or functions apart from those of the general body of the faithful; the only authority they exercised was that which was conferred upon them by the knowledge which they had derived from their assiduous study of the Qur'ān, the Traditions of the Prophet, and the system of law based thereon. As expounders of this body of divine truth, they claimed to be "the heirs of the Prophets," and they enjoyed the respect and confidence of their co-religionists for their devotion to learning and the guidance they could afford in the straight path. The majority of them were poor and came from the lower classes, and their influence over the general mass of the believers has always been enormous, however much they may have failed to persuade the government to their way of thinking.

As a separate class, the 'Ulamā may be considered to have come into existence in Medina after the Umayyads had moved the capital of the Muslim empire to Damascus; as guardians and interpreters of the Word of God, they laid the foundations of the great systems of Islamic law, while they regarded with

suspicion and dislike the civil authority that had fallen into the hands of the descendants of the Meccan aristocracy, which had been hostile to the mission of Muhammad during the greater part of his life. The Abbasids came into power in the middle of the eighth century as the defenders of religion, and they extended their patronage to the men of learning, and endeavoured to induce them to accept offices of state. The study of the Sacred Law received a great impulse, and tended more and more to receive recognition in the practical affairs of the life of the community—though not, indeed, to the extent that the 'Ulamā would have desired. Still, the Abbasids claimed at least to foster the cause of religion, and it was possible for Abū Yūsuf, the Chief Justice of the Caliph Hārūn (786-809) to exhort his master to take the following view of his office as Commander of the Faithful: "God (to Whom be praise) has invested thee with immense power, which entails either the most abundant reward or the most grievous punishment, in that He has entrusted thee with the government of this community, making thee their shepherd and committing them to thy care; hereby He puts thee to the test and makes thee ruler over them. Now, a building that hath any other foundation save piety, God soon strikes at the base of it and brings it down in ruin on the builder of it and his helpers. When one of two alternatives concerns the next world and the other this present world, then choose the former, for the next world abideth and this world passes away. Be on thy guard, as God warns thee to be, for He hath not created thee in jest nor hast thou been left uncared-for. God will question thee concerning thy state and thy deeds, then see to it what answer thou wilt render Him. Forget not to take care of those over whom God has set thee in authority; then thou thyself wilt not be forgotten. Neglect not aught that may be for their advantage, and thou thyself wilt not

be neglected. The frequent movements of thy lips in making mention of God, confessing His unity, extolling His might and giving Him thanks, and in invoking blessings on His Apostle, the prophet of mercy and the Imām of right guidance, will cause no diminution in thy good fortune upon earth through all those days and nights. God in His bounty and mercy and forbearance has made the temporal rulers Caliphs upon His earth, and has bestowed upon them a light, whereby to illuminate all that in their daily life is dark, and make clear to them all that in their duties is obscure. The rulers cause this light to shine by imposing the penalties that God has laid down, and assigning to each his duty, with firmness and a clear command. Of the highest importance is it to keep alive the Sunna (the use and wont of the Prophet), such as the righteous have followed, for this is one of the good deeds that live and perish not. Tyranny on the part of the shepherd implies the ruin of the flock, and if he seeks the help of any save reliable and righteous persons, the community must perish."*

Such a conception of the ideal leader of the community, devoting himself to the welfare of his subjects and co-religionists, in accordance with the ordinances of the Sacred Law, and following the advice of the 'Ulamā in the details of their application, and having ever before his mind the thought of the coming Judgment before the throne of God, has been continuously present to the minds of Muslim theologians. It serves to explain the hopes, entertained even up to the present day in certain quarters, of a revival of the Caliphate.

After the death of Hārūn, the Muslim empire began rapidly to fall to pieces, and the 'Ulamā had to accommodate themselves to new conditions of life under the

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* *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, pp. 2-3.

rule of the Turkish and other sultans, who built up kingdoms for themselves on the ruins of the Caliphate. At the hands of the Mongol conquerors they suffered cruel persecution; but at times they succeeded in enjoying the favour of a prince belonging to one of the newly converted tribes that rose to power by right of conquest. Under the Ottomans, especially after the conquest of Constantinople by Muhammad II. in 1453, the 'Ulamā were taken into government service, and received regular salaries and exercised judicial functions according to the particular grade of their appointment, and the head of the whole body of the 'Ulamā, the Mufti of Constantinople, on whom Muhammad II. conferred the title of Shaykh ul-Islam, became one of the most powerful officers of the State; on three historic occasions, he even declared the deposition of a sultan. As administrators of the religious endowments, which at one time are said to have comprised one-third of the landed property in the Ottoman empire, and as controlling the whole of the educational system, both in schools and colleges, they exercised enormous influence throughout the Turkish dominions. This immense power, in recent years, brought about their ruin in Turkey, for they were regarded as being the supporters of the tyrannical rule of Sultan Abdul Hamīd II. and as obstacles to all reform and progress. The new Turkish Republic, therefore, looked upon them as reactionaries, and deprived them of all power under the new constitution.

In other parts of the world in which vast Muhammadan populations had passed under the domination of the Christian powers of Europe—England, France, Holland, and Russia—the influence of the 'Ulamā was seriously diminished, as they were no longer associated with the government, and the sphere of Muslim law was restricted within narrow limits.

But the ideal of a self-governing Muslim community, under a single head, the Caliph, continued to

be cherished; it was embodied in the theological training which the 'Ulamā imparted to their pupils, and among the ignorant masses was believed to correspond with reality to a greater degree than the hard facts of actual history warranted. If the Sacred Law was inoperative, the fault lay in the evil state of the times, and all would be set right after the coming of the Mahdī (the rightly guided one), whom God would send to subject the whole world to Islam. This Messianic hope has served to counteract the depressing influence of the realization of the declining influence of Muslim power in the world, and at different times in the course of Muslim history has stirred up political movements in opposition to the powers hostile to Islam or to Muslim rulers, held to be faithless to the claims of religion. The same theory of Islamic society explains the devotion to the Caliphate, which has expressed itself so forcibly in recent years at the cost of immense sacrifice, and has resulted in much bitter disillusionment in consequence of the disregard of actual facts.

But however little encouragement realities may give to such a doctrine, every Muslim may consider himself to be a member of an ideal society, which is bound ultimately to overcome all hostile forces and make the law of God prevail in the world. The memory of the glories of the Caliphate in the past is a constant stimulus to such a hope, and meanwhile all believers are brethren (Qur., xlix., 10), and this ideal of brotherhood in the faith succeeds in breaking down the barriers of race and country, and (except in the case of the Europeanized sections of the educated classes) this distinctiveness finds expression for itself in some characteristic form of dress or appearance—*e.g.*, the clipping of the front of the moustache, in the avoidance of certain articles of diet such as pork and wine, and in regulations regarding the methods of eating, in special forms of greeting—*e.g.*, "Salām 'alaykum,"

which only Muslims should use to one another, etc. Up to the nineteenth century it was generally possible to recognize Muhammadans by their external appearance. They felt that they were heirs of a culture which was bound up with their creed, and they wished to preserve the characteristic marks of their own civilization. So persistent has been the influence of this distinctive Muslim culture that a strong sense of corporate unity may often survive the disappearance of intellectual assent to the dogmas of the faith, and may serve as a social bond long after faith is dead.

An integral part of the theory of the Muslim community is concerned with its relations to the outside world, and the foundations of this were already laid in the Qur'ān in connection with the doctrine of Jihād. This word literally means "striving," and is used of the struggle of the faithful against their enemies. The faith of Islam early became a militant one, for the activities of the Prophet after his migration to Medina were largely taken up with warfare against the enemies of the growing community, and the successful period of conquest in which the next generation overran the empire of Persia and a great part of that of Rome, tended to emphasize this aspect of the life of the believer. Conflict with the infidels was raised to the level of a religious duty, and was included in the definition of true faith. "The believers are only those who believe in God and His Apostle, then doubt not, and strive with their property and their persons in the way of God" (xlix., 15). "Say to the unbelievers: If they desist, that which is past shall be forgiven them; but if they return, there has already preceded them the doom of the ancients. Fight, then, against them till there be no more strife and the religion be all of it God's" (viii., 39-40). "March forth, both the light and the heavy (armed), and strive with your property and your persons in the way of God" (ix., 41).

Though such warfare was to be waged in defence

of the faith and for the extension of the ascendancy of Islam, yet acceptance of this religion was not to be forced upon either Christians or Jews, to whom a previous revelation had been vouchsafed by God; if they submitted and consented to pay the tax (called *jizyah*) which was levied on non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim State, in recognition of the protection accorded to them and of their exemption from military service, then they were allowed to retain their ancestral faith. The command to fight against them is thus given in the Qur'ān: "Fight against such of those to whom the Book has been given as do not believe in Allah or the Last Day, and do not forbid what God and His Apostle have forbidden, and do not follow the religion of truth, until they pay *jizyah* in acknowledgment of (your) superiority and be humbled" (ix., 29)—and the granting of toleration to them thus: "Say to those who have been given the Book and to the illiterate, 'Do ye accept Islam?' Then if they accept Islam they are guided aright, but if they turn away, then thy duty is only preaching" (iii., 19).

The doctrine of Jihād was elaborated into a system by the later legists, who laid it down that the waging of Jihād was not a universal obligation, but the duty was sufficiently performed if the required number of free, male, adult Muslims joined the army in order to carry it out. But if the infidels invaded Muslim territory and the Imām called upon all believers to go forth and fight, then it was an obligation upon all, even upon women, and a wife might go forth without the permission of her husband, and a slave without the permission of his master. The decision as to the proper time and locality for the campaign rests with the Imām, and he ought to proclaim a Jihād at least once a year—as, indeed, was the practise of most of the early Caliphs; but modern theologians, in view of the altered circumstances of the Muslim world, have decided that this obligation is sufficiently fulfilled if

the Imām keeps an army ready armed and makes other preparations for waging Jihād whenever a suitable opportunity may present itself.

In harmony with this theory, the legists divided the whole world into two parts—one, the territory of Islam, which is governed according to the Sacred Law; and the other, the land of war, in the possession of infidels who have not yet submitted to Muslim rule. The possibility of Muslims having to live under an alien rule was never contemplated by these theorists.

ISLAM AS A MISSIONARY RELIGION

ISLAM was from the very outset a missionary religion. When Muhammad began to convert his fellow-citizens in Mecca from their heathen practices he had neither power nor wealth, but only the spoken word as an instrument of his propaganda; he could only emphasize the doctrine of the unity of God by repeated warnings of the penalties of idolatry, and by reminders of the teaching of his predecessors, the prophets, who had been sent by God in successive ages to other peoples. When in Medina he found himself at the head of a body of devoted followers ready to fight on his behalf, and forming the nucleus of an independent state, his position was entirely altered; but methods of persuasion were still adopted for the conversion of individuals after his death.

During the first two generations of the Muhammadan era the attention of the Arab conquerors was too closely concentrated on the acquisition of territory and wealth for them to pay much heed to the more devout precepts of the founder of their faith. In regard

to the propaganda of Islam, the inhabitants of the countries which they overran are said to have been always invited to accept the new faith in accordance with the instructions clearly laid down in the Qur'ān. But evidence of any marked missionary zeal appears in this earlier period to be lacking; nevertheless Christians, both in the conquered provinces of the Roman Empire and of the Persian Empire, as well as Zoroastrians in Persia, appear to have gone over to Islam in large numbers, in spite of the toleration extended to the adherents of Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism, provided they submitted to the authority of the conquerors and paid the tax imposed upon the tolerated creeds.

The history of the expansion of Islam as a religion, voluntarily adopted by fresh converts, during this earlier period is obscure. The Caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty seem to have paid little regard to this matter, with the exception of the devout 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (717-720), who was a zealous propagandist, and endeavoured to win converts in various parts of the vast empire over which he ruled, from North Africa to Transoxania and Sind. The Caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty were more ready to use the authority of the State in the support of the cause of religion, and it was in this period that Islam first began to spread among the Turks, who, in later centuries, were destined to become one of the strongest bulwarks of the faith.

Islam was faced with a formidable task after the Mongols had overrun a large part of Muhammadan territory in Asia, and had brought the vast Muhammadan populations under their dominion. It had then to enter into competition with two other missionary religions, Buddhism and Christianity, for the conversion of these heathen conquerors. But at last, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the Ilkhans, who had established a Mongol dynasty in Persia, were won

over to Islam, and other Mongol tribes further east, at a later period. The Mongols, by the creation of one vast empire, stretching from China in the east to Russia and Syria in the west, facilitated communications from one end of Asia to another, and gave opportunities for the activity of Muslim propagandists in China, and their efforts resulted in the growth of scattered communities of Chinese Muhammadans.

The terror of the Mongol invasions had also caused a number of learned men and members of religious orders to take refuge in India, and their influence led to the farther spread of Islam in that country, in which it had already gained a footing in the province of Sind and on the Malabar coast as early as the eighth century. The growth of Muhammadan political power in India naturally promoted an increase in the number of the adherents of Islam, but there is also abundant evidence of the individual efforts of religious propagandists.

Further south another great centre of missionary activity is found in the various islands of the Malay Archipelago. The process of conversion was slow, but it has been carried on even up to recent times.

Another great field for the successful activity of the Muslim missionary has been the continent of Africa. The Arab conquests in the seventh and eighth centuries extended Muslim rule over Egypt and North Africa, and had been followed by extensive conversions. The penetration of Islam towards the south at first proceeded slowly, but the most rapid advance took place in the nineteenth century, especially after the partition of a great part of the continent between the Christian powers of Europe had provided easier means of communication by the making of roads and railways and the consequent stimulus given to trade. For it is the Muhammadan trader who has been most active as a propagandist, especially when he has brought with him his religion into districts inhabited

by tribes on a lower level of culture. The agents in this propaganda have generally been private individuals, and the missionary history of Islam is characterized by a lack of organized and continuous effort. Even the part played by the religious orders, who have done much for the conversion of heathen tribes in India and Africa, has remained unrecorded in consequence of its individualistic character. The formation of missionary societies especially devoted to the expansion of the faith is a modern phenomenon in the history of Islam, and occurs only as a deliberate imitation of the methods of the Christian missionary societies. In recent times, however, there has been a considerable growth of such Muslim propagandist organization, and the Ahmadiyyah sect has distinguished itself in this respect, for it has established branches of its mission in America, England, and Germany, as well as in parts of Africa and the West Indies.

One noticeable feature of the expansion of Islam in more than one period of its history, is the superficial character of the knowledge which the converts acquired of their new faith at the time of their conversion. This is partly to be explained by the rapid extension of the Arab conquests in the seventh century, whereby the followers of the new faith before the close of that century created an empire stretching from the Atlantic in the West to the Oxus and the Indus in the East, and brought about a widespread acceptance of Islam by many of the conquered peoples. In succeeding centuries there were other examples of such a rapid expansion of this faith and of mass conversions. The creed of Islam is so brief, and the repetition of it is all that is required of the would-be convert, in order to gain admittance into the community of the faithful, that the process of conversion has often been unaccompanied by any profound knowledge or by any adequate recognition of the implications of the creed or by any

understanding of the duties imposed by the new faith. The low level of literacy and the lack of education in many parts of the Muhammadan world have also contributed to the difficulties which the theologians have experienced in imposing upon the converts or their descendants more orthodox views and a more scrupulous observance of Islamic observances. How widespread this illiteracy is may be judged from the fact that out of nearly seventy millions of Muhammadans in India, only 3·7 per cent. of this population is literate; and what is true of a country with an ancient culture and a system of education such as has prevailed in India for many centuries is still more true of the enormous territories in Africa and the Malay Archipelago, with their large Muhammadan populations. From time to time attempts have been made to combat this widespread ignorance and to bring about uniformity in religious practice, but though some measure of success has been attained, notably in connection with the Wahhabi and earlier reforming movements, lack of organized methods, or of continuity of effort has caused the results of this work to be very imperfect, and many so-called Muslims are still profoundly ignorant even of the most elementary doctrines of their religion. Probably few of them have so completely an erroneous conception of their faith as the jungle tribe in the Malay Peninsula, which repeats as its creed: "There is no God save Muhammad, and Allāh is his wife." In Annam the pre-Muslim polytheism still survives under a Muhammadan veneer, and one tribe has made three gods out of the Arabic words of the creed (which, of course, they are unable to understand): Orlah (Allāh), Rasullak (*i.e.,* the Prophet), and Latila (*i.e.,* the first two words: "There is no God"). In India the process of conversion has, in some cases, been so incomplete that even after two or three centuries of nominal allegiance to Islam, some Rajput tribes have, in recent years, returned to the

religion of their Hindu ancestors. Indian Muhammadans, in spite of the rigid monotheism which their faith inculcates, still join in the worship of local village godlings, and many a Muhammadan mother who had not sacrificed to Sitala, the dreaded goddess of small-pox, would feel that she had wantonly endangered the life of her child. In Bengal there are Muhammadans who join in the worship of the sun and offer libations like Hindus, and a community feeling prompts them to take part in the annual Hindu festivals, such as the Durga Puja, connected with the worship of this most popular goddess in Bengal, without realizing that they are thereby showing any disloyalty to their own religion. It is especially in connection with social observances that these survivals of an earlier creed show themselves, and up to recent times, it used to be the custom in many families of Hindu origin to have the marriage ceremony performed according to the primitive Hindu rite and in the presence of the family priest, a Brahman, whose office is often hereditary in Hindu families, before the civil contract, which constitutes marriage according to the Muhammadan Sacred Law, was executed. Similarly, Hindu laws of inheritance prevail, though they are in direct contradiction to the ordinances laid down in the Qur'ān, which gives detailed instructions in such matters—*e.g.*, some Panjabi Muhammadans refuse a widow any share in her deceased husband's property, though the Qur'ān expressly states that a widow shall receive a fourth part if there are no children, and an eighth if any children have been born to the deceased husband (Qur., iv., 14). In southern India the Map-pillas, though they are notorious for their fanatical outbursts against unbelievers, still follow the local Hindu system of inheritance, according to which property descends through the female line, and sons have no claim to a share in their father's property or to maintenance therefrom.

Such survivals of an earlier cult manifest themselves in most parts of the whole Muhammadan world in the worship of saints, and in reverence paid to their tombs, which, in many instances, can be identified with the site of some earlier cult which Islam has displaced. The Wahhabis have rightly recognized that such worship is contrary to the monotheistic doctrines of Islam, and have often razed such tombs to the ground and have endeavoured to abolish the observances connected with them wherever they have been able to impose their domination.

ASCETICISM AND MYSTICISM

There are two aspects of the religious life of Islam which demand special consideration—the ascetic life and mysticism. An ascetic tendency manifested itself among the Companions of the Prophet in the early days of Islam. The terrors of the Day of Judgment and of the torments of hell, so frequently and vividly depicted in the Qur'ān, obsessed the minds of such devout persons, and of some it is recorded that they would spend whole nights in prayer, and curb the desires of the flesh by rigid fasts, and pass their days in weeping and solitude. Others imposed upon themselves vows of silence, and of one pious theologian of the first century A.D. it is recorded that for twenty years no worldly utterance passed his lips, and that he kept a careful account of the few words he permitted himself to speak each day.

There is little doubt but that Christian influences and association with Christian monks and hermits exercised a considerable influence on the early develop-

ment of Muslim mysticism, for some of their co-religionists reproached them on this account, and the growth of ascetic communities in Islam was prompted by the organization of the Christian conventional system.

Another early feature that makes its appearance in the oldest stage of Muslim asceticism is the liturgical practice of the *dhikr* (*i.e.*, mention) or devotional repetition of the name of God or of the creed or some other religious formula. Such a form of religious worship was held to be justified by the injunction of the Qur'ān (xxxiii., 41): "O believers, make mention of God with frequent remembrance." In later times such devotional exercises were developed and systematized in various ways by the religious orders, as explained above.

The biographies of the Muslim saints are full of accounts of their ascetic practices. Some would shut themselves up in a retired place for forty days, and spend the time in fasting, prayer, and meditation; one saint used to repeat the whole of the Qur'ān, suspended head downwards in a well; others would wander in desolate places, sleeping only on the ground and feeding on the leaves of trees. The dervishes of the Rifā'ī order torture themselves by thrusting swords into their bodies, eating live coals, glass, etc.

