Chapter Six

RESURGENCE OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL IMPERIALISM

I. REACTION AGAINST DOCTRINAIRE LIBERALISM IN THE 1880's

THE decade of the 1880's witnessed a sharp reaction against that sectarian liberalism which had characterized the previous decade.[1] It was not a reaction against constitutional government or guarantees of freedom of religion, press, association, etc. Such constitutionalism had been inspired by an earlier and more ecumenical liberalism, and, though it was extolled and exploited by political parties of Liberals (with the capital letter) during their ascendancy in the 1870's, it long outlived their eclipse. The reaction was rather against the urban-mindedness of those political parties and against the particular materialist conception which underlay their economic policies. They were too logically Lucretian. Enamored of mechanical industry and the material profits to be derived from it, they assumed that it operated naturally and most successfully through a simple concourse of competing and clashing atoms. All that any government should do in the premises was to equalize opportunity for atoms. In practice this meant free trade, free business enterprise, free contract, free competition, private ownership of machines, private operation of public utilities, a minimum of governmental interference with industry, a minimum of legislation in aid of agriculture or labor.

For the reaction which set in during the 1880's the Liberals themselves were partly responsible. In a sense they dug their own graves. Industrialization, which they so lavishly patronized, soon passed beyond their mental range from personal to corporate control, and the rights which they bestowed upon associations of employers they could hardly withhold from unions of employees. Moreover, as devotees of the latest materialistic science they could not

[1] See Chapter Two, above, especially pp. 66-87.

stop short with Lucretian physics; they had to embrace Darwinian biology, with its stepchild of Spencerian sociology, and before long they were painfully aware of "organismic" theories of the state superimposed by "sound political science" on their atomic notions. Besides, there was nationalism, whose growth they had fed as an aid to personal freedom and an antidote to otherworldly superstition, but whose full stature, reached after the Franco-Prussian and Russo-Turkish Wars, cast over individual interests and individual competition the shadow of national interests and national competition.

Incidentally, the Liberal parties were accused of attracting to their banners a disproportionate share of Jews and also of tolerating an inordinate amount of financial peculation and political corruption. Jews had been emancipated too recently and were still too much despised by the generality of Europeans to occupy conspicuous places in any political party seeking popular favor; they were too easy targets for counter-attack. Also, there was enough abiding respect for traditional morality throughout the generation of materialism to evoke widespread disgust with "crooked" politicians and to give volume to the cry of "turn the rascals out."

But what clinched the fate of the Liberal parties was the emergence of the masses, and to this the Liberals themselves contributed by espousing political democracy, by legalizing trade-unions and cooperative societies, and, most momentously, by fostering that secular national education which by the '80's was rendering almost everybody in central and western Europe literate and peculiarly amenable to journalistic propaganda. Eventually it proved to be not so much the propaganda of the Liberal parties with which the emerging masses found themselves in sympathy, as that of rival parties, which were thus enabled to gain ground and to give a novel orientation to national policy. In the main, it was away from *laisser faire* and toward economic nationalism—and national imperialism. Not the individual, but society, especially national society, was to be the goal.

The sudden appearance of Marxian Socialist parties in the '80's was one obvious sign of change and a notable stimulus to it. To be sure, these parties were more akin to sectarian liberalism than any

of its other rivals. They, too, were materialist. They, too, were urban-minded. They, too, aspired to a this-worldly utopia of machinery and personal health and happiness. They, too, took the side of science in the current "warfare" with theology; and their persistent championship of free trade, no less than their resonant anti-clericalism, should have endeared them to the Liberals. Yet Liberals and Marxists quarreled and fought as only blood relations can. The latter claimed the former's property, threatened to employ state power and even revolutionary violence to get it, and pledged it, when gotten, to the "toiling masses." And short of an ultimate holocaust of private property, the Marxists preached, we all know, the anti-Liberal gospel of the class conflict, of the supremacy of class interests over individual interests, and insisted that the state has the immediate right and duty to enact drastic social legislation in behalf of the "proletariat" and to put the burden of taxation squarely upon the "bourgeoisie." Small wonder that dyed-in-the-wool Liberals were shocked or that crowds of urban workmen turned Socialist.

Another kind of opposition to the Liberal parties was supplied by marshaling of traditionally religious forces either into pre-existing Conservative parties or into newly formed confessional parties. Generally speaking, the rural masses and even a sizable segment of the urban masses and middle classes were still responsive to Christian ideology and antipathetic to the materialistic and atheistic tendencies of doctrinaire liberalism and to its lack of "social conscience." When, in the '70's, the Liberal parties made frontal attacks upon church schools and other ecclesiastical institutions and privileges, religious people rallied in defense. By the '80's the defense passed to an offensive. Particularly was this true of Catholics, who, in reacting against the Kulturkampf, built up a strong Center party in Germany, an important Christian Socialist party in Austria, influential Clerical parties in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, and later the "Liberal Action" in France and the "Popular Action" in Italy. All these parties made democratic appeal, all of them cut through social classes, and all produced programs of social reform.

These programs were evolved, chiefly in the '80's, by a noteworthy

group of Catholic intellectuals: Moufang and Hitze in Germany, Vogelsang and Rudolf Meyer in Austria, de Mun and La Tour du Pin in France, Decurtins and Bishop Mermillod in Switzerland, Périn in Belgium, Cardinal Manning in England; and in 1891 appeared Pope Leo XIII's confirmatory encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. Thus took shape a Catholic social movement which combated economic liberalism no less than Marxian socialism. On a wide front it helped to crystallize demands for tariff protectionism and labor legislation, and, though less precise and more opportunist than the Marxian movement, it was almost equally effective in weaning the masses away from Liberalism.

The reaction of Protestant Christians was less systematic. With the exception of the Calvinist party in the Netherlands, they founded no distinctively confessional party. But in Germany militant Lutherans gave renewed vigor to the Conservative party, and in Switzerland Protestants appropriated the so-called Liberal party (the sectarian Liberals constituting there the Radical party), while in Great Britain the rank and file of professing Anglicans were devotedly Conservative.

Nor should we overlook the anti-Semitic movement in the early '80's. It was not yet wholly a "racial" movement, but rather a capitalizing of popular prejudice against Jews in order to discredit both the Liberal and the Marxian parties, in which so many of them were enrolled. Over against those parties, it urged defense of Christianity and a species of national socialism. It was influential in building up the Christian Socialist party in Austria and in temporarily reviving clerical royalism in France, and it enabled a demagogic Lutheran clergyman, Adolf Stöcker, to add to the nationalist Conservative forces in Germany a small but fanatical band of shock troops.

Undoubtedly the most significant development of the '80's was a new lease of life by Conservative parties. They were predominantly agricultural in outlook and interest, suspicious of urban-mindedness, and devoted to such traditional European institutions and customs as church, army, nobility, patronage, and *noblesse oblige*. They had never looked with favor upon doctrinaire liberalism, and they felt a natural scorn for its talkative votaries. So long

as Conservative leaders enjoyed a profitable return from landed property, with a surplus for investment in mechanized industry, they could endure, though bewail, Liberal ascendancy. But when, in the late '70's, a pronounced agricultural depression set in and presently promised to become permanent, the same leaders bestirred themselves mightily. They would enlist the rural masses—peasant proprietors, farm tenants, even agricultural laborers—in a crusade to throw the Liberals out of office and to restore, by state action, a proper balance between agriculture and industry, between labor and capital. And by advertising their own solid attachment to national traditions and national honor and decrying the Liberals' white-livered pacifism, they might expect, in an era of quickening nationalism, a still broader popular recruitment.

Invaluable aid was afforded the Conservative cause by the "national historical school" of political economists. Its teaching was a characteristically German product, woven out of the Prussian cameralism of the eighteenth century and already patterned in the 1840's by Friedrich List and Wilhelm Roscher, though not becoming a staple and one for export until after the stirring nationalist events of 1866-1871. Then to its elaboration rallied the elite of professorial economists in the German universities, including Adolf Wagner at Berlin, Gustav Schmoller at Strasbourg, Georg Hanssen at Göttingen, Bruno Hildebrand at Jena, Karl Kines at Heidelberg, Georg Knapp at Leipsic, Lujo Brentano at Breslau. Wagner was typical of the "school." Publicist as much as scholar, he was at once a political Conservative, a pious Lutheran, and a flamboyant German patriot. He had discharged diatribes, as fiery as Treitschke's, against France in 1870, and in the '80's he was to be Stöcker's first lieutenant in anti-Semitic agitation. In 1872 he joined with Hildebrand, Schmoller, and others in issuing the "Eisenach Manifesto," which declared war on economic liberalism, lauded the recently established German Empire as "the great moral institution for the education of humanity," and demanded legislation that would enable "an increasing number of people to participate in the highest benefits of German *Kultur*." The national state, according to Wagner and his associates, should no longer be a Liberal puppet—a mere "passive policeman." It should be an active guide and dis-

ciplinarian. It should regulate and plan the whole national economy —agriculture, industry, trade, labor.

From Germany the anti-Liberal, anti-Manchester gospel of the "national historical school" was exported, though in somewhat adulterated forms, to France, Italy, and Britain. In the last-named country, for example, it found ready consumers—and able propagandists—in Archdeacon Cunningham, Arnold Toynbee, and William J. Ashley. Wherever it penetrated, it both reflected and heightened a trend toward economic nationalism and political Conservatism.

The Conservative parties, utilizing the platform and arguments of their professorial allies, and likewise their own ultra-patriotic sentiments, carried to the masses the fight with doctrinaire Liberalism. In Germany they patronized the energetic popular propaganda of the "Union for Social Politics," which issued from the Eisenach Manifesto of 1872, and later, in the '90's, the still more strident agitation of the "Agrarian League," the "Pan-German League," and a swarm of military, naval, and colonial societies. In Britain the group of Tory Democrats led by Lord Randolph Churchill, launched in 1883 the Primrose League, which, through honorific titles and decorations, ceremonial observances and floods of pamphlet literature, appealed alike to aristocrat and plebeian, man and woman, age and youth. Children were enrolled as "Primrose Buds," and Primrose Dames (no less than Salvation Army lassies) contributed to the contemporary feminist movement. The League's adult membership (Knights, Dames, and Associates) mounted steadily from 950 in 1884 to 910,000 in 1890, and on to 1,550,000 in 1900. Each of these had to declare, "on my honor and faith that I will devote my best ability to the maintenance of religion, of the estates of the realm, and of the imperial ascendancy of the British Empire." It was a neat Conservative pledge, and in electoral campaigns of the period the League performed signal service for the Conservative party.

