

Towards One World

By GEORGE PEARSON

This is an introduction to world affairs in 1961 and after. It shows in bold outline how our rather small, increasingly overpopulated world has come to be dominated by the two giant powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., with a new class of neutralist ex-colonial countries holding an increasingly important position. While Mr Pearson shows the part played by European or Western influence in creating one world, he also stresses that the outlying parts of the world are now independent. ... 4a that tk- ... 'pirations

Mr Pearson begins with the 'European springboard', showing how the Europe of the sixteenth century and after was a kind of powerhouse sending out currents of intellectual and political activity all over the world. Then he goes straight to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and outlines their development. Next he turns to the time of European dominance and imperialism up to 1914; then to the course and effects of the two world wars; then to the decisive rise of the Asian contenders for great-power status and the decline of colonialism. Final chapters outline the history of the Middle East and comment on the 'lands of the future', especially Africa.

TOWARDS ONE WORLD

AN OUTLINE OF
WORLD HISTORY FROM
1600 TO 1960

BY GEORGE PEARSON



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PREFACE

Some understanding of recent world history is quite essential now that radio and aeroplane link people in every part of the globe. Very little of the earth's surface remains unexplored and, although much remains undeveloped, there are few areas unaffected by the policies pursued by the major industrial powers. This situation is a characteristic of the last few decades. Consequently few textbooks have yet attempted to bridge the gap between Europe and the rest of the world, and the usual hiatus between history and current affairs has become alarming.

Those who wish to understand the problems of the modern world must constantly refer to the history of America and of Russia; they must also take note of the emergent societies of China, India, Africa and the Arab lands. All these countries have their particular traditions, which are not easily fitted into the framework of a single book, yet, in some measure, they share an experience of European ways: their main stream of energy is European in origin, for during the last four hundred years European traders, settlers and teachers have carried overseas the superior technical and political skills of Western Europe, and have succeeded in rousing the non-Europeans to new ambitions. If one may fairly write and speak of One World today, it is—and will remain for several decades at least—a world made one by European methods and European techniques.

This is the general setting for a book which aims to present to the non-specialist reader having a general knowledge of British history a correlated historical background to the contemporary world. The need to economize on space has permitted little more than a bare outline of events in some cases; and the absence of any detailed treatment of ideas may be attributed to this same

Preface

need. The arrangement of the chapters should make it possible for the reader to select individual topics for study, and it is hoped that those who wish for more information may find the short bibliography at the end of the book of service.

Several friends kindly read parts of the manuscript; to them, and to Mr H. Cooper in particular, I should like to express my thanks.

ORPINGTON
January 1961

G.P.

I

THE EUROPEAN SPRINGBOARD

INTRODUCING THE MODERN WORLD

Five hundred years ago the world known to Europeans represented only a fraction of the earth's surface. Those civilizations which existed outside Europe were known only to themselves and ordinary people everywhere were remarkably unaffected by events as little as a hundred miles away. Today the whole surface of the earth is mapped and charted and its peoples, despite varying traditions, are increasingly aware that they belong to one world.

The process of making one world has, of course, been a long and gradual one—indeed it is not finished yet—but a new and dramatic beginning appears to have been made in the sixteenth century, when European sailors realized the full significance of the discovery of America by Columbus and began to make regular trade routes in the wake of other voyagers.

Europeans of all classes in the sixteenth century began to experience a new restlessness. A vague sense of adventure, a desire for change in both the physical and mental senses, seemed to enliven them, so that into the new world overseas European traders, administrators and teachers carried not only their old ideas, but new ideas too. These ideas were so recently discovered that they gave to Europeans a tremendous feeling of superiority.

It is not easy to say why West Europeans, in particular, should have taken the lead in the new ventures, but we can examine some of the main changes which affected their thinking and conveniently label them: the Oceanic Revolution, the Reformation, the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution and the Rule of Law.

The Oceanic Revolution was the discovery by Western sailors that the world was a strangely exciting place, full of peoples and places totally unlike those of Europe. Previously the world had

The European Springboard (1450-1763)

appeared a land mass surrounded by water. Now it seemed a gigantic lake with a long fascinating coastline. Exploration by sea could proceed with little hindrance and give swift results.

Meanwhile European scholars and preachers discovered a form of religion which not only satisfied their personal needs but also allowed an individual freedom of religion which gave a zest and a purpose to European colonization. This Christian revival, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, produced men with a mission, and the religion they carried overseas proved more satisfying, more human, and more universally powerful than any of the localized beliefs. The European Christian with his God in the skies was clearly a man mightier than he who worshipped the smaller local gods.

Underlying these two changes in outlook was the Renaissance spirit of enquiry, which in the two centuries from 1500 to 1700 passed from bold experiments in art and behaviour into the disciplined use of reason which we call modern science. West European thinkers, using a passionless imagination checked by careful experiment, obtained such knowledge of their surroundings that they were able to harness the forces of nature to serve men's material needs. The practical results ranged from the humble windmill to the mighty steam-engine, from navigating instruments to spring-watches. In time they produced an Industrial Revolution, which first transformed European life and then flooded the rest of the world with new comforts and new methods of organization. This, however, was not *in* full spate until the nineteenth century.

From the sixteenth century onwards Europeans certainly appeared among the peoples of Asia, Africa and America with tremendous advantages. Their ability to strike men dead at a distance with firearms, to read the words of their God from a printed book, to produce a profusion of goods and then to sail away across the seas to return with more, continued to inspire awe and a desire for imitation until very recent times. Yet these powers alone would not have been sufficient to secure for Europeans such lengthy control of other lands, had not they also carried overseas superior ideas of government, obtained from their European experience. European rulers came to believe that men are best

Introducing the Modern World

governed for their own benefit and if possible by their own consent. This spirit of organized freedom, which may be called the Rule of Law, gave Europeans an enterprise, a vitality and a degree of co-operation often lacking in other lands. It was perhaps these qualities most of all which enabled the European mould to be firmly impressed upon the rest of the world.

Each of these factors deserves further study in the following chapter, for not only do the men of our world often dress in a similar fashion today, they also tend to think, superficially at least, in a similar manner. It is, however, equally important to realize and understand the differences as well as the similarities of the various lands. The Western way of life which has so much moulded the customs of the rest of the world has itself undergone striking transformation in, say, America or South Africa. New experiences and new needs have called forth new ways, and it is likely that in the future there will be further adjustment. Eastern peoples have already become more creative and are adapting Western methods to fit their own traditions. Such variations will be noted in due course. We must first consider the Europeans discovering their new world, and how they set about its conquest.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES: THE OCEAN WORLD

There was great excitement in the harbours of Western Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Portuguese sailors had for some time past groped their way along the coast of Africa. Now the mariner's compass—a compass of real accuracy perfected from earlier Italian experiments—threw open a vast new ocean world for exploration by bold venturers. The idea that the earth was round, long believed by scholars, was a theory dawning in many men's minds and practical confirmation was eagerly sought. Inaccurate estimates of the global distance involved scholars and navigators in many a tedious argument, but one sailor at least was resolved to sail westward in search of the Indies and so find out how far it was by experiment.

He was Christopher Columbus, who insisted to all who would listen that the fast new caravel type of sailing ship could make the

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3000 mile voyage westward to the Indies without fear of starvation. Others doubted that he could sail so fast. Ships were valuable, but the obstinacy of Columbus secured him three old ships and rough crews who still feared dragons and demons and the 'edge of the world'. In the autumn of 1492 Columbus, on board the *Santa Maria*> drove himself and his rebellious men on through the Atlantic waves. Only his faith and will kept them going, and fortune smiled on him. On 11 October 1492 a light appeared 'like a wax candle rising and falling'. The next morning land was sighted. Unknown to Columbus it was a new continent, just half way to the Indies he sought, but fame enough.

A few years later, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese captain, following in the wake of Bartholomew Diaz, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached India by sea. This voyage of 1497-8 did more than reopen the spice trade with the Indies by an ocean route; it cleared the way for the capture of Goa and the establishment of a Portuguese empire in the East. Meanwhile further Atlantic voyages brought the Spaniards to the mainland of America. Cabot with English ships landed in Labrador in 1497; Cabral accidentally reached Brazil, and from all parts of the world strange and valuable curios, exotic plants and interesting animals found their way to Europe. By 1517 Portuguese ships under Andrade had moored in Canton (China) and in 1519 Spanish forces under Cortez began the conquest of Mexico.

In the same year 1519 the Portuguese Magellan began a circumnavigation of the globe. His ships passed through the stormy straits at the extreme south of America and sailed across the Pacific to the Philippine Islands. Although Magellan himself was killed in a skirmish with the natives, his companions sailed on through the East Indies, steering south to the Cape of Good Hope and thence back to Lisbon, which they finally reached in 1522.

Even so, men still believed there were other shorter ways to the East, and this hope led to voyages in search of a North-east Passage beyond Norway and Archangel, or in search of a North-west Passage beyond Labrador. Arctic seas were the grave of many brave men, but the modern map is their memorial. By the end of the century the main outline of the new territories was generally

The Geographical Discoveries: The Ocean World

known. Only the large island of Australia and the coastline of Asia were still to be traced by ship.