Mystical doctrines in Islam first made their appearance among the ascetics, and can be shown to be a natural growth out of the teaching of the Qur'ān, in which God speaks of Himself as knowing what man's soul whispers within him, and as being closer to man than his neck vein (l., 15). Further, "Know that God cometh in between a man and his own heart" (viii., 24), and "Three persons speak not privately together, but He is their fourth; nor five, but He is their sixth; nor fewer nor more, but wherever they be, He is with them" (lviii., 8). From such doctrine the passage to the claim made for the validity of the

mystic experience of the devout ascetic is easy, and the Qur'ān itself provided much of the vocabulary of Islamic mysticism. How far external influences—Christian, Neo-Platonic, Persian, or Hindu—may have co-operated in the building up of the vast complex which goes to make up Islamic mystical thought, has been much debated, but this problem cannot be discussed within the narrow limits of the present work, and the reader must be referred to the special treatises on the subject. The early mystics, who by the third century of the Muhammadan era, had become commonly known as Sufis from the woollen garment (*sūf*) they wore, were certainly regarded with some suspicion by the theologians, and it was not until the end of the fifth century that mysticism became an accepted part of orthodox belief under the influence of the great theologian, Ghazālī (*ob.* 1111). His great reputation as a theologian and an authority on canon law had caused him to be appointed a teacher in the Nizamiyyah college in Baghdad, but his study of philosophy led him into scepticism, and disgusted with the arid pedantry of the formal theologians, among whom his life was spent, at the age of fifty he fled from Baghdad, and became a wandering dervish and lived a life of contemplation, practising the forms of devotion of the Sufis. He thus regained his faith by the way of personal religious experience. Rejecting philosophy as a means for the attainment of truth, he accepts the fundamental principles and practices of the Muslim faith on the ground of personal experience of their efficacy in bringing the believer into union with God; he lays especial stress on the ethical aspect of mysticism and on the spiritual side of worship.

From Ghazāli's time onwards, mysticism has formed a normal part of orthodox Muslim thought, and has been popularized through the influence of the numerous religious orders. The immense variety of Sufiistic doctrine makes it impossible to attempt any complete

survey of it in these pages. So far is it from being a unified and complete system that as many as seventy-eight different definitions of Sufism itself have been collected.

In its philosophical aspect, it is a doctrine of the nature of God as Pure Being and the only Reality, and of the relation subsisting between the phenomenal world and God. When by illumination true knowledge is attained, the mystic knows God, and nothing but God. Such a state is described in the following verses by a Persian poet, Bābā Kūhī of Shīrāz, who died in A.D. 1050, as finely translated by Professor Nicholson:

"In the market, in the cloister—only God I saw.
In the valley and on the mountain—only God I saw.
Him I have seen beside me oft in tribulation;
In favour and in fortune—only God I saw.
In prayer and fasting, in praise and contemplation,
In the religion of the Prophet—only God I saw.
Neither soul nor body, accident nor substance,
Qualities nor causes—only God I saw.
I oped mine eyes and by the light of His face around me
In all the eye discovered—only God I saw.
Myself with mine own eyes I saw most clearly,
But when I looked with God's eyes—only God I saw.
I passed away into nothingness, I vanished,
And lo, I was the All-living—only God I saw."*

For the attainment of this state of illumination, a long process of training is required, which is known as the Path, and a large part of Sufi literature is taken

* R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 59. (London, 1914).

up with an account of the stages through which the neophyte has to pass. The earliest of these constitute the ascetic and ethical discipline of the Sufi—namely, penitence, abstinence, voluntary poverty, patience, abnegation of the personal will in the will of God, complete dependence upon God, and satisfaction with whatever God ordains. The Sufi then experiences certain spiritual states, according as it may please God to bestow them upon him—servitude, love, abstraction, knowledge, ecstasy, the truth, union with God, and finally identification with Him. This last state the great mystic, Hallaj (who was put to death in Baghdad in 912), claimed to have attained in his lifetime, for in one of his poems he says:

> "I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I:
> We are two spirits dwelling in one body.
> If thou seest me, thou seest Him,
> And if thou seest Him, thou seest us both."*

But in this some of the Sufis considered Hallaj to be over bold, while others have held that he erred in proclaiming to the vulgar the supreme mystery which ought to be reserved for the inner circle of the elect. In a similar spirit many Sufi treatises were written only for the perusal of adepts, and were couched in obscure language which only serious students of mystical philosophy were likely to be able to understand.

Among the mystics are to be found some of the most famous of the saints of Islam. One example may be taken out of this vast company as illustrating the new attitude of the believer towards his Maker introduced into the religious life of Islam by the mystics, when the love of God took the place of fear of His chastisements. It is the more interesting as revealing

* R. A. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

the existence of the woman saint; a class of Muslim ascetic not commonly recognized. Rābi'ah was born about the close of the first century of the Muhammadan era, in Basra, where she spent the greater part of her life. She appears at one time to have been a slave, but to have been set free by her master when he came to realize her attachment to the religious life. She refused all offers of marriage, and in spite of constant ill-health she spent the greater part of the day and night in prayer and fasting, suppressing all desire and fully absorbed in the love of God.

One of her prayers is said to have been: "Oh, my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of hell, burn me in hell, and if I worship Thee from hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine eternal beauty." And on another occasion when some pious persons asked her to state her reasons for her worship of God, she answered: "He is a bad servant who worships his God from fear and terror or from the desire of reward, though there be many such." So they answered: "Why do you worship God? Have you no desire for Paradise?" and she replied: "The neighbour first and then the house. Is it not enough for me that I am given leave to worship Him; even if heaven and hell were not, does it not behove us to obey Him? He is worthy of worship without any intermediary." So absorbing was her love for God that she exclaimed: "My love for God leaves no room for hating Satan." And she went on to say: "I saw the Prophet in a dream, and he said to me, 'Oh, Rābi'ah, dost thou love me?' I said, 'Oh, Prophet of God, who is there who does not love thee? But my love to God has so possessed me that no place remains for loving or hating any save Him.'"

The influence of such individual saints was considerable, but it is through the organization of the religious orders, with their large following of men and women

engaged in the ordinary avocations of society, that mystical teaching gained its widest extension, for in this manner it reached the unlettered masses.

Among educated persons the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish poets, who have sympathized with mystical thought, have done much to popularize this religious attitude, and their works take much the same place in the religious life of the Muhammadan world as such books of devotion as *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis, have in Christendom. Such writers have popularized the teachings of the mystics by means of stories illustrative of some mystical doctrine or ethical precept. One of the greatest and most profound of these poets is Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī (*ob.* 1273). One of his stories tells how Moses came across a shepherd who was praying aloud to God in language which seemed to the Prophet to be shameful and blasphemous. He was saying: "Oh, God, where art Thou, that I may become Thy servant and sew Thy shoes and wash Thy head and kill Thy lice and bring milk to Thee, that I may ease Thy little head and when bed-time comes, sweep out Thy little room, Oh, Thou, to whom all my goats be a sacrifice." Moses rebukes the shepherd and bids him shut his mouth and stop such raving and such blasphemy. The shepherd rends his garments and, sighing, goes into the desert filled with shame and repentance. Then God rebukes the Prophet, saying: "Thou hast parted My servant from Me. I look not at the tongue and the speech, but at the inward spirit and feeling. I gaze into the heart of the worshipper and regard not the mode of expression." Thus rebuked, Moses hastens into the desert in pursuit of the shepherd and tells him that he may disregard rules and methods of worship, and may say to God whatsoever his soul desires, that he is saved since his religion is the light of the Spirit; but he finds that God has already anticipated him, and that the shepherd has already been exalted to such a stage

of spiritual elevation as words are powerless to describe.*

Again, the abiding presence of God everywhere is taught by a story of a mystic saint, Bayāzīd, who set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca in order to visit the Ka'bah. On the way he met an old man who inquired whither he was bound and what provision he had for his journey. When Bayāzīd told him that he had two hundred pieces of silver tied up in the corner of his cloak, the other rejoined: "Make a circuit round me seven times and reckon this to be better than the circumambulation of the Ka'bah and give me the silver, knowing that thou hast performed the pilgrimage and that thy desire has been achieved, for God hath chosen me above His house, for when thou hast seen me, thou hast seen God; to serve me is to obey and glorify God. Open thine eyes well and look on me, that thou mayst behold the light of God in man."†

A more popular writer was Sa'dī, whose works are among the most widely read throughout the eastern half of the Muhammadan world, and though worldly wisdom was his chief characteristic rather than mysticism, yet he popularized much mystical doctrine. Emphasis on the unity of all existence caused the mystics to look with kindly eyes on the adherents of faiths other than their own, and this doctrine of religious toleration is brought out in the story which Sa'dī tells of Abraham's treatment of the fire worshipper. It was the practice of the Prophet never to sit down to his morning meal until some poor traveller had come to share it with him. One morning Abraham saw a very aged man, bowed down with the weight of years, coming across the desert. He invited him in, and when they sat down, Abraham offered thanks to

* *Mathnawi,* translated by Professor R. A. Nicholson, vol. ii., pp. 310-313.

† *Id.*, p. 337.

God. The old man did not utter a word, and when Abraham asked him why he did not give thanks to the Giver of all good things, he replied that he only followed the religious usages that had been taught him by his teachers, the worshippers of fire. Abraham was so horrified that he should have been unawares offering hospitality to an idolater, that he indignantly drove the old man away. Then a voice from heaven rebuked him, saying: "If I have borne with this old man for nearly one hundred years, can you not bear with him for a single day?" Thus rebuked for his intolerance, Abraham hurried after the old man and extended to him a kindly welcome.

Through such stories, and others like them, the mystics of Islam have become the moral teachers of their co-religionists, and many other examples might be given of their inculcation of various ethical excellences. Fidelity to truth is illustrated by a story told of a Sufi named Habib, who was a friend of Hasan of Basra, one of the earliest of the Muslim mystics. Fleeing from some soldiers, Hasan took refuge in the cell of Habib. The soldiers came and asked Habib whether he had seen Hasan anywhere. He answered: "Yes." "Where is he?" "He is in my cell." So they went into the cell, but finding no one there, they thought that Habib was mocking them, but he protested that he was telling the truth. They went in again twice and thrice, but finding no one, at last went away. Hereupon Hasan asked his friend: "I know that it was through thy blessing that God did not discover me to those wicked men, but why didst thou tell them that I was there?" Habib replied: "Oh, master, it was not on account of my blessing that they failed to see thee, but through the blessedness of my speaking the truth. Had I told a lie, we both should have been shamed."*

* The *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, by al-Hujwīrī; translated by R. A. Nicholson, pp. 88-89.

The following verses, also translated by Professor Nicholson, commend the virtue of kindness:

> "Cheer one sad heart: thy loving deed will be
> More than a thousand temples raised by thee.
> One freeman whom thy kindness hath enslaved
> Outweighs by far a thousand slaves set free."*

THE SECTS OF ISLAM AND MODERN MOVEMENTS

During the thirteen centuries of the Muhammadan era there has been an immense sectarian development. The Prophet is said to have prophesied that his followers would break up into seventy-three sects, but the total number of those that have made their appearance has been considerably greater. The great mass of Muslims in the world belong to the Sunni sect, and the account given of Islamic doctrine and practice in the preceding pages refers, on the whole, to this group. Their name indicates that they follow the Sunnah—*i.e.*, the use and wont of the Prophet, as set down in the Traditions.

Many of the sectarian divisions of Islam have long ceased to exist, and are of interest only to the student of religious history, but some are still living actualities, and are potent influences in the Muslim world. Oldest among them is the Shiah, which meant originally merely the Shiah or "party" of 'Alī. Like many of the Muslim sects, it was political in its origin and represented those who supported the claim of Alī and

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* R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 108.

his descendants to the headship of the Muslim world and the supreme office of Caliph.

The devoted efforts, accompanied by much suffering and persecution, made by the followers of this sect, were for centuries ineffectual, and, indeed, the Shiahs *at no time in their history ever succeeded in dominating* the whole empire, as did for several generations the Sunni Caliphs. But in different parts of the Muhammadan world there have been established Shiah dynasties, which have been of considerable historical importance; of these the Fatimids (909-1171), who, starting in North Africa, extended their rule over Egypt and Syria, were remarkable for their brilliant achievements in culture and art; in Persia, the Safavids (1502-1736) made Shi-ism the national religion of that country, and it has continued so to the present day, except for a brief interval. One branch of the Shiah sect, under the Zaydī Imāms of the Yemen, has preserved its independence, with but few interruptions from its first establishment in 860 up to modern times; but the Zaydīs, *in their inaccessible mountains*, have lived outside the main currents of the life and history of the Muslim world. There have been several smaller Shiah states that have had an ephemeral existence, but the Shiahs have never succeeded in wresting from their rivals, the Sunnis, the headship of the Muslim community, though they have made many attempts to do so, which have filled their history with a pitiable series of unsuccessful rebellions and martyrdoms. Their own name for themselves is Imāmī, and this indicates their fundamental doctrine that the first Imām was 'Alī, as the only legitimate successor of Muhammad, and that this exalted office, implying the headship of the whole body of believers, was reserved for the members of his family. Disputes as to who was the legitimate successor split them up into numerous sects, which fought one another with relentless fanaticism. The Imām in each generation was re-

garded as the only authoritative spiritual guide of the faithful, and recognition of him was declared to be an essential part of the true faith. The majority of the Shiahs hold that the twelfth Imām disappeared about the year 873, but that he is still alive, and though hidden from the eyes of men, he directs the mundane affairs of his followers, and in fulness of time will return in visible form to establish the Shiah faith and fill the world with justice. Even the Persian National Assembly was stated in the law promulgated by the Shah in 1907 to have been "established by the favour and assistance of His Holiness the Imām of the age—may God hasten His glad advent."

This expectation of the "Return" of the Imām fills the minds of the Shiahs with Messianic hopes similar to those cherished by the Sunnis, but there is a fundamental difference between the two forms of the doctrine, in that the Shiahs identify the Imām Mahdī with a historical personage, a descendant of 'Alī, who has never really died.

A common error, based on the designations usually given to the rival sects, declares that the Shiahs pay no regard to the Sunnah or to the Traditions of the Prophet. On the contrary, they have enormous collections of Traditions among their religious literature, and a great number of these Traditions are the same as those accepted as genuine by the Sunnis; but their authenticity is defended by a reference to authorities, which excludes those Companions of the Prophet who resisted the claims of 'Alī, and accepts only the testimony of their own Imāms and their supporters. Thus, they have a Sunnah of their own, which is of special importance to them as serving as a basis for their claims on behalf of 'Alī and his descendants.

Reference has already been made to their celebration of the tragedy of Karbala and the death of Husayn, the son of 'Alī and grandson of the Prophet, in the year 680. The first ten days of the month of Muhar-

ram, the first month of the Muhammadan calendar, are given up to lamentations for his unhappy fate, and the emotions of the mourners are excited by the singing of hymns and the recitations of poems, describing the various incidents of the story, and by dramatic representations. In some cities processions of mourners, carrying a model of the tomb of Husayn and beating their breasts, go through the streets. Sunnis disapprove of such celebrations, but are often unable to prevent the more ignorant members of their sect from taking part in them.

Of other modern sects, one of the most important is that of the Wahhabis, whose founder died towards the end of the eighteenth century. Like many previous Muslim theologians, he desired to restore the faith to its primitive simplicity and to purge religious practice from all the many accretions that had collected round it in the course of centuries. He rejected the great body of systematic theology which had accumulated during previous centuries, and preached the return to the two primitive sources of religious truth, the Qur'ān and the Traditions.

His iconoclastic zeal revealed itself in hostility to the worship of the saints, whose tombs were to be destroyed as tending to encourage idolatry by attributing to mere mortals the rôle of intercessors with God. His followers adopted a severe Puritanical form of life, proscribing the use of tobacco, the wearing of garments of silk, and the playing of musical instruments.

The Wahhabis gained a political importance, which previous reforming movements had failed to attain, through the accession to their movement of the Arabs of the Nejd country in the deserts of Arabia. At the close of the eighteenth century the growing Wahhabi State came in conflict with the forces of the Turkish Government, which were unable to check them, and in 1801 a Wahhabi army sacked the holy city of Karbala and destroyed all the Shiah shrines there, including the

tomb of Husayn, and carried off the vast treasures that had been accumulated through the pious donations of generations of pilgrims. In 1803 they added to their conquests the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and the Muslim world heard with a thrill of horror that the dome over the tomb of the Prophet had been destroyed in Medina and many sacred shrines in Mecca razed to the ground. For nine years the rule of the Wahhabis in Mecca continued unbroken. The task of driving them out was entrusted to Muhammad 'Alī, the Viceroy of Egypt; he commenced operations against them in 1811, but it was not until 1818 that their stronghold in Nejd was stormed and their chieftain sent off to Constantinople to be executed.

In more recent times the Wahhabi movement has experienced a great revival under the present King of the Hijaz and Nejd, Ibn Sa'ūd. During the early years of the present century he gradually extended his power until, in 1921, he became Sultan of Nejd, and, in 1924, conquered the Hijaz and occupied the city of Mecca. Though toleration has been extended to the pilgrims belonging to other sects, so that during their stay in the holy city they are allowed to perform their devotions in accordance with their particular religious observances, yet in the centre of the Wahhabi territory, in Nejd itself, this reforming movement exhibits the same fanatical characteristics as did the earlier Wahhabis about a century ago. They have destroyed the tombs of the saints on the ground that reverence paid to them and the invocation of mere mortals savour of idolatry, and introduce the abomination of polytheism into the worship that should be given to the one God alone. The negligent are still publicly flogged for failure to take part in public worship in the mosques, and the rigid Puritanism of the Wahhabis not only prohibits the drinking of wine, but also the smoking of tobacco, and men are often flogged for the heinous offence of smoking a cigarette. Wahhabi

theologians act as officials of the State to compel the due observance of all the ordinances of Islam, and can call upon the officers of justice to punish offenders.

This sect does not appear to be expanding at the present time outside Arabia, but it had already gained adherents in India early in the nineteenth century, and still has a large number of followers in that country.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century another sect arose in India, which exhibits considerable activity at the present time—namely, the Ahmadiyyah. The teachings of the founder of this sect, Mīrzā Ghulām Ahmad (*ob.* 1908), are noticeably distinguished from the Wahhabi exposition of Islam by their toleration. He expounded the doctrine of Jihād, which to the Wahhabis means religious war against all unbelievers, in terms of the spiritual life as a struggle against the evil life and false doctrine, and taught that the Jihād against unbelievers must be conducted by peaceful means instead of by warlike methods. He claimed to be the Messiah for his generation, and in support of this claim he pointed to the gentleness and simplicity of his life as resembling those of Jesus. As Messiah he is also the Imām Mahdī, who, according to the popular belief of other Muhammadans, will appear some time before the Day of Judgment and will lead the united forces of the faithful in the conquest of the world for the faith of Islam; but a pacific and tolerant interpretation is given to this doctrine as to that of Jihād, and Ghulām Ahmad represented himself as the promised Imām Mahdī as bringing in a new era of religious enlightenment. In his Christology he also differed from the commonly accepted exegesis of the Qur'ān, in that he rejected the common Muslim doctrine that Jesus was taken up straight into heaven and a phantom was crucified in his place, for he maintained that Jesus was Himself crucified, but was taken down alive from the cross, and after the healing of His wounds, made His way into India, and ultimately died

and was buried in Kashmir. The bulk of his followers is to be found in the Panjab, but they carry on an active propaganda and have missionaries in England and Germany, in British colonies, and other parts of the world, and have succeeded in winning converts not only from among other Muslims, but also among Christians.