Under the impact of propaganda from social Conservatives, social Christians, and Marxian Socialists, and of changing economic conditions which favored popular acceptance of such propaganda, schisms appeared in the individualistic Liberal parties. In Germany

the National Liberal party moved farther and farther toward the Right, away from their dwindling Radical brethren and into gradual alignment with the Conservatives. In France many erstwhile Radicals deserted to the protectionist and imperialist Moderates, while others, induced by conviction or political expediency to evince a social conscience, gravitated toward what was subsequently dubbed the Radical Socialist party. In Britain a sort of social Liberalism was fostered by land-reform agitation of John Stuart Mill, Alfred Russel Wallace, and Henry George, and by urban-reform activity of Joseph Chamberlain; and when the last-named, a good imperialist withal, fell foul of Gladstone over the latter's Irish Home Rule Bill of 1886, he carried a large fraction of the more socially and imperially minded Liberals with him into a new organization, the Liberal Unionist party, which before long was swallowed by the Conservatives. The socializing of the remaining English Liberals had to await Gladstone's demise—and the Boer War—at the end of the century. In Italy, no like doctrinal squeamishness stayed the left-wing Liberal leaders, Depretis and Crispi. They were valiantly imperialist and heretically "social" throughout the decade of the '80's.

The ubiquitous reaction against the old-line Liberal parties was registered by parliamentary election returns. In Great Britain the era of Liberal supremacy, which had endured almost continuously since 1846, was rudely interrupted in 1874 by Disraeli's accession to the premiership with a Conservative majority of fifty in the House of Commons. Thenceforth, with the exception of a stormy interlude from 1880 to 1885, the Liberals were in a minority, and during the brief ministries which Gladstone headed in 1886 and again in 1892 he leaned for support upon the shaky reed of Irish nationalism. Altogether, the years from 1874 to 1906 were an era of Conservative supremacy. The Conservatives (with their Liberal Unionist allies) won majorities of 110 in 1886, 152 in 1895, and 134 in 1900.

In Germany the democratic Reichstag elections of 1878 indicated the trend of the ensuing decades. The Liberal factions lost their majority—the National Liberal seats being reduced from 141 to 109 and those of the Progressives (or Radicals) from 40 to 30. On

the other hand the Conservative groups increased their representation from 78 to 116, and the Catholic Centrists (with associated Poles, Guelphs, and Alsatians) from 126 to 133. Of popular votes the Liberals lost 130,000 and the Opposition gained 550,000.

In Austria the Liberal regime was supplanted in 1879 by a ministry under Count Taaffe, who speedily came to an understanding with the feudal and federal elements victorious in the parliamentary election of that year; and he remained in power, with Clerical, Polish, and Czech help, for the next fourteen years. By that time the Christian Socialists were the largest single party in Austria, with the Marxian Social Democrats in second place. In Hungary the intensely nationalist (and agrarian) Count Koloman Tisza dominated the political scene from 1875 to 1890. In the Dutch Netherlands, the Calvinist "anti-revolutionary" party took office in 1879, and in 1888 began collaboration with the Catholic party, while in Sweden the premiership passed in 1880 into conservative Agrarian hands.

In Belgium the elections of 1884 ended Liberal rule and inaugurated a long period of Catholic supremacy. By 1893, when universal manhood suffrage was established, the Belgian Chamber consisted of 105 Catholics, 29 Socialists, and only 18 Liberals. In France the elections of 1885 reduced the Republican majority by half, and during the ensuing fourteen years the ministries were manned by Moderate, rather than Radical, Liberals, and by Moderates who were spurred on to nationalist and imperialist policies by the Boulangist and anti-Semitic movements and to some measure of social legislation by the growing pressure of Marxian Socialists and Social Catholics.

Simultaneously, it may be noted, the huge Russian Empire was committed more unambiguously than ever to conservative reaction. The assassination of the reputedly liberal Alexander II in 1881 brought to the throne the Tsar Alexander III, who surrounded himself with ultra-reactionary agents. The all-important ministry of the interior, with its police power and censorship control, was entrusted to an arch-Conservative, Count Dmitri Tolstoy, until his death in 1889, and then to a rigid bureaucrat, Durnovo. The regulation of church and education was committed to Constantine

Pobêdonostsev, an implacable foe of liberalism in all its aspects; and the ministry of foreign affairs, to Baron de Giers, essentially a German Junker. The only surviving quasi-Liberal in the entourage was Bunge, the finance minister until 1887—and he was an economic nationalist. The '80's were a golden age in Russia for Slavophiles and Pan-Slavists.

Practical effects of the general European reaction against doctrinaire liberalism were soon manifest in the protective tariffs, socializing legislation, and national imperialism which are outlined in the following sections of this chapter, and likewise in the intense nationalism whose rise is sketched in the next chapter.

II. RETURN TO TARIFF PROTECTION

"Every nation ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply." So Alexander Hamilton had said just after the War of American Independence,[2] and his words, echoed in Europe in the 1840's by Friedrich List, bore special significance for the generation that issued from the nationalist wars of 1870-1871 and 1877-1878 and that maintained the ensuing "armed peace." To a statesman like Bismarck it appeared axiomatic that a nation, to be truly prepared for military assaults from without, must possess adequate means from within for supplying food, munitions, and money. Bismarck surely knew!

But by the latter part of the 1870's it was becoming very doubtful whether, under the existing regime of international free trade —or approximation to it—any nation on the Continent of Europe could attain to economic self-sufficiency. Continental industry was still "infant industry" in comparison with Great Britain's, and the depression which hit it in the middle '70's was aggravated by the dumping of British manufactures. Furthermore, the agricultural production of central and western Europe was gravely menaced by new competition, a result of improving land and water transportation, from Russia, Rumania, and especially America. Already by 1876 rapid extension of the area of cultivation in the United States, combined with the use of farm machinery as well as of steam-powered ocean liners, was raising the value of American

[2] In his famous "Report on Manufactures" (1791).

agricultural exports to half a billion dollars. And how without fully developed domestic agriculture and mechanical industry could a modern nation be prosperous? And how without prosperity could it yield the taxes requisite for up-to-date war preparedness?

Protective tariffs were the answer. They would protect infant industries, it was urged. They would protect domestic agriculture. They would assure increasing national wealth and corresponding governmental revenue. They would render the nation self-sufficing, and to that extent invulnerable to foreign attack. Incidentally they would ameliorate the condition of the working class in factory and field, for without protective tariffs foreign competition would cause either a reduction of wages or an access of unemployment. It was even argued by some protectionists still haunted by cosmopolitan ghosts that high tariffs would benefit mankind at large, inasmuch as they would enable nations to escape exploitation by each other and to reach the same happy goal of material well-being.

The European procession away from free trade was led, paradoxically perhaps, by industrially backward countries. Russia, whose trade had never been very free, raised her tariff rates about 50 per cent in 1876 by prescribing their payment in gold instead of in depreciated paper money. The next year, Spain under the leadership of the Conservative Canovas, established two sets of duties, one for countries according her most-favored-nation treatment, and the second, at higher levels, for other countries; and in 1878 Italy, responding to the importunities of Piedmontese industrialists, adopted an "autonomous," though still moderate, tariff.

The procession was then joined, and henceforth headed, by Germany. In 1879, with the help of the new Conservative and Centrist majority, Bismarck piloted through the Reichstag a protective tariff. The duties, which were largely specific rather than *ad valorem*, applied chiefly to grains, meat, and textiles. The duty on iron was restored, and numerous other manufactures received moderate protection. Industrial raw materials, with few exceptions, were admitted free of duty, but timber and tallow, produced plentifully in Germany, were subject to duties. Luxury goods were taxed lightly, primarily for revenue.

The German tariff of 1879 fed protectionist agitation and pro-

vided a model for imitation elsewhere. France took advantage of the approaching expiration of the Cobden trade treaty with Great Britain, and of a Republican majority in the Chambers peculiarly anxious to conciliate both industrialists and merchants, to raise tariff rates in 1881 on many manufactured imports, especially woolens, and at the same time to promote shipping and shipbuilding by means of bounties. Russia effected a series of tariff increases during the '80's at the behest of her able finance minister Bunge, and in 1891 she adopted a revised and comprehensive tariff measure, imposing practically prohibitive duties on coal, steel, and machinery, and very high duties on other manufactures. Austria, between 1881 and 1887, under the Conservative ministry of Count Taaffe, repeatedly hoisted duties upon foreign manufactures and also upon grain imports from Rumania and Russia.

If the first steps on the path of tariff protection were taken in the interest of "infant industries," the following long strides were prompted by agrarians. These insisted that their needs were quite as imperative as the manufacturers', and that their importance, as the nation's real backbone, was greater; and in most countries of the Continent they were sufficiently numerous and by 1885 sufficiently well organized (in co-operative societies and political leagues) to exert decisive influence on governments. Germany jacked up imposts on foreign foodstuffs in 1885 and again in 1887. Simultaneously France undertook tariff protection of sugar beets, rye, barley, oats, wheat, and flour. Italy followed suit in 1887 and Sweden in 1888. In 1891 Switzerland departed from its long-standing free-trade policy and enacted a protective tariff. The next year was France's turn again, this time mainly as a result of peasant demands and their championship by the Moderate leader, Jules Méline. While adding to the protection of machinery and most of the textiles, the new French tariff raised agricultural duties approximately 25 per cent and granted bounties for silk, hemp, and flax.

Indeed the only nations which did not conform to the protectionist trend in the '80's and '90's were Great Britain, Belgium, and Holland. Commercial outweighed agricultural interests in all three, and in the first two industrialization had so clearly passed the infant stage that anyone who then proposed tariff protection for it was

likely to be laughed at or thought mad. That erratic genius Lord Randolph Churchill did sponsor in 1881 a "Fair Trade League" in behalf of a moderate tariff for Britain and preferential treatment of British imports in the colonies, and the leader of the League, a Conservative M.P.,[3] translated and published, for the first time in English, Friedrich List's *National System of Political Economy* (1885). But not until Joseph Chamberlain took up cudgels for "tariff reform" after the turn of the century did protectionism become a live issue in Great Britain, and not until after the World War did it reach fruition. In the meantime, the Conservative party threw sops to British agriculture. A Board of Agriculture was re-created in 1889, and its president was admitted to cabinet rank in 1895. In 1892 the importation of foreign live stock was prohibited on grounds of disease, and in 1896 occupiers of farm land were relieved of half the local taxes.

Wherever protectionism was the rule—and that meant most of the Continent from the 1880's onward—it undoubtedly stimulated industrialization and at the same time helped to preserve some balance in national economy between manufacturing and agriculture, a balance which Great Britain, through adherence to free trade, lacked. Its effects on the lower middle and working classes, on wages and the cost of living, were more debatable. William H. Dawson pronounced them bad, but perhaps he infused his scholarship with a pretty strong tincture of classical economics and English Liberalism. Equally eminent German writers, such as Sombart and Max Weber, have witnessed to great blessings conferred upon the masses by tariff protection. The debate has naturally soared from the ground of economic fact into the empyrean of patriotic faith. Which, after all, was the prime purpose of tariff protection, at least in the minds of statesmen, and its most obvious and certain result. For it subordinated the concept of individual enterprise to that of national enterprise, and sublimated competition between individuals into competition between nations.