These oceanic discoveries put West Europeans in the centre of the new world. At first the Pope, on behalf of Catholic Spain and Portugal, could divide the world into two halves, along a line 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands, so that to this day the Spanish language is heard in Chile and Peru, and pools of Portuguese influence remain in Brazil as well as in Africa and the East Indies. It was not long, however, before the other peoples of Western Europe—the English, Dutch and French—also joined in the world-wide adventure, and for two hundred years or more a bitter struggle between their rival trading groups flared up in all parts of the world.

THE REFORMATION: THE WORLD OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Meanwhile a revolution of men's thinking was taking place in Europe. For a thousand years the Roman Catholic Church had dominated the education and the religion of the masses. The Pope in Rome had acquired great authority and it seemed to many that he could do no wrong. Yet by the sixteenth century many Roman Catholics were clearly not leading Christian lives. There was criticism of their immorality by an increasing number of sincere reformers. But there was little popular criticism until the development of the printing-press by Gutenberg and others, who from 1453 onwards put into the hands of the reformers plentiful copies of the Holy Scriptures. These were often translations of the original Greek and Hebrew set in the language of the people. The difference between Christ's behaviour and the behaviour of his Catholic priests became obvious to a much greater number of people.

The writings of Catholic Reformers, such as Erasmus, now reached a wide audience but a dramatic action was needed to inflame men's feelings against the Pope. It came in 1517 when Martin Luther, a German monk, challenged the sale of Indulgences by the Pope's agents and nailed to the church door at Wittenberg ninety-five arguments against certain practices of the Church. The Pope condemned Luther as a heretic, but Luther flung the

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letter of excommunication into a large prepared bonfire and when summoned to defend himself at Worms in 1521 he continued to brave death, holding fast to his religious opinions. * Ich kann nicht anders' (I cannot do otherwise) was his defence. Luther's sincerity was infectious, and fortunately for him and his followers many influential princes in Germany were prepared to protect him with soldiers in return for his moral support, for they wanted an excuse to rule their estates without papal interference.

Soon the Protestants claimed the right not simply to reform the existing Church of Rome but to set up new forms of religion, based upon individual interpretations of God's will. John Calvin, for one, preached the theory that certain men were predestined to obtain salvation, and at Geneva he established a rigid code of morality for his followers to practise. Calvinism led men to believe in their own importance, to act with energy and strict morality. The predestined—or the elect of God—were to justify themselves by their strong character as well as by their faith in God. Calvinists and Protestants everywhere revolted against the shackles of the Catholic Church and this encouraged a spirit of liberty among men, which found expression in church assemblies, in parliament, and in, nationalism.

Even in the Catholic countries—those countries in which the king remained officially loyal to the Pope—the spirit of nationalism grew strong. Men of one language and common custom, where there was some natural geographical unity, came to regard themselves as united and distinct from other nations. To their national kings was given increasingly the affection formerly bestowed upon the Pope or some more local leader.

So it was that, despite a century or so of bitter religious warfare (of which the Thirty Years War in Germany, 1618-48, was the final blaze), the European peoples, especially those of Western Europe, were inspired by a tremendous zeal, either for a reformed, purer form of Catholicism, or for a strong sense of liberty, accompanied by a feeling of national pride. Spanish Jesuits, Dutch Calvinists, English Puritans—all had a purpose in life, which canalized their energies, enabled them to withstand physical hardships and spurred them to missionary efforts, not only at home but

The Reformation: The World of the Individual

overseas. Religious fervour sent Englishmen to America, Spaniards to the Philippines and Dutch to South Africa. Perhaps, in the long run, religion counted far more than the baser interest of private gain or plain adventure. Europeans could not have so nearly conquered the world without the conviction of their moral superiority over other peoples; if it served to cloak their worst excesses, it also inspired their noblest ideals.

THE RENAISSANCE OF KNOWLEDGE!

THE WORLD OF SCIENCE

There was in sixteenth-century Europe a tremendous thirst for knowledge. In Italy it took mainly a visual form, with new sculpture, new paintings and new buildings; in the northern lands it was concentrated in philosophy and religion. This Renaissance of learning gave birth to thinkers, teachers and scientists. Where men had once argued theoretically they now sought proof and illustration and action. For this the new scholars, denied the quiet of monastic life which had made study possible in the Middle Ages, had to be assured of some measure of protection, either from a patron, such as some powerful prince, or from residence in a country where there were internal peace and good laws. Thus the spirit of enquiry generally flourished best in countries, such as Holland and England, where the idea of religious toleration was beginning to take root.

The great men of science dwelt in several lands, but a common ground for their work was provided by the printed word. Printing-presses from the time of Gutenberg's first effort in 1453 had rapidly increased in number and output. Printed books had greatly assisted in the breaking down of the barriers of time and distance and, besides encouraging the development of national languages in place of local dialects, had built up and preserved a considerable body of new knowledge. By the end of the seventeenth century this new knowledge had broken the bonds of the older classical European culture and had given a new direction and impetus to European thought.

The first discoveries were in the realm of astronomy and navigation. A Polish astronomer, Copernicus (1473-1543), was

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the first to demonstrate how the movements of the planets followed a definite path around the sun. Then the German astronomer Kepler (1571-1630) made observations of the heavens which improved on the theory of Copernicus, and in Italy a telescope invented by Galileo (1564-1642) confirmed the belief that the earth was moving through space.

This new approach by observation and experiment was worked out in detail by Francis Bacon (1561-1626), an English lawmaker, statesman and philosopher, who emphasized the importance of the habit of observation, practical experiment, and inductive reasoning in obtaining accurate knowledge. A few years later Rene Descartes (1596-1650), a Frenchman living in Holland, argued that the power of human reason, if used aright, could not only understand, but remake, the natural world.

In London in 1662 was formed the Royal Society 'for improving natural knowledge by experiments'. In France in 1666 the Dutch scientist Huygens, who himself had invented the pendulum clock, organized the Academie Royale for the same purpose. Boyle's law of gases, Pascal's views on atmospheric pressure, the development by Leibniz of the differential calculus (1684), the construction of a mercury thermometer by Fahrenheit (1714), these were discoveries which contributed to a rapid growth of physical science; while Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood (1628) became the foundation of a new science of medicine.

It was, however, the genius of Isaac Newton (1642-1727) which did most to vindicate the new experimental methods. During his lifetime a wide range of inventions appeared—improved watches, an air pump (1652), the first European plate glass and porcelain, the use of logarithms, the practice of inoculation against disease (1718), iron smelted by coke (1709) and the first steam-pump (1704). Newton's own work gave unity to them all. By examining the properties of physical bodies Newton formulated laws which stood the test of many experiments. The law of universal gravitation and the laws relating to optics (1704) had such a mathematical simplicity that the claims of Descartes now seemed justified.

Much of this early scientific advance was tentative and isolated,

The Renaissance of Knowledge: The World of Science

but there was an atmosphere of mental speculation and lively curiosity in Western Europe which, in the humbler and more practical sphere of the farmer, the engineer and the enlightened money-lender, produced later the Industrial Revolution. This put European traders and colonists in the position of possessing goods in a quantity, and even a quality, superior to the native products across the seas.

EUROPEAN RIVALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE RULERS

In the long run the success of those who ventured overseas depended a good deal upon the degree of support which they received from their fellow countrymen in Europe. Europe was never one single unit. It was divided into a number of rival countries, where dynastic ambitions and jealousies occupied the attention of some who might otherwise have profited from overseas exploration. Spain, for example, failed to strike a just balance between its overseas possessions and the need for prestige at home, and France also preferred the prospects of greater possessions in Europe to trade overseas. From such preoccupations Britain was the principal gainer.

In 1700 the continent of Europe was a patchwork of kingdoms, great and small. In addition to the six main kingdoms of Spain, France, Britain, Sweden, Poland, and the lands of the Habsburg emperor, there were several hundred lesser states. Most of these were in Germany, and there the largest state, Prussia, was itself composed of half a dozen separate parts. Even such an apparent geographical unit as Italy had eight different rulers. Russia, as yet, barely existed as a European state, although Peter the Great, at this time, was stretching out his arms north and south of Moscow to reach the Baltic and the Black Sea. The fact that Russia, as well as the Balkan countries, then under Turkish domination, was Greek Orthodox Christian in religion, helped to discourage European contacts.

No outside power threatened the European countries in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Turkish Muslim soldiers, who ranged from the Ukraine to Hungary, were once

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a possible danger, but their attack on Vienna in 1683 had produced only a momentary alliance of European rulers, and, in general, European kings were far too suspicious of each other to unite for this or any other purpose.

There were no other spurs to unity. The great mass of peoples were illiterate peasants, unable in most cases to leave their plots of land or their village duties. Large political boundaries, as yet, meant little to them. Traders also, still relatively few in number, were hampered by tolls, by religious persecutions and by the bad state of the roads. Nobles still relied upon the products of their own estates and, although scholars and rich men might travel freely and without passports, the physical difficulties of travel were such that journeys overland were more difficult than those by sea.