Apart from these organized Islamic sects there has, in recent times, been a considerable amount of religious speculation in the Muslim world. As stated above, Muslim theology was systematized under political conditions which made citizenship equivalent to the acceptance of the creed of Islam, and the believer was not only a member of a religious community, but also of a state. The law of the State was inextricably bound up with the organization of the religious life, and the civil and the religious authority were intermingled. Under such a system it was inconceivable that any Muslim should live under any non-Muslim rule. The decline of Muhammadan political power, which began as far back as the seventeenth century, and later resulted in the passing of vast Muhammadan populations under Christian rule, compelled them to readjust their views as to their position in human society. They found that they were no longer a dominant power, and that many of them had to live under governments which did not accept their faith. The realization of these altered conditions at first produced a feeling of depression and a sullen acquiesence in the decline of their status; but later, as the Muhammadans began to study the languages and the literatures of the European nations and recognized that by means of the knowledge and science of the western world, they could raise themselves from their sunken condition, some of them began to attempt to restate their theological position and adjust their religious opinions to the new knowledge that they had acquired from the West. Such an attempt was made in India by Sayyid Ahmad

Khān (*ob.* 1898), who, in his theological writings, laid stress upon Nature and sought to harmonize the teachings of Islam with modern science, and in Egypt, by Muftī Muhammad 'Abduh (*ob.* 1905), who desired to give an exposition of the Muslim faith in a form acceptable to such of his fellow-countrymen as had come under the overwhelming influence of French culture. Both of these theologians combated the prevailing theological attitude among the orthodox, known as *taqlīd*—*i.e.*, an unreflecting acceptance of religious authority as it finds expression in the accepted textbooks of earlier theologians—but both of them had been originally trained in the older schools of theology and their reforms were tentative and restrained, though they excited violent protests among old-fashioned thinkers. The younger generation, educated largely on Western lines, and familiar more with English, French, or Russian literature than with the theological writings of their co-religionists, began, when they turned their thought to religious speculation at all, to give to the doctrines of Islam a form and expression harmonious with the circle of ideas in which a European education had caused them to grow up. Particularly were some of them anxious to exonerate the faith of Islam from the imputations cast upon it by Christian controversialists and missionaries of being hostile to civilization and contaminated with beliefs and practices, characteristic of a barbarous age, from which the modern world had succeeded in shaking itself free. At the same time they wished to provide an antidote against the religious scepticism that prevailed among the younger generation and tended to weaken their loyalty towards the Muslim creed, and they hoped to provide them with a statement of their ancestral creed such as they would be willing to accept.

The prevailing character in this modernist movement may be expressed by the cry: "Back to the Qur'ān." Such thinkers throw over the accumulated

mass of theological literature produced by previous centuries, which, they hold, has obscured the truth and marred the purity of the primitive revelation. They have worked out a new exegesis of the Qur'ān, which condemns polygamy, slavery, and the seclusion of women, and maintains that Islam provides a body of religious doctrine and a scheme of duties more capable of harmonization with modern science and more fitted to heal the evils of modern society than any other faith.

Consequently, there is a tendency in the Islamic world to adopt the same practice of monogamy as prevails throughout the greater part of the civilized world. The Turkish Republic, in 1926, made polygamy illegal by adopting the Swiss civil code, and in other parts of the Muhammadan world it has long been regarded with disfavour. Some modern theologians, such as the Ahmadiyyah, maintain that the verses of the Qur'ān which used to be considered to justify the possession of four wives at one time, were really intended to abolish polygamy altogether, because of the impossibility of practising it in view of the restrictions under which its usage was permitted. Much of the literature of these modernist thinkers consists of a polemic against Christianity in the desire to emphasize the excellences of Islam rather than positive attempts to give a systematic exposition of their own faith.

Apart from these more or less systematic expositions of Islamic theology in its most recent developments, there is a widespread body of opinion which is out of sympathy with the old-fashioned theology and is wont to attract notice more by its hostility towards the earlier circle of ideas and standards of living than by any earnest attempts to work out a restatement of the dogmas of Islam. Such persons have come to think that the theologians, in their reverence for the Sacred Law, believed to be based on divine revelation, have checked any healthy form of development and have

placed obstacles in the way of the much-needed adaptation of Muslim society to the altered conditions of the world and the demands of modern civilization.

In independent Muhammadan states, such as Turkey, the legists had attained a position of great influence in the State, and that influence had been used for the support of such a tyrannical form of government as that of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Modern thinkers had come to recognize that piecemeal reforms were not possible, and that progress could only be achieved by making a complete breach with the established system of Muslim law, and by completely throwing over the accumulated conditions of the centuries. The modern Turkish Republic accordingly separated Church from State, abolished the religious orders and secularized religious endowments, and even penalized the wearing of a costume previously regarded as significant of adherents to the faith of Islam. Some superficial observers have interpreted these measures as indicative of a hostile attitude towards the faith of Islam. It is important, therefore, to recognize that there are Turkish thinkers who are engaged in setting before their fellow-countrymen a modernist exposition of Islam, largely coloured by mystical thought and claiming to return to the primitive faith of the first century of the Muslim era, while shaking off the accumulated accretions whereby later generations have obscured the purity of the primitive revelations. An attempt is thus made to convert the faith of Islam from a system of formal observances into an ethical religion, and stress is laid on a doctrine of duties rather than on the punctual performance of the ritual prescriptions of the old law. One of the exponents of this school of thought is Ziyā Gök Alp, who was born in 1875, and received his early education in a military cadet school. From 1910 to 1912 he was a member of the Central Committee of the Young Turk Party in Salonika, and after the Revolution he became

for a time Professor of Sociology in the University of Stambul; he was among those Turkish statesmen who were exiled to Malta after the occupation of Constantinople by the Allied troops, and since his release he has resided in Asia Minor. He has been active as a prose writer, dealing with many problems of social life and of ethics, and elucidating in modern terms some of the fundamental concepts of Muslim theology; but it is through his poetry that he has chiefly made his influence felt. One of these poems he calls "The Religion of a Turk":

"My religion is neither hope nor fear;
I pray to God from love alone.
No dread of hell or longing for the joys of Paradise
Fills my heart; I listen only to the call of duty.
O preacher, prate not of the torture of hell fire,
Whose sparks fly up from hundredweights of wood;
Speak rather of the beam from beauty's sun,
That makes our hearts glow with the love of God.
O preacher, tell us what that love is;
Let Satan and let angels be.
Tell of the rapture of the chosen band
Of lovers and their love for God."

His religious aspirations also find expression in a poem entitled "The Fatherland":

"A land in which the call to prayer resounds from the mosque in the Turkish tongue.
Where the peasant understands the meaning of his prayers.
A land where the schoolboy reads the Qur'ān in his mother tongue;
Where all men, high and low, have knowledge of the will of God,
O son of the Turks, that is thy fatherland."

One of the features of the reformation of Islam which the modern Turks were endeavouring to effect is the abolition of polygamy, and the new ideal of marriage found expression in one of Ziyā Gök Alp's poems entitled "Woman":

"Human society rests upon three pillars. The first is the family.
Woman, it is thou who hast fashioned this nest for religion;
It is thou who didst first take the banner of the good life in thine hand,
Thy name it is that is written in golden letters on it.
The second pillar is the State; that hath man created.
First hunter, then shepherd, from shepherd he became ruler.
He has set up tribunals, saying Right is might;
He has formed iron-clad armies, saying Might is right.
The third pillar is the nation. From the earliest days of human society
The souls of men have longed to form a nation.
Religion was born of the family, law from the State,
The highest ideal of the nation is a morality based on wisdom.
Neither man nor woman alone can build up the nation;
Only man and woman together, two souls united, can make it.
Together on one holy ground, they worship one God together."

In India the modernist movement has found its most remarkable expression in the poetry of Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, a serious and profound student of Western philosophy. Familiar with the most recent developments of philosophic thought, he has transferred some of the thought of Bergson and Nietzsche

into his own speculations; but Sir Muhammad Iqbal, in spite of his learning and his wide reading, is no mere echo of other men's ideas, but is distinctly an original thinker. Here we are not concerned with his philosophical thought, but with his attitude towards the faith of Islam; in his poetry he expresses a passionate devotion to the person of Muhammad, whom he reverences above all as the Prophet of action, and he believes that in the teaching of Muhammad is to be found the basis for the ideal society, and that the regeneration of the Muslim world will be obtained through the vigorous expression of personality and by self-affirmation and self-development. In so far as every Muslim strives to make himself a more perfect individual, so far will he advance the progress of Islam in the world. In this glorification of action, as taught by the life of the Prophet, there is no room for the quietism which was a characteristic aspect of Muhammadan mysticism, of which this writer is an unsparing antagonist. His influence upon the younger generation of Indian Muslims has been extensive, but, naturally, from the philosophical form in which his teaching is presented, it has not served as the basis for any organized religious movement, nor, indeed, has that been in any degree the author's intention.

From the above brief survey of the various aspects of the faith of Islam it is clear that no single formula —beyond the brief simple words of the creed—can sum up its many diversities. Above all, there is a great cleft between the religious practices and outlook of the uneducated masses and the systematized beliefs of professed theologians; and between these two extremes the varieties of religious opinion are multifarious. Among the Muhammadans belonging to the lower races there are some who have hardly emerged out of the animistic circle of ideas in which their heathen ancestors lived. In nations with an inherited culture there are many devout persons whose theology is still of a medieval

type, while others are ready to adopt the latest phase of philosophical speculation. Some have lived from childhood in an atmosphere of Muslim piety, others have received an education of a Western type, into which hardly any breath of Muslim thought has entered. Some again, of a mystical temperament, retain their early faith, untouched by the shifting currents of opinion around them; others, eager to keep abreast of knowledge in its most recent phases, are impatient and resentful of an orthodoxy which they consider to be obstructive and reactionary.

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In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (in progress) the reader will find separate articles on most of the items referred to in this book.

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A HISTORY OF RUSSIA

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A HISTORY OF RUSSIA

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

The country traditionally known as Russia, and officially, since 1922, as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for all its past and present variety, forms a geographical whole, which may be regarded as a "continent" by itself. Russian geographers have given it the name of Eurasia. It consists, roughly, of two zones—a great steppe in the south, stretching from the Danube to the borders of China, and a vast forest-land in the north, extending from the Pacific to the Carpathians and the Baltic. Except in the south-east, it is a low-lying, slightly undulated, almost unbroken plain. The Ural Mountains, which cut it in two, are little more than a belt of detached bluffs, and a geological rather than a geographical landmark.

The open steppe is remarkable for its homogeneity, its absence of natural barriers, and the mutual attraction of its farthermost parts. From immemorial times it has been inhabited by cattle-raising nomads of various races; but the races have mixed freely, and more than once empires founded by nomads have extended their sway from the Danube to the Yellow River. The Mongol Empire, the last and greatest, overlapped the great Eurasian Steppe on all sides. The forest, more closed in and impenetrable, lacked the primitive and natural cohesion of the steppe. It took a long time before it emerged into the light of history. Only in the ninth century does it begin to

form cultural and political nuclei. One of them was the Russian kingdom of Kiev, whose political greatness was ephemeral, but to which go back the political and cultural traditions of a second Russian Empire, founded in the fourteenth century under Mongol influence, and which ended in practically reconstituting the Eurasian Empire of the Mongols.

Though Russia has become almost coextensive with Eurasia, her history is only part of Eurasian history. Its principal (and at first only) scene is the great plain of Cisuralian Russia. Being the westernmost division of Eurasia, it is distinguished from the others by a closer contact with the Western world of Europe. From the dawn of history, along with influences coming from Eastern Eurasia, Western influences are apparent in the Cisuralian plain. In the third and second millennium B.C. we find in its south-western corner a civilization ("the civilization of Tripolie") obviously related to the Mycenean civilization of Greece. In the classic age of Greece and Persia the South Russian Steppe was occupied by Scythians, a nomad people, whose grazing-grounds extended from the Danube to Turkestan, and who were close kin to the Persians. Those of them who lived by the Black Sea came under Greek influence. They exported grain to Athens, importing, instead, Attic oil and earthenware. Mediterranean civilization obtained a firm footing in the Crimea, which remained Greek till late in the Middle Ages. Central European influences came to the forefront in the third century A.D., when the Goths founded a powerful kingdom which had its centre in South-Western Russia. But it was destroyed by the Huns in the following century. The Huns were followed by the Avars, and these by other nations with different names but a common culture. One of these nations—the Khazars—were more sedentarily and commercially inclined than the others. In the eighth and ninth centuries their kingdom, with its

cities on the Lower Volga and Lower Don, was a great international trading centre.

All these peoples moved and flourished in the steppe. The forest behind them remained unknown to the civilized nations of East and West. Towards the fifth century A.D. the greater part of it was occupied by Finns and cognate tribes; the Baltic shores by the Lithuanians; what is now White Russia, Poland, and Volynia by the Slavs, a people related in race and culture to the peoples of Central Europe, especially the Germans, but lagging far behind them in development. Linguistic evidence shows that economically, technically, and politically they were strongly influenced by the Goths. Words like "bread," "plough," "house," "town," "king," are borrowings from the Gothic. In the sixth century the Slavs began to expand westward and southward. Procopius, in the second half of the century, describes them as living in the south-west of the Russian plain and extending to the Black Sea. At about the same time, or a little later, they began also to spread north and eastwards into the lands of the Finns. In the ninth century we find them established in Novgorod (some hundred miles south of the present site of Petersburg); on the White Lake, three hundred miles farther East; in the land between the Upper Volga and the Oka; and on the Upper and Middle Don. Their civilization was low. They were acquainted with agriculture, but collecting and hunting were their principal means of subsistence. The several tribes into which they were divided lacked political cohesion, and were merely territorial designations. All Slavs spoke a language which in the ninth century was the same, with unimportant variations, from the Adriatic to Novgorod, and from the Elbe to the Don. Apart from their language, their common heritage was so poor and insignificant that practically nothing of it has survived. The several Slav nations are what history made them *after* their separation. In

spite of the specious unity of language, the "Slavonic" peoples have even less in common than the English and Germans, not to speak of that real and solid unity —the family of Latin nations of South-Western Europe.

CHAPTER II

THE KINGDOM OF KIEV

In the ninth century the forest belt of Cisuralian Russia begins to be opened up. We see great trade routes intersecting it, and political and commercial life crystallizing round urban centres. The principal of these were Kiev and Bulgar, situated, respectively, where the Dnieper and the Volga, after receiving their last important tributaries, issue out of the forest into the open parkland. Bulgar was a Finno-Ugrian town, and its relations were down the Volga with the Caspian, which bordered then on the lands of the Khalifate. It early became the northernmost outpost of Islam. Kiev lay in Slavonic land. Its connections were with the Black Sea and Constantinople. Up river its waterways led to another commercial centre—Novgorod, on the Volkhov—whence an easy route opened into the Baltic. The country round Kiev was called Russia (Rus'), a name which, with the spread of Kievian power, spread to all the Eastern Slavs.

These towns were ruled by merchants, who were anything but peaceful business men: their nearest analogy within living memory is the Arab merchants who in the nineteenth century opened up Africa in search of ivory and slaves. In Russia, furs took the place of ivory. But human live stock was the main article of trade, and slaves captured in the course of yearly raids up the rivers into the forest hinterland were exported in large quantities to Constantinople.

A large proportion of the merchants of Kiev were Norsemen, but native Slavs associated with them in their lucrative trade. By the middle of the ninth century Kiev was organized into a kingdom, with kings (*knyaz'*, old Slavonic—*kunenzi*, Norse—*konung*) of Norse origin. A similar kingdom, also with a Scandinavian king, arose in Novgorod. About 880, Oleg, King of Novgorod, ousted the ruling King of Kiev, and founded a dynasty whose descendants were to become, seven centuries later, Tsars of Russia. The Russians of Kiev possessed considerable naval power and great military ambition. More than once they besieged and just missed capturing Constantinople. One of the successors of Oleg, Svyatoslav (945-972), was particularly famous for his raids and adventures. He conquered Bulgaria and menaced Constantinople from land, but was ultimately defeated by the Greeks. He also destroyed the kingdom of the Khazars, whose sedentary and urban polity had for two centuries been an effective barrier against the nomads of Eastern Eurasia.

Under Svyatoslav's son, Vladimir (980-1015), a fateful step was taken: Christianity was introduced (988). It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the change itself, nor of the fact that the new religion came from the new and not from the old Rome. Unlike the Celts, the Latins, or the Germans, the Slavs had no pagan tradition to speak of, so that civilization and Christianity are to be even more closely identified in medieval Russia than in medieval Europe. In receiving the orthodox faith from the Greeks, Russia received a purer and more genuine form of Christianity than it was granted to the West to receive; but the separation of the Churches (which became final a few decades later) elevated a barrier between Russia and the Latin West which was for many centuries complete. The question whether this is to be lamented or approved of has been for genera-

tions a main dividing line between Russian intellectuals. The obvious fact is that it was inevitable. The acceptance of Christianity from the Greeks was merely the cultural expression of the economic ties of Kiev with Constantinople. All roads from Kiev led to the new Rome, which was a stronger centre of attraction than any place in the West. As for Russia's nearest Western neighbours, the Poles were then emerging more slowly than Russia from an even lower state of savagery; and the Lithuanians remained heathens till four centuries later.

The influence of the Church began to make itself felt at once, though at first only in the centres. The royal family and the aristocracy of the large towns were rapidly christianized, and to a certain extent Byzantinized. But their Byzantinization had its limit in the fact that the Greek *language* was not introduced with the Greek faith. The Eastern Church having always favoured the translation of the Scriptures and liturgies into the vernaculars, the Russians had no stimulus to learn Greek, and remained unacquainted with the secular side of Byzantine culture.

The golden age of the Kievian political power occurred in the reigns of Vladimir and of his son Yaroslav (1019-1054). The latter also marks the highest point of Byzantine cultural influence. Kiev was then almost a rival of Constantinople. Its Cathedral of St. Sophia, erected by Yaroslav, is one of the greatest monuments of mid-Byzantine architecture. Economically Kiev depended on its trade with Greece, and consequently on keeping open the waterway of the Lower Dniepr. The control of this waterway had been in jeopardy ever since the destruction of the Khazar State by Svyatoslav, which had opened the Black Sea Steppe to the Turkish Patsinaks. Vladimir's reign was passed in constant war with them. When at length they were driven away there came from the East a new Turkish nation, the Cumans (or Kipchaks; in Russian,

Polovtsi). They dealt the united Russian kings a crushing defeat in 1068—a date that may be regarded as marking the final rupture of economic relations with Greece. The Russians not only lost control of the Lower Dniepr, but had difficulty in stemming the advance of the Cumans into the settled lands of the forest fringe. The decline of Kiev had begun, though at first it was slow.

Under Vladimir and Yaroslav, Kievian rule extended westwards as far as the Carpathians and almost to the Vistula, northward to the Neva, north-eastward to the Upper Volga and to the Middle Don, while an outlying colony (Tmutarakan) was situated on the North Caucasian coast. The King of Kiev ruled this empire with the aid of his sons. When a king died, all his sons succeeded him, each according to his seniority receiving a town and district in the order of their reputed importance, the eldest brother becoming Great King of Kiev. At first one of the brothers always succeeded in eliminating the others and establishing himself as sole king. So it was with Vladimir and Yaroslav. But after the latter's death it came to be recognized that the succession belonged to the whole royal family, and that every descendant of Vladimir being as good a king as every other, each had to have his kingdom carved out for him. As the dynasty multiplied rapidly, the country was soon split up into an infinity of independent kingdoms. At first the kings were very movable, and each time a senior king died, all the junior kings tried to move one seat higher. But very soon some branches of the dynasty became indissolubly connected with definite districts and began to take less interest in the succession of Kiev, and more in the development of their patrimonies. This tendency was strengthened by the decline of the economic importance of Kiev, which by the twelfth century ceased to be the commercial metropolis of Russia. The multiplication of kings called for a

corresponding increase of revenue, and this could only be obtained by the intensification of economic methods. Hunting for furs and collecting honey and bees'-wax began to recede before agriculture. The kings, their companions, and the merchants tried to develop their estates with the aid of unfree labour, and this put an end to the export of slaves. Owing to this intensification, and in spite of the almost permanent feuds between the kings and the cessation of large-scale export trade, the later Kievian period was still a period of increasing prosperity.