This competition involved an obvious paradox. On the one hand, each protectionist nation wanted to protect its home market from foreign products. On the other hand, it was unwilling to have its

[3] Sampson Lloyd.

products excluded from foreign markets. In efforts to resolve the paradox, tariff protection led to international tariff bargaining, not infrequently to international tariff wars, and usually to a compromise which, in view of strenuous domestic opposition from interests adversely affected, was apt to be brief. Germany, for example, after piling up barriers from 1879 to 1887 against foreign grain, felt obliged in 1891 to adopt a policy of reciprocity, that is, consenting to lower duties on agricultural imports from such countries as would lower their duties on her industrial exports. Consequent bargaining eventuated fairly soon in reciprocity treaties between Germany and most of her neighbors. With Russia, however, agreement was reached only after a three years' tariff war and then to the dismay of German agrarians, who did not cease their lamentations and organized protests until they persuaded the government, by a new tariff of 1902, to annul the reciprocity treaties and raise the grain duties to towering heights. Meanwhile, Germany waged other tariff wars, notably with Spain from 1894 to 1899, and with Canada from 1897.

France, by her tariff act of 1892, provided for a somewhat different basis of bargaining. She adopted two sets of duties, a maximum and a minimum. The latter she might concede to nations which favored her. The former was applied to others. The scheme was similar to the Spanish of 1877, and was later imitated by Norway. In the case of France, it aggravated a tariff war with Italy, which began in 1888 and lasted until 1899, and it brought on an acute tariff conflict with Switzerland from 1893 to 1895.

Altogether the protective tariffs of the '80's and '90's represented a reversal of the laissez-faire commercial policy which had featured the period of Liberal ascendancy in the '60's and '70's. They marked a return to previous mercantilist policy. But whereas the export taxes and the trade prohibitions of that earlier policy were not revived, its rates of import duties were now considerably exceeded, and for the new mercantilism there was popular and nationalist support in much greater degree than there had been for the old. Moreover, by reason of intensified international competition in the economic domain, tariff rates were ever advancing, never retreating. Germany's reciprocity treaties and France's minimum schedules

of the '90's carried higher average rates than any previous tariffs of those countries.[4]

Nor were import duties the only instruments of the new protectionism. Embargoes were laid, in the guise of sanitary regulations, on foreign importation of vegetable or animal products. Export bounties were provided, and so too were shipping subsidies, and preferential railway rates for domestic commodities. It is more than mere coincidence that in the very year 1879, when Germany embarked upon tariff protection, the Prussian government declared flatly and finally for state ownership and operation of railways. This was achieved in Germany within the next five years, and before long, at least in central Europe, telegraphs and telephones, as well as railways, were nationalized and pressed into the service of national economy.

III. SOCIALIZING LEGISLATION

In his *Merrie England*, an immensely popular book of the early '90's, Robert Blatchford pointed to municipal gas works, free public schooling, factory legislation, building acts, national ownership of telegraphs, as evidence "that socialism has begun, so that the question of where to begin is quite superfluous."[5] Blatchford was right. Tariff protection was but one indication of a tidal change in Europe during the '80's: the ebbing of *laissez faire*, of economic liberalism, and the incoming rush of state socialization, of economic nationalism. The change was equally evidenced by a wide range of directly socializing enactments.

In at least three fields—education, health, and charity—the most doctrinaire Liberals had already contributed with singular enthusi-

[4] The United States had built up by the '80's, it should be remembered, a tariff wall much higher than any in Europe, and it was successively heightened by the McKinley tariff of 1890 (with its reciprocity arrangements) and the Dingley tariff of 1897. Likewise Canada and other British Dominions reared tariff walls to dizzy heights.

[5] As Wingfield-Stratford says (*History of British Civilization*, p. 1226), while William Morris, the Webbs, G. B. Shaw, and H. G. Wells were addressing socialistic appeals to the middle classes, "Robert Blatchford, of the true spiritual lineage of Cobbett, spoke straight to the heart of the masses, pleading in good muscular English the cause of Britain for the British, and contrasting the Dismal England of capitalism with the Merry England she had been and might yet be made." After selling 20,000 copies of *Merrie England* at a shilling, Blatchford reduced the price in 1894 to a penny. It preached a nationalistic socialism, and was vastly more influential in England than any Marxian propaganda.

asm to a veritably revolutionary extension of the functions of government and to an even more startling exercise of compulsion on individuals for achieving a social end. It was Liberals, more pertinaciously than anyone else, who constructed and fortified whole systems of state-maintained and state-directed schools, who substituted compulsory for voluntary attendance at school, and who, in the interest of public schools, erected essentially protective tariffs against private ones. It was Liberals, likewise, who most zealously championed the cause of public health, and for its sake implemented the "police power" of the state over individual conduct, even over individual property rights. It was also Liberals who, despite their penchant for economy, voted multiplying appropriations for public hospitals and homes, as well as for prisons and reformatories. Your Liberal of the '70's would oppose tariff protection as an outrageous violation of his principles and a dangerous interference with "economic law" and personal liberty, but he felt differently about measures of public charity, public health, and public education. These expressions of humanitarianism were his proud, if somewhat illogical, heritage.

Factory legislation the doctrinaire Liberal was less sure of. It clearly impaired the freedom of business enterprise and perhaps the more subtle "freedom of contract." Yet gradually, thanks to spasmodic efforts of Conservatives and crusading humanitarians, the principle of factory legislation had been asserted and actually applied throughout the industrialized areas of Europe prior to the Liberal ascendancy of the '60's and '70's; and when this came, your Liberal compromised his principles and let existing factory legislation stand. Indeed, he found he could justify a moderate amount of it on the grounds that it involved matters of public health and that it might stave off the far worse evils of revolutionary agitation and industrial socialism.

Nevertheless, the subsequent elaboration and stiffening of factory legislation, though lukewarmly acquiesced in by Liberals, was part and parcel of the general reaction against Liberalism, and was promoted chiefly by Socialists, Conservatives, and Clericals. A royalist and clerical majority in the French National Assembly enacted the important Act of 1874, with its provisions for state inspection

of industrial establishments; and the later and more comprehensive Act of 1892 was an achievement of Conservative Republicans. Similar statutes were enacted, under clerical auspices, by Belgium in 1889 and Austria in 1883, and, under either Socialist or Nationalist influence, by Italy in 1886 and Spain in 1900. In Great Britain, Conservative governments carried through parliament the successive "Consolidating Acts" of 1878, 1891, and 1901. In Germany, a coalition of Centrists and Conservatives, with pressure from Socialists, insured in 1891 the radical recasting and strengthening of the earlier Labor Code.

All such measures were intricate, and were frequently amended to cover new industries, new techniques, and new business procedure. They usually regulated, in detail, mines and foundries and retail shops, as well as factories in the strict sense. Progressively the work hours were limited, the working age for children and young persons raised, and higher standards prescribed for ventilation, lighting, sanitation, and other arrangements for the efficiency, health, and comfort of employees. Special attention was given to safeguarding workers in dangerous trades, and to means of enforcing the factory laws more adequately. Although the legislation frequently dealt with such matters as fines and other deductions from wages, and payment in truck in place of money, it did not yet aim at fixing wage rates. A bill to this effect, covering "sweated" labor, was introduced into the British House of Commons by Sir Charles Dilke in 1898, but it failed of passage; and minimum wage acts had to await a still more socialistically minded generation.

Meanwhile, "municipal socialism" developed. A pioneer in this movement was Joseph Chamberlain, wealthy manufacturer and provocative Radical, who subsequently deserted the Gladstonian Liberals for more congenial association with nationalistic and imperialistic Conservatives. As mayor of his native city of Birmingham from 1873 to 1876, he socialized the municipal water supply and gas works, improving the quality of both and lessening their cost to the public, and he executed, with notable success, the first municipal project of slum clearance, dispossessing private owners, replacing their rookeries with city-owned model tenements, and devoting some of the expropriated acres to public parks and recre-

ation centers. A like work, on a larger scale, was performed by Karl Lueger, the chief of the Christian Socialist party in Austria. As mayor of Vienna from the '90's onward, he municipalized its gas, water, and streetcar systems, surrounded it with a zone of forest and meadow closed to building speculation, and, in fine, made Vienna the most "socialized" and best administered city of the time. The movement of which Chamberlain and Lueger were conspicuous exponents, spread with great rapidity in the '80's and '90's to most of the capitals and industrial centers in Europe. Especially in Germany, though to a considerable degree in Italy and elsewhere, municipally owned and operated public utilities were the rule by 1900—gas works, electric lights, tramways, markets, laundries, even slaughter houses and labor exchanges[6]—and in charge of them were "city managers" with an extending array of expert advisers, bureaucrats, and police.

Another, and more striking, departure from Liberal norms was the compulsory insurance of workingmen which Germany inaugurated on a national scale in the '80's. Bismarck's main motive in proposing it seems to have been a desire to discredit the Marxian Socialists by stealing some of their thunder. In 1878 he persuaded the Conservatives and National Liberals in the Reichstag to outlaw Marxian agitation and propaganda, and the very next year—the year of Germany's adoption of tariff protectionism—he had his venerable Emperor bespeak the co-operation of the nation's deputies in seeking legislative remedy for social ills, "for a remedy cannot be sought merely in repression of Socialist excesses—there must be simultaneously a positive advancement of the welfare of the working classes." Then, after two years' preparation by a special commission, including representatives of labor, a bill was laid before the Reichstag for the compulsory insurance of workingmen against industrial accidents. It was viewed by Radical Liberals (the Progressives) as a heinous offense against personal liberty, and by most National Liberals as an insuperable handicap to German industry; but in broad outlines it was sympathetically received by Conservatives and Catholic Centrists, and these, between them,

[6] Free municipal labor exchanges, or employment agencies, were established at Berlin in 1883 and at Düsseldorf in 1890; by 1900 some eighty-three other German cities maintained them.

had a parliamentary majority. The Centrists, it is true, refused to vote for the bill unless it were so amended as to render its proposed administration less bureaucratic and to put the whole financial burden on employers.

For some time Bismarck hesitated about accepting such amendments. But he had to have the support of the Centrists for any program of social reform, and at length, after another general election had strengthened them still more, he arranged a compromise. The result was a law of May 1882, compulsorily insuring workingmen against sickness for a maximum term of thirteen weeks in any year, and a second law of July 1884, insuring them against accidents. Contributions to the funds for the latter were to be made entirely by employers, and for the former jointly by employers and employees in the proportion of one-third to two-thirds. The administration of both was entrusted to existing agencies so far as possible—co-operative and mutual-benefit societies, local and regional associations, etc.—all under general state supervision.

A third project of workers' insurance—against old age and invalidity—was realized by a law of 1889. By this time the National Liberals, the party of big business, had come to perceive that their earlier fears were unjustified, that national insurance was a help rather than a hindrance to German industry, and so they supported the old-age insurance and, in conjunction with Conservatives, brought its administration more directly into line with the bureaucratic state socialism which Bismarck had originally advocated. Its funds were to be obtained equally from employers and employees, with a per capita subsidy from the national exchequer.

Here, then, was a vast and impressive defense reared by a first-class industrial nation against the chief hazards of working-class well-being—accidents, sickness, old age and invalidity. In the next few years, many detailed additions were made. Benefits were increased and opened to agricultural laborers and to certain other groups previously excluded. Free medical attendance and hospital care were extended. According to an official report, some fifty million Germans (sick and injured, incapacitated and dependent) received between 1885 and 1900 social insurance benefits totaling over 750 million dollars and exceeding workmen's contributions

by 250 million. And a much greater development of the system was to come later, including insurance against unemployment.