No one ruler could aspire to rule all Europe in such circumstances. Indeed much diplomatic and military effort was expended in preserving provincial independence. The smaller states jealously banded together in order to counterbalance the power of the larger kingdoms, and England took especial advantage of this situation to obtain a Balance of Power in Europe which for long periods allowed her to concentrate her attention on other matters.

Britain's main rivals were the Dutch, the Spaniards and the French. The Dutch, like the Portuguese earlier, suffered from having a small population and powerful neighbours. In particular they were much weakened by France's efforts to make the Rhine her northern frontier, and with barely two million people the Dutch could not sustain their challenge to the British overseas. By the end of the seventeenth century they had reached the limit of their maritime expansion; and could barely retain what they had.

Spain still enjoyed the prestige of a great power, but in real strength she was declining. Under Charles V (1516-56) she had once boasted of an empire, rich in lands and mineral wealth, stretching from the Americas to central Germany. But a sequence of incompetent rulers had allowed the old nobility and the officials of the Roman Catholic Church a lazy authority over an increasingly idle people. Too many of the more energetic and intelligent Spaniards had given their lives to the founding of overseas terri-

European Rivals in the Eighteenth Century: The Rulers

tories or the ritual of the Church; only a handful, it seemed, realized the need for a flourishing agriculture or the development of closer relationships between government and governed. In fruitless wars and idle gossip Spaniards frittered their strength away, so that by the eighteenth century the greatness of Spain had either passed to its colonies in America or was being expressed in artistic revivals in Europe.

France, on the other hand, by 1700 was establishing a political and cultural supremacy in Europe which in many ways lasted till 1870. With a population of twenty millions, a flourishing agriculture and the scintillating brilliance of their dramatists and thinkers, French kings enjoyed a degree of power which other rulers might envy.

The stage for eighteenth-century Europe was set by Louis XIV, who for over half a century (1661-1715) was the active king of France. By working hard himself, at least six hours every day, and by employing a capable economist in Colbert, Louis built up an efficient administration which obtained taxes for whatever purpose he chose. At Versailles was developed, at the cost of forty million pounds, a huge palace which served as a centre of government, a place where the dangerous thoughts of nobles or artists could be channeled into flattery and elaborate ceremonial. The artificiality of this court was such that, we are told, it was a pleasure on leaving to watch a dog gnawing a bone. By successful foreign wars—only three of his fifty-four active years were without a battle—Louis both diverted the martial energies of his nobles and won enduring prestige for France in Europe.

Louis XIV achieved such power over his subjects—*Tout c'est moi* (*I am the state*), he could justly say—that he had a host of would-be imitators in Europe and, in consequence, the French language, together with French manners and fashions, was widely used for a century or more throughout Europe. As late as the mid-nineteenth century Russian nobles spoke French among themselves and their daughters read French novels.

But there were also less pleasant consequences. The high financial costs of his reign produced such an intricate network of taxes and loans, privileges and exemptions that the lesser French kings who

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followed him struggled fitfully and unsuccessfully against bankruptcy. Equally important, the concentration of the French upon European affairs left little energy for colonial expansion. Throughout the eighteenth century most Frenchmen continued to be more interested in the fortunes of neighbouring countries than in overseas possessions.

In other European countries the government was less well organized than in France. In days of poor communications, of inadequately trained civil servants and no general education, much depended upon the personality of the king. Although his hereditary—or divine—right to rule was often widely accepted, in practice the edicts of a weak king were easily ignored and the main task of any king was to impress his authority upon more and more of his subjects. Some kings played upon the fear of foreign armies to gain the loyalty of their nobles. Others, like Peter of Russia, had to rule almost by the physical force of their presence. All tended to think of the masses as simply ‘mules of the state’.

In the eighteenth century, however, a number of writers began to suggest that effective government was best secured by rulers having contented subjects. By pursuing enlightened policies rulers could become more despotic, and as despots they could then enforce reasonable reforms. Of the ‘Benevolent Despots’ of eighteenth-century Europe, Frederick II of Prussia (1740-86) and Joseph II of Austria (1765-90) did most to deserve the title. In Russia Catherine II (1762-95), although inspired by similar thoughts was, alas, less effective in practice.

Frederick II claimed to be a ‘servant of the people’⁵. Working long hours, he supervised every detail of his government. He denied himself the luxuries of a lavish court. He brought French Huguenots to start a china industry; he encouraged better farming by constructing canals and by lending army horses for the peasants’ ploughs. He promoted young men according to merit and, despite the hardships caused by his wars for Silesia, earned the admiration of his subjects by his personal interest. A look, a word, from the king was sufficient to check the bitterest complaint.

In Austria, Joseph II, a more sincere man, and more idealistic than Frederick, attempted an even greater task. Believing that

European Rivals in the Eighteenth Century: The Rulers

reason should dictate all his actions., he strove to bind together his various provinces by establishing a uniform system of government and by making German the common language. He declared all the serfs free of their obligation to the great nobles, and tried to limit the power of churchmen in his lands. Like Frederick he believed in the value of religious toleration; he built schools and threw open his private gardens as a public recreation centre. Yet in his anxiety for his people's well-being he made himself unpopular. Joseph even banned gingerbread on the grounds that it was bad for his subjects' digestion.

Such rulers were eager to strengthen their own country and were therefore more concerned with attracting settlers than in sending them abroad. Their methods, however, proved well suited to all backward countries and their 'benevolent despotism' was paralleled overseas by British, French and Dutch colonial administrators, and by Russian and American experts in more recent years. Just as Frederick made improvements with an eye to greater state power, so railways in India were not always intended simply for local welfare. And, like Joseph, other rulers sought to change African habits for their own good by the stroke of a pen.

Equally important for the future of overseas lands, the benevolent despots of eighteenth-century Europe provided a framework of good government which allowed agriculture to flourish, stimulated education and industry, and so aided the rise of a wealthy middle class. The increase of internal peace and a more diversified prosperity made possible a high standard of living and a much greater population. Without this the large-scale emigration of Europeans overseas would have been scarcely possible.

THE EUROPEAN RIVALS: THE WORLD OVERSEAS IN 1763

While problems of religion, political organization, education and science were being tackled at home, European ships, manned by Spanish, Portuguese, English, Dutch and French sailors, swarmed over the oceans of the world. By 1763 a well-defined pattern of trading posts and colonial settlements had been made. In that year the Treaty of Paris closed an era of colonial and trade warfare,

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and by then the products and customs of the lands overseas had begun to change the life of the people of Europe,

Not only did the valuable spices, silks and precious stones of the East now reach Europe by sea, but in Western capitals Newfoundland fish could be eaten on forks of Mexican silver and Chinese tea could be sweetened with sugar from the West Indies; in America, Negro slaves, transported from West Africa, could be seen gathering tobacco leaves for use in London; and in every port of the East the great European ships, built of English oak, with Russian sails on Canadian masts, were themselves symbols of the growing interdependence of the world.

By 1763 it was not only goods that were carried. Men, and less often, women, with their individual energies and their collective ideas, had passed from Europe to far-off territories, imparting their passions and prejudices to others of different environment; in America, in parts of Africa, in India and the Dutch East Indies, European communities had already taken root.

There were in what is now the U.S.A. thirteen well-organized colonies, mostly of English stock, totalling two million people. Their achievements and hopes require a separate chapter, for they were soon to declare their independence of the Old World and to develop their continent at a fantastic speed.

Farther north in Canada, the main settlements were French, for despite the fur-trading activities of a few isolated Englishmen on the shores of the Hudson Bay, the early exploration of the area had been mainly done by Frenchmen. As early as 1519 Cartier had founded Montreal and given a name to Canada. In 1608 Champlain had founded Quebec, and later La Salle, having discovered the Great Lakes, had voyaged down the Ohio and the Mississippi to found St Louis (1682) and New Orleans (1683). As a result a number of fortified trading posts had been gradually established among the Indians south of the Great Lakes. But they were in defiance of the more numerous English settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, and so it is not surprising that rivalry between French and British traders increased in violence during the eighteenth century, some large-scale skirmishes developing.

When these became part of a general European war (1756-63)

European Rivals: The World Overseas in 1763

2L concerted plan by the British colonial governors and the British government, headed by Pitt the Elder, resulted in the capture of the French forts, the seizure of the stronghold of Quebec in 1759 and the surrender of Montreal in 1760. By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, all French territory in North America became British. The French king professed to take its loss calmly, 'It is only', he said, 'a few miles of snow'.