Kievian society was thoroughly aristocratic. The royal family alone was, by the middle of the twelfth century, so numerous as to form quite a social class by itself. Each king was surrounded by a group of military companions, the more important of whom were called his *men,* the less important his *boys.* They belonged, for the most part, to the territorial urban aristocracy descended from the pirate merchants of the ninth and tenth centuries, and now turned landlords. *Collectively all the non-royal aristocracy were called boyars.* The only other class that had any active share in the Kievian polity, besides the clergy, were the urban population. They formed the armed militia of the chief cities, and in this capacity had a voice in all controversial matters, especially when the succession to any particular throne was at issue. They formed the *véchë,* which in the twelfth century in Kiev, in Novgorod, in Smolensk, and in other towns was a political force sometimes more important than the king and boyars. The clergy, monks, and town priests were recruited mainly from the higher and urban classes. They were the depositaries of learning and of moral teaching, and their influence was strong and to the good. But it did not reach far into the open country. All the monasteries of Kievian Russia were in or near the towns, the chief of them being the great Pechersky monastery of Kiev. The organization of the clergy,

headed by the Metropolitan of Kiev, was one of the important elements of unity that continued to keep together the Russian nation.

The external history of these times consists almost exclusively of feuds between the kings and of constant frontier warfare against the Cumans. The story of these wars is told, at times with admirable simplicity, at others with no less admirable art by the old Russian chroniclers. It would be unprofitable to attempt to summarize them here, or to enumerate the various kings that succeeded Yaroslav. One name only cannot be left unmentioned—that of Vladimir Monomakh, Great King of Kiev in 1113-1125. He was the ideal king, according to the ideas of the Old Russians—a peace-maker between his kinsmen and a great fighter against the infidel Cumans. His reign was a period when peace prevailed and unity was once more. But after his death the feuds recommenced. The importance of Kiev continued to decline, while that of the other kingdoms grew. Galicia in the south-west, Suzdal in the north-east, Smolensk in the centre, became the equals and rivals of Kiev. Still kings continued to contend for the Southern Metropolis, till at last in 1169 Andrew Bogolyubsky, King of Suzdal, took and sacked Kiev, assumed the title of Great King, but continued to live in his northern residence of Vladimir, contemptuously leaving Kiev to a younger kinsman.

CHAPTER III

DECLINE AND SURVIVALS OF THE KINGDOM OF KIEV

AFTER the sack of Kiev, the Suzdal country in the north-east, with its residence of Vladimir on the Klyazma, and Galicia in the extreme south-west, became the leading powers. The Suzdal country had

its natural outlet down the Volga into the Caspian. It was commercially more closely linked with the Mahometan Bulgar than with Kiev. At the same time Galicia was coming more and more under Hungarian influence. These east and westward tendencies of the two leading states were potent factors working against unity.

Still unity subsisted. The traditional importance of Kiev survived its political decline. As the seat of the Metropolitan and of the Pechersky monastery it retained its cultural supremacy. *The Campaign of Igor,* that solitary masterpiece of Old Russian poetry, relating a minor episode of the war with the Cumans (1185) is full of the sense of unity. It was even in these years that the name of "Russia" finally fixed itself on the whole territory ruled by the descendants of Vladimir, and ceased to be applied to the district of Kiev.

Meanwhile, in the depths of Eastern Eurasia events were brewing that were deeply to affect the course of Russian history. Genghizkhan had founded his great empire, and the Mongols, welded by him into an irresistible force, began their conquest of the continent. A first reconnoitring army of Mongols (or Tatars, as the Russians called them) appeared in South Russia in 1224, inflicted a smashing defeat on an allied Russo-Cumanian army, but after their victory withdrew once more into the eastern steppe. Thirteen years later the Mongols, led by Genghizkhan's grandson, Batu, reappeared this side of the Urals. After conquering the kingdom of Bulgar, they invaded Russia (1238), sacked Vladimir, and utterly defeated the Suzdal princes* on the Sit'. Continuing

* After the second quarter of the thirteenth century the title of *knyaz',* cheapened by infinite subdivision and multiplication, ceases to be rendered into Latin by *rex,* and becomes mere *dux.*

his advance, Batû sacked and destroyed Kiev (1240), swept through Galicia into Central Europe as far as Lower Silesia, but on the news of the death of the Great Khan had to return with all his army to Mongolia to take part in the election of a new emperor.

After Batû's invasion large tracts of land along the south-eastern fringe of the forest belt remained waste and became the possession of Tatar chiefs; Suzdal was made a close dependency of the Mongol Empire; Galicia and Novgorod acknowledged Mongol suzerainty, in their case more nominal than effective. At the same time the west of Russia was overrun by savage Lithuanians, who before long formed themselves into a more or less solid state which began absorbing all the Russian principalities between Galicia and Suzdal. Political unity came to a definite end. The Russian language was also traversing a period of rapid transformation and differentiation. The Church, and the name of Russian, remained the only remnants of unity. It is from the thirteenth century that there dates the division of the Russian nation into three closely cognate yet different nationalities—the Ukrainians, the White Russians, and the Great Russians. They took form, however, only as the result of later movements of redintegration. For the moment all forces worked for disintegration, and for the next century and more there is no Russian history as a whole, only a number of local histories.

In the south the political and social traditions of Kiev were carried on by Galicia. A thriving agricultural and commercial country, Galicia flourished especially, and in spite of Batû's invasion, in the reign of Daniel (1235-1265), who accepted a king's crown from the Pope, while declining to be converted to Romanism. Isolated from her Western neighbours by the religious difference, isolated from the rest of Russia by the Tatars and Lithuanians, Galicia did not

survive long. Her powerful and turbulent aristocracy came under Polish influence, and when in the middle of the fourteenth century Poland, now a great power, annexed Galicia, the boyars were easily and willingly Polonized and Latinized. But the people remained true to their faith and their nationality and played their part in the Ukrainian revival of two and a half centuries later.

In the north the Kievian tradition was continued by its great commercial metropolis—Novgorod. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century the city was virtually a republic. The elected prince, narrowly limited by contract, was little more than a hired captain and honorary magistrate. The real executive was vested in the Posadnik, elected at will by the sovereign people. The sovereignty was exercised by the Véchë, a general gathering of all adult citizens. As a rule it was the obedient instrument of rival factions of the capitalist oligarchy. For all economical power was concentrated in the hands of a few families of boyars—moneylenders and landowners.

Like early Kiev, Novgorod was an essentially commercial city. Its economic greatness was based on the exploitation of its northern dependencies, which extended as far as the Murman coast and the mouth of the Obi. The staple article of export was furs. Novgorodian traders brought them to Novgorod, where the German Hanse had a factory that supplied with furs the whole of Europe. The merchants of Novgorod never went abroad. But they were the principal traders in the Suzdal country, where they sold foreign goods and bought grain, for the territory of Novgorod is unfit for agriculture. Novgorod's dependency on Suzdalian grain had in it the root of a general economic and political dependency on the lands of the Upper Volga, which became increasingly real when the princes of Moscow began to form a powerful monarchy.

Though in close commercial contact with the Latin West, Novgorod remained singularly free from Latin cultural influence. It was with a Novgorodian army and defending Novgorod that St. Alexander Nevsky defeated the Swedish and German crusaders, who aimed at gaining Novgorod for the Pope at the very time when the Tatars were overrunning the east and south of Russia (1240-1242). An even stancher bulwark against the aggressive Latin was Novgorod's "younger brother," Pskov, which grew into an independent city in the fourteenth century, and evolved a better defined and more democratic constitution than its greater neighbour. For about two centuries Novgorod was the cultural centre of Russia, and it was there that Russian painting achieved its first genuine triumphs. But the political rebirth of Russia was to come from the country subject to the Tatars.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONGOLS AND THE MAKING OF MUSCOVY

(1238—1565)

The Mongol Empire consisted of several part-kingdoms, each ruled by a branch of the house of Genghizkhan. The branch to which Batû belonged founded the kingdom of Kipchak (or the Golden Horde), which extended from the Altai Mountains to the Danube and had its capital at Saray on the lower Volga. It was to this branch that the Russian lands were subjected. The Kipchak Tatars did not attempt to colonize the forest land of Suzdal, but only organized its financial exploitation. It was made to pay a tribute, which at first took the form of a poll-tax. Tatar officials came to Suzdal to take cen-

suses of the population and levy the poll-tax. The Great Prince of Vladimir and all the minor princes were henceforward to derive all their authority from charters issued by the Khan. To obtain them the princes had to travel each time to Saray and spend large sums of money in winning over the wives, kinsmen, and ministers of the Khan. Saray became the scene of unscrupulous intrigue and shameless rivalry between Russian princes. For sixty years Tatar suzerainty was very effective. No opposition was possible. St. Alexander (1246-1263), the victorious enemy of the Latins, won almost equal renown by his submissive and propitiatory attitude to the Tatars. Towards 1300 the yoke began to slacken. Instead of being levied by Tatar officials, the tribute was farmed out to Mahometan capitalists, till at last (*c.* 1330) the task of levying it was entrusted to the Great Prince of Vladimir.

In religion the Tatars were originally animists, and were converted to Islam only in the fourteenth century. Like good heathens, they believed in all gods, and viewed with superstitious respect the clergy of all religions. Accordingly, the Metropolitan of Russia (who about 1300 moved his See from Kiev to Vladimir) received from the Khans a charter granting the Russian clergy immunity from the poll-tax and from all secular jurisdiction. Meanwhile, the Russian Church had entered on a period of exceptional moral and religious vitality—the fourteenth century is the age of the great Russian saints. Numerous monasteries were then founded, not as in Kievian times in or near the cities, but always further away in the backwoods. All combined to make the Church a power without rivals: politically it depended on no one but the supreme suzerain, the Khan; its spiritual authority was derived from the Patriarch of Constantinople; its economic basis was firmly established on vast possessions, inalienable and

immune from taxation, while its moral authority, thanks to its saints and hermits, was as high as it could be. In this state of things the Church was practically forced to assume the political leadership of the nation. But unlike the Roman, the Russian Church did not use its political power further to affirm its strength and independence. Instead, it chose itself a secular ally and worked towards the consolidation of his power. The ally was the House of Moscow, one of the principal branches into which the dynasty of Vladimir had subdivided.

The princes of Moscow were not, according to modern standards, particularly attractive personages. Their policy was to combine abject submission to the Khan (whose armed help they freely used against their cousins of Tver or Nizhni), with the steady and unscrupulous accumulation of movable and immovable wealth at home. Much of it was, again, spent at Saray in securing the favour of the Khan and of his court. These expenses paid well. Ivan Kalita (1328-1341) and his successors after him invariably succeeded in securing the throne of Vladimir with the rich lands and revenues attached to it. They greatly enhanced its value by adding to it the right to levy the Tatar tribute, which gave them an irresistible means of bullying the other princes into obedience. The Metropolitans gave their full support to the princes of Moscow. During the reign of the imbecile, Ivan II. (1353-1359), and the minority of Dimitri (1359-1389), the whole control of affairs passed to the Metropolitan, St. Alexis (d. 1378), one of the most able statesmen ever produced by Russia. It was during his administration that Moscow became not only the *de facto* hegemon, but was recognized as the moral leader of the nation. This coincided with the beginning of disintegration of the Golden Horde, where intrigues and civil wars led to a continuous change of Khans. At last, blessed by St. Alexis's spiritual

successor, the hermit St. Sergius of Radonezh, Dimitri of Moscow decided on a change of policy, provoked the Tatars to war, and dealt them a smashing defeat on the field of Kulikovo, near the sources of the Don (1380). The results of the victory were annulled by two successive invasions of new hordes of Tatars more devastating than Batû's. The Tatar yoke was reasserted, but the moral effect of Kulikovo was nevertheless great: Moscow was irresistibly sealed the leader and rallying point of the nation.

Neither Dimitri's personality nor that of his two successors was in any way above the average. But the Prince of Moscow was, for the Church, the God-ordained Christian king; for his boyars a figurehead that helped them to become the rulers of vaster lands than before. So the Church and the boyars worked for the greatness of Moscow, and it grew like a snowball. Nizhni was annexed; Tver and Ryazan humbled; Lithuania held in check; Novgorod reduced to increasing dependence. Minor princes flocked into Moscow, commending their lands to the Great Prince and receiving them back as fiefs, and forming a brilliant and numerous Court about him. His last serious enemies were the cadets of the house of Moscow, who insisted on an equal share in the succession with the head of the house. Thanks to the support of the Church and the boyars (and in spite of the brutish inefficiency of the reigning Great Prince, Vasili II.), they were crushed (1453). When Vasili's son, Ivan III. (1462-1505), succeeded to his father, he had little more to do than to gather in the harvest sown by the policy of the older Metropolitans and boyars. He proclaimed his independence from the Tatars (1480); annexed Novgorod (1478), and Tver (1482), and as the result of a long and victorious war with Lithuania, extended his western frontiers to the Dniepr. To crown his achievements, Ivan III. inaugurated a new philosophy and practice of mon-

archic government, which was to transform the feudal Russia of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into a centralized monarchy after the Byzantine model, and conforming to the political ideal of the Church.

There was little that conformed with that ideal in the society that had seen the rise of the Muscovite power. It was a feudal society, based on the complete confusion of public and private relations. Political authority could be conceived by it only under one of two forms. It might either be the relation of owner to owned, and such was understood to be the relation of a ruler to his non-privileged subjects. Or it might be conditioned by more or less equilateral contract, and such was the relation of the Great Prince to his vassal princes and boyars. In the former case the prince was called *Gosudar'* (*dominus,* owner), and his subjects serfs (*lyudi*); in the latter he was *Gospodin* (suzerain), and his vassals were *"free servants."* The power of a ruler over his *lyudi* might be in practice limited by custom; but the relations between suzerain and "free servant" were strictly regulated by contract. A main point of such contracts was the right retained by the "servant" to leave his prince at will without incurring any confiscation of property. As the same rules obtained throughout the Russian world, including Lithuania, a "serving prince" or boyar might, for instance, possess lands in Lithuania, for which he owed homage to the Duke of Lithuania, and at the same time as the "servant" of the Prince of Moscow, command an army fighting against that Duke, and *vice versa.*

The early feudal aggrandizement of the Muscovite power proceeded along two ways—by the Prince becoming the *Gospodin* of an increasingly great number of "free servants," and the *Gosudar'* of an increasingly great number of lands and tenants. But

in its later stages an even more important part was played by the non-feudal conception of the Prince as the inheritor of the imperial power of the Khans on the one side, and on the other as the embodiment of the canonical and Byzantine idea of kingship—the successor of the Kings of Israel and of the Cæsars. As in the social atmosphere of the fifteenth century this monarchic idea could only be translated by the familiar conception of *Gosudar'*, the further evolution of the Muscovite polity consisted in the sovereign becoming less and less a *Gospodin*, more and more a *Gosudar'*.

The Byzantinization of Moscow received a powerful stimulus from two events of the mid-fifteenth century—the (soon retracted) apostasy of the Greek Church at the Council of Florence (1439), and the fall of Constantinople (1453). The former led to the Russian Church renouncing its allegiance to the Greek Patriarch and proclaiming itself autocephalous. The latter was interpreted as God's judgment on the Greeks for their apostasy. It made Moscow the *only* Orthodox kingdom in the world, the "Third Rome." Old Rome had lapsed into heresy; New Rome succumbed to the infidel; Moscow was the third and last. The feeling of having inherited the Roman succession was greatly strengthened by Ivan III.'s marriage with Sophia Palæologe, a niece of the last Greek Emperor. Still Ivan assumed only the titles of *Gosudar'* and Autocrator (Greek rendering of Imperator) and remained uncrowned. It was only in 1547 that his grandson and namesake finally took the title and crown of Cæsar (*Tsar'*), and only in 1589 that the head of the Russian Church was raised to patriarchal rank.

Russia's cultural isolation from Europe became complete after the "crusades" of the thirteenth century and their defeat by St. Alexander. On the other hand, isolated as she was, politically and geographically, from Greece, her Byzantine civilization assumed

original forms. By about 1400 the centre of Russian culture had shifted from Novgorod to Moscow. During Ivan III.'s reign Russia was "discovered" by Europe. Italians and Italianized Greeks came to Moscow in the suite of Sophia Palæologe. The walls and towers of the Kremlin still proclaim by their appearance that they were built by Lombard architects. About the same time a rationalist heresy sprang up, and even found favour at Court. But the Muscovite spirit had become conscious of itself as Russian and Orthodox, and these influences were stifled.

But apart from them the reigns of Ivan III. and his two successors were a transitional period full of political struggle and controversy. There were two main issues—the political issue between the Mongol-Byzantine-Biblical conception of autocracy, and the oligarchical aspirations of the aristocracy; the ecclesiastical issue between the official Church party who wanted to preserve the Church as a social and economical power, and the party of the Hermits who preached the abdication by the clergy of all worldly goods. The Hermits and the aristocracy had one common enemy—the Church as a privileged owner of land. They became allies, while the clerical party upheld the autocracy with all the force of canonical tradition. The Hermits were soon reduced to silence. Their allies, the serving princes, held out longer, but the victory of the throne was a foregone issue. The annexation of Novgorod and other lands had been accompanied by the spoliation on a large scale of the local landowners, whose lands (as well as other private lands of the Great Prince) were distributed on military tenure to small "serving people" (*not* "free servants") entirely dependent on the Great Prince. They formed a middle class, which became, together with the clergy, the principal support of the monarchy. The aristocracy made attempts to win over the serving people and the trading classes by projects of constitu-

tional reform. In 1550-1560 the liberal oligarchs succeeded in forming an administration (known to history as the "select council"), which worked in the spirit of a Montesquieu-like synthesis of monarchic, oligarchic, and democratic ideas. This was, in some respects, the most brilliant period in Muscovite history. The young and immensely popular Ivan IV. (1533-1584) had just adopted the title of the Cæsars. In 1552 he conquered Kazan (the successor of Bulgar on the Middle Volga), and in 1556 Astrakhan, the gate of the Caspian. In 1550 a great council codified the laws and usages of the Church of Russia, thus giving body to the conception of Russia as the vessel of Orthodoxy. A brilliant and exceedingly original school of architecture was elevating the churches that still strike the foreigner as the most amazing buildings in Russia. Trade was suddenly stimulated by the arrival of English merchants in the White Sea, which contributed to the commercial development of all the north. The provinces of the commercial north (and partly of the centre) were given extensive rights of self-administration, while the central administration fully realized its constitutional idea of government by the "Emperor in Council."*

But this was not to last. Flushed by his conquests in the East and by prospects of increased trade with the West, Ivan started a war to conquer Livonia. After some initial successes, the war dragged on indecisively. Lithuania and Poland intervened. Heavy expenditure was called for. The "select council," broken up by intestine intrigue, was dissolved, and the old ideas of autocracy and absolute *Gosudarism* once more came to the front, this time assuming the form of a regular "revolution from above"—the famous *Oprishnina,* proclaimed in 1565. Its principal

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* English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries invariably translate "Tsar" by "Emperor."

act consisted in a wholesale confiscation of land, chiefly from the princes and boyars. The land thus obtained was distributed in military tenure, while the dispossessed owners received new lands, also in conditional tenure. The result of the whole procedure was the final destruction of the old feudal class of "free servants," who became merged in the class of "serving people." ("People"—*lyudi*—is, in this context, the equivalent of "serfs.") The *Oprishnina* was thus a great social revolution which conditioned the whole subsequent course of Russian history. But its meaning was obscured for contemporaries by the spectacular and grimly whimsical forms Ivan chose to give it, and by the sadistic excesses that accompanied it and earned him his surname of "Terrible." The most understanding account of it by a contemporary is to be found in Giles Fletcher's book, *On the Russe Commonwealth* (1588).

CHAPTER V

THE MUSCOVITE MONARCHY

(1565—1669)

FROM the point of view of a general history of Eurasia, the principal feature of Russian history between 1550 and 1650 was the rapid southward and eastward advance of the Muscovite power.

The preceding century had seen the extreme northward advance of the Nomads. The Krim Tatars, backed by Turkey, controlled all the steppes west of the Don, and their raids reached far into the forest belt. They came every summer, carrying away thousands of Russian captives, whom they sold as slaves on the Mediterranean markets. As late as 1571 they burned the very suburbs of Moscow. The Russian reconquest of the parkland belt began soon after 1550.