German example stimulated imitation in other countries. Austria adopted accident insurance in 1887 and sickness insurance in 1888. Denmark copied all three of the German insurance schemes between 1891 and 1898, and Belgium between 1894 and 1903. Italy accepted accident and old-age insurance in 1898. Switzerland, by constitutional amendment of 1890, empowered the federal government to organize a system of national insurance. Certain other countries, while not following the German program, obliged employers to compensate their workmen for accidents. Thus Great Britain in 1897 enacted a Workmen's Compensation Act sponsored by Joseph Chamberlain and affecting half of the nation's wage earners; France enacted a similar law in 1898; Norway, Spain, and Holland, in the same decade.

Still another type of social legislation which appeared during the era was in aid of tenant farmers. In Rumania, an interruption of nominally Liberal rule enabled the "Young Conservatives" to control parliament from 1888 to 1895, and their prime minister, Carp, took in 1889 the first steps toward breaking up large landed estates and distributing them among peasant proprietors. A better known example of the same trend was the series of Irish Land Purchase Acts which the British Conservatives, anxious to offset Gladstone's Home Rule efforts, sponsored, beginning with the Ashbourne measure of 1885, and continuing through those of 1891 and 1896 to the Wyndham Act of 1903. The last was the most prodigal of all, but even before its enactment the British government had already advanced over 100 million dollars toward the transformation of Ireland from a country of large estates into one of peasant proprietorships.

Of course, all this varied social legislation necessitated for the several European states greatly increased expenditure and hence greatly increased revenue.[7] Heightened tariffs produced some of the additional revenue for countries blessed with the new protec-

[7] In Great Britain, aside from a growing national debt, much of which had been incurred for army and navy and imperial undertakings, the total local debt increased, principally for social services, from 460 million dollars in 1874-75 to 960 million in 1887-88, and on to 1,375 million in 1898-9.

tionism. But statesmen of socializing proclivities, in free-trade Britain as well as on the Continent, presently bethought themselves of direct taxes which would overcome threatening deficits and at the same time serve social ends by weighing more heavily on large fortunes than on small. In other words, taxation began to be conceived of as a means to social reform and state regulation of wealth. The particular forms which rather suddenly and widely seemed appropriate for the dual purpose were the income tax and the inheritance tax. Great Britain had long known both, but mainly in emergencies and at modest rates, and always hitherto for revenue only. The Grand Old Man of English Liberalism, Gladstone himself, had used an income tax for his beautifully balanced budgets, but he abhorred it, and in 1887 pontifically anathematized it as "the most demoralizing of all imposts," a "tangled network of man traps for conscience," and "an engine of public extravagance."[8] Seven years later, however, Gladstone was finally out of office, and another Whiggish Liberal, Sir William Harcourt, in the responsible post of chancellor of the exchequer, was putting through parliament definitely graduated income taxes and death duties. They were a funeral wreath for the old Liberalism and a portent of the awful things in store for twentieth-century taxpayers when Lloyd George should head the exchequer and affiance a resurrected Liberalism to state socialism.

In Germany the several states which made up the empire took to levying income taxes, Prussia steeply graduating hers in 1891 and Bavaria having the temerity in 1900 to distinguish between "earned" and "unearned" income. Austria introduced progressive income taxes in 1898, and so, too, in the same decade, did Norway and Spain. Simultaneously Italy, which had long taxed everything that was taxable, raised the rates of income tax; and France resorted to progressive inheritance taxes in 1901.

A final sign of the socializing trend in Europe deserves mention. It was the restoration in 1900 by the Conservative majority in the British parliament of that prohibition of usury which Liberals back in 1854 had removed, they fancied forever, from the statute books. It was a minor sign but one which, in the words of Professor Clap-

[8] *Nineteenth Century*, June 1887.

ham, "gauged perhaps better than any other the strength of the current which had set in against *laisser faire* and old-style utilitarianism."[9] National governments would regulate money lending, as well as income and inheritance of individuals, conditions of labor, foreign and domestic trade, education and health, the balance between industry and agriculture. From the 1880's economic nationalism was ascendant.

IV. BASES OF A NEW NATIONAL IMPERIALISM

Synchronizing with the revival of protective tariffs and the extension of socializing legislation toward the close of the 1870's, was a tremendous outburst of imperialistic interest and activity. The outburst was common to all great powers of Europe (except Austria-Hungary); and it was so potent that during the next three decades greater progress was made toward subjecting the world to European domination than had been made during three centuries previous.

This may seem odd in view of the fact that the immediately preceding era of Liberal ascendancy, say from the 1840's into the 1870's, had witnessed a marked decline of European imperialism. There had been, to be sure, some spasmodic additions to British India, some scattered efforts of Napoleon III to resuscitate a colonial empire for France, some continuing Russian expansion in central and northeastern Asia. Although China and Japan had been forcefully opened to European (and American) trade, the opening had been for practically everybody on free and equal terms and had been unattended by any considerable expropriation of territory. The surviving farflung British Empire had ceased to be an exclusive preserve for British merchants since the 1840's, and in 1861 France had freely admitted to her colonies the commerce of all nations. In 1870-1871 European colonialism appeared to be approaching its nadir. Gladstone was prime minister of Great Britain, and he was notoriously a "Little Englander."[10] The provisional French government so slightly esteemed the colonies it had inherited that it

[9] J. H. Clapham, *Economic History of Modern Britain*, III (Cambridge, Eng., 1938), 445

[10] See R. L. Schuyler, "The Climax of Anti-Imperialism in England," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXVI (Dec. 1921),537-61, and C. A. Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism* (New York, 1925) But cf. Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy* (New York, 1927).

offered them all to Bismarck at the end of the Franco-Prussian War if only he would spare Alsace-Lorraine. Bismarck spurned the offer, as he had recently refused Portugal's offer to sell him Mozambique. A colonial policy for Germany, he said, "would be just like the silken sables of Polish noble families who have no shirts."[11]

A favorite explanation of why European imperialism turned abruptly within a decade from nadir to apogee, has been the economic. It was advanced originally by publicists and statesmen to win the support of business interests for imperialistic policies, and it received classical treatment, at the time of the Boer War, by John A. Hobson.[12] Latterly it has been taken up by Marxian writers and integrated with their dogma of materialistic determinism, so that the argument now runs in this wise: Imperialism is an inevitable phase in the evolution of capitalism, a phase in which surplus capital, accumulated by the exploitation of domestic labor, is obliged by diminishing returns at home to find new outlets for investment abroad. Hence it seeks non-industrialized areas ever farther afield where it may dispose of surplus manufactures, obtain needed raw materials, invest surplus capital, and exploit cheap native labor. The resulting "new imperialism," unlike the old, is not primarily a colonizing or a simply commercial imperialism, but rather an investing one in regions ill-adapted to European settlement. Conditions are alleged to have been ripe for it about 1880, when tariff protection restricted customary markets of European capitalists and impelled them to seek new ones.[13]

Doubtless large-scale mechanized industry, with accompanying improvement of transportation facilities, did immensely stimulate an ever-widening quest for markets where surplus manufactures might be disposed of, necessary raw materials procured, and lucrative investments made. Nor can there be any doubt that by the

[11] M. Busch, *Tagebuchblätter* (Leipzig, 1899), II, 157.

[12] In his *Imperialism, a Study* (London, 1902). See also J. M. Robertson, *Patriotism and Empire* (London, 1899).

[13] Chief among Marxian studies are: Karl Kautsky, *Nationalstaat, Imperialistischer Staat, und Staatenbund* (Nürnberg, 1915); Rosa Luxemburg, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* (Berlin, 1913); N. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism*, Eng. trans. (New York, 1927); M. Pavlovitch, *The Foundations of Imperialist Policy* (London, 1922); F. Sternberg, *Der Imperialismus* (Berlin, 1926); Henryk Grossmann, *Das Akkumulations- und Zusammenbruchsgesetz des kapitalistischen Systems* (Leipzig, 1929).

1870's, when industrialization on the Continent was beginning seriously to vie with England's, the quest was being as eagerly pursued by commercial and banking houses of Hamburg and Bremen, Marseilles and Paris, as by those of London and Liverpool. In Germany, for example, at the very time when Bismarck was disdaining the French proffer of colonies, his banking friends, Bleichröder and Hansemann, were helping to finance distant trade ventures of various Hanseatic firms—O'Swald's in East Africa, Woermann's in West Africa, Godeffroy's in Samoa and other South Sea islands. In 1880 some 335,000 marks' worth of German goods were shipped to West Africa alone, while 6,735,000 marks' worth of African products entered the port of Hamburg.

Yet the only novel feature of all this was a relatively greater importation of tropical and sub-tropical products and hence a special concern with Africa, southern Asia, the Indies, and Oceania. Surplus manufactures from industrialized countries of Europe, even after the imposition of protective tariffs, still found export markets principally within that Continent or in temperate zones outside, notably in America, Australasia, northern India, and the Far East. What actually started the economic push into the "Dark Continent" and the sun-baked islands of the Pacific was not so much an overproduction of factory goods in Europe as an undersupply of raw materials. Cotton grew finer in Egypt than in the United States, and with the partial cutting off of the latter's copious supply by the American Civil War it was but natural that dealers in raw cotton should enter the Egyptian field and raise its yield ninefold during the next twenty years. Rubber was now needed also, and it could be got from the Congo and from Malaysia more cheaply and plentifully than from Brazil. Copra, with its useful oil, was to be had in the South Sea islands, and the Godeffroy firm at Hamburg made a specialty of going for it. Tin was essential for the new canning industry, and gold, for measuring the new industrial wealth; rich supplies of the former were obtainable in the East Indies, and of the latter in Guinea and the Transvaal. Sugar cane and coffee, cocoa and tea, bananas and dates, if not directly serviceable to industrial machinery, were very palatable to the enlarging European multitude that tended it.

But commercial expansion into the tropics was a novelty of degree rather than of kind and hardly suffices to explain the political imperialism of the '70's and '80's. This was inaugurated prior to any general resort to tariff protectionism in Europe, and prior also to any universal export of capital. Neither Russia nor Italy had surplus manufactures to dispose of or surplus wealth to invest; yet both engaged in the scramble for imperial dominion, the one with striking success and the other not. Germany exported little capital until after she had acquired an extensive colonial empire, and France secured a far more extensive one while her industrial development lagged behind Germany's. Great Britain had long had all the supposed economic motives for imperialism—export of manufactured goods, demand for raw materials, supply of surplus capital—and yet these did not move her in the '60's as much as they did in the '70's.[14] On the other hand, Norway, whose ocean-borne commerce was exceeded only by Great Britain's and Germany's, remained consistently aloof from overseas imperialism.