Meanwhile, among the ruins of the ancient and misunderstood Aztec and Inca civilizations of Central and South America, Spaniards for two hundred years had been making Catholic converts and obtaining precious metals from the hills. While Spanish governors arranged the taxation, Spanish merchants organized the flow of silver towards Europe. African slaves were imported to assist with the extraction of the ore and these were supervised by Spanish overseers. The mineral wealth was apparently inexhaustible. For example, the mountain of silver ore discovered at Potosi (in modern Bolivia) in 1544 lasted well into the nineteenth century. In 1763 the colonies were still the personal possession of the king of Spain, and over a variety of climates and contrasting scenery, from Mexico to Peru, from Cuba to Chile, Spanish viceroys continued to impose a common pattern of government. For each province there was a fine town, elaborately planned in the Spanish style, complete with cathedral, law-courts and government offices. In these only Spanish was spoken. Everything and everybody in the surrounding countryside served the needs of the town and its Spanish-born officials.

Besides the European officials and the native Indians there were also by 1763 a large number of Creoles—men and women born in South America of pure, or nearly pure, Spanish descent. They were usually the mine-owners, the cattle-breeders, the great land-owners. For them worked the Negro slaves and, separately in their villages, the native Indians. Yet the officials sent from Spain retained pride of place: although municipal councils existed, nothing could be done without official consent. Spain expected unquestioning obedience from its citizens. As long as there were experienced and capable governors all went well, but by 1763 the number of officials had so multiplied that the

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top men seemed to lack energy and enterprise. The Spanish colonies were supposed to be sealed against foreigners, yet Dutch and English smugglers were able to outwit the official trade restrictions. Printing-presses found a way into the colonies; books were hidden in the hollow beams of houses and the spread of education among the Creoles spelt a growing opposition to the haughty Spanish-born governors.

It required only the defeat of Spain in Europe by Napoleon to release the energies of South American rebels. Simon Bolivar, born in Venezuela in the same year (1783) as the English colonies in America were given their independence, became the foremost of those Spanish Creoles who led revolts against the Spanish Crown. With the help of the British navy and the moral support of the United States, all the Spanish American colonies were to secure their independence by 1825. The Portuguese colony of Brazil was similarly freed. Thereafter an unhappy catalogue of unstable governments and economic distress summarizes South American history until the twentieth century.

In America native resistance had been so short-lived that by 1763 substantial European settlements had resulted. By contrast, in India and South-east Asia, the first European traders had found thriving native kingdoms, much rent by ancient feuds and princely corruption, yet strong enough to hinder European intruders or to aid their European rivals. By 1763 those Europeans who were stationed in the eastern lands were there almost entirely for the purpose of organizing trade; few permanent settlements had been made and there was little, if any, direct impact upon the peoples of the interior.

The Portuguese had the initial success in the East. The sea battle of Diu (1509) gave them naval command of the Indian Ocean for over a century, and the capture of Malacca, on the Malay peninsula, whose harbour was already a magnet for the ships of every Eastern nation, provided them with a centre for military and trade purposes. Malacca became the home of a fair-sized European community and, as long as its garrison forces tipped the scales against all likely combinations of native rulers, the Portuguese were able to dispatch twenty royal ships a year to Lisbon, with cargoes of spices, porcelain, precious stones and textiles,

European Rivals: The World Overseas in 1763

in exchange for silver, glass and metal manufactures from Europe. In much the same way, following the expedition of Magellan, Manila in the Philippines became a great centre for the exclusively Spanish trade between southern China and Mexico.

Then, in the seventeenth century, English and Dutch sailors had appeared on the eastern seas, mixing their commercial greed with a religious hatred of all Catholic peoples. Although their mutual rivalry temporarily saved the Portuguese, the union of Spain and Portugal between 1580 and 1640 did the Portuguese no great service; and in 1641 Malacca fell to Dutch guns. A home population of three-quarters of a million was thereafter inadequate to sustain what was left of the Portuguese empire, so that by 1763 only Goa in India, Mozambique on the East African coast, Angola and Brazil remained of a once substantial trading area.

In place of the Portuguese the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, next organized the eastern trade into a near monopoly, forcing the English to concentrate upon India and enjoying nearly a century of undisputed naval supremacy in eastern seas. But the Dutch too had only a small population and by 1763 their resources were insufficient to withstand a new and determined challenge from the English. Dutch rewards had been great; but their sacrifices appeared greater. Thus Batavia, the chief trading centre of the Dutch, was in the eighteenth century a 'city populous, cosmopolitan, polyglot', well planned in its orderly layout, but 'a regular cemetery for Europeans' \ Six out of seven traders died from disease contracted either from the long unhealthy voyages or from the verminous living conditions ashore.

Meanwhile the English East India Company prospered in India. A considerable volume of goods passed through the company's factories at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and by 1763 the English company seemed to have mastered its rivals. Clive's victory over native forces at Plassey in 1757 enabled traders to penetrate far into Bengal, and other successes placed much of the eastern coast under English control. As a result the company felt ready to renew its bid for the China trade, via the straits of Malacca, and an English naval defeat of the Dutch off the Dogger Bank in the North Sea in 1781 proved but a herald of English naval supremacy

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to come; and within a few years Napoleon's occupation of Holland further weakened the Dutch in the East Indies at the very moment when England was growing stronger.

Although French claims in the East were not entirely abandoned by 1763, attempts to win over individual native princes during the next half-century had only a limited success. Certainly by 1805 British gains, in India and elsewhere, made the East India Company practically without rival along the coastline of the Indian Ocean. The French were no longer a menace and, although the Dutch clung to their existing possessions, British industrial goods, carried east in the nineteenth century, would soon break forever the Dutch trading monopoly.

There remains one other European outpost of some significance, although little appreciated in 1763. Dutch ships on their way East had often called to fill their water barrels at the bay to the north of the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1652, prompted by the good reports of a stranded Dutch crew, the Dutch East India Company had sent colonists there. Kapstadt, or Cape Town, was founded. When more settlers arrived, some ventured inland. These Dutch Afrikaans came to regard the grazing land as Protestant Dutch by settlement; and when Kaffir tribesmen moved south from the interior, they were treated as intruders. In 1763, however, Cape Colony was essentially a stopping place for ships in distress. As a vegetable garden, it must have saved thousands from death by scurvy on the long sea-voyages, but the capture (and eventual purchase) of the colony by the British, early in the nineteenth century, was to change its fortunes in a much more drastic way.

The nineteenth century was to see territory overseas transformed largely by British enterprise rather than that of the Spaniards, Portuguese, French or Dutch, and for an explanation of this we must return briefly to the European scene.

BRITISH LEADERSHIP: NATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL POWER

Europeans generally were more prosperous in the eighteenth century than they had been before. But in Britain in particular the zest for progress was especially noticeable. By the eighteenth

British Leadership: National and Industrial Power

century there was already a marked difference between Britain and the other European countries, not least in their forms of government. In Britain the king ruled with the advice of a parliament. This was composed of great lords, merchants, lawyers and country squires, who since 1688 had firmly impressed upon their kings that they should rule according to the laws which former parliaments and kings had made.

More than most European countries Britain had the advantage of a deep-rooted national unity, which gave a sense of common purpose to most men. The sea for Englishmen was both a moat for defence and a means of travel and trade. In an ocean world England's detachment from Europe proved a valuable asset. With little to fear, at home or abroad, Englishmen could safely concentrate their energies upon making money.

So while other European countries sought stable governments and easily defended frontiers, upper-class Englishmen turned their parliaments into discussions on trade, took note of working-class opinions expressed in occasional riots, and were spurred to great personal efforts in trade and agriculture by the prospect of high profits and low taxes. From 1688 onwards, their kings, especially George III, lived simple, useful and, by overseas standards, inexpensive lives. If the king, or his chief minister, were a little obstinate at times, as over the claims of the American colonists to run their own affairs, most Englishmen were confident that their real grievances would be heeded by their rulers. In England, more so than on the continent, there was a body of known laws which were generally accepted. Under this 'Rule of Law' no one could be imprisoned without due cause, and the resulting sense of personal liberty gave Englishmen a measure of contentment. 'Feeling themselves free they worried less about being equal' (Sorel).

For various reasons, not unconnected with the existing overseas trade and the development of banking, an industrial revolution had begun in England about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was, in many respects, due to an acceleration of earlier processes in which specialized tasks and hand-machines had played their part. Thanks to pioneer farmers, such as Tull, Townshend and

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Bakewell, and by means of capitalist landlords, such as Coke of Holkham, England had by 1800 become the world's leading agricultural nation; the production of corn and meat had nearly doubled in less than a hundred years. Now industrial production multiplied at an even greater rate. Inventions, such as the spinning-jenny (1769)³ the water-frame, and the spinning-mule (1779) coincided with Watt's development of the steam-engine (1765-85) to revolutionize the woollen industry, and to create a much greater cotton industry. Inventions in iron working, from the smelting of iron by coke, developed by the Darby family, to the large-scale production of wrought iron through the inventions of Cort (1780-4), similarly cheapened and made widespread the use of iron machinery. Meanwhile the fantastic labours of the underground workers in the coal-mines provided fuel for the ever-increasing number of the steam-engines which drove the new machinery. In 1800 Matthew Boulton, partner of James Watt, could boast to his king^c I sell here, Sir, what all the world desires to have—POWER'.