Lines of defence were constructed running from the Don to the Polish frontier, and manned with military tenants. Every summer large armies were mobilized to meet the enemy. By slow degrees, and with occasional set-backs, the line of defence advanced south, until about 1650 it had reached, roughly, the latitude of Kharkov. The agricultural population accompanied its advance, sometimes even overtaking it, at their own peril. Far ahead of the official military frontier lay settlements of the independent Cossacks, men who had preferred a dangerous but free and plentiful existence under the nose of the Tatars to serfdom and tax-paying at home. By the second half of the sixteenth century Cossack communities had been founded on the Lower Don, and, farther east, on the Yaïk and on the Terek. They were organized as military democracies, subsisted on fishing and plunder, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Moscow, which did nothing to enforce it.

In the eastward direction Russia made a great stride in 1552-1556, with the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan. The conquest of Siberia was begun in the last years of Ivan IV.'s reign by a band of freebooting Cossacks in the pay of the Stroganov family, the merchant princes who administered the Ural mountains as agents of the Tsar. The destruction of the Tatar kingdom of Sibir, on the Irtysh, was the first chapter in a story that has many analogies with the Spanish conquest of America, only, the treasure the Russians were after was not gold, but precious furs. The pioneers combined great daring and enterprise with ruthlessness and rapacity. In search of new, untouched forest-land, they reached in a few decades the Behring Straits and the Chinese frontier. The advance after furs proceeded through the thick of the woods. The rich parkland belt south of it remained almost unnoticed, and agricultural colonization kept to the southern rim of the forest.

While the work of colonization was being carried on largely by private initiative, at home the Muscovite Government was organized on a strictly centralized basis. The Sovereign was the source of all authority. The Church alone was an independent force. As its doctrine of the Orthodox king was the very foundation of his power, no Tsar ever rebelled against its authority, or attempted to curtail its rights; though some of them took measures against excessive donations of land to the monasteries, and tried to induce the clergy to take over part of the burden of taxation. There was no written concordat between Church and State; all depended on tradition, but tradition was the very life-blood of Muscovy. It was tradition that maintained the boyars in a place of honour long after they had ceased to be a social force, and become merely the top ranks of the serving class; tradition that regulated their precedency in all offices of peace and war according to the recorded precedency of their respective ancestors; tradition that preserved the aristocratic constitution of the Boyars' Council, and retained at the head of all edicts the formula: "The Tsar has ordered and the Boyars decided." The actual work of government was controlled by low-born scribes (*diaki*), who, however, ranked below the least of the junior boyars. The scribes administered the offices (Prikazy), which were all concentrated in Moscow, and between which the judicial and administrative business of the State was distributed without any semblance of logical order. The working of the administrative machinery was ponderous and slow; even when its wheels were well greased, as they usually were, by the "presents" of the interested parties.

All secular society, from top to bottom, was permanently mobilized to work for the State. The main divisions were the "serving people" (*sluzhilye lyudi*), who did the military and administrative work, and

the "tax-paying people" (*tyaglye lyudi*), who in-included the peasants and townspeople. The latter were organized into guilds for the payment of taxes. The richer merchants were also government officials responsible for various branches of the revenue. All the peasants were, in principle, tenants of somebody else's land. Ever since land had acquired any kind of value it had been appropriated by princes, boyars, and monasteries. The tenants were placed under the jurisdiction of their *gosudars*. The peasants who lived on crown land were practically free. They formed self-administering communes (much larger and standing in no relation to the later "rural commune"), and, socially, stood on a level with the townspeople. They were particularly numerous in the north. But the peasants living on lands granted in military tenure to the serving men were more effectively enserfed, for their masters were paid in land and tenants, and had to squeeze all they could out of these latter in order to meet their military obligations.

The tenants had the right to leave their landlord, after paying a forfeit, but this right was exercised in practice only in the interests of richer and more powerful landlords, who tried to attract labour from the lands of weaker neighbours. They did it by buying out, but, even oftener, perhaps, by simply kidnapping peasants from off the estates of poorer serving people. The government's policy was to protect the serving men from such unlawful loss of hands, and to render more effective the serving man's authority over his tenant, who thus gradually became his serf.

Owing to the wars, which were practically continuous, the burden of service and taxation borne by the people was invariably above their real capacity, and Muscovy lived in a chronic state of economic crisis. There were only two classes exempt from

obligations to the State: the clergy and the slaves. It is important to distinguish between the slaves (*kholopi*) and the serfs; the slaves stood outside civil society, had, as it were, no legal existence, and consequently paid no taxes. Many serving people found it advantageous to become the slaves of persons in power. The State did all it could to prevent this unlawful evasion of its demands. But there was an even better way of evading them, and that was emigration to the borderlands, which was widely recurred to by members of all classes. It created a constant floating and unstable population in the South, ready for any emergency and eager for trouble.

In spite of the instability due to the intolerable weight of taxation and service, Muscovite society had substantial elements of political and cultural stability. Nothing shows this more conclusively than the story of the so-called Time of Troubles (*Smutnoye Vremya*) of the first years of the seventeenth century: no succession of troubles of such importance ever resulted in so complete a return to the starting-point.

The Time of Troubles began with a dynastic crisis. Ivan IV., dying in 1584, left two sons—Theodore, who succeeded to the throne, and Dimitri, a small boy. Theodore left the affairs of government to his brother-in-law, Boris Godunov, an able statesman, who while continuing the general lines of Ivan IV.'s policy, sought to mitigate its excesses. Dimitri died in 1591 under mysterious circumstances; Theodore in 1598, childless. The dynasty of Moscow came to an end. A Parliament was summoned to elect a new Tsar, and, in accordance with the prevailing wishes of the serving class and clergy, elected Boris Godunov. At first all were content, except a few intriguing boyars, but in 1601 there came a terrible famine, which brought out all the precariousness of the general, economic, and social situation. Discontent spread, and concentrated on Boris. A young man

turned up in Poland and gave himself out to be the Tsarevich Dimitri, who had miraculously escaped the assassins Boris had hired to kill him. With semi-official Polish support and at the head of an army of Polish adventurers and Russian malcontents, the "False Dimitri" entered the south-west provinces of Muscovy. He was defeated by Boris's generals, but all the population of the frontier flocked to his cause. On this Boris suddenly died. His generals deposed his sixteen-year-old son, and went over to the "Impostor," who entered Moscow as lawful Tsar (1605). Before long his pro-Polish leanings destroyed his too easily won popularity. He was deposed and killed, and Prince Vasili Shuysky, the organizer of the *coup d'état,* was proclaimed Tsar, with the support of the boyars, the clergy, and the populace of the capital. But the South refused to accept him, and a succession of rebellions soon plunged the country into anarchy. The rebels consisted of slaves, Cossacks, and discontented serving people. But many boyars were in sympathy with them. A Tsar was again produced under the name of Dimitri, and the rebel army established its headquarters at Tushino, at the very gates of Moscow. Bands of rebels and Polish adventurers overran the whole country, plundering the inhabitants. The King of Poland crossed the frontier, demanding cessions of territory. After four years of such anarchy Vasili Shuysky was deposed (1610) by the boyars, who offered the throne to Wladyslaw, the King of Poland's son, on condition that he should be converted to Orthodoxy. The condition was rejected, but a Polish garrison occupied Moscow. The Swedes, who had been called in by Shuysky to help him against the Poles, made themselves masters of Novgorod. The country was leaderless and a welter of anarchy. The Church alone held out: the sixteen months' defence of the Trinity Monastery against the Poles and Cossacks, and the martyrdom of the

Patriarch, St. Hermogen, who, from a Polish prison, sent out exhortations to the country to fight the Poles, had a strong effect on national opinion. The middle-classes of the central and northern provinces were strongly opposed to anarchy, and wanted nothing better than to restore the old order. Their first efforts were unsuccessful. At last a movement started in Nizhni, and immediately supported in the north, succeeded in forming a national army and an acceptable provisional Government. Led by Prince Pozharsky (who, in spite of his title, belonged to the lower layer of the serving class) the army marched on Moscow, and after a long siege forced the Poles to evacuate it. A Parliament was immediately summoned for the election of a new dynasty. With some difficulty the various elements represented in it—the clergy, the serving people, the towns and the Don Cossacks—agreed on the person of Michael Romanov, a young boy of a famous family, that was connected by marriage with the old dynasty. Anarchy continued in the south-east, but was gradually suppressed. Peace with Poland and Sweden was finally bought at the price of considerable loss of territory (Smolensk and Chernigov to Poland, the Baltic coast and the Neva to Sweden).

The most remarkable point in the whole cycle of events is the part played by the Parliaments of 1598 and 1613. That, in the absence of a Tsar, the sovereign power resided in the "land" (*zemlya*)—*i.e.*, in the nation—was an obvious and incontrovertible principle. But the land exercised its power only in order to find a new Tsar as soon as possible, and, as soon as the Tsar was found, all power was immediately and unreservedly handed over to him, no conditions being put to him, and no control retained over the order of succession—a practice which, as a recent writer remarks, seems to be the embodiment of the political doctrine of Hobbes.

The reign of Michael Romanov (1613-1645) was a

time of heavy uphill reconstruction work. The monarchy needed all the support of the classes that had restored it. To this end a succession of Parliaments was convoked. Their influence on affairs was almost unlimited, but they made no attempt to widen it or to strengthen their position. The deputies regarded their duties as heavy obligations rather than precious rights. When, after the Parliament of 1649 had passed the civil code which embodied all the desires of the dominating classes (especially of the serving people), the practice of convoking Parliaments was discontinued, this does not seem to have given ground to any opposition on the part of the represented classes. The Parliaments had done their work. One of their principal achievements was the more effective enserfment of the peasants to their masters, the serving people, whose conditional tenure of land was gradually but irrevocably transformed into unlimited freehold. The code of 1649 marks the final attainment by the serving people of their wishes regarding their tenants, and begins the gradual assimilation of serfs to slaves.

But it was now also that the peasants began to acquire a class consciousness. Slaves and serfs had taken part in the social movement of the Time of Troubles, but the movement itself received its colouring from the dissatisfied elements of the serving class. Now, for the first time in Russian history, the struggle between the aristocracy and the lower gentry having come to an end, the struggle begins between the people and the serving class, which at first, however, appears as the people's enemy, less in the quality of serfowners than in the quality of a ubiquitous, meddlesome, and largely irresponsible class of administrators. The first sign of a new state of things was the great rising of Razin (1670-1672). Razin was a leader of one of the then numerous bands of robber Cossacks who found it more amusing

to plunder the coasts of Persia and levy blackmail on the Volga than to serve under the command of the Tsar's officers. But when he openly raised the banner of revolt and began his march up the Volga to Moscow he was accepted by the peasants, Russian and non-Russian, of the east of Russia as the leader of a social revolution which aimed at the overthrow of the whole of the Muscovite hierarchy—boyars, squires, and scribes. It was suppressed with difficulty, and Razin remained a legendary hero in the people's memory.

After the Time of Troubles, Western infiltration, in the shape of English and Dutch merchants and of German and Scottish mercenaries in the Russian army, proceeded on an ever-increasing scale. But the foreign merchants remained segregated from the Russians, and, as for the foreign soldiers, they, as a rule, " went Russian " in a remarkably short space of time. The crisis of the Muscovite national consciousness began from within. Its first source was a fatal split inside the conservative core of the nation. This was the *Raskol,* or Schism of the Old Believers. The main point of scission was the attitude to the Greeks. The champions of extreme ecclesiastical nationalism maintained that the Russian Church was the one true Orthodox Church and that where its usages differed from those of the Greeks, it was the Greeks, semi-heretics and slaves of the infidel that they were, who were wrong. Another party upheld the authority of the Greeks, and its head, Nikon, on ascending the patriarchal throne, proceeded to substitute Greek for time-honoured Russian usages. The Old Believers, led by the fiery and intransigent Avvakum, refused to accept Nikon's innovations. A council, presided over by two Greek patriarchs, excommunicated them and confirmed the innovations (1666). A large section of the nation adhered to the Old Believers. For two or three generations they were fiercely persecuted by the

Government, and lived in expectation of the day of judgment. But gradually from a sect of adventists they developed into an exceedingly conservative community, hostile to the Government, but essentially law-abiding. It was in the trading classes that they had most adherents, and old-believing merchants and industrialists played a prominent part in the building up of Russian capitalism two centuries later.

Another conflict associated with the name of Patriarch Nikon, the conflict between Church and State, was of less importance. Nikon was the aggressor. There can be no doubt that in his attempt to arrogate to himself the title of *Gosudar'* and a virtual equality with the Tsar, he was influenced by Papal example. Nor did he find support in any considerable body of Church opinion. He was deposed; but the Tsar Alexis did not take advantage of his victory over Nikon to humiliate the Church. It was not Nikon's Papalism, but the Raskol and the Ukrainian invasion that shattered the foundations of the Russian Church. Alexis (1645-1676) himself was a profoundly religious man and the best type of the Muscovite gentleman—pious and dignified, a lover of peace, of sport, and of beauty. He was the last, and perhaps the best, incarnation of the harmonious equipoise of the Muscovite mind.

CHAPTER VI

WHITE RUSSIA AND UKRAINA UNDER ALIEN RULE

In the second half of the thirteenth, and in the fourteenth, century most of the West Russian lands were incorporated in the "Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Russia." The population of the Duchy was over-

whelmingly Russian, but its dynasty and its Lithuanian (as distinct from its Russian) aristocracy remained heathens till late in the fourteenth century; and after Duke Yagaylo (Jagiello) was elected King of Poland (1386) came under Polish and Catholic influence. So that the national consciousness of the state never became Russian.

The zenith of the Lithuanian power was reached under Vitovt (1388-1430), when the Duchy extended from the Oka to the Black Sea and, almost, to the Baltic. It was a loosely feudal state with little cohesion, the Duke exercising an effective authority only in his own extensive estates, the estates of the numerous princes and boyars being practically so many independent principalities. The Orthodox clergy were illiterate, simoniacal, and uninfluential. The peasants were voiceless serfs. The middle classes could not compete with the Jews, who, attracted by the privileges accorded them by the dukes and magnates, settled in the Lithuanian towns in ever-increasing numbers.

Lithuania soon lost her Black Sea possessions to Turkey, and all her eastern provinces to Muscovy. But Lithuanian independence continued until the lower gentry of Lithuania, jealous of the magnates and envious of the preponderating position acquired by the gentry in Poland, succeeded in bringing about a union with that kingdom (Union of Lublin, 1569). Its terms were similar to those of the Union of England and Scotland: there was to be a common Diet representing on equal terms the gentry (and only the gentry) of the two countries, but Lithuania was to remain a separate national entity, with its own laws, army, executive, and judicial institutions. Her southern provinces, however, were transferred, in accordance with the wishes of their gentry, to Poland. So that, in addition to the earlier annexed Galicia, Poland proper now included Volynia, Podolia, and

Kiev. These territorial arrangements are important for the understanding of the repartition of the primitive Russian (Kievian) nation between the three Russian nations of to-day: while the Great Russians are the Muscovites, the White Russians are the Russians of the lands that were, and remained, Lithuanian, the Ukrainians of the lands that formed part of Poland proper.

At the time of the Union of Lublin, Poland was in the full flush of Renaissance and Reformation. But very soon the Jesuits started a vigorous anti-Orthodox campaign, parallel to an anti-Protestant one. One of their favourite methods—an appeal to snobbish sentiment—proved particularly effective; in less than a generation the West Russian aristocracy was converted to the religion of polite society. The middle and lower classes remained stanchly loyal to Orthodoxy. The burgesses of Vilna, Lvov, and Kiev formed themselves into brotherhoods for the defence of their faith. When the higher Orthodox clergy, who were little better than a branch of the aristocracy, consented to a union with Rome (Union of Brest, 1596), the brotherhoods, and with them the lower clergy and the people, refused to recognize it. They founded schools where a new clergy, democratic and educated, were trained to fight the Catholics with the aid of Catholic scholastic methods. Thus the nationality of West Russia was rescued, but at the cost of adopting foreign methods and foreign culture.

As in Muscovy, the century (1550-1650) was one of rapid advance of the agricultural population into the steppe. In a few decades all the parkland of Padolia, Kiev, and Poltava was colonized by Ukrainian peasants. But the Polish *pans* (squires) moved with them, and instituted themselves feudal owners of all the newly colonized, or still uninhabited, land. There was no escape from the feudal extortions of the *pan* and (a main source of vexation) from his exclusive

right to sell alcoholic liquor. Part of the frontier peasants were organized into a royal military force, called "registered Cossacks," but the magnates were all the time trying to reduce their number and convert them into serfs. Only beyond the effective reach of the Polish power was there real freedom. A community of independent Cossacks (*Zaporogian*) founded a settlement (*Syich*) beyond the rapids of the Dniepr. Like the Great Russian Cossacks, they lived mainly by plundering the Turks and Tatars. They recognized the suzerainty of the King of Poland, but were sworn enemies of the *pans*. The *Syich* became the sanctuary of all malcontents from Ukraina, and took a leading part in a succession of anti-Polish revolts, the most notable of which was that of 1638, suppressed by the *pans* with ruthless cruelty. The reaction that ensued made the situation of the peasants still more intolerable, and led, in 1648, to a new rebellion, when *Zaporogians*, registered Cossacks, and peasants united under the leadership of an Orthodox squire, Bohdan Khmelnitsky. The rising was accompanied by tremendous massacres of *pans*, Catholic priests, and Jews (who had unpolitically identified themselves with the *pans* by accepting service as their estate agents and by farming public-houses). Khmelnitsky's first successes were followed by reverses. After trying an alliance with the Krim Tatars, the Cossacks at last decided to recognize Muscovite suzerainty (1654).

So Moscow intervened, but her intervention made matters no better, at first. For forty years Ukraina was the theatre of war between Muscovites, Poles, Turks, and rival factions of Cossacks. The peace between Moscow and Poland left Poland all White Russia, and all the Ukrainian lands west of the Dniepr except Kiev and its district; Eastern Ukraina was formed into a Cossack state under Muscovite suzerainty, but with complete interior (and even diplomatic) autonomy. It was ruled by a Hetman elected in

theory by all the Cossacks, but in practice by the chiefs, who had already formed themselves into an oligarchic caste on the Polish model. Cossack Ukraina developed a culture of its own on a foundation of highly Latinized Orthodoxy. Its golden age was the reign of the Hetman Mazeppa (1688-1708).

In the provinces that remained Polish, the social oppression of the *pans* and the work of denationalization could now proceed unimpeded. Severed from its most active elements, the Cossacks, the West Russian population were reduced to the state of human cattle (*bydlo* in Polish), illiterate, with no social openings and no civil rights. A Russian in eighteenth-century Poland was a serf, and could be nothing else—and this though, since the reign of Peter I., Poland had become a political satellite of Russia, and Russian troops were almost constantly quartered in some part of her territory. The partition of Poland, however, was hastened by the terrible *jacquerie* of the *haydamaks* (1769), when the exasperated Ukrainian peasantry revived the horrors of Khmelnitsky's Terror against Pole and Jew.

CHAPTER VII

RUSSIA GOES WEST

(1669—1741)

About 1650, Russia was a culturally self-contained country which regarded itself as the one Orthodox kingdom on the earth, and judged the world from this self-centred standpoint. A century later her ruling class, sharply marked off from the people, looked up to Europe as the one paragon of civilization, and their highest ambition was to rival the West in the ways of the West. The annexation of the semi-Europeanized

Ukraina and the schism in the Church were the prelude to this transformation.

It had two main sources. It was the outcome, on the one hand, of an effort to attain a financial, military, and administrative technique that would be adequate to the imperial policy inaugurated by the annexation of Ukraina; and, on the other hand, of a profound crisis of the Muscovite mind which ceased to be satisfied by the stable, self-centred, and hieratic culture of the Third Rome, and began to aspire after the freer forms of Western civilization.

The infiltration of Latin culture into Moscow began with the arrival of the first Ukrainian scholars soon after 1654. Its most interesting aspects are to be studied in the history of painting and architecture.

Protestant Europe had a long-established outpost in Moscow itself. The Muscovite Government knew that, unlike the Catholics, Protestants might be trusted to refrain from religious propaganda in a foreign country, if such was their interest (so the Japanese Government at the same time, while expelling the Portuguese, suffered the Dutch to remain). Protestant merchants and various Protestant specialists and skilled workmen in the Muscovite service lived in a special suburb of Moscow — *Nemetskaya Sloboda* ("the German Liberty," *némets* (German) including in Musvite Russian all Germanic-speaking peoples).