Apparently the flag of a European nation did not have to follow its trade—or its financial investments. But once flag raising became common and competitive in Africa and on the Pacific, economic considerations undoubtedly spurred most of the European participants to greater efforts and keener competition in those regions. Then the tariff protectionism of Continental nations was applied, in one form or another, to their respective colonies, and the more colonies each one had the greater were its opportunities for favorable trade and investment and the closer it approached to the ideal of all-around self-sufficiency. And to prevent too much of the world from being thus monopolized by France, Germany, Italy, or any other protectionist power, Great Britain moved mightily to gather the lion's share into her own free-trade empire. In other words, neo-mercantilism, once established, had very important imperialistic consequences.

[14] It should be remarked, however, that the depression which began in 1873, by limiting opportunities for profitable investment in countries already largely industrialized, probably stimulated investment in "backward" regions and may thus have contributed to a revival of imperialistic interests and ambitions. Nevertheless, this was truer of Great Britain than of any nation on the Continent, and it scarcely suffices to explain why with almost all the great powers (and only with them) political imperialism preceded any substantial financial investment in particular regions appropriated.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that the founding of new colonial empires and the fortifying of old ones antedated the establishment of neo-mercantilism, and that the economic arguments adduced in support of imperialism seem to have been a rationalization *ex post facto*. In the main, it was not Liberal parties, with their superabundance of industrialists and bankers, who sponsored the outward imperialistic thrusts of the '70's and early '80's. Instead, it was Conservative parties, with a preponderantly agricultural clientele notoriously suspicious of moneylenders and big business, and, above all, it was patriotic professors and publicists regardless of political affiliation and unmindful of personal economic interest. These put forth the economic arguments which eventually drew bankers and traders and industrialists into the imperialist camp.

Basically the new imperialism was a nationalistic phenomenon. It followed hard upon the national wars which created an all-powerful Germany and a united Italy, which carried Russia within sight of Constantinople, and which left England fearful and France eclipsed. It expressed a resulting psychological reaction, an ardent desire to maintain or recover national prestige. France sought compensation for European loss in oversea gain. England would offset her European isolation by enlarging and glorifying the British Empire. Russia, halted in the Balkans, would turn anew to Asia, and before long Germany and Italy would show the world that the prestige they had won by might inside Europe they were entitled to enhance by imperial exploits outside. The lesser powers, with no great prestige at stake, managed to get on without any new imperialism, though Portugal and Holland displayed a revived pride in the empires they already possessed and the latter's was administered with renewed vigor.[15]

Public agitation for extending overseas the political dominion of European national states certainly began with patriotic intellectuals. As early as 1867 Lothar Bucher, one of Bismarck's associates in the Prussian foreign office, published in the influential *Nord-*

[15] For fuller treatment of national prestige as the basic factor in imperialism, and incidentally for devastating criticism of the Marxian interpretation, see Arthur Salz, *Das Wesen des Imperialismus* (Leipzig, 1931), and Walter Sulzbach, *Nationales Gemeinschaftsgefühl und wirtschaftliches Interesse* (Leipzig, 1929). A kindred "atavistic" theory has been propounded by Professor Joseph Schumpeter in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XLVI (1918-9), 1-39, 275-310.

deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung a series of articles endorsing and advertising the hitherto neglected counsels of Friedrich List: "Companies should be founded in the German seaports to buy lands in foreign countries and settle them with German colonies; also companies for commerce and navigation whose object would be to open new markets abroad for German manufacturers and to establish steamship lines. . . . Colonies are the best means of developing manufactures, export and import trade, and finally a respectable navy."[16]

The next year Otto Kersten, traveler and explorer, founded at Berlin a "Central Society for Commercial Geography and German Interests Abroad," with an official journal, *Der Export*. Simultaneously the "Royal Colonial Institute" was founded at London; and a brilliant young English gentleman, Sir Charles Dilke, returning from a trip around the world, published his patriotic and immensely popular *Greater Britain*.[17] Two years later, in the midst of the Franco-Prussian War, the redoubtable Froude scored his fellow Englishmen in the pages of *Fraser's Magazine* for their blindness to imperial glories. In 1872 Disraeli practically committed the Conservative party in Britain to a program of imperialism, and in 1874 Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, dean of political economists in France and implacable foe of tariff protection, plumped for French imperialism in a "scientific" treatise, *De la Colonisation chez les peuples modernes*.

These were foretastes. Heartier fare was served immediately after the Russo-Turkish War and the Congress of Berlin. In 1879 Friedrich Fabri, a pious promoter of Christian foreign missions, asked rhetorically "Does Germany need Colonies?" and answered with a resounding "Yes!" Germany's surplus population, he argued, should have places where it could go and still buy German goods and share in the other blessings of German *Kultur*. Fabri was eloquently seconded in 1881 by Hübbe-Schleiden, a lawyer and sometime explorer in equatorial Africa, who now insisted that through imperialistic endeavors "a country exhibits before the world

16 Friedrich List, *National System of Political Economy*, Eng. trans. by Lloyd (London, 1916), 347.

17 Dilke anticipated what was to come by emphasizing the economic and military value of "uncivilized" colonies in the tropics, while disparaging the alleged worth of such "white" colonies as Canada. His book reached an eighth edition in 1885.

its strength or weakness as a nation."[18] In like vein the historian Treitschke edified his student audiences at the University of Berlin with the moral that "every virile people has established colonial power."

In 1882 a frankly propagandist "Colonial Society" was formed in Germany through the joint efforts of a naturalist, a geographer, and a politician,[19] while in France Professor Leroy-Beaulieu brought out a new edition of his classic with the dogmatic addendum that "colonization is for France a question of life and death: either France will become a great African power, or in a century or two she will be no more than a secondary European power; she will count for about as much in the world as Greece and Rumania in Europe." The following year Professor John Seeley published his celebrated Cambridge lectures on the *Expansion of England*. The book took the British public by storm. It sold 80,000 copies within a brief time and won for its author the warm discipleship of Lord Rosebery and a knighthood.

In 1883 the stridently imperialistic "Primrose League" was launched by Tory Democrats, and soon afterwards the more sedate "Imperial Federation League" by nationalistic Liberals. In 1883, also, was founded a "Society for German Colonization." And capping the academic contributions to the imperialist cause, Froude published *Oceana* in 1885, while Alfred Rambaud, historian of Russia and first occupant of the chair in contemporary history at the Sorbonne, edited in 1886 a co-operative work on *La France coloniale*.

Already, statesmen were following the professors and proclaiming that commerce and investments should follow the flag. If Gladstone hesitated, Disraeli and Salisbury did not; nor did such "new" Liberals as Rosebery, Chamberlain, and Grey. Jules Ferry surely did not hesitate. Replying to parliamentary critics of his aggressive policy in Tunis and Tonkin, he marshaled in speeches from 1881 to 1885 all the professorial arguments: that superior races have a civilizing mission to inferior races; that an industrial nation needs

[18] Friedrich Fabri, *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* (Gotha, 1879); Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, *Deutsche Kolonisation* (Hamburg, 1881).

[19] Freiherr von Maltzan, Herr von der Brüggen, and Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg. Cf. See, *Die deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, 1882-1907* (Berlin, 1908).

colonial markets; that coaling stations are requisite for navy and mercantile marine; and that if France refrained from imperialism, she would "descend from the first rank to the third or fourth."[20] Bismarck seemed to hesitate more than he actually did.[21] He privately expressed sympathy with imperialist ambitions in 1876 and publicly backed them, at least in the case of Samoa, in 1879. By 1884-85 he was persuading the Reichstag that colonies were vital to national economy. "Colonies would mean the winning of new markets for German industries, the expansion of trade, and a new field for German activity, civilization, and capital."[22]

Most simply, the sequence of imperialism after 1870 appears to have been, first, pleas for colonies on the ground of national prestige; second, getting them; third, disarming critics by economic argument; and fourth, carrying this into effect and relating the results to the neo-mercantilism of tariff protection and social legislation at home.

There were, of course, complexities in the imperialistic movement. In so far as it was economic, it did not affect the "capitalist class" as a whole, but only particular business interests: exporters and manufacturers of certain commodities such as calico and cheap alcoholic beverages; importers of rubber, raw cotton, coffee, copra, etc.; shipping magnates; some bankers, though a very small percentage of all; and those "parasites of imperialism," the makers of arms and uniforms, the producers of telegraph and railway material, etc. But these last did not "cause" imperialism; they merely throve on it.

Christian missions provided an important adjunct to imperialism. They spread and multiplied in the second half of the nineteenth century as never before, in part as a reaction, we have suggested elsewhere, to the prevalent materialism in Europe, and in larger part because of the immensely improved means of travel and communication throughout the world. A missionary might have gone

20 The economic arguments of Ferry were clearly *ex post facto* They were stressed in his preface to Leon Sentahéry's *Le Tonkin et la Mère Patrie* (Paris, 1890).

21 See M. E. Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of the German Colonial Empire* (New York, 1932), and, for a somewhat different view, H. R. Rudin, *Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914* (New Haven, 1938).

22 *Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstages,* March 16, 1885, p. 1864; Jan. 10, 1885, p. 524; June 26, 1884, p. 1073.

his way, like a merchant, the one conveying spiritual and the other material goods to heathen peoples, without any thought of raising a national flag over them or subjecting them to European rule. Actually, however, missionaries like merchants lived in a nationalistic age, and many of them were quite willing, on occasion, to invoke the naval or military protection of their respective national states. Not a few of Europe's footholds in other Continents were obtained as penalties for the persecution of Christian missionaries. Even where missionaries did not directly prompt the extension of European dominion, they frequently paved the way for adventurers who did; and stories published back home by them or about them stimulated popular interest in, and support of, imperial undertakings. About David Livingstone, for example, something like a cult grew up in England, so that when he died in the wilds of Africa on May Day, 1873, his body was borne with hierophantic solemnity all the way to Zanzibar and thence under naval escort to England, where finally it was deposited amid Britain's national heroes in Westminster Abbey on April 18, 1874. The year was that of Disraeli's accession to the premiership, and for the popular favor accorded his subsequent imperial activities, he should have thanked the dead Livingstone more than any live merchant or banker.

It was a time, too, when evolutionary biology was beginning to occupy a central place in European thought, when hundreds of naturalists, emulating Darwin, engaged in scientific expeditions to strange distant regions and furnished millions of ordinary stay-at-homes with fascinating descriptions of the extraordinary flora and fauna they had observed. Already in 1861 the Franco-American Du Chaillu had reported from Gabun in equatorial Africa his amazing discovery of the gorilla, which was readily imagined to be the "missing link" between ape and man. In 1867 he published an account of a race of pygmies he had found, and for years afterwards his pen poured out popular tales of African adventure. Meanwhile, in the early '70's, Faidherbe was exploring upper Egypt, Nachtigal was visiting Khartum, De Brazza was following Du Chaillu into the hinterland of Gabun, Skobelev with notebook in hand was investigating the borders of Turkestan, Evelyn Baring (the later Lord Cromer) was describing the natural wonders of

India, and Henry Morton Stanley was "finding" Livingstone for the New York *Herald* and an avid public, and then heading an Anglo-American scientific expedition into the vast Congo basin. Presently George Goldie was exploring the Niger country, Joseph Thomson was leading an expedition into east-central Africa, Harry Johnston was traversing Angola and meeting Stanley on the Congo, and Frederick Lugard, a young veteran of the Afghan War, was penetrating Nyasaland and Uganda.