Between 1760 and 1830 England changed from a land where articles were made in village workshops by hand-operated tools to a land where articles were made in town factories by power-driven machines. The applications of steam-power so speeded up the output of cloth and metal goods that a great surplus was made available for export. England's position on the ocean routes and her existing contacts with many lands overseas gave her every advantage in making this export trade world-wide. When steam-power was applied to railways and ships, the pace and the range of English selling further increased.

In plain statistics the extent of the achievement was remarkable. British coal output in 1700 was some 3 million tons. In 1800 it was 10 million tons. By 1900 over 200 million tons would be mined. Similarly, iron production, some 20,000 tons in 1750, reached 200,000 tons by 1800 and would be twenty times as great by 1860 (4 million tons). The use of raw cotton sprang from 2 million pounds in 1700 to 50 million pounds in 1800, and totalled, rather curiously, 1915 million pounds in 1915. Together with the traditional exports of woollen cloth, cotton became the foundation of the extensive and almost monopolistic textile export trade of

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Great Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. In fact raw cotton picked by Negroes in the southern states of America and sent to Manchester might return across the Atlantic as cotton shirts for the pickers.

Accompanying this great rise in industrial production was a remarkable rise in population. In 1700 there were not quite 6 million people in England and Wales. In 1801 the first census numbered some 9 millions. The rise now became rapid. By 1851 there were 18 millions and in 1911 the population was again doubled to 36 millions. If one includes the number of emigrants the population may be said to have increased more than sixfold in the period 1815-1914.

The skill and industry of so many people gave to Britain a definite industrial supremacy throughout the world. In round but reasonably accurate figures, Great Britain produced in 1851, and for some years afterwards, more than 50 per cent of the world's iron, 66 per cent of the world's cotton goods, 75 per cent of the world's coal and 80 per cent of the world's new ships. With London banking circles the source of large overseas loans, Britain was not only the carrier of the world's sea trade but also the financial dynamo of much of the world's industrial activity.

Despite the lack of effective trade unions, many millions of Englishmen came to share in this industrial wealth. The Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 opened up the floodgates of practical, if piecemeal, reform and the Act of 1867 allowed many more voters, who in turn stimulated further reforms. As in time past, Englishmen, feeling themselves free, worried less than other people about the new inequalities of personal wealth. Every class enjoyed to a varying degree the fruits of cheap industrial output and, as a result of free trade policies, all benefited from cheap imports of food. There was much injustice but, relative to the rest of the world, little bitterness until the close of the century.

While the foundations of this industrial and commercial supremacy were being laid, British sailors, traders and settlers were carrying overseas such forms of government as would soon give clear political leadership to Britain in many parts of the world. At the same time the great continents of North America and Asia were

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being developed; and in due course Americans, Germans and Russians would learn to emulate British industrial achievements. If in the late eighteenth century these peoples had scarcely begun to solve their problems of organization, they were well equipped with a number of West European ideas for their guidance, and already many of their actions sprang from European example.

2

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA

European Russia, from Poland to the Urals, is only a small part of the Russian empire, which stretches another 3000 miles beyond the Urals to the Pacific coast. Both territories were made Russian by the expansion of the Russian people from a small principality around Moscow—an area which in 1450 was no bigger than the British Isles. Thus today the Russian people make up only 114 million of the 203 million inhabitants of their political union and the vast land mass we call Russia has within its borders a tremendous range of climate, scenery, custom and language.

Despite the fact that Muscovy was almost untouched by the European Renaissance of the sixteenth century, European influences, at work over several centuries, have continually stimulated the Russians, without ever succeeding in making them fully European in thought and practice. Russians have never enjoyed the luxury of gradual change. The very size of the country has made it difficult for them to develop a settled community in the European sense. For centuries the Russians and their neighbours moved about the great spaces as semi-nomadic groups, so that the major problem of every Russian ruler has been to fix definite frontiers

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within which they could find their subjects. The great southern plains and the unending northern forests of silver birch, pine and fir have helped to make the Russian peasant the world's champion evader. Thus the need for organization has usually gone hand in hand with the desire for European improvements, and has made the lover of liberty despair of attaining any permanent success in Russia. This is the enigma which constantly reappears in Russian history.

THE RISE OF MUSCOVY

The original Russians were a mixture of races in which Slav, Norse and Tartar elements predominated. The Slavs, who settled in the region of Kiev, had been driven north of the Danube by the Romans: they brought their language, the basis of modern Russian. Years later, Norse sea-rovers, under their leader Rurik, established the town of Novgorod (862) and in due course, as they moved southwards, they conquered the Slavs and were called by them 'Rustsi' or pirates. So a Russian dynasty had begun.

When in 998 one of Rurik's descendants, Vladimir I, married a Christian princess from Constantinople, Russian links with south-east Europe were greatly strengthened, for through her the Russians were converted to the Greek Orthodox faith, and by the increased trade with Constantinople Kiev became a city of wealth and power. In 1068, however, Kiev was sacked by invading Mongolians and for a long and confused period the Russians were split into two main groups, some going into Poland and others into the Volga region. Nevertheless in 1147 Yuri Dolgoruky (son of Vladimir II, whose wife was a daughter of Harold of England) is said to have founded the township of Moscow, and there, within the wooden walls of the Kremlin, a new Russian court grew up.

In 1237 new dangers threatened, as Tartar horsemen, members of the Golden Horde of Jenghis Khan, swept into Russia, plundering, ravaging and spreading terror in every direction. Although too few to conquer, they managed for over two hundred years to extract tribute money—in skins, slaves and wives—from the outlying settlements. In return they transmitted in crude form the customs

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of far eastern civilizations. The flowing dress, the minarets and onion-shaped domes of buildings and the subjection of women found their way into Russian life.

Meanwhile Muscovy became the core of a local Russian resistance. Its rulers were given the task of collecting the Tartar tribute; so they grew stronger and began to attract settlers. Eventually, in the reigns of Ivan III (1462-1505) and Ivan IV (1544-84), Russia was delivered from the Tartar yoke.

Ivan III, by conquests which linked Novgorod and Moscow and which ranged as far north as the River Dvina, justly earned the title of Ivan the Great. His marriage in 1472 to Sophia, niece of the Byzantine emperor, also enabled his successors to use the title of Caesar (or Tsar), and it was he who first refused to pay the Tartar tribute.

His grandson, Ivan IV, known as Ivan the Terrible because of his spiteful cruelties, was even more successful; by his capture of Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556, the Tartars were pushed beyond the Urals and the Caspian Sea. Ivan also summoned the first elective national assembly and welcomed a trade mission led by the English explorer Chancellor. But his reign ended in wild confusion and, instead of reaching the Baltic coast as he had hoped, his kingdom was attacked soon after his death by Swedes and Poles, and in the recently conquered lands there were rebellious chieftains, no clearly marked frontiers and many other problems. The peasants could evade taxation or conscription by simply hiding in the forests, and even the regular cultivation of the soil was upset by the frequent large-scale migrations. Not only were the more adventurous border-peoples still nomadic by instinct, but all the Russians, it seems, retained a strong love of change.

To counter this movement, particularly in the frontier areas, and to give privileges to conquered chieftains, or boyars, the arrangement of serfdom was evolved. At first the noble merely had the task of providing taxes and recruits for the army. The land remained the property of the villagers, working their strips as a community. Later the noble became, in effect, the landlord owning the peasants and through them the land. A similar system, called feudalism, had grown up much earlier in Western Europe,

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but there it had acquired a code of mutual rights and duties which was not achieved in Russia until the nineteenth century.

The first laws relating to serfdom were made in 1581, but the laws thereafter were continually being tightened as bribes for the goodwill of the nobles. Proclamations were made that no labourer might marry nor leave his village without his lord's permission and, when necessary, man-hunts were organized to recover fugitives. A register was compiled of all the existing serfs, and to this were added the names of all their children as they were born. The general Code of Laws issued in 1649 not only forbade any movement from the village but allowed the landlord to inflict upon his serfs any punishment he chose—other than death. In consequence flogging by use of the knout was common. By such means the state of Muscovy obtained taxpayers, cultivators and officials. In the same way the rulers colonized new lands, sending out serfs and landowners to border areas to tame the soil and to act as a first line of defence against invaders. Some of these groups enjoyed the greater freedom obtained at a distance from Moscow and became semi-independent colonizers. Such were the Don Cossacks, some of whom ventured into Siberia in search of new land and adventure.

PETER THE GREAT AND A EUROPEAN STATE

By the end of the sixteenth century the old line of Rurik—the Varangian dynasty—had died out and in 1613, after a nobles' feud called the 'Time of Troubles', the Muscovite nobles chose one of their number, a certain Michael Romanov, to be Tsar. His descendants ruled Russia until the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Of all the Romanovs the greatest and the most terrible was Peter I whose effective rule was from 1689 to 1725. It was Peter who transformed Muscovy from a semi-oriental state into a European power whose foreign policy had to be taken seriously. His reforms were wild, haphazard and destructive, but they were never forgotten in Russia, and for the first time a Tsar's orders were obeyed after his death.