The first openly pro-"German" administration was that formed by Artamon Matveyev in 1669—a date that may be taken as beginning the period of Europeanization. The Matveyev administration remained in power till 1682, when it was followed by the Ukrainophile and Polonophile Regency of the Princess Sophia. In 1689, Sophia was deposed by her younger brother, Peter. At first he left the business of government to his maternal relations, the Naryshkins, who conducted it in an anti-Catholic and partly reactionary spirit. But Peter was already on the war-

path: discarded the traditional etiquette of the Court; chose for his bosom friend the Swiss engineer, Lefort; passed most of his time studying mechanics, soldiering, and navigation, and the rest carousing in the German Liberty. He formed a small new-model army (which a little later became the Guards), and built a fleet at Voronezh, on the Don. With this fleet and army he attacked Azov, the Turkish fortress at the mouth of the Don, and took it (1695). After this first triumph Peter went abroad (an unprecedented thing for a Muscovite monarch to do), and there again he studied navigation and shipbuilding. While he was away a mutiny, fomented by the conservatives and Old Believers, broke out in the old-model garrison of Moscow. Peter returned, put down the mutiny with a cruelty that revived the times of Ivan the Terrible, and began his famous reforms (1698).

Like the Turks of to-day, Peter knew the importance of externals, and his first "reform" was symbolical: he ordered all the serving class to shave their beards and don the "German" coat. Only the *common people were allowed henceforward to dress* as they liked. Western forms of social life, with the free intercourse of sexes and the encouragement of amorous sentiment implied by them, were forced on the upper class almost against their will. The sudden transition from the severe and impersonal forms of Muscovite tradition to this new freedom of licence could not fail to produce a moral anarchy, which remained a characteristic of Russian "society" throughout the eighteenth century. Peter himself set the example of drunken and promiscuous debauch.

Peter's pet dream was to make Russia a naval power, and to realize it he declared war on Sweden, in the hope of conquering its possessions east of the Baltic. Sweden was at that time the most efficient military power in Europe, and her king, Charles XII., a captain of brilliant gifts. He began the war by

suddenly and utterly destroying the Russian army before Narva (1700). But Peter's tenacity in continuing the war was equal to his rashness in declaring it. Immediately after the disaster he strung all the resources of the country to the utmost in order to reconstruct an army and continue the struggle. All Peter's tenacity would have been of no avail if he had not had at his disposal the secular devotion and unbreakable discipline of the serving class that had given the throne to his grandfather. It formed the new army, and, a more difficult thing for a class that had never had anything to do with the sea, the new navy; even a large proportion of the private soldiers and seamen were serving men.

The tenacity of Peter and of his army soon began to be rewarded. Three years after Narva the mouth of the Neva was already in Russian hands, and the city of St. Petersburg founded, which was in a few years to replace Moscow as the capital of the empire. Six years later Charles, after committing a great political and strategical blunder, was utterly routed at Poltava (1709). The battle decided the issue of the war and endowed Peter with unprecedented prestige in Europe. But with his usual rashness he engaged in a campaign with Turkey, which ended in disaster (1711) and in the retrocession of Azov.

The war with Sweden dragged on, draining the resources of the country, till 1721, when the peace of Nystat gave Russia the territory she had already conquered: the banks of the Neva (with Petersburg already the capital), part of Finland, and the Baltic provinces of Esthland and Lievland. The annexation of these latter introduced into the Russian body politic for the first time a purely European territory, where the native Letts and Estonians were the serfs of a squirearchy of German barons. The political privileges of the Barons had been greatly curtailed by the Swedish kings, but Peter restored them in all their

medieval integrity, thus inaugurating a new policy of special privileges for Russia's European subjects.

The social changes of Peter's reign were on the whole in the direction given by the seventeenth century: the gulf between the upper and lower classes widened, but more rapidly than it would have done under more normal circumstances. For the peasants it brought the official assimilation of serfs and slaves —the slaves being raised to a civil status to allow them to pay the poll-tax. This poll-tax, imposed on all the non-privileged classes, whether free or unfree, was the heaviest burden ever borne by the Russian people. At the end of Peter's reign it formed the bulk of the revenue, and all the empire was organized with a view to securing its regular payment. Throughout his reign Peter tried to encourage commerce and industry, and for this purpose made fitful attempts to raise the social status of the trading classes. Commerce was greatly promoted by the conquest of the Baltic ports. But very little came of the attempted "industrial revolution," except the opening up of the mining districts of the Ural mountains, where the peasant population, hitherto free, were made the serfs of the mine-owners. As a whole the trading classes remained refractory to the new order, and largely under the influence of Peter's most implacable enemies, the Old Believers. The only class that accepted Europeanization were the serving people. Under the influence of European ideas, they transformed themselves into a corporate "nobility," with a strongly marked class consciousness, and clearly marked off from the rest of the population.

The autocracy of the Muscovite Tsars had been implicitly limited by their adherence to tradition, and by the position of the Church. Peter, in his semi-legislative, semi-literary productions, proclaimed himself an absolute "arbitrary monarch" obeying in all things nothing but his own will. It must be conceded

that he was, in a certain sense, guided by the idea of duty and regarded his power as a trust, not as an object of enjoyment. But his notions of duty were arbitrary and fantastic, and unrelated to the ideas of his people. His conception of the unlimited "justice of the monarch's will" found a striking expression in the law which established the complete freedom of the Emperor (the title of *Imperator* was assumed after the peace of Nystat) in disposing of the succession to the throne. The law was the outcome of the affair of Peter's son, Alexis, tortured to death by his father in 1718, for having concerted with the opposition. Its effect was that after Peter's death the throne fell to his widow Catherine, an alien and illiterate harlot, and that till the end of the century it was at the mercy of every conspiracy.

Peter's principal enemy was the Church. He began his campaign against it by the abolition of the patriarchate (1700), and ended it in the institution, after the Lutheran model, of a "Most Holy Synod," which reduced the Church to the rank of an administrative department of the State, placed under the supervision of "a reliable field-officer," with the title of *Ober-Prokuror* (1721).

The opposition throughout Peter's reign was bitter and obstinate in all classes except the rank and file of the serving people. It was actuated partly by conservative sentiment, but chiefly by the intolerable burden of taxes and unpaid labour for the State. To combat this opposition, a "secret chancellery" was instituted immediately after the mutiny of 1698, and it maintained a reign of terror till Peter's death. Its most famous martyr was the Tsarevitch Alexis, but its humbler victims are beyond enumeration.

Peter's "reforms," properly so called, were really and lastingly effective only in the army and navy, which he succeeded in placing on as high a level as any in Europe. His administrative reforms were more

fictitious. The numerous posts and boards he introduced, with long names, high-sounding in German but unpronounceable in Russian, for the most part did not survive him. The actual administration was carried on by the personal and practically irresponsible rule of his favourites and friends. They were the governors of the newly created immense provinces; the presidents of the twelve ministerial "colleges" and the members of the "Senate," a body instituted in 1711, with ill-defined functions and a power limited only by that of the monarch. Beneath them and by their side odd jobs were entrusted to army officers.

When Peter died (1725) it was to these "fledglings of his nest" that the real power passed. They formed themselves into a "Supreme Privy Council" of seven or eight members, which carried on all the government. With the one exception of Prince Dmitri Golitsyn, who was a real statesman with broad views, they were morally and politically inferior to Peter, and had not even a trace of his sense of duty, however fantastic that might have been. Force of circumstances compelled them, however, to follow the only policy made possible by the state of exhaustion in which Peter had left the country. Economy became their watchword. Most of Peter's high-sounding but unworkable institutions were scrapped, the army and navy reduced, foreign policy conducted on unaggressive lines, the poll-tax diminished. In a quiet way they were allowing the country once more to breathe. They remained in power (not without some mutual expelling and exiling) throughout the reigns of Peter's widow, Catherine I. (1725-1727) and of his grandson, Peter II. (1727-1730). After the latter's death, when there was no obvious heir to the throne, they offered it to Peter's niece, Anne, Duchess of Courland, on the condition of her signing an instrument which limited autocracy and practically vested the supreme power in the Council. Anne signed, but when she

came to Moscow she discovered that the general and field-officers of the army, and the "nobility" in general, disapproved of the "conditions" she had signed. Some of them proposed a more "democratic" constitution that would limit the monarchy, not in favour of a few big bosses, but of the whole of the nobility. But the majority were quite content with autocracy, and petitioned Anne to that effect. So Anne tore up the "conditions," "resumed autocracy," and abolished the Supreme Privy Council.

As she took no interest in the affairs of government, they were carried on by a new set of big bosses, chiefly of German origin, who, instead of continuing the wise policy of the "Supremists," resumed the ruthless extortion of the poll-tax from the peasants, accompanied by military coercion and torture. All classes were made to live in constant terror of the "secret chancellery," where torture followed by execution or exile to Siberia awaited all who were reported as having said a word against Anne or her favourite, the Courlander, Bieren. What aggravated the ugliness of this policy was that, while in Peter's time the money was spent—however wastefully—on making Russia a great Power, under Anne most of it was squandered on the amusements of the Empress and her Court. The same conditions continued under the regency of Anne's niece, Anne of Brunswick (1740-1741), only that the Court clique was now weakened by internecine quarrels. The "German" régime was put an end to by a *coup d'état* of the Guards which placed on the throne Elizabeth, only surviving daughter of Peter and Catherine I. Born before wedlock, she had not at first been considered as a serious claimant to the throne, and it was only the exasperation of anti-foreign feeling that clutched at her as a last resource.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW NOBILITY IN POWER

(1741—1796)

In carrying "the daughter of Peter the Great" to the throne the Guards acted, as it were, as the executive of the whole body of the "nobility." The Empress of their choice did not belie their trust in her, and her reign inaugurated a period when the imperial power was exercised, consciously and explicitly, in the interests of the serving and serf-owning class.

The system of government, at first, differed little from that of the preceding reigns. Russia continued to be governed by a few big men, with small formality and less responsibility. The supreme power was vested in the Senate, with whose administration of home affairs Elizabeth never interfered. The Senate's policy was subordinated to the interests of the nobility. Another institution to safeguard the interests of the nobility was the regiments of the Guards, where even the private soldiers were largely nobles. The Guards intervened only in exceptional cases, but their presence was a constant reminder to the monarch of those whose nominee he was. The nobility were still under the obligation of life service in the army, navy, or civil service, but it was observed with increasing slackness. Since the death of Peter I., peace had prevailed for long spaces of time, and the serving people had at last the opportunity of living on their estates, which before 1725 had been almost exclusively the homes of their womenfolk. The conditional tenure of land having been finally abolished by Peter, the nobles were now complete and absolute masters of their lands and "subjects," as the law called

the serfs. The economic importance of the nobility was also growing. Russia was becoming more and more agricultural. The agricultural produce of the forest-belt, flax and hemp, formed fifty per cent. of the whole Russian export. Agriculture with unpaid labour became lucrative, and instead of being barely supported by their lands and serfs, the nobles began to grow rich. The agricultural colonization of the steppe also proceeded rapidly. The pioneers were the peasants, who settled down on the new lands as "peasants of the crown." But the crown had introduced the practice of making large donations in "inhabited lands" to persons of the nobility it wished to reward. The number of serfs thus increased. The rights of the serf-owners became in practice unlimited. The sale of serfs piecemeal and without land became frequent, though it was never explicitly authorized by law.

The Elizabethan reaction against the Germans did not stem the tide of foreign influence; only now France became its principal source. The reign of Elizabeth saw the birth of a secular Russian literature, the foundation of the first University at Moscow (1757), and the brilliant career of Lomonosov, whose genius was largely wasted in uphill work against uncongenial surroundings.

In foreign relations Elizabeth's ministers at first followed a policy of peace, but ultimately became entangled in the Seven Years' War. It was conducted with extraordinary slackness and inefficiency, though the high fighting qualities of the Russian soldier enabled a worthless general to win a brilliant and fruitless victory over Frederick himself (Kunersdorf, 1759). When Elizabeth died (1761) she was succeeded by her nephew Peter, Duke of Holstein, who hastened to form an alliance with Prussia.

A rude martinet, Peter III. made himself very unpopular with the Guards, who saw dangerous rivals

in his Holsteinian entourage. Conscious of this unpopularity, he issued the famous "Liberty of the Nobility" manifesto, which relieved the nobles from the obligation of service. He also abolished the "secret chancellery," and granted toleration to the Old Believers. The latter measures made him singularly popular with the non-noble classes. But the former failed to propitiate the nobility: it was too obvious and overdue. So before long the Guards intervened, deposed (and afterwards assassinated) Peter and placed on the throne his wife, Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst, who was the mistress at that time of an influential officer of the Guards. She proved an able politician, and her reign (1762-1796) the golden age of the serf-owners.

During the first years of Catherine II.'s reign, her main preoccupation, next to making herself agreeable to the nobility, was to impress favourably advanced European opinion. In this she partly succeeded, and received a handsome share of the flattery of Voltaire. Her first important measure was worthy of a good Voltairian: the confiscation, in 1764, of the estates of the Church. Only one prelate, Arseni Matsievich, Archbishop of Rostov, raised his voice against the spoliation, and had to expiate his crime by solitary confinement for life. Reduced to political nonentity by Peter, the Church thus ceased to exist as a social factor.

Another of Catherine's early measures was still more liberal—the convocation, in 1767, of an elective "Committee of Deputies" for the drafting of a new Civil Code, which was to replace that of 1649. All classes except the serfs were represented on it. Catherine herself wrote an "instruction" for the deputies, full of the most advanced ideas, copied out from the works of Montesquieu and Beccaria, but where the issue of serfdom was carefully camouflaged behind a thick veil of commonplace. The deputies at

first took considerable interest in their work, but the interests of the nobility were irreconcilable with those of the other classes, and the Committee ended in nothing. A few deputies of the nobility were inclined to revive the constitutional plans of 1730, but the great majority were quite content to place their trust in an autocrat who had been put in power by themselves, and whom they trusted not to betray their interests. What they asked was that their authority in their estates might be unlimited, and this in practice, if not quite in theory, it was allowed to become. The estates (especially the larger ones) were, in fact, independent principalities whose only relation to the suzerain state was to see that the serfs paid the poll-tax, and from time to time to deliver recruits to the imperial army.

Like a true *philosophe,* Catherine was all for uniformity and for the levelling of local anomalies. She did away with Ukrainian autonomy, and did everything to discourage the Ukrainians from remembering they were not Muscovites. She destroyed the Zaporogian Sych and curtailed the liberties of the Great Russian Cossacks. In most cases this policy proceeded smoothly, but the attempt to tamper with the liberties of the Yaïk Cossacks led to the Pugachev rebellion (1773-1774), the greatest social upheaval of the Russian lower classes before 1905.

Pugachev, a Don Cossack, gave himself out to be the late Peter III., whose supposed anti-noble tendencies had given him a legendary popularity among the Old Believers (many of the Cossacks belonged to the old faith), and among the lower classes in general. The rebel Cossacks were at once joined by the Moslem Bashkirs of the South Urals and by the miners of the Middle Urals. As soon as serious military forces were sent against them the rebel armies were easily dispersed, but it was only after that that the most interesting part of the rebellion began. Pugachev, at the head of a small band of Cossacks, started on a light-

ning march into the districts of the Middle Volga, a country densely studded with noble-owned estates. On either side of his track the peasants rose, massacring the squires and the officials, the flame of revolt rapidly spreading towards Moscow. It was easily quenched in blood, but it showed what a social volcano Russia was. Its principal effect was further to strengthen the alliance between the nobility and the monarchy, and to dig a deeper gulf between the upper and lower classes.

The years that followed the rebellion were devoted to a systematic reform of the administration. The country was divided into a number of moderate sized provinces, placed under personal and bureaucratic administration, but subdivided into districts, where all the administration was to be carried on by officers elected by the local nobles. Thus the nobility were recompensed for their trust in autocracy. The towns were also given some measure of local administration, but, unlike the corporations of the nobility, the urban guilds could not emerge from a state of dependency on the administration.

Like Peter and Elizabeth before her, Catherine continued, and carried much further, the wholesale distribution of "inhabited lands" to nobles; that is to say, the transformation of free "crown peasants" into serfs. It was this policy that earned Catherine the reputation of a "generous" and "liberal" monarch with the nobility. The lion's share of these grants went, of course, to her lovers, of whom—as is generally known—she had a rapid succession. At least one of them—Potemkin—was a man of some genius, a "second Peter the Great" in the fantastic vastness of his plans, if not in cruel energy. Magnificent and slovenly, imaginative and indolent, kind-hearted and unprincipled, combining a bedrock of Russian character with a brilliant veneer of European culture, Potemkin was the type of a society where, at least for

the great, conditions of almost epic liberty left the individual practically free from all moral inhibition. There was character enough and to spare in the Catherinian men; suffice it to name the great soldier Suvorov, and Derzhavin, the most sublime and barbaric of Russian poets; and, to pass from historical personages to literary types, the old Bagrov of Aksakov's *Family Chronicle*.

The great pride of the ruling class, who continued to form the bulk of the officers' corps, was Catherine's wars and conquests, especially against Turkey and Poland. The net territorial result of the reign was the annexation of all the Russian and Lithuanian provinces of Poland (except Galicia), of Courland, and of the Black Sea coast with the Crimea. The latter brought its full fruit only in the following century, when the economic centre of gravity was shifted from the flax-growing north to the wheat-growing south, and the bulk of the export trade from Riga and Petersburg to Odessa and Novorossiysk.

The partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, and 1795) have often been violently denounced by the Poles and their friends in the West. There can be no doubt that the policy that led up to the partitions, and the forms in which they were perpetrated, were exceedingly odious and cynical, and reeked of the age of Frederick II. It must also be recognized that their annexation to Russia did nothing to improve the state of the White Russian and Ukrainian serfs. Many Polish landlords who had opposed the partitions lost their estates, but they were all distributed to "favourites" and other Russian nobles. Still, the fact remains that not a single Polish-speaking village was annexed, and that in the long run their incorporation in Russia did help to emancipate the West Russian peasants from the secular tyranny of alien serfowners.

The French Revolution found Catherine and the Russian ruling class thoroughly prepared enemies.

But it was too remote for a realistic policy to take much interest in it. The Russian people were yet too innocent of all acquaintance with the West to be affected by it. A few advanced humanitarians among the educated gentry had to expiate in Siberia or in solitary confinement the triumph of the French democracy. But it was left to Catherine's successors to transfer their hostility to the new France to the sphere of military action.

CHAPTER IX

RUSSIA AND EUROPE

(1796—1856)

The reign of Paul, the son of Peter III., and Catherine (1796-1801), was a kind of transition between the age of the empresses to that of the nineteenth-century emperors. It belongs to the eighteenth century by the continuance of informal and personal administration, and of the practice, continued on an unprecedented scale, of giving away inhabited crown lands to members of the nobility; also by its end at the hands of the Guards. But it introduced new elements that were to be developed in the nineteenth century. The most important of these was the conception of the monarchy, not as a trust of the nobility, but as a sacred kingship placed high above all classes. It was not a return to Muscovite views, but an adaptation of the purely European theory of Right Divine. The Fundamental Law of 1797, which regulated the succession of the throne and gave a permanent constitution to the Imperial Family, thus doing away with the eighteenth-century freedom of king-making, was based on German models. It remained in force till 1917. Closely connected with this is the conception of the

Russian Emperor's mission in Europe as the guardian of the rights of monarchs, which substituted for the "sane national egoism" of the eighteenth century the reactionary idealism of the Sacred Alliance. It found its first expression in Russia's adhesion in 1799 to the anti-French coalition. "Go to the rescue of the kings," were Paul's words to Field-Marshal Suvorov before sending him to Italy. The great soldier's Italian and Swiss campaign had no political results, and only once more showed what a formidable weapon the Russian autocrat had in his army. Paul, however, soon turned out to be mad. The régime of whimsical tyranny and capricious cruelty of his last years made life within his reach so risky a business that the Guards once more intervened, Paul was murdered, and his eldest son, Alexander, ascended the throne.