Of these explorers, the majority had military training. Faidherbe was a French general, former governor of Senegal, and Skobelev a Russian general who was to win laurels in the Russo-Turkish War. Nachtigal was a German army surgeon, De Brazza a French naval officer. Cromer and Goldie and Lugard had all been British soldiers. As a group they were intensely patriotic, and they nicely combined with scientific interests a zeal to serve the political, economic, and military interests of their respective nations. They were prime promoters of imperialism, and most of them remained as pro-consuls of provinces they charted and helped to appropriate.

Sheer love of adventure was a potent lure to imperialism. Africa in particular, by reason of the widespread advertising its marvels and dangers received at the beginning of the '70's, beckoned to bold and venturesome spirits in Europe, and some of the boldest became empire-builders in the grand style, in a few cases acquiring fabulous personal wealth, in all cases experiencing that sense of power which comes from great achievement. Stanley was patently an adventurer. He had no surplus goods to sell, no surplus capital to invest. He was a self-made man, if ever there was one. A Welshman by birth, with the original name of Rowlands, he ran away from home and school at an early age to find work in Liverpool, first in a haberdasher's shop, then with a butcher. When this grew tedious he worked his way across the Atlantic to New Orleans and fell in with a merchant by the name of Stanley, who adopted him. At the outbreak of the American Civil War he enlisted in the Confederate army, only to be taken prisoner at the battle of Shiloh; then, "with ready versatility he joined the Union army to fight against his former comrades-in-arms. Toward the close of the war he discovered a latent talent for journalism, which, when peace

returned, led him to Salt Lake City to describe the extraordinary customs of the Mormons, then to Asia Minor in search of thrilling adventure, then with General Hancock against the Indians, with the British against Abyssinia, and to Crete, and Spain."[23] He went to central Africa in 1871 because he was sent, but he remained to build a huge empire for another and the queerest kind of adventurer—a man who was not self-made and who never set foot in Africa, but who was as hypnotized by African dreams as by female realities—Leopold of the Belgians, Leopold of the Congo Free State.

But the adventurer-imperialist *par excellence* was Cecil Rhodes, and his extraordinary career began by accident. A sickly youth, son of an Anglican clergyman and intended for the church, he was bundled off in 1870, for purposes of health, to an elder brother's farm in southern Africa. He arrived just when diamonds were discovered in the near-by Kimberley fields. He joined other diggers, dug more industriously and successfully, and within a year found himself wealthy and healthy. He returned to England for study at Oxford, but the study was desultory and he was soon back permanently in South Africa, adding gold mines to diamond mines, running Cape politics, projecting British sway the entire length of the Continent up to Cairo, and doing much to realize it.

The star German adventurer was Carl Peters. Son of a Lutheran clergyman and graduate of the University of Berlin, he contracted imperialist fever on a visit to England and set out in 1884 in disguise and under an alias—he was still in his twenties—to build an empire in East Africa. His method was simple, and the results startling, even to Bismarck. By a judicious distribution of toys plus injudicious application of grog, he got twelve big black chieftains, within ten days, to make their X's on documents conveying to Germany a total of 60,000 square miles. But that was only a start. Peters kept right on enlarging German East Africa until an Anglo-German convention of 1890 set bounds to his activity.

Explorers and adventurers gave rise to a peculiar species of organizer and administrator, despotic and ruthless and most devotedly imperialistic. Peters and Rhodes were transmuted by the African environment into this species, and so too were Cromer in Egypt

[23] P. T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics* (New York, 1926), 65.

and Milner at the Cape. For the glory of themselves and their countries, such local potentates carried on without too much regard for merely economic considerations or for the international engagements of their distant home governments. They were on the spot and knew better than London or Berlin or any other capital what had to be done, and they usually did it in an expansive way.

The actual course of empire—the order in which distant areas were appropriated by European powers—was determined less by design than by chance. Murder of a missionary or trader and consequent forceful intervention might occur anywhere. In some instances, curiously frequent in Moslem countries, native rulers practically invited intervention by living far beyond their means and contracting debts which they were unable to repay. Such was the basis of European imperialism in Egypt, Tunis, Persia, and to a large extent in Turkey. For example, the Khedive Ismail of Egypt, a squat, red-bearded gentleman with a passion for ostentation and the externals of European culture, spent half a billion dollars in the twelve years after his accession in 1863, running up the Egyptian public debt from 16 million to 342 million and continuing to borrow money from European bankers at ever more onerous rates. In 1875 he could only get a quarter of the face value of short-term bonds bearing 20 per cent interest. In 1876 he sold his shares of Suez Canal Company stock to England, and consented to joint supervision of his finances by representatives of England, France, Italy, and Austria. Soon this control was narrowed to England and France, and in 1882 to England alone. No doubt bankers and investors egged on both the khedive to spend and the English government to collect, but a less prodigal khedive, and one more intelligently concerned with the welfare of his subjects, might have staved off foreign rule. The contemporary Mikado of Japan did.

Especially active in directing the course of empire after 1870 were the European colonists already settled in Algeria, South Africa, and Australasia. These performed the same function in the latter part of the nineteenth century as their prototypes in the America of the eighteenth century. French settlers in Algeria were more eager than the government at Paris to make all adjacent African lands French. British and Dutch settlers in South Africa had almost

a psychosis about others getting anywhere near them, and from the former, rather than from London, came the main drive for British expansion northward. Australians and New Zealanders were continually pressing the home government to forestall alien seizure of South Sea islands.

In many instances European flags were hoisted as a sport—a competitive sport—with about the same indifference to economic motives as characterized the later planting of American and other flags on cakes of ice around the North or South Pole. As one reads of successive French flag raisings in oases of the Sahara and on coral reefs of the Pacific, one gets a lively impression that it was all *pour le sport*.

Some capitalists undoubtedly promoted imperialism, and more profited by it. But in the last analysis it was the nationalistic masses who made it possible and who most vociferously applauded and most constantly backed it. Disraeli and Joseph Chamberlain were good politicians as well as patriots, and with a clairvoyance greater than Gladstone's, they perceived that in a country where the masses were patriotic, literate, and in possession of the ballot, a political party which frankly espoused imperialism would have magnetic attraction for them. So it proved. An unwonted popularity attended the Conservative parties of Britain and Germany during the '80's and '90's. The masses, of course, had no immediate economic interest in the matter, and it would have required an extraordinary act of faith on their part to believe the predictions of imperialistic intellectuals that somehow, sometime, everybody would be enriched from the Congo or the Niger or Tahiti. Rather, the masses were thrilled and stirred by front-page news in the popular press of far-off things and battles still to come. They devoured the yarns of a Rider Haggard—he had been secretary to the governor of Natal in the '70's and he *knew* his Africa. They learned by heart the vulgar verses of a Rudyard Kipling—he had lived in India and been a chum of doughty, swearing British soldiers. And the sporting impulse which drew crowds to prize fights and to football and cricket matches, evoked a whole nation's lusty cheers for its "team" in the mammoth competitive game of imperialism.

Into the imperial-mindedness of the masses, scarcely less than

into that of Rhodes or Peters, Ferry or Chamberlain, fitted neatly the preaching of Darwinian sociology, that human progress depends upon struggle between races and nations and survival of the fittest. Obviously most eligible for the "fittest" were the white peoples of Europe, who therefore owed it to science as well as to civilization (and religion) to establish their supremacy over inferior populations in all other continents. Which of them would ultimately be adjudged the absolutely fittest would depend on the outcome of conflict among themselves as well as with lesser breeds. This preaching justified competitive imperialism and cloaked attendant ruthlessness in the mantle of idealistic devotion to duty. It was summarized by Kipling at the close of the generation (1899) in his famous lines:

Take up the White Man's Burden—
  Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
  To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
  On fluttered fold and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
  Half-devil and half-child.

V. *RES GESTAE* OF THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Positive achievements began in 1874 with the advent of Disraeli's Conservative ministry. Forthwith, a group of some two hundred Pacific islands, with the alluring name of Fiji, were ceremoniously added to the British Empire, and almost simultaneously a British protectorate was established over three native states in the Malay Peninsula north of Singapore. The next year, with twenty million dollars which he borrowed from the Rothschilds (at a profit to them of half a million), Disraeli made the sensational purchase for Great Britain of the khedive's controlling block of stock in the Suez Canal Company. Another sensation he caused by putting through parliament in 1876 a Royal Titles Bill which conferred upon Queen Victoria the pretentious title of Empress of India; if Germany now had an Emperor, why shouldn't Britain have an Empress? Incidentally, Disraeli authorized in the same year the

incorporation into British India of the large khanate of Baluchistan on its northwest border. Then in 1877, under his auspices, the Transvaal Republic in southern Africa was formally annexed, while claims were asserted to several archipelagoes in the western Pacific. In 1878, to "protect" Turkey against Russian aggression, the island of Cyprus was occupied in the eastern Mediterranean. Thenceforth events marched fast and wide. To thwart possible Russian designs still farther east, British forces invaded Afghanistan and sought by shootings to implant fear if not love in the soul of its Moslem ameer. To consolidate gains and "restore order" in South Africa, other British forces waged decimating war with Zulus (in which, by a curious twist of fate, the son and heir of Napoleon III was slain). To implement financial control of Egypt, Britain established with France a "condominium" at Cairo.

Gladstone was returned to office by the parliamentary elections of 1880, but his anti-imperialist utterances during the famous Midlothian campaign were not taken too seriously by colonial officials and promoters, nor, for that matter, by the majority of Englishmen at home. Indeed, the "Little Englander" himself adhered none too rigidly to his pre-election promises. True, he halted hostilities in Afghanistan, interrupted the Zulu War, and, after a revolt of the Boers and their rout of a small British force at Majuba Hill (February 27, 1881), made peace with the Transvaal and recognized its independence. Yet it was a British admiral, under Gladstone's orders, who bombarded Alexandria in July 1882, and a British general who quickly afterward imposed on the khedive and all lower Egypt a virtual vassalage to Great Britain alone.[24] Moreover, it was during Gladstone's ministry, if not with his approval, that adventurers, traders, and armed forces established British posts in Borneo and New Guinea (1881-84); that George Goldie's "United African Company" bought off rival French claimants to Nigeria (1884) and acquired title to large tracts of it by treaty with native chieftains or by simple seizure; and that still other Britishers were similarly active in southern Africa and in Somaliland. Gladstone

[24] A timid French cabinet of the day declined participation, and hence in Egypt sole domination of Britain was substituted for the previous Franco-British "condominium." For Britain the Suez Canal was very important—strategically as the main highway to India, and also commercially. The Canal was traversed in 1882 by over 3,000 ships, with a tonnage of seven million, of which 80 per cent was British.

entered office as an anti-imperialist. He left in 1885, a victim of popular resentment over the slaughter of a half-mad British general—"Chinese" Gordon—by Moslem dervishes at Khartum in the Egyptian Sudan.