Peter had a rough and unhappy childhood but he grew into a giant of a man, 6 feet 9 inches in height, lusty, stout, tremendously curious, and violent in his enthusiasms. Such education as he had

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was gained from the taverns and dockyards of Moscow river, where he mixed with the adventurers and traders of every nation then resident in Moscow's foreign quarter. When he became Tsar in 1682 Peter resolved to seize power from his blind half-brother Ivan, and his sister, the Regent Sophia, so that he might enforce Western ideas on Russia. The family feud lasted several years, but at last, in 1689, Peter gained the ascendancy, and in 1695, on the death of Ivan, began his personal rule by ordering an attack upon the Turks, who then held Azov and most of the Black Sea coast. His ships, hastily constructed from unseasoned timbers, sprang leaks before Azov could be captured, so Peter sent young men abroad to study Western methods. In 1697 he followed to see for himself the practical wonders of the West.

On his Grand Tour of European capitals Peter absorbed a great deal of knowledge, trying his hand at everything from shipbuilding, printing and paper-making to doctoring and pulling teeth. All these he was to practise later in Russia. He also began the recruitment of a number of soldiers, doctors, engineers and boat-builders. His tour was cut short by a revolt of the Streltsi—the Moscow palace guard. Peter hurried home to execute every rebel he could lay his hands on, and to begin a series of drastic reforms, in the main inspired by his Western experiences.

He ordered every Russian noble to wear short coats as other Europeans did, and he banned beards. On his second day home he himself cut off beards in the streets: only later did he realize that a fine on offenders was more profitable than strict obedience. He required the simplification of the Russian alphabet, edited the first newspaper, ordered the use of Arabic numerals, and urged the printing of more books. Soon, all over Russia was heard the blows of mattocks and shovels as the construction of roads, ships and dockyards was begun. Peter was frequently in the midst of his labourers. 'What a Tsar!' exclaimed one peasant, 'he didn't eat his grub for nothing: he worked harder than any one of us.'

The main purpose of Peter's reforms was to wage war more effectively, for no sooner had he returned to Moscow than he called off the war with Turkey to begin a war with Sweden, then the strongest power in northern Europe. Peter wished to build an

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ice-free port on the eastern shores of the Baltic in Swedish territory, so with Denmark and Poland as allies he declared war in 1700. Almost at once the hurriedly equipped Russian levies were crushed at Narva. Fortunately the Swedish king, Charles XII, turned south, and his army was absorbed in the 'sponge of Poland': Peter obtained a breathing space during which he redoubled his efforts to modernize Russia.

The short war he had hoped for lasted twenty-one years. It was the spur to his ambition, the excuse for his haste. His armies were trebled by the conscription of serfs for periods of twenty-five years; nobles were forced to serve him as officers or administrators; ironworks were established in the Urals, and bayonets (the weapon of attack in large armies) were produced in great numbers; taxes were doubled and then trebled. Offers of high pay and special treatment, including freedom of religion, brought foreign craftsmen to serve him. 'Let them believe what they will, so long as they are good ironworkers', said Peter. There was a great deal of sabotage, tax-evasion and mismanagement; soldiers deserted and generals quarrelled, but Peter's hot zeal welded together an army to resist the Swedes when in 1709 they advanced again on Moscow.

They came by way of Poland in a great northward hook and in the marshes around Poltava they fell victims to the superior numbers and the new efficiency of the Russian army. Only Charles XII and a few hundreds escaped to Turkish soil. Peter, having survived bullets through his hat and saddle as he fought, could now write: 'The final stone has been laid of the foundation of St Petersburg.' This was the new town on the Baltic marshlands, where since 1703 many hundreds of his workmen had died from the cold, the Swedish raids and the wolves. 'If he lives long enough he'll make an end of all of us', grumbled the serfs. But at last, with Estonia, Latvia (Livonia) and Finland captured, Sweden sought a truce. The Peace of Nystadt (1721) secured for Peter the entire Baltic coastline from Riga to Viborg, and it was generally felt that a new power had risen in European affairs. St Petersburg, as Peter's new Western-style capital, was the symbol of Russia's new strength. It was 'a window through which his people might look into Europe'.

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Within Russia Peter tried to consolidate his reforms, but the opposition was considerable. The 'longbeards' and the priests of the Greek Orthodox Church, who resented Peter's interference in Church affairs, tried to use Peter's weak and shiftless son, Alexis, as a spearhead for complaint. Peter, anxious for a successor who would carry on his work, was furious and, at length, secured the death of Alexis. He could do little else to ensure the permanency of his work. His own death came suddenly in 1725 at the age of fifty-three as a result of a drinking bout.

The Russians heaved a sigh of relief. Popular woodcuts showed the mice burying the cat. Yet no one could forget him; like acid on metal, his personality burnt itself upon Russian memories. After his death, it is true, the nobles omitted to carry out their government service, the peasants caressed the old sickle instead of the new-fangled scythe, and industries of textiles, glass, china, brick and silk, which had thrived under Peter's breath, withered like hot-house plants in the open. But there remained St Petersburg and the Guards' officers, who revered Peter's memory and looked for a true successor. Germans and other foreigners continued to stream into Russia bringing Western ideas, while into Siberia there trailed settlers and traders in the wake of the explorers whom Peter had sent. Behring reached the Pacific straits, the Caspian Sea was encircled by traders and beyond the Urals appeared the brand new township of Omsk.

The consequences of Peter's reign were far-reaching. Not only had he founded a navy but he had also established a standing army of such a size that it became an instrument of future conquests. Russian foreign trade had more than trebled and its iron industry had become the greatest in the world. Above all, Peter had wrenched Russian heads to face the West and the sight was remembered.

THE EMPIRE OF CATHERINE II AND ITS ORGANIZATION

Between 1725 and 1762 Russia endured the rule of an uneducated girl, Catherine I, a mad boy, Peter II, and two lazy and extravagant women, Anne (1730-40) and Elizabeth (1741-62). They were followed by a mad soldier, Peter III. Little respect for such rulers

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was possible. Millions of Russian serfs lived in earthen hovels, while 'velvet gowns sewn with diamonds⁵ trailed 'through mud and blood' at Court. Elizabeth boasted 40,000 dresses and characteristically died with a glass of cherry brandy to her lips. Not until the Guards' officers secured the appointment of the wife of Peter III as empress in 1762 did the plots and the mismanagement cease.

The new empress, Catherine II (1762-96), was a handsome, buxom woman, highly intelligent, well read in French writers' ideas of personal liberty and a great admirer of the efforts of Peter the Great. She had, moreover, a strong will and several constructive ideas, particularly in matters of trade and foreign policy. Although at heart she was simply a good German housewife with a taste for improvements, she did much to set Russian nobles on the paths of culture. She loved fine houses and pictures and urged better medical care. She set a personal example by being herself inoculated against smallpox; she corresponded with enlightened Frenchmen, opened centres for agricultural research and encouraged the printing of books. Her motherly charm, which she exercised on many lovers, secured loyalty to her person and some support for her policies. Yet, lacking Peter's dynamic force, she was obliged to rule more by persuasion than by fear. Her principal successes were in foreign affairs.

Her main aim was to obtain greater personal authority by waging wars against Turkey. The Ukraine was occupied, the Crimea was finally annexed in 1783 and the earlier treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774) indicated that she regarded Constantinople as the eventual prize. By 1792 Russian armies had reached the Dniester. Catherine willingly participated in the three Partitions of Poland (in 1772, and in 1793 and 1795) and these brought the Russian frontier three hundred miles farther west to share a common frontier with Austria and Prussia. She also sent settlers eastwards into the region of the Volga.

In theory, the empire of Catherine stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from the Arctic to the Caspian, and from Brest-Litovsk to isolated settlements beyond the Urals. But in practice it stretched beyond her control; the rate of expansion was in excess of the growth of Russian nationalism or effective Russian coloniza-

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tion. The problem of organization was still inseparable from the problem of serfdom and this was unfortunate for Catherine because she genuinely wanted to free the peasants from 'the cruel yoke of serfdom'. Although she made improvements *in* the legal code she was unable to force her views on unwilling nobles. Often in order to win support for her other policies she sold Crown lands (together with her serfs) or made them over as gifts to her favourites. In fact, during her reign, the nobles acquired greater legal rights over their serfs, being able to send them to Siberia and to stop petitions to the empress. When, in consequence, a great serf rising occurred in 1773-5 on the eastern borders of Russia, Catherine once again permitted the sale of serfs by auction, having earlier banned it. She could do little to help since the 1773 rebellion, led by Pugachev, was quite terrifying. Kazan was taken by the rebels, and in the two years before order was restored several thousand landowners were killed or attacked. The memory of the rebellion made many nobles believe that strict serf discipline was indispensable if they were to enjoy orderly and well-fed lives in the lonely lands of Russia. A few acquired a 'pricking conscience' about serfdom, now that the empress had condemned the practice as an evil not in keeping with progressive Western ideas; others who went on the Grand Tour of Europe, with her encouragement, often returned speaking French and despising both the Russian language and the illiteracy of the Russian people. The serfs, for such as these, were 'the dark people', hideously barbaric and unfit even to stand near an educated noble. After all they were ill-dressed, and they stank. Some nobles sought escape from these inferior 'Russians' and either travelled abroad with their families or sought refuge at the court of the Tsarina in St Petersburg. In either case they continued to draw their wealth from their distant estates. Meanwhile serfs were exchanged for horses or greyhounds, or gambled away in a game of cards.