Alexander I. began his reign (1801-1825) by promising, above all things, to follow the "liberal" policy of his grandmother. It cannot be said that he kept the promise. He discontinued, once and for all, the practice of giving away "inhabited" crown lands. He strengthened and organized the one possible rival of the nobility—the salary-dependent bureaucracy. While Catherine, conscious of owing the throne to the *Russian* nobility (and self-conscious of her foreign origin), favoured them rather than foreigners, Alexander was the most phileuropean of Russian monarchs, and foreigners during his reign infested the army and the diplomatic service, to the great annoyance of the Russians. Lastly, in his foreign policy Alexander was, like his father, inspired, not by "national egoism," but by the idea of his European mission.

The most generally memorable episode of Alexander's reign was the part taken by Russia in the Napoleonic Wars. It was in the interests of the nobility, as exporters of agricultural goods, to preserve friendly relations with their principal customer, England. Alexander's motives, however, when he first

joined the anti-French coalition were not these, but his personal relations with the German Court. The first war (1805) ended in the Battle of Austerlitz, the second (1806-1807) in another smashing defeat (Friedland), and resulted in the Peace of Tilsit, by the terms of which Russia became a satellite of France and undertook to enforce the Continental blockade. In exchange for this Napoleon allowed Russia a free hand against Turkey and Sweden, which led to the annexation of Finland (1809) and Bessarabia (1812). Tilsit was exceedingly unpopular with the nobility. It was a national humiliation, and it badly hit the landowners by depriving them of their market. But it was also in these years that, thanks to the stoppage of British imports, the Russian textile industry was able so to consolidate its position that even the renewal of trade with England a few years later was unable to cripple it. Speransky, a man of low birth, and an ardent admirer of Napoleon, became *de facto* Prime Minister. It was in these years that he carried out his reform of the Russian Civil Service on the French imperial model, and gave it a permanent organization. To the nobility Speransky was thus doubly hateful—as the parvenu in power, and as the symbol of a foreign policy that was ruining them. Under the pressure of their opinion it was difficult to keep alive the "spirit of Tilsit." By 1811 the tension between Russia and France was near breaking-point. Speransky was exiled to Siberia, and in June, 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia. He made the fatal mistake of crossing the Dnieper instead of consolidating himself in the western provinces, where a numerous Polish, strongly pro-French gentry was in control of the administration. All classes of the Russian nation proved united before the foreigner. The Fire of Moscow gave the "sacred union" a palpable symbol. The "Fabian" wisdom of the Russian commanders, Barclay-de-Tolly and Kutuzov, enabled Russia to win the war without

much fighting. (The one great encounter, Borodino, established a new record of bloodshed, but had no effect on the issue of the campaign.) To continue the struggle with Napoleon on European ground was not justifiable from a Russian point of view. But for the cosmopolitan Alexander the great affair was not Russia, but Europe, and the army, elated by victory, was glad to follow him to Paris. The fruits of victory for Russia were, however, if anything, negative. The annexation of the greater part of Poland proper, with its totally alien population, was a misfortune, and regarded as such by most intelligent contemporaries. But for Alexander, the triumph was unmixed. Never had the prestige of the Russian Emperor stood so high. At the Congress of Vienna he played (and with better success) the part played at Versailles by President Wilson. The Sacred Alliance was a monarchist version of the League of Nations; it was intended to make the world safe for monarchy. The safeguarding of the rights of kings became henceforward the principal preoccupation of Alexander. He carried his championship of it so far that, contrary to all traditions, he ended by defending the right divine of the Sultan against the Orthodox but insurgent Greeks.

From the purely cultural point of view, the last ten years of Alexander's reign may be regarded as the culminating point of the "Petersburg Period." The nobility had created a culture of its own, strongly coloured by French influence, but vital and vigorous. In architecture Russia was the last country where the great traditions of Renaissance classicism were carried on by really creative artists. Petersburg deserved more than ever its title of "Palmyra of the North," and Moscow emerged from her ashes in more than her former beauty. In letters it was the age of Pushkin—the golden age of poetry, still viewed by Russians as the age of their highest literary achievement. The young generation of the nobility was full of vitality,

ambition, and intellectual vigour. War having ceased to be an opening, they aspired to political activity, and were full of plans for the transformation of Russia into an advanced European commonwealth.

The reality was different. The years 1815-1825 were a period of growing reaction. Arakcheyev, a creature of Paul, an illiterate martinet unanimously hated by the nobility and army, was a sort of Grand Vizier. The army became the main object of reactionary experiment. Conscription ever since Peter had been a heavy burden on the Russian peasant, but before Paul a friendly looseness of discipline had made military service tolerable. Paul and his sons were martinets of the Prussian type who dreamed of transforming the army into a clockwork toy of mechanical soldiers. The wars and the surviving tradition of the Suvorov school had delayed this transformation, but after 1815 it became the order of the day, leading to mutinies which were suppressed with customary cruelty.

At the same time, while the intellectual élite was Voltairian and Benthamite, mystics and fanatics began to prevail at Court. A certain section of the Orthodox clergy, emerging from the broad-Church ideas of the eighteenth century, became a reactionary force, influential at Court, and which worked towards the suppression of all secular culture. (This reaction was in no way connected with the genuine religious revival that was going on in the depths of the Church and is connected with the name of St. Seraphim, and with the "elders" of the Optina Monastery; it only began to be noticed and to have an influence on the educated classes much later.)

The young generation, seeing that there was no opening for merit and that the State was governed by old dotards, dark fanatics, and illiterate drill-masters, formed a secret society for the overthrow of autocracy, of the same type as those that were then being formed all over Europe. It consisted chiefly of

officers of the Guards. Though, unlike the conspiracies of the eighteenth century, this one was inspired by advanced ideas and not by crude self-interest, it was thoroughly class-conscious and distinctly a movement of the nobility. It had also a definite nationalist colouring, and among the main grievances of the conspirators was, together with the rôle played in the army and administration by "Germans," the fact that alien and recently annexed Finland and Poland had been granted liberal constitutions, while the dominating race was ruled by Arakcheyevs.

Dynastic complications came to help the conspirators. When, in 1825, Alexander I. died and his brother Constantine, the heir to the throne, abdicated, Russia was several days without an emperor, until the third brother, Nicolas, made up his mind to recognize Constantine's abdication and ascend the throne. On the day of his ascension (December 14, 1825) the conspirators attempted their coup. It was very badly organized. Only a small number of Guards' units followed them. The rebels were easily defeated. Their trial was conducted under conditions of utmost secrecy and with revolting inquisitorial methods. Five of the "Decembrists" were hanged, the rest exiled to Siberia to work in the mines. The intellectual élite of the nobility was thus deprived of the leadership of its active elements. The Government, on the other hand, lost confidence in the nobility, and adopted a policy of absolute secrecy and complete isolation from all sections of society. Nicolas I.'s reign is the zenith of the bureaucratic system in Russia. Its first days saw the institution of a new body of secret police—the Corps of Gendarmes, whose head was the Emperor's most intimate friend, and which became the most real and omnipresent force in the country. The gendarmes saw to it that no one spoke, thought, or wrote against the established order; they did their work of suppression conscientiously (they were, perhaps, the only

incorruptible branch of the administration) and efficiently. The Corps survived till 1917.

Though an all-round and thorough reactionary, Nicolas was an honest man, who took his obligations seriously. Thus, having once sworn to observe the Polish Constitution, he tried conscientiously to observe it, but the *ménage* was incompatible. In 1830, at the signal of the French and Belgian revolution, the Poles rose in arms. After a somewhat long-drawn-out war they were defeated and their constitution abrogated. Nicolas' foreign policy was dominated by the idea, inherited from his father and brother, that the Russian Emperor's principal duty was to defend the rights of kings from the rising tide of liberalism; but also by the dream, inherited from his grandmother, of reducing the Turk. The Turkish War of 1828-1829 left Russia in occupation of the Danubian principalities, and was followed in 1833 by a treaty under which Turkey virtually became a Russian protectorate. The treaty had to be annulled in 1841, under Western pressure, but Russia came to be credited with an unlimited appetite for expansion and viewed with universal mistrust. Besides, she was the avowed enemy of all liberal aspirations, the "gendarme of Europe." The Russian people seemed an unresisting and obedient material for soldiering. The Russian army answered to any two-power standard. Inside, the surface seemed unruffled by the slightest ripple of opposition. The power of the Northern Colossus seemed unlimited. Yet there were flaws in it. A careful military student could not fail to remark that the great army was not as effective as it was numerous. Russia took no part in the technical and economic progress of the "early railway age." The equipment of the army and the navy were out of date. By 1853 there were only two railways, from Petersburg to Moscow and from Warsaw to the Austrian frontier. Metalled roads were few, and,

in the south and east non-existent. The financial situation was sound; but industrial and economical progress was hampered, on the one hand by the system of privilege which made the merchants a socially inferior class, on the other by the bureaucratic secrecy and red tape which had become the fundamental law of the land. On the lower rungs of the bureaucratic ladder there ruled another universal law of the land—corruption. No one who had anything to do with the provincial administration and law-courts was allowed to ignore that to get anything done one had to pay.

The rottenness of the political fabric was realized by most Russians, not least by Nicolas himself. Everyone also saw that as long as serfdom was left alone no serious change could be expected. Nicolas and his ministers were concerned with the issue, but they did their best to conceal their concern, and the censorship had strict orders to prevent the discussion of this most vital social problem. The Government were afraid that the least alleviation of his serfdom would induce the peasant to believe all authority abolished and himself free to wallow in anarchy. So nothing was done for the serfs. But though the most numerous, the serfs were not the only class of peasants. In the central and western provinces they constituted more than half of the aggregate peasant population, but in the north and east (except for the Ural miners) and in Siberia there were no serfs at all. The non-serf peasants were either "crown-peasants" or peasants of the Imperial Family. The only important social reform of Nicolas' reign was the organization of these two classes of peasants. They were granted a rudimentary self-administration —under bureaucratic supervision, of course—which became, in the next reign, the model for the whole organization of the emancipated serfs.

In the meantime the educated classes were under-

going a transformation. A new intelligentsia was growing up, recruited partly from the educated nobility, partly from the sons of doctors, minor officials, priests, etc. Its principal matrix was the University of Moscow. There had been a continually brilliant literary production ever since about 1820, but towards 1845 the literature of the new intelligentsia began to aspire to social leadership. In spite of the censorship, it succeeded in holding before an ever-growing audience some of the most vital, social, and cultural problems of the day. Its right wing, the Slavophils, more closely connected with the nobility, advocated a return to the true national tradition, which they found in Muscovy, and to the true ideal of Orthodoxy. The left wing, the Westernizers, believed only in rational progress on Western lines. The two wings were divided on first principles rather than on practical issues, where they were almost entirely at one: both demanded the abolition of serfdom, the liberty of the Press, the cessation of bureaucratic and judicial secrecy. The revolution of 1848 drove the Government into a frenzy of reaction which silenced the Slavophil and Westernizing Press. But the opposition grew in silence, and when Nicolas' régime collapsed, the whole educated class was found to be on the side of the new ideas.

The collapse came as the result of the Crimean War, declared on Russia in 1854 by England and France, who were provoked by a new attempt of Nicolas to extend his authority in Turkey. Once again the Russian soldiers and officers fought heroically, but the generalship was incompetent, the Russian musket had a fraction of the range of the Allies' rifle, the rear was roadless. The fall of Sevastopol (August, 1855) decided the fate of the war. By the peace of Paris (1856) Russia renounced the right to have a fleet in the Black Sea, or to fortify its coasts. In the midst of the debacle Nicolas

had died (February, 1855). His son, Alexander II., ascended the throne, and his reign opens a new era.

The expansion of Russia under the Petersburg Emperors was, in accordance with their European orientation, mainly westward. The annexed western lands remained as a rule un-Russianized, and received considerable privileges. Finland was virtually a "dominion" ruled by Finlanders with no admixture of Russians. The Polish Constitution was abrogated in 1831, but Poland continued to remain a separate political unit, administered mainly by Poles. Lithuania, White Russia, and Western Ukraina, were (up to 1831) entirely controlled by the local Polish nobility; the Baltic provinces by the German barons, whose privileges were particularly extensive, and whose loyalty was a mainstay of the dynasty. In all these lands, Swedish, Polish, and German were respectively the official languages to the exclusion of Russian. The phileuropean policy of Catherine II. and Alexander I. went so far as to invite German and Swiss settlers into the virgin lands of the south-east and south, granting them a first choice of land, large holdings, complete communal autonomy, exemption from taxes for long periods, and even, in some cases, permanent exemption from military service. Of all the western subjects of Russia the Jews alone were treated as pariahs. They were penned up in the towns and townlets of former Poland without the right to settle elsewhere, and debarred from all civil rights.

The eastward extension of the empire from the time of Peter to that of Alexander II. was limited to the extension of Russian authority over the Kirghiz hordes between the Yaïk and the Irtysh and to the annexation, in the last years of Nicolas I., of the Amur valley and of the Ussuri coast of the Pacific. The main episode of the southward advance was, after the annexation of the Crimea, the long and

arduous conquest of the Caucasus. It began by the voluntary adhesion of Georgia in 1800, followed by that of the smaller Georgian States on the Black Sea, and the conquest, from Persia, of Azerbeijan and lower Armenia. The Georgian nobility were given the privileges of the Russian nobility, but unlike the western provinces Georgia retained no autonomy, was placed under bureaucratic administration, and the Georgian language deprived of official status.

Between Georgia and Russia lay the mountain barrier of the Caucasus, inhabited by warlike Moslem tribes. Some of them were subdued by political measures, but the Circassians (Adighé) in the west, and the Lesghians and Chechens in the east offered a determined resistance. The former had the constant secret support of Turkey, the latter found a great religious and military leader in the Imam Shamil, who proclaimed a Holy War against the Russians, and for twenty-five years frustrated all attempts to overcome him. It was not till 1864 that the Caucasus was finally pacified.

CHAPTER X

TRANSFORMATION

(1856—1917)

The years that followed the end of the Crimean War are known as the "era of great reforms," and mark the first great step in the transformation of the class-constructed Russia of Catherine, Alexander I., and Nicolas I., into a modern bourgeois, capitalist, and liberal state—a transformation that met with frequent set-backs, and was not destined ever to become complete.

The first of the "great reforms" was the emancipation of the serfs. The attitude of the serfowning

class on the issue was divided. The growth of the grain export had made farming with unpaid labour increasingly profitable in all the agricultural belt. But in other parts of the country serfdom was beginning to be recognized as uneconomical. So a large section of the nobility were prepared to accept its abolition, while the new intelligentsia, whether Slavophil or Westernist, were unanimously pledged to emancipation. It was chiefly under the influence of a group of young Slavophil bureaucrats that the emancipation was actually carried out. The act was promulgated on February 19, 1861. Its main points were as follows: The emancipation was complete, the landowners retaining no economic or administrative authority over their former serfs, except for a short transitional period; the owners were given no compensation for the persons of the serfs; their emancipation was accompanied by the compulsory alienation of the land previously held by the peasants under their landlords. The latter were to be compensated by the State, but the peasants were to repay the sum to the Treasury by deferred instalments. The land, in practice, thus obtained by the peasants was considerably less than what they had held as serfs. The woods and pastures remained for the most part unalienated. In the more densely populated central and western provinces the new holdings were obviously insufficient, and the transformation of the peasants into a semi-proletariat began almost at once. It was one of the principal tenets of the Slavophils that the peasants should not be allowed to be proletarianized. To secure this end, the land transferred to them did not become their individual property, but that of the rural commune, which was to provide for the equal and periodically renewed distribution of the land between all adult males. The rural commune is not an "Old Slavonic" or prehistoric institution, but owes its origin mainly to the action of the serfowners

on their estates and of the administration on the crown lands, pursuing fiscal purposes: a main feature of the commune was that it was collectively answerable for the taxes of each of its members. The emancipated peasants were not assimilated with the rest of the population, but were to remain a legally distinct class, with incomplete civil rights, and subject, not to the general civil law of the country, but to their own customary law, itself like the commune, a product of serfdom times. The result was that the emancipation did not break down the existing class barriers, and the peasants continued to be legally and socially isolated from the rest of the population, as much as they had been under serfdom; in the case of the former crown peasants the isolation was even increased.

Still, the emancipation was a symbolical act, which started the other reforms going. They followed in rapid succession. New law-courts were instituted with public procedure, and, in criminal matters, trial by jury. Local self-government (*zemstvo*) was introduced, with extensive rights of taxation. It was based on an unequal franchise, but without any privileges for the nobility, and with inclusion of the peasants. Urban self-government was reformed and extended. Conscription, which hitherto had been the burden of the "poll-tax-paying" classes only, was extended to all classes.

The economic transformation was equally rapid. Foreign capital was attracted. Joint-stock companies were founded, and railways constructed. An important element in the new order was the Jews from whose ranks many of the new capitalists came. The Jews were given access to the schools and to the liberal professions, and in less than a generation a new class of quite Russianized Jewish intelligentsia came into being.

The liberal spirit of the new reign was extended

to the western dependencies. Finland was more than ever content with her Russian sovereign. But in Poland the concessions made were insufficient, and only proved the prelude to a new rebellion (1863). It was not a popular movement, being limited to the gentry and clergy, but precisely this enabled it to spread over all the formerly Polish provinces. It was suppressed with cruelty and not without difficulty. The suppression was followed by the abolition of Poland's status as a theoretically distinct kingdom, and the introduction of Russian as the language of the schools and administration; but also by reforms calculated to reduce the influence of the nobility and clergy and to favour the peasants and the urban classes.

The Polish rebellion provided admirable manure for the growth of Russian Nationalism, which henceforward became a dominating influence on public opinion and on the Government. It was also kept strong by the successes of Russia in the East, where the conquest of the Caucasus was followed by that of Turkestan (1864-1881).

The chief field for Russian nationalism, fed as it was by Slavophil doctrine, was the Balkans. When the Serbs began their war against Turkey, and the Bulgarian atrocities moved the world, the nationalists raised a clamour for intervention, and at last obtained it. In 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey, which, but for Disraeli's threat of British intervention, would have ended in the taking of Constantinople. The peace conference of Berlin, where the Russian diplomats proved no match for Disraeli, was a rude deception for Russian nationalism and was received by them as a national humiliation. But there were even more dangerous enemies at home.

The revolutionary movement, developing out of the left wing of the Westernizers, from the outset adopted Socialism for its banner. In the sixties it

won numerous adherents among the younger generation of the intelligentsia. Hostile to all the political and cultural traditions of the State, they concentrated their attention on the righting of social wrongs. Soon after 1870 hundreds of young men and girls, the flower of the generation, began a campaign of non-political Socialist propaganda among the peasants. It met with no success: the social and cultural gulf between gentry and people was still too great. Many of the propagandists were delivered to the police by the peasants. Disillusioned by the results of the campaign, the Socialists came to the conclusion that no social progress was possible under present political conditions and that their first aim should be the overthrow of Autocracy. They formed a fighting organization, *The People's Will,* which started a campaign of terror against the Government, and concentrated their efforts on the life of the Emperor himself. The Government started a counter campaign of extermination, trying at the same time to win over the Liberals by holding out promises of constitutional reform. On March 1, 1881, the terrorists at last succeeded in assassinating Alexander II. The "constitutional plan" was immediately given up by his successor, and a reign of reaction began with the hearty support of the propertied classes. In one thing, however, the terrorists had succeeded: up to Alexander II. the Russian Emperors had lived openly, freely, and constantly showing themselves in public, entering into almost personal relations with the populace, at least in Petersburg. After March 1 the Romanovs shut themselves in from the outer world, never went out without extensive police precautions, lived in their palaces as in prisons. The effect of this change was a slackening of the ties of personal loyalty, and a fall in the general interest in the Tsar.