A strong stimulant to British imperialism was the steady expansion of Russia through Turkestan toward India and through the Caucasus and Balkans toward the Mediterranean route to India, and incidentally her expansion in the Far East. In this last region, Russia had taken from China in 1860 the extensive Amur and Maritime provinces and constructed the ice-free Pacific port of Vladivostok; in 1875 she acquired from Japan the large offshore island of Sakhalin.[25] In Turkestan, Russian expeditionary forces subjugated the khanates of Samarkand and Zerafshan in 1868, imposed protectorates on Bokhara and Khiva in 1873, and appropriated the district of Ferghana in 1875. Then came the Turkish War of 1877-78 which temporarily shifted the efforts of Russia westward and enabled her, not only to gain Bessarabia and a presumable protectorate over Bulgaria, but to round out Transcaucasia with the provinces of Kutais and Kars and to increase pressure against Persia. With these advantages secured, she turned anew to Turkestan, completing in 1881 the conquest of the territory southeast of the Caspian and pushing on through Merv in 1884 to the Afghan frontier.

In the meantime, France entered the lists. In 1874, while royalist Conservatives were still in office at home, an admiral in the Far East persuaded the Emperor of Annam to put his country under French "protection." This, however, was an isolated instance, until the Republican Jules Ferry became premier in 1880. He immediately annexed the island of Tahiti in the Pacific; and in 1881, acting upon assurances given France at the time of the Berlin Congress, he dispatched a "punitive expedition" of 35,000 French soldiers across the Algerian border into Tunis. Though a critical parliamentary majority deposed Ferry, in part for what Clemenceau termed his "coup de bourse," French troops stayed in Tunis, and in a year and a half Ferry was back in the premiership, more ener-

[25] It is to be recalled, however, that Russia had voluntarily parted with Alaska in 1867.

getically imperialist than before. He at once made Tunis a full-fledged French protectorate, and during the next two years waged warfare in the Far East, conquering Tonkin and compelling the Chinese Emperor to recognize its incorporation with Annam, Cochin China, and Cambodia in a veritable French empire of Indo-China. During the same years he warred on Madagascar and forced its native queen to accept a French protectorate. Nor did Ferry neglect any opportunity for French expansion anywhere in Africa. To fuel transports on their way to Tonkin and Madagascar, he established a naval base at Obock near the southern end of the Red Sea—the core of French Somaliland. To permeate West Africa with French influence he subsidized exploratory and military expeditions into the hinterland of the Ivory and Guinea coasts and up the Congo from Gabun. Ferry's second premiership ended in 1885, but not the French imperialism which he had done so much to inspire and direct.

In Italy, a wave of indignation at French occupation of Tunis brought to the premiership a nationalistic Liberal of the "Left," Depretis, who did not content himself with mere protests. While he forged the defensive Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria, he hoisted the Italian flag over the town of Assab on the Eritrean coast of the Red Sea in July 1882, and in February 1885 he seized Massawa on the same coast. An Italian East African empire was in the making.

The birthday of Germany's colonial empire was April 24, 1884. On that date, Bismarck finally issued a *Schutzbrief*, authorizing Dr. Lüderitz, explorer and commercial agent, to proclaim a German protectorate over Southwest Africa. In October of the same year he gave like authorization to Dr. Nachtigal in respect of the West African territories of Togoland and Kamerun, and in December he notified the other powers that Germany was extending imperial protection to trading posts on the Malaysian island of New Guinea. The following March he took official cognizance of Carl Peters' exploits in East Africa and accepted the extensive territorial fruits there as a "Kaiserliches Schutzgebiet."

Neither German nor French expansion in Africa was liked by British imperialists, and it was forwarded by an interesting co-

operation between Bismarck and Ferry in the "Congo question." King Leopold II of Belgium had long been interested in African discoveries and enamored by the prospect of opening up the "Dark Continent" to European enterprise, and as early as 1876 he had formed an "International African Association" to realize his objects. Under the Association's auspices, and in its behalf, Henry Stanley prosecuted exploration of the Congo basin from 1879 to 1884, concluding hundreds of treaties with native chieftains and founding twenty-odd stations. Then in February 1884, in order to strangle Leopold's project, Great Britain recognized Portugal's dubious claim to sovereignty over the mouth of the Congo and arranged for an Anglo-Portuguese commission to control navigation on the whole course of the river. Leopold promptly turned to France and Germany for help. Ferry, anxious to extend French sway along the north bank of the river, agreed to respect the Association's territory to the south on the single condition that France should have first option to buy it if it should ever be sold. Bismarck, anxious to block Britain and to deter her from interfering with Germany's expansion, joined France, and with Ferry convoked an International Conference at Berlin to deal with the Congo question.

The Conference, representing fourteen powers, sat from November 1884 to February 1885 and adopted a program which had been agreed to in advance by its German and French sponsors. Leopold's International Association was accorded sovereign rights over the bulk of the Congo basin and its outlet on the Atlantic, under international guarantees of neutrality and free trade. Slavery was formally prohibited. The Niger as well as the Congo was opened to the commerce of all nations on equal terms. And a simple rule was laid down that any power might acquire African lands by effectively occupying them and notifying the other powers. Incidentally this Berlin treaty of 1885 was the first to employ the phrase "sphere of influence."

The Berlin Conference gave marked impetus to European imperialism. It widely publicized the movement, just at the time when protective tariffs and other policies of economic nationalism were nourishing a favorable popular mood and eliciting both economic and patriotic arguments for it. From 1885 dated the almost continu-

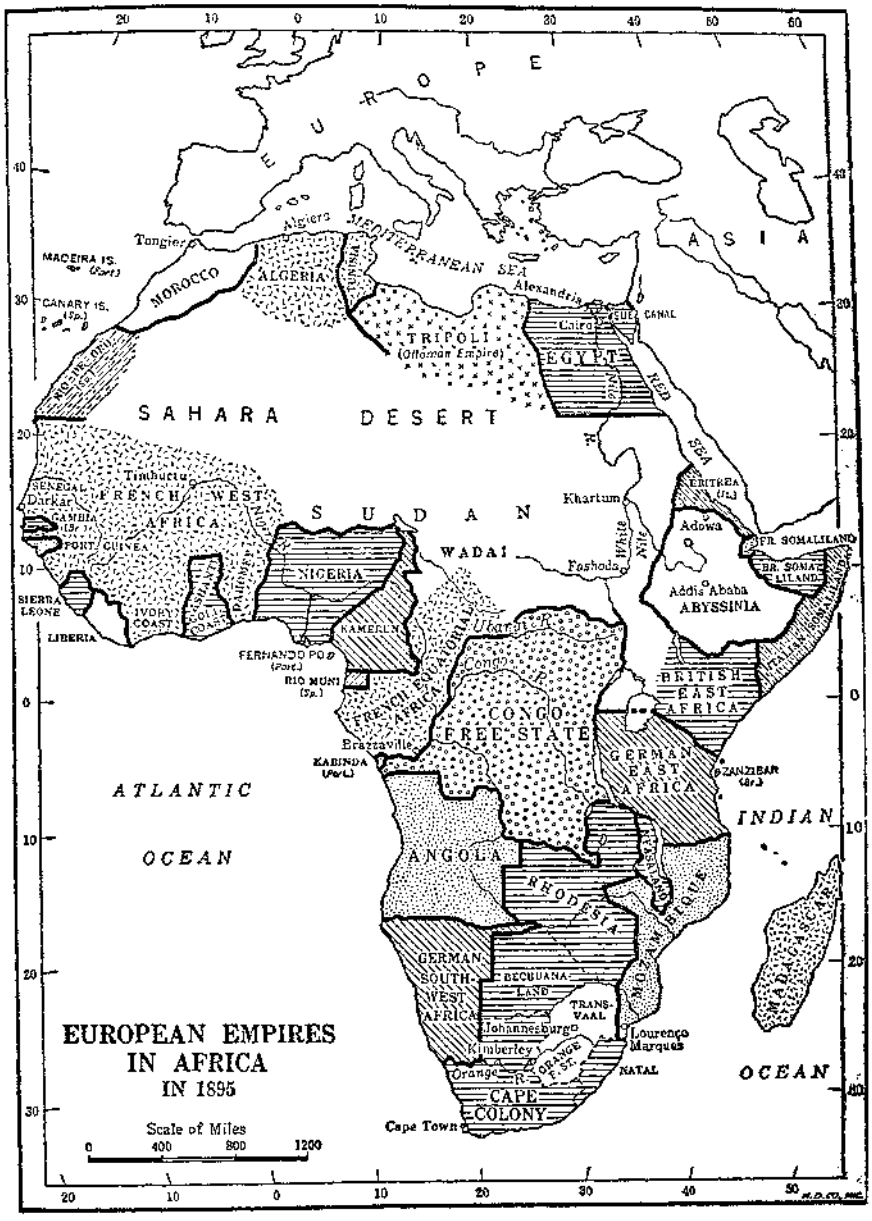
ous rule of imperialistic Conservative governments in Great Britain, the definitive juncture in Germany of National Liberals with Conservatives, and the practical disappearance of anti-imperialist dissent in France and Italy.

Within an incredibly brief time, Africa was almost completely partitioned among European powers. The "International Association" transformed itself, in July 1885, into the Congo Free State with Leopold as its despotic sovereign and with boundaries so determined by adroit negotiation with other powers as to embrace a vast domain of 900,000 square miles rich in rubber and ivory.[26] Britain, pushing up from the Cape, appropriated Bechuanaland in September 1885, Rhodesia in 1889, Nyasaland in 1893. Pressing inland from the Indian Ocean, she founded British East Africa in 1885 and secured Uganda in 1894. Chartering the Royal Niger Company in 1886 and backing its operations inland from the Atlantic, she acquired by 1900 the whole territory of Nigeria. Incidentally, she conquered in 1896 the Negro kingdom of Ashanti.

France invaded the Negro kingdom of Dahomey in 1889, subjugated it after a four-year struggle, and gradually linked it with the hinterlands of Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Guinea, and even Algeria to constitute French West Africa, a huge empire of 1,400,000 square miles and twelve million subjects. Timbuktu was occupied in 1893; and from the French Congo, Lake Chad was reached in 1900. In eastern Africa, France founded in 1888, on the Somali coast, the town of Djibouti and began in 1897 the construction of a railway thence into Abyssinia. In 1896, after two years of armed native resistance, she finally subjugated all Madagascar.

Italy, under Depretis' successor, Crispi, added Asmara to Eritrea in 1889, and in the same year took the southern (and largest) part of Somaliland and asserted a protectorate over adjacent Abyssinia. This last, however, could not be effected: the rout of Italian expeditionary forces at Adowa in March 1896 by a native army trained and equipped by French officers, led to Crispi's downfall and Italy's recognition of Abyssinian independence.

[26] Sir Harry Johnston has estimated that Leopold's "humanitarian enterprise" netted him personal profits of twenty million dollars. His system of monopolies and concessions and enforced Negro labor virtually nullified the free-trade and anti-slavery stipulations of the Berlin Treaty of 1885.