Altogether there were some nineteen and a half million private serfs in addition to the fourteen and a half million Crown serfs, but only 16 per cent of the landowners held more than a hundred serfs; 52 per cent owned between ten and a hundred, and 32 per cent owned less than ten. This estimate for the year 1777 suggests that the situation was not intolerable, and the horrors of serfdom can

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easily be exaggerated. As in the United States, where at this time many southern gentlemen treated their Negro slaves with consideration and even courtesy, so in Russia there were some country gentry who lived cultured and useful lives and dealt kindly with their family serfs; but a bad master could not easily be changed for a good one. While the family passport system (introduced by Peter in 1722) remained in force, escape was difficult. Hasty flight usually ended in slow starvation, or sudden death from wolves in the forest. Serf risings became a * grumbling appendix³ for Russian rulers in the nineteenth century, and the evil poisoned the whole nation.

THE TWO NATIONS: NOBLES AND SERFS

Tsar Alexander I (1801-25), the grandson of Catherine, personified to a great extent the growing split in Russia's soul. He spoke French and English better than Russian, yet he took pride in being the * Little Father' of his people, and was full of generous intentions and lucid plans to aid them. He was the Prince Charming of reformers, a fine actor, courteous and debonair, who gradually convinced himself he was reforming Russia by his presence. He did relatively little of permanent value. He abolished torture, he allowed—even encouraged—the Crown serfs to buy their freedom and seriously considered the creation of an elaborate elective government for Russia. Alexander, however, had little desire to give up any of his power, which was more absolute than that of any other European ruler at that time. There was no parliament to question his taxes, no powerful clergy to usurp the loyalty of his people, no free press to challenge his actions. His ministers were mere servants of his whim and fancy. He commanded great armies, which he ordered here and there to add to his dominions, and so Russia gained Georgia in 1801, Finland in 1808, Bessarabia in 1812 and eventually Poland in 1815. Russian armies, it is true, were defeated by Napoleon, but at Tilsit in 1807 the two emperors met on a raft and confidently divided the world in a treaty to last for ever. 'It would be difficult to have more intelligence', said Napoleon of Alexander, 'but there is a piece missing.' Within five years Napoleon had marched on Moscow.

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When Napoleon's armies entered Moscow in 1812 they found a burning shell of a town. The hollow victory turned to disaster as winter closed in upon them: the Russian weather and a new fierce Russian anger struck at the retreating columns with such effect that of the 610,000 soldiers who had entered Russia, not more than 20,000 ever fought again. Two years later Russian troops under Alexander marched into Paris. Cossacks slept by their horses in the Champs-Elysees and Russian soldiers—many of them conscripted serfs—saw with their own eyes the wonders of Western ways.

Certainly the Russians were jolted by the experience into a new sense of unity. For the first time a genuine Russian patriotism had sprung to the aid of the Tsar; nobles and serfs realized that they were fellow Russians under the skin. But the ideas of the hated Frenchmen—liberty, equality, fraternity—lodged as seeds in many a Russian heart to flower later. Young Russian officers, fresh from the cities of Europe, formed a 'Society of Salvation', and a book by Radischev, which commented on Western ideas and customs, spurred many more to call for reforms in Russia.

Alexander said: 'The flames of Moscow lit up my soul.' Yet the war hardened his heart and diverted his attention. The problems of war finance, military recruitment and then demobilization meant increased hardships for his subjects, and while he urged justice for Frenchmen at the Congress of Vienna and was acclaimed the Saviour of Europe in every capital but London, the claims of Russians to social justice were brushed aside. Soon the wiles of the Austrian statesman Metternich persuaded Alexander that Russian armies should stand ready to crush any groups that threatened to change the power of kings and princes. When he died the shadow of Russia was long over Europe, and his brother Nicholas I was to make that shadow quite terrifying to faint-hearted liberals everywhere.

Nicholas I (1825-55) was an honest conservative. He believed serfdom to be an evil which he dare not destroy. The power of the gentry, he said, was 'a watch-dog guarding the state'—'no army can replace the vigilance and influence which the landlord is continuously exercising in his estates'. Under his energetic will Russia became a great parade-ground for his soldiers, a vast barracks

The Two Nations: Nobles and Serfs

for his subjects. He allowed no excess of the landlord's rights, but the slightest whiff of liberty at home or abroad was treated as dangerous. The serfs' obedience, he believed, was like cattle grazing. A strange sound, a strange movement by one of them and the whole herd would stampede. ' Revolution stands on the threshold of Russia/ said the Tsar, ^CI swear it will never enter Russia while my breath lasts.⁵ A Polish rising in 1830 was crushed by him with great severity and practically all the former privileges enjoyed by the Poles were withdrawn. In 1830, and again in 1848, Russian aid was offered to kings deposed by revolution, and in 1849 a Russian army did, in fact, restore the rule of the Austrian emperor over the Hungarians. In Russia, the Third Section (or security police) strove to repress all liberal thoughts—even music and arithmetic textbooks were censored for codes—and the lightest word of complaint might send a man to Siberia.

Yet the Tsar's power was not in practice absolute. His officials muddled their tasks or tried to exceed what was practicable. While serf risings rose to an average of over forty a year, many critics adopted desperate remedies. Russian writers succeeded in ridiculing in novels and plays the absurdities and the injustices of the government. Above all, Gogol's *Dead Souls*, in 1835, did much to spread horror at the continuance of serfdom in Russia; and when Nicholas's foreign policy resulted in the administrative muddle and military failures of the Crimean War (1854-6) many people were not slow to point out how free men fought better than serfs.

A handful of intelligent men did not make a political party, but on every side—Slavophiles or Westernizers, lovers of the pageantry of old Russia or admirers of Western liberty, all alike rejected official Russia and began to look for a dramatic release from the excess of government. In the towns, especially, where metal-workers, cotton-spinners and workers in the sugar refineries were experiencing for the first time the freedom and the horrors of factory life, unrest grew daily. Railways took agitators from place to place and everybody whispered against the government.

The Russian Enigma (to 1903)

REFORMERS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

When Alexander II (1855-81) came to the throne he dimly realized that if Russia was to continue to compete with the Western powers industry must be expanded. This meant allowing greater freedom of movement to attract factory workers. The old method of organizing Russia by serfdom was out of date. He recognized that the Crimean War was lost and turned his attention to reforming the Russian government. He tried to be conservative, but sensible. 'It is better to abolish serfdom from above', he told an assembly of Russian nobles, 'than to wait until it begins to abolish itself from below.'

The question was, could he strike a bargain with 250,000 nobles and at the same time ensure the orderly behaviour of millions of serfs? Alexander was aware of the difficulties, yet he was more optimistic of the outcome than perhaps was warranted. The great Edict of Emancipation, prepared by two able men, Rostovtsev and Milyutin, was issued in 1861. Some forty million serfs were released from all duties to their noble landlords. To restrain their movement great areas of land were allotted to their use. For this land they were to pay a sum of money over the years to the government, who had compensated the former owners. About half of the purchased land was not transferred to individual peasants, but instead was put into the hands of the old village community, called the Mir, which was also to be responsible for regular mortgage payments. In all, 85 per cent of the serfs took advantage of the offer of land. The rest became labourers or moved into the towns. Thus far the emancipation seemed successful, but soon the wild expectations of the serfs turned sour as they realized their new difficulties as peasants. In the first place, they resented the payments to the government. The land had often been overvalued and the rate of payment, although spread over forty-nine years, was thought an unjust burden, especially as the peasants, through the Mir, still paid the usual heavy taxes to the Tsar's government. Secondly, although any peasant could buy, with money or labour, enough land to support himself and so become free of the dull-witted majority who ran the Mir, those who did so found their freedom much

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restricted. They had the right to marry whom they pleased, to go to law, to own property; but they were still bound by the local passport (now handled by the Mir) and there were other legal handicaps which showed they were regarded as lesser citizens; for example, only peasants were required to suffer corporal punishment. Furthermore, the majority found that, with the growth of population and the constant subdivision of land, independent farming was a precarious venture. The average family holding was perhaps equivalent to thirty English acres and for a kulak without adequate capital or knowledge this could mean starvation. No wonder they looked with jealous eyes upon the still large estates of the gentry, whom they now regarded as possessors of 'stolen' land.