The reign of Alexander III. (1881-1894) was a period of all-round reaction. The police received extended

powers to liquidate the revolutionary movement, and Siberia was peopled with Socialists. The bureaucratic element was everywhere strengthened; the independence of the law-courts and of the universities abolished; a series of counter-reforms carried out which were calculated to increase the legal and social gulf between the peasants and the rest of the population, and to revive and increase the privileges of the nobility. At the same time the nationalist policy inaugurated under Alexander II. was carried to new lengths. The Jews suffered most from this reaction. The first pogroms took place about 1881, with the obvious connivance of the police. They were submitted to increased legal limitations. The result was, on the one hand, the mass emigration of Russian Jews to America, on the other the practically wholesale adhesion of their younger generation to revolutionary Socialism. A particularly odious aspect of the reaction was the use to which the Orthodox Church, while being finally deprived of all independence, was put as an instrument of the police and of nationalist aggression. All this policy was continued, and even aggravated, after the death of Alexander III., by his successor, Nicolas II. (1894-1917). It was in the first years of his reign that Finland, which had been conspicuously loyal ever since her annexation, was submitted to exceedingly vexatious measures tending towards her political assimilation with Russia, and was thus converted into an even more resolute and implacable enemy of Russia and the Russians than the hereditary enemy, Poland.

Except in the case of the Jews, the nationalist policy struck chiefly at the old privileged groups of the western provinces—Poles, Germans, and Swedes. At the same time, partly favoured by this very policy, a national awakening was taking place among the lower classes of the same territories. In Poland and Finland it only strengthened the old local nationalism, but in

Lithuania and the Baltic provinces it brought into the political field new nationalities—the Lithuanians, Letts, and Estonians, who had hitherto been a voiceless peasantry, invisible under the rule of their German and Polish masters. A similar democratic nationalism began to grow also in Georgia. From the outset these national movements were marked by the close co-operation of the intelligentsia with the peasantry, while in Russia the gulf between "gentry" and "people" still remained unbridged. Ukrainian nationalism, whose rise was more or less contemporary with these movements, was, unlike them, a purely intelligentsia movement, and scarcely affected the peasant masses.

The emancipation of the peasants, far from solving the "peasant question," created conditions that made it increasingly insistent. The rapid growth of the peasant population soon made it obvious how insufficient were the holdings obtained by them in 1861. In the greater part of the country the peasants could not subsist on them, and were rapidly converted into a "semi-proletariat." The earnings of the Central Russian peasant from his land were so small that, in spite of the low level of wages, the returning industrial workman became the aristocrat of the village. On the other hand, the peasant was prevented by law from selling his holding and becoming a full proletarian. Social unrest and the hope for a new partition of lands became the dominant feeling of the peasants of Central and Western Russia. To the Government, increasingly dominated by the interests of the nobility, agrarian reform was taboo. The only remedy was thus emigration, which in the last decades of the nineteenth century began to assume gigantic proportions. At first the South-East and the North Caucasian Steppe, afterwards Siberia and the Kirghiz Steppe, received millions of immigrants. Immigration to Siberia was facilitated by the building of the Great Siberian Trunk

Line (begun 1891). It was to continue unabated till the outbreak of the Great War.

The last decade of the century saw a new wave of capitalistic advance. It is indissolubly connected with the name of Witte, Minister of Finance from 1892 to 1903, who adopted a policy of industrial protection by tariff, guarantee, and subsidy. Much foreign capital (chiefly French and Belgian) was attracted. New railways were built. The south of Russia, from the Donets coalfield to the iron-mines of Krivoy-Rog, was transformed into a great industrial area. One of the principal results of this industrial boom was a great rise in the numbers of the industrial proletariat.

The revolutionary movement, almost stamped out in the eighties, began to revive about 1892, largely under the impression of the great famine of that year. The revolutionaries formed two parties, which shared between them practically the whole younger generation of the intelligentsia—the Socialist Revolutionaries (S.-R.'s) and the Social Democrats. The former continued the tradition of the Socialists of the seventies, made land nationalization the centre of their programme, and aspired to become the champions of the peasants. They remained, however, a purely intelligentsia party. Their principal work consisted in terroristic acts. The Social Democrats discarded the Russian Socialist tradition, recognized Marx as their authority, and regarded the industrial proletariat as the only real revolutionary class. They soon became divided into two "fractions," the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, the latter being separated from the former mainly by their more definite attitude to the peasants as a desirable ally in the coming revolution. From the outset their leader was Vladimir Ulianov, who signed his articles in the name of N. Lenin. The two "fractions," however, acted in most points in full accord. Unlike the S.-R.s, the Social Democrats were able to take solid root in the industrial proletariat. The

labour movement, which found expression in strikes, had begun in the nineties apart from their influence, and led the Government to some rather rudimentary labour legislation. But by 1905 the Russian proletariat was thoroughly won over to the Social Democrat party, and formed the most class-conscious and formidable social group in the country. Parallel to the revolutionary movement a Liberal opposition grew up in the nineties, supported by the professional classes and the Liberal wing of the nobility and *zemstvos*. Rather tame at first, by 1903 it had adopted almost revolutionary methods, and openly applauded the terroristic acts of the S.-R.'s

The reign of Alexander III. had been peaceful and fortified the international prestige of Russia. But Nicolas II. plunged Russia into a policy of imperialistic adventure in the Far East. By 1903, Russia was in occupation of Manchuria, possessed two ports on the Yellow Sea, and was trying to gain a footing in Korea. Japan, who had been thwarted by Russia in her first attempts at expansion, viewed this Russian advance with increasing jealousy, and in January, 1904, declared war. As in 1854, Russia, though consistently provoking war, was not ready for war. The tactical equipment of the Russian army was below that of the Japanese, and the Russian generalship was poor. The Siberian Trunk was ready, but conducting war at the end of a single rail-line of 6,000 miles was a difficult task. The railway did splendid work, but proved insufficient. The country took no interest in a war started against its wishes. Defeat followed defeat, culminating in the Battle of Mukden and in the naval disaster of Tsushima (February and May, 1905). The Russian Government had to ask for peace, which was concluded at Portsmouth, N.H. (September, 1905), and, owing to the diplomatic skill of the Russian plenipotentiary, Witte, proved less disadvantageous than might have been expected.

Impressed by the successes of the terrorists at home, and the growing discontent with the war, Nicolas II. had appointed, in September, 1904, a Liberal administration which began by making certain concessions to public opinion, but whose further advice was not accepted. The measure of liberty granted to the Press and corporate bodies at once disclosed a degree of discontent that could not be stifled by half measures. The Liberal agitation turned into a state of revolution after the massacre by the troops of a crowd of Petersburg workmen who tried to approach the Emperor with a petition (January 9, 1905). The rising tide of revolution found its expression at first in the multiplication of terroristic acts, which were known to produce their effect on the Government: the assassination of a notoriously reactionary Grand Duke was almost immediately followed by a manifesto promising the convocation of an elected Parliament. But the law which, a few months later, embodied the promise, proved insufficient. The summer and autumn of 1905 produced a succession of strikes, mutinies in the navy, agrarian disorders which made many country districts uninhabitable for the squires, and systematic terror against the police and administration. At last, in October, a general strike was declared. It had the support of all Liberal as well as Socialist opinion, and was carried out with remarkable completeness. The Government gave in. Count Witte, the only statesman who appeared likely to conciliate at least the moderate Liberals, was called to power, and a manifesto was issued, in which the Emperor announced that henceforward no measure was to become law without the approval of the representatives of the people (October 17, 1905).

The middle classes were appeased and began to prepare for the elections. But the revolutionary parties, the workmen, and the peasants did not lay down their arms. The strike was called off, but in many towns

the Workmen's Soviets were better obeyed than the official authorities, and in the country districts the agrarian movement continued unsuppressed. The demobilized army in the Far East, held up by strikes, was out of hand, and local "republics" sprang up along the whole length of the Siberian Trunk. The Black Sea Fleet mutinied. Most of the army units were unreliable. At last the workmen of Moscow, organized by the Social Democrats, began an armed insurrection. But this proved the turning-point. One of the few reliable regiments of the Guards was sent to Moscow, and after ten days' fighting on the barricades the insurgents were defeated (December, 1905). After this victory the suppression was conducted throughout the country with ruthless cruelty and rapid success. The revolution was over; in the ensuing struggle with the Duma (as the new Parliament was called) the Government stood on firmer ground.

The election law was based on an unequal but practically universal franchise, which assured the strong representation of the peasants. As the Socialist parties boycotted the elections, the Liberal (so-called "Cadet") party obtained a majority, but some 150 peasant members formed a "Labour Group" with a Socialist programme. The Duma met on April 27, 1906. It began by demanding a general amnesty and agrarian reform on the basis of the compulsory alienation of the larger estates. The Government was decided not to yield on these points. A deadlock ensued, and after a few weeks' session the Duma was dissolved. The deputies assembled in Viborg (Finland) and issued a proclamation calling on the people to refuse taxes and recruits. The proclamation had no effect; the revolutionary impetus was spent. But the general elections resulted in a new victory for the opposition; the country was tired by the struggle, but unreconciled. The Socialists obtained two-fifths of the seats, the Cadets returned in diminished numbers.

The casting vote between the two belonged to the forty Polish members, who always voted as one man. Once again no co-operation was possible with the Government, which was now headed by the able and resolute bureaucrat, Stolypin. The second Duma was not much longer lived than the first. It was dissolved in June, 1907. Realizing that a new election under the same law would again result in a victory of the opposition, Stolypin followed the dissolution by a counter-revolutionary change of the electoral law: the large landowners were given a clear majority in the electoral colleges, the urban representation was curtailed, and that of the Polish, Caucasian, and Mussulman provinces, and of the hopelessly democratic Siberia, reduced to nominal proportions. The second phase of the revolutionary struggle ended thus in a second victory for the Government and for the reactionary forces behind it.

After this counter-reform the majority in the Duma belonged to the moderately conservative landowners, who were ready to support the policy of Stolypin. Stolypin was in favour of preserving the Duma and conciliating its very docile majority, but at Court and among the right wing of the Duma itself there was a strong tendency to regard the Constitution as nil. The word "constitution," in fact, had never been pronounced, and the legislative rights of the chambers were rather narrow; the fundamental laws, the Imperial Family, the civil list, the army and the navy. and foreign policy were beyond their competency. Certain parts of the Budget were "armoured"—that is to say, could not be reduced below the figures of 1906. The Crown retained the right to legislate between sessions, and Stolypin had availed himself of it between the first and second Dumas to carry out the measure that gave the keynote to his social policy. This was the Act of November, 1906, enabling individual peasants to sever their connection with their

commune, by turning their share of land into individual freeholds. Thus Stolypin, and the landowners who supported him, hoped to transform the more prosperous peasants into a class of conservative farmers, while ridding the countryside of its semi-proletarian elements. He called this policy "backing the strong man." It was an attempt to allow free play to the economic forces that worked towards the differentiation of the peasant class. In some districts many peasants availed themselves of the new law, but on the whole the economic character of the Russian peasant class remained unchanged, and nationalization of the large estates remained their one desire.

Though a period of political reaction, the years 1907-1914 were also one of unprecedented economic prosperity and progress. This was specially apparent in the south, where the beet-sugar industry and the wheat export flourished as never before, and in Siberia, which was being rapidly opened up by continuous immigration (encouraged by the Government as a safety-valve to the land problem) and by private and co-operative commercial enterprises. A district whose commercial development was on a particularly "American" scale was Turkestan, which was turned in a few years into a great cotton-producing area.

The new bourgeoisie, whose economic importance was thus daily increasing, had no political traditions, and no personal ties with the monarchy or the administration. Their political influence was small; they were ready to support the monarchy if it followed a sane economic policy, but they had little confidence in it and no objections to a republic. They were hostile to Socialism, but by no means adverse to letting the peasants have the land. The intelligentsia, also influenced by the economic boom, was being gradually won over to imperialism; but the Socialist parties remained strong and compact. The working class was a solid block of Social Democrats. A new class of

"semi-intelligentsia"—clerks, engineers, medical assistants—had grown up, and formed an important link between the educated classes and the people. They were almost all Socialists, and it was through their agency that the lower classes were being more and more won over to political Socialism.

In respect of the non-Russian population, the policy of Stolypin and his successors was a nationalism that went further than anything ever attempted by Alexander III. Finland in particular was goaded into such a state of hostility that when the war broke out its best patriots joined the German army as volunteers. All the nationalities were more or less thwarted in their legitimate aspirations, and their opposition grew with the growth of the nationalist policy of the Government. But except in Poland and Finland, political separatism was not countenanced by the responsible political leaders of the nationalities. The economic advantages of belonging to the great Russian organism were too keenly felt, and if the Russian Government was the embodiment of reaction, the Russian Socialists stood out as the truest champions of progress.

In foreign policy the period 1907-1914 is marked by a great wave of imperialism, which found whole-hearted support in the majority of the Duma and among the new, national-Liberal formation of the intelligentsia. Almost on all sides Russia's policy became, if not explicitly, at least latently, aggressive. If the establishment of a virtual protectorate over Mongolia (1913) was in accordance with geographical realities and the interests of the Mongolian people, in Persia Russian aggression assumed particularly odious forms; a convention was signed with England dividing that country into "spheres of influence," and Russian political and economic penetration proceeded along the approved lines of Western imperialism.

In the West, Russian diplomacy, after the *entente* with England (1907), pursued a policy of flouting

Germany and Austria, and of encouraging the Slavs. The annexation of Galicia and of Constantinople became the main article of faith of the bourgeois parties that upheld the Government. The army was increased, its tactical training greatly improved, and a programme adopted for the construction of Dreadnoughts. The Duma majority was even more eager and forward in adopting all these measures than the Government itself. But the efficiency of the diplomatic service was not equal to the policy pursued. In 1913, for instance, it made the disastrous blunder of backing Serbia against Bulgaria, and thus alienating the only Slavonic nation whose cultural ties with Russia were real, and not merely an ethnological fiction. Nor can it be affirmed that the persons responsible for Russia's foreign policy clearly realized that they were making the war each day more inevitable.

When the war broke out it found Russia better prepared, from the purely military point of view, than she had been in 1904, or, in fact, at the outbreak of any preceding great war. But the enemy was also a more formidable one than ever before, and economically and administratively Russia was no match to the great leviathans of Western imperialism. The bureaucracy was well used to claiming control over all branches of national activity, and consequently had no difficulty in adopting the new wartime mentality with its pseudo-Socialism and complete subjection of all sides of life to the ends of the war. But Russia was neither economically prepared to become a centralized machine for modern war, nor the Government capable of running it. The upper classes at first accepted the war with enthusiasm (which, except in the case of families with military traditions, was not accompanied by any readiness for self-sacrifice), did not grumble at the dissolution of the Duma, and heartily joined in the official campaign of

baiting the "interior", Germans and the Jews. But under the influence of the tremendous reverses of 1915 they grew uneasy and began to demand responsible government. They obtained at first a few concessions, but when the German advance was stopped the policy of reconciliation was discontinued. The Government had no confidence in the administrative qualities of the upper classes, and these definitely assumed an attitude of opposition. At the same time the imperial household began to emancipate itself from the Government. The Empress Alexandra, obsessed by the idea of the right divine of the autocrat, urged her husband to display his autocracy with more energy. Both the Emperor and Empress were totally incompetent persons, and were easily influenced by various sinister personages, first of whom was the Siberian hypnotist, Rasputin, whom they regarded as a saint. In these conditions their personal policy, opposed by all more or less sensible and responsible members of the bureaucracy, soon began to verge on insanity. The upper classes were terrified and began to consider the possibility of a *coup d'état*. The murder of Rasputin by two members of the imperial family (December, 1916) gave enormous publicity to the private life of the Emperor and Empress, which became the object of widespread and poisonous scandal. The upper classes, in their propaganda against Nicolas and Alexandra, insisted on the disastrous effect of their personal policy on the war. Rumours were spread (perfectly false) that the Empress was a pro-German. It was necessary, the patriots affirmed, to eliminate the imperial couple in order that the war might be continued with better efficiency and to a victorious end. But the anti-dynastic propaganda spread far beyond the upper classes. The people, heartily sick of the war and heartily sick of the administration whose power of oppression the war had greatly increased, irritated by the economic mismanagement which

brought the large towns to the brink of famine, were also ready to throw down the Romanovs—not to continue, but to stop the war. Petersburg (like all the larger towns) contained an immense garrison of army depôts, which represented the bitter but vague and undirected discontent of the rural classes. But the workmen of Petersburg, politically, perhaps, the most conscious and determined group in Russia, knew very well what they wanted if they were to make a revolution. When in February, 1917, the shortage of food led to street disorders in the capital, the disorders soon became a revolution, and on February 27 a Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies was set up, with a definitely Socialist platform. On the same day the Duma formed an Executive Committee to counteract the influence of the Soviet, and the Committee proclaimed itself the supreme power. The Government forces in Petersburg were easily overcome by the mob and the depôt regiments, and on March 2, 1917, Nicolas II., under the pressure of the Duma, abdicated.

The Provisional Government set up by the Duma, and recognized by the Soviet, attempted to realize the political programme of the bourgeoisie and to continue the war "to a victorious end." But with the fall of the monarchy all authority collapsed throughout the country and army. The Government could only pronounce speeches that were powerless to charm the revolutionary people into obedience. The bourgeois Government was replaced by a Government of Right-wing Socialists, who also failed to recognize that what the people demanded was peace and a new social order. The revolution moved rapidly towards its logical end. The Left-wing Socialists, the Bolsheviks, the only party who promised the people what they wanted, were also the only party led by men who understood the *nature of revolutionary government.* On October 25, with the support of the organized

workmen of Pet... and of the Baltic Fleet, they deposed the Provisional Government and proclaimed a Socialist Soviet Republic.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

HE Revolution of February-October, 1917, will probly stand out as by far the most critical turning point the whole history of Russia. Its ultimate signifince cannot yet be gauged to the full, nor is it mited to Russia and Eurasia only: in the history of e world its importance is at least equal to that of e French Revolution. It would not be profitable to hearse here in a few lines the sequence of events at followed the victory of the Bolsheviks, or the etails of their constructive work since their final victory over the counter-revolutionary movements. It is s yet difficult to see these details in the right perpective, as related to the preceding eleven centuries f Russian history. But some results stand out already ith sufficient clearness. The first, most obvious and nost important, is that the social pyramid of which he Russian people were for long centuries the passive oundation has collapsed and been cleared away, and or the first time in history the Russian working lasses are masters of themselves, and have no social superiors. The victory of social Democracy has not been accompanied by the establishment of democratic liberties, and the political power resides in the Communist Party. In practice, it is the dictatorship of a minority, but a minority which is not a socially distinct upper class, and which keeps the people constantly awake for political action by the stimulant of ceaseless propaganda and by the machinery of Soviet

elections. Whatever may happen [illegible], the Russian working-classes are not likely again to submit to the existence of a social oligarchy fundamentally different from themselves, and whatever may be the fate reserved for the Communist Party, the Soviet system introduced by them is likely to remain the skeleton of any future Russian polity.

A second obvious fact is the emancipation of the nationalities. The Great-Russian people, though the leader and principal agent of the Revolution, has renounced the policy of national coercion and assimilation pursued by its former rulers, and has recognized in the other peoples of Eurasia equal associates linked together by a common social and cultural ideal. The two other Russian nationalities, Ukrainian and White Russian, the numerous Turkish, Mongol, Finno-Ugrian and Caucasian peoples of the former empire, the ex-territorial Jews themselves, have become the equal members of a free Union of Nations. The change of the name of Russia into that of USSR (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics) symbolizes the transformation of a national empire into a super-national federation.

Thirdly, the centre of the Russian community of nations has shifted from west to east, and from the seas to the interior of the Continent. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, have reverted, as it was only right that they should revert, to their original European family, while Khiva and Bokhara have been included in the Union, and Mongolia gravitates towards it. The continental Moscow has once more become the capital of its continent.

Lastly, though the doctrine that inspired the Communists is ultimately a product of European civilization, in practice it has assumed new and un-European forms, never dreamed of by Marx. It has erected a new barrier between Russia and Europe, between the Soviet Union and the bourgeois democracies of the

[illegible] aan [illegible] Russia has become a continent with a civilization hostile in spirit to that of the countries that for two centuries were her cultural model. She has recovered her cultural autonomy, and her separation from the West is one of the most potent factors contributing to reduce the relative importance in the world of Western civilization.

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