EUROPE
ASIA
Tangier
Algiers
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MACEIRA IS. (Port.)
CANARY IS. (Sp.)
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
Alexandria
SUEZ CANAL
Cairo
TRIPOLI (Ottoman Empire)
EGYPT
NILE
RED SEA
SAHARA DESERT
Timbuctu
SENEGAL
Dakar
GAMBIA (Br.)
PORT GUINEA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
SUDAN
Khartum
ERITREA (It.)
Adowa
FR. SOMALILAND
BR. SOMALILAND
WADAI
Fashoda
White Nile
Addis Ababa
ABYSSINIA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
DAHOMEY
NIGERIA
CAMEROON
FERNANDO PO (Port.)
RIO MUNI (Sp.)
Ubangi R.
Congo
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
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ANGOLA
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NYASSALAND
MOZAMBIQUE
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
BECHUANA LAND
TRANSVAAL
Johannesburg
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Kimberley
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ORANGE FREE ST.
NATAL
CAPE COLONY
Cape Town
EUROPEAN EMPIRES IN AFRICA IN 1895
Scale of Miles
0 400 800 1200

Meanwhile Germany enlarged each of her four African protectorates and transformed them into outright colonies, while Portugal carried inland what had originally been the merely coastal colonies of Angola (on the west) and Mozambique (on the east). The whole process was crowned between 1890 and 1894 by a series of agreements among the powers concerned, defining and delimiting their respective claims.[27]

Prior to 1875 not one-tenth of Africa, the second largest continent, had been appropriated by European nations. By 1895 all but a tenth of it was appropriated; and among the fragments constituting this tenth the Egyptian Sudan and the Boer Republics would be swallowed before the turn of the century. The story of the fate—the British fate—which befell them is reserved for a later chapter.

Africa was a main scene of European imperialism; so were the innumerable archipelagoes of the broad Pacific, especially after 1884. New Guinea was partitioned in 1885, Holland retaining the western half, Great Britain securing the southeastern quarter (now styled "Papua"), and Germany the northeastern quarter (patriotically rechristened "Kaiser Wilhelmsland"). Simultaneously Germany obtained full proprietorship of near-by islands on which was conferred the companion name of "Bismarck Archipelago," and also the Marshall Islands to the northeast; and in 1899 she purchased from Spain job lots of islands—the Carolines and Mariannes (or Ladrones)—and divided with the United States the Samoan group. Great Britain established a protectorate over north Borneo (Sarawak) in 1888, and between 1893 and 1900 annexed the South Solomon, Gilbert, and Tonga Islands, while France occupied the Society Islands, the Marquesas, and the Tuamotu Archipelago.

On the Asiatic mainland British India was rapidly consolidated and considerably extended after 1884. Lands of native princes were progressively incorporated into the empire and brought directly under its administration: 15,000 square miles of them in the '70's; 90,000 in the '80's; 133,000 in the '90's. Moreover, French expansive efforts from Indo-China westward invited a counter-expansion of

[27] Most notable among such arrangements were the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1890; the Anglo-French Declaration of August 1890; the Anglo-Italian Protocols of March-April 1891; the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of June 1891; and the Franco-German Convention of March 1894.

British India eastward, just as Russia's steady advance in the northwest fostered British fears and counter-schemings in that direction. In 1885 King Thebaw of Burma had the bad judgment to like the French and to concede them the right to build a railway from Tonkin to Mandalay, to open a bank in his capital, and to exploit his ruby mines. He was promptly handed a British ultimatum, ordering him to welcome a British envoy and in the future to follow British advice, and when, in good Oriental style, he hesitated to say either "yes" or "no," an army of 10,000 British and Indian troops crossed the border, mowed down Burmese resistance, and captured King Thebaw. On January 1, 1886, the kingdom of Burma was annexed to British India.

But while the British waged war, brief as it was, against Burma, Russia utilized the opportunity to seize Penjdeh on the Afghan frontier. Elated by this success, she dispatched military forces in 1891 into the mountainous Pamir country adjoining India itself; and, after another crisis and more threats of war, Russia managed by an agreement of 1895 with Britain to keep a good half of the disputed territory. On the other side, France seized in 1893 the country of Laos, lying between Annam and the Mekong River and connecting Cambodia with Tonkin. Thereby only a dwindling Siam was left as buffer between the British Empire of India and the French imperial domain of Indo-China. In the late '90's the whole "Far East" became the scene of a scramble by almost all the European great powers, and Japan and the United States also, for coaling stations and "spheres of influence," but this development can more appropriately be reviewed in a subsequent chapter.

Altogether, European imperialism during the three decades from 1871 to 1900 achieved immense conquests in Africa, the Pacific, and Asia. It added in these regions, during that comparatively brief period, some 4¼ million square miles and 66 million people to the British colonial empire, 3½ million square miles and 26 million people to the French, and a half million square miles and 6½ million people to the Russian, besides providing Germany with a new colonial empire of one million square miles and 13 million people, Italy with a minor one of 185,000 square miles and 750,000 people, and the King of the Belgians with a major one of 900,000

square miles and 8½ million people. And all these were without loss, but rather with gain, to the pre-existing colonial empires of Portuguese and Dutch. For the first time in history, the bulk of the entire world belonged to Europe.

Yet, however much the participating nations may have been moved to this new outburst of imperialism by economic considerations, however much they may have expected to reap from it in the way of financial gain, their expenditures on army, navy, and administration for it chronically exceeded their direct income from it; and one may well doubt whether most of the wealth which accrued to individual traders and investors, even to a Cecil Rhodes or a King Leopold, could not have been as readily amassed without the political dominion which was so costly and in the long run so provocative of international war. The new political imperialism, let us reiterate, was less economic than nationalist.

VI. THE NEW NAVALISM

"And finally a respectable navy." This had been last, but not least, among Friedrich List's desiderata for a patriotic and self-sufficing nation. Its general realization waited, nevertheless, upon the achievement of a large degree of economic nationalism and national imperialism. Great Britain had long possessed, of course, a premier navy, and France a respectable one. But until the Continental great powers supplemented their rivalry within Europe by imperialist rivalry in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, and until the economic arguments for external imperialism, as well as for internal tariff protection, sank deep into popular consciousness, armies were deemed far more important than navies and much more deserving objects of public expenditure.

Throughout the decade of the '70's, when size and cost of armies were rapidly mounting, expenditure on navies remained relatively modest and almost stationary. The British navy cost annually about 50 million dollars, the French 37½ million, the Russian 11¼ million, the German 8¾ million, the Italian 6¼ million. But as Russia found herself in humiliating collision with an all-powerful British fleet at Constantinople in 1878, and as possibility of other collisions developed on an ever-widening front—Persia, India, the

Far East—she quickened naval construction, built strong naval bases at Odessa and Vladivostok, and raised her naval expenditure in 1886 to 18¾ million dollars. France, too, unable with an inferior fleet to circumvent the British in Egypt or Burma, increased naval expenditures to 40 million in 1886, and two years later Italy was imposing extreme burdens on her people so as to spend 30 million dollars on her navy.

Alarm gripped Great Britain. It was not about Italy, whose fleet was obviously a "precautionary defense" against the Mediterranean neighbor that had "stolen" Tunis. It was rather about Russia and France. One or the other of these powers was now challenging British imperial hegemony almost everywhere, and their growing naval strength, combined as it was likely to be, might make their challenges widely effective. Even if the British battle fleet was still a match for the French and Russian on the high seas, it could hardly police all the British colonies and merchantmen and ward off raids by the swift cruisers in which Russia and France specialized. Now that England was largely industrialized and dependent upon seaborne commerce for her food supplies, indeed for her very existence, any serious interference with that commerce would spell disaster.

In 1888 a committee of three British admirals, appointed to report on the naval maneuvers of that year, gave it as their opinion that "no time should be lost in placing the British navy beyond comparison with that of any two powers." Lord George Hamilton, then first lord of the admiralty in the Conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury, immediately endorsed the proposed "two-power standard," and in 1889 put through parliament a Naval Defense Act, providing for addition to the navy, within four and a half years, of 70 vessels of 318,000 tons. In 1890 Britain's naval expenditure jumped to 86¼ million dollars.

This British action exerted far-reaching influence. France and Russia promptly increased their naval budgets by a million dollars each and presently entered into a defensive alliance. In 1890 Bismarck's successor, Count Caprivi, amid loud cheers of Emperor William II, obtained the Reichstag's sanction for building up the German navy and increasing the outlay on it to 22½ million dollars.

In the same year the United States naval board recommended to congress the formation of an American fleet of 100 vessels, of which twenty should be first-class battleships; and shortly afterward a corresponding program was evolved in Japan.

Soon, in all these countries, a definite doctrine of navalism was crystallized and industriously propagated; and before long the masses, no less than government officials, were imbued with it. Of many naval doctrinaires of the '90's, certainly the most influential was an American officer—Captain Alfred Mahan. His classic, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, first published in 1890, went through innumerable English editions and was translated into all the major languages of the Continent; and the doctrine it set forth, that no nation could maintain imperial sway and commercial greatness without possessing big battle fleets, was given vivid illustration in Mahan's succeeding books, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire* (1892) and *Life of Nelson* (1897).

Roundly supplementing Mahan's writings were numerous expository volumes like Spenser Wilkinson's *Command of the Seas* (1894), a succession of exhilarating verse from Swinburne's *Armada* (1888) to Kipling's *Fleet in Being* (1898), and an epidemic of alarmist tales akin to William Le Queux's *Great War in England* (1894) which graphically described the consequences of British naval defeat—invasion of England by French and Russians, their capture of Manchester and Birmingham, their horrifying assault upon London. In 1894 a "Navy League" was formed in Great Britain to disseminate just such propaganda, and in Germany an imitative "Flottenverein" was launched in 1897 by none other than the newly appointed minister of marine, Alfred von Tirpitz, who confessed that he "devoured" Mahan. "Without sea-power," Tirpitz concluded, "Germany's position in the world resembled that of a mollusc without a shell."[28]

Various arguments were employed to convince different kinds of people that they should support a strengthened navy. It would be a form of "national insurance" for merchant marine and foreign commerce. It would "protect" traders and investors, tourists and missionaries. It would bring "order and security" to "backward"

[28] *My Memoirs* (New York, 1919), I, 77.

peoples and help to civilize them. It would heighten the "prestige" of a "progressive" people and assure it a commensurate "place in the sun." Without a powerful navy, no nation could be a "world power." Without imperial power, a European nation could not be a great power. And according to the clear dictates of "biological science," second-rate nations must decline and eventually die.

That navalism was extraordinarily popular toward the close of the 1890's is evidenced by two facts. First, naval expenditure steadily increased (except in semi-bankrupt and colonially unsuccessful Italy): in 1900 it reached the sum of 130 million dollars in England, 62½ million in France, 42½ million in Russia, 37½ million in Germany; it stood at 22½ million in Italy. Second, practically all political parties, except the Marxist, now voted unquestioningly for naval bills: these had become the concern, not merely of "conservatives," but of nations. Navalism was a natural product of the combination of economic nationalism with national imperialism.