The nomadic instinct of the Russian family tended to reassert itself in these circumstances. In the past, nobles had taken serfs perhaps four hundred miles to develop new estates. Now wholesale migrations to new areas took place in a more haphazard fashion by train. Some Russians began the practice of working half the year in town and half the year in their village. This restless—even idle—mood was a hot-house for aimless revolutionary ideas. A few were attracted by the more sober ideas of the Narodniks who urged collective farming of all the land of Russia by the peasants. But many embraced the views of the anarchists and the nihilists who violently opposed all forms of government. The gulf between nobles and peasants, in fact, widened after emancipation and, as the towns swelled in number and size, a much sharper sense of class-consciousness was felt. The Tsar-Emancipator was, after all, a noble. Down with the Tsar! In 1866 a student shot at Alexander and the echo sounded all over Russia.

It was not the Tsar's fault that emancipation had come too late. For success it demanded a continuing policy of imaginative reform, and this proved beyond the ability of the Tsar and his advisers. Too little was created to take the place of the old landlord. From 1864 local elected councils, called Zemstvas, had been organized to supervise the repair of roads and bridges and to administer poor relief and education; but progress was slow. New law-courts tried to make all trials public, with a jury, but police actions were apt to jump the courts. Liberal-minded Russian gentry looked for

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an Imperial parliament to focus the aims of the reformers and to steady the impatient. But it did not come.

Russians, instead of being two nations of nobles and serfs, now splintered into five overlapping groups. There were those who urged the Tsar to continue his reforms, and to act as a 'father' to all Slavs at home or abroad, there were those who urged the Tsar to copy the West and grant a parliament. There were also two revolutionary groups, the anarchist-nihilists who argued for less government with no taxation and no conscription, and the radical socialists who urged the sharing out of land and the control of factories and workshops. Finally there was a broad grumbling mass of peasantry.

Into this Russian cauldron of unrest, a powerful Western catalyst was dropped. This was the doctrine of Karl Marx, a German Jew who had studied English history in London. In 1872 his book *Das Kapital* written ten years earlier, appeared in a Russian translation. Marx argued that the economic organization of a country determined its political organization. He stated that as surely as capitalism had burst the framework of feudalism, so socialism (or communism) would break the fetters of capitalism. The proletariat would rise in rebellion and create a classless or communistic society, founded on complete equality. These ideas cut right across the divisions of Russian thinkers, appealing to elements from each group, but essentially they found most favour among the factory workers in the towns and there a Marxist movement began, working for the overthrow of the Tsar's government and the establishment of socialism.

Meanwhile Alexander was surviving numerous attempts on his life. Newspapers and periodicals were once more censored, student activities were restricted and Alexander grew more and more baffled and disappointed by the failure of his reforms. When in 1880 his dining-room was blown up by a bomb, he resolved on further bold strokes. The press was again freed, and the Zemstvas were allowed to send advisers to the central government. But in 1881 another bomb killed him and the whole weight of government repression returned.

Alexander III (1881-94) was determined to check terrorism.

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A man powerful in physique and brutal in manner, he reimposed a strict censorship, executed all known terrorists and exiled suspects in droves to Siberia. Many thousands suffered cruelly for their opposition. There seemed no hope of change. Yet this interlude of strong, unimaginative government glowed with musical, literary and industrial achievements. Mussorgsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov and Tchaikovsky among musicians, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky among the writers, continued to add to the world's cultural store. Meanwhile, encouraged by the state, an industrial revolution was taking place, and a Russian empire was emerging in Asia.

Partly by expansion of territory and partly by natural increase, the population rose from fifty million in 1860 to seventy-nine million in 1897. In less than a dozen years (1888-1900) iron production was multiplied six hundred times, almost to the British level, while huge state-owned factories, often with thousands of workers, swelled the towns. Abroad Russian policy swung towards an open alliance with France (1895),^a a friendship which produced loans totalling over 5000 million francs between 1888 and 1896. The construction of railways was accelerated thereby and work began on a Trans-Siberian Railway to link the new lands of the Russian empire with the capital.

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The closing years of the nineteenth century saw the culmination of Russian expansion to the Himalayas and to the Pacific Ocean. Much of this was dictated by the hard and unchanging facts of physical geography. With no natural barriers except the low Urals and the Caucasus, Russia was open to invasion over a vast expanse of windswept plain from both east and west. Only by continual pressure outwards could Russians feel secure.

For many years Russia's supreme object had been to reach a sea not closed to her by ice. The obvious door was through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean. Tsar Nicholas I had once hoped to persuade the Western powers to agree to a partition of Turkey which would give Russia control over these straits.

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Failing in this, he was, none the less, successful in securing at the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in 1833 the exclusive right to send warships through the straits. In 1841 Palmerston contrived the cancellation of this privilege, and when in 1853 Nicholas attacked Turkey, ostensibly in support of Russian religious privileges, Britain and France tried to make Russia stay out of the Balkans by attacking the Crimea. By the subsequent Treaty of Paris, Russia was obliged to remove her warships from the Black Sea.

Temporarily prevented from playing an active role in the south—her warships crept back in 1870—Russia's attention wandered eastwards, where the conquest of Central Asia and Turkestan made a warm-water port in the Persian Gulf a not-too-remote possibility. Much of the Russian advance in this direction was dictated by the need to defend outlying Russian settlements or to protect Russian trade caravans from raiding tribesmen. Thus punitive expeditions against the Bashkirs, the Kazakhs and the Jungarians, although often undertaken without Tsarist approval, led to further claims and to new defence commitments. Kazakhstan had come under Russia by 1855 but the river Syr Darya, which flows into the Aral Sea, was no effective frontier, and so in the next twenty years a further advance was made to Tashkent (1864) and then to Samarkand (1868).

Although in 1865 Turkestan was declared a frontier province and Bukhara and Khiva remained quasi-independent, the British administrators in India were much alarmed by Russian nearness to Afghanistan and the Himalayan passes. In days before the aeroplane the British fears may seem at first sight premature, especially as Russian rule was both orderly and liberal to the tribesmen, but fear of Russian power was not confined to any one area. This was seen in 1877, when Russia again intervened in the Balkans.

The old Russian sympathy for the Bulgarians in revolt against Turkey, as well as her recurring ambition to reach the Mediterranean, caused Tsar Alexander II to go to war once more with the Turks. Before the European powers could do more than protest, Constantinople was threatened by Russian armies sweeping through Bulgaria, and the Treaty of San Stefano was made with Turkey, which arranged for an independent Bulgaria to extend from the

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Danube to the Aegean. However, at a Congress of Powers in Berlin in 1878, Russia was persuaded to abandon this treaty. Instead she had to rest content with a smaller independent Bulgaria, which allowed no Russian access overland to the Mediterranean.

Checked once more in the Balkans, Russian eyes returned to Central Asia. There, between 1878 and 1907, Russian frontier posts haphazardly advanced till they were face to face with the Persians and the Afghans. Russian agents had earlier been active in Afghanistan. Now British attempts to keep the friendship of the Amir required the backing of more than one expeditionary force until eventually, under Amir Abdur Rahman, a strong ruler friendly to Britain, Afghanistan proved an effective buffer state between the two suspicious powers.

When in 1895 Russia annexed the Pamirs her frontier was separated from North-west India by only a few miles of Himalayan snow. But by then events in Europe, as well as Himalayan geography, urged Britain and Russia to an understanding, and in 1907 an Anglo-Russian Entente established a mutually acceptable frontier.

Meanwhile, a remarkable Russian soldier-adventurer, General Muraviev, had laid the foundations of a Russian advance in the Far East. Appointed Governor-General of Eastern Siberia in 1847, Muraviev established Nikolayevsk at the mouth of the Amur in 1850, and then obtained further land from China which enabled Vladivostok to be founded in 1860. This pioneering work of Russian armies was fitfully consolidated by forced emigration and intermittent trade.

Far more effective development was made possible by the construction of more railways. Already main lines radiated from Moscow linking the main cities of European Russia with the old capital. Now, between 1885 and 1898, a line was constructed through the newly gained lands east of the Caspian, to link Merv, Samarkhand and Tashkent, before swinging back to Moscow. But the most dramatic achievement was the completion in 1902 of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Long projected, the work had begun in 1891 and had then been pushed on with tireless energy till 5542 miles of track connected St Petersburg with Vladivostok.

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Still more was planned, for prominent in the direction of such economic development was the Tsar's most intelligent minister. Count Witte. A former station-master, he was appointed Minister of Communications in 1891, was Minister of Finance from 1892 to 1903 and was reappointed to this office for 1905-6. Witte firmly believed that the huge expanse of Russia needed a strong and efficient government, backed by improved communications, to make its peoples prosperous and happy. Unfortunately, his new master, Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917), failed to appreciate his qualities; Witte's enemies at Court sneered at his coarse habits and humble birth, and persuaded the Tsar to dismiss him.

In 1903 Russia was the largest land-empire in the world. Its natural resources of men and material were great, but its peoples were divided. The rulers could not command the wealth of the country because they had neither the co-operation of the intellectuals nor the support of the peasants. The nobles were divided between those who favoured an Eastern autocratic empire and those who desired a Western parliament. And, despite Witte's promptings, the Tsar lacked the strength to be a benevolent despot. The vast empire was reaching out towards Asia, yet its inspiration was still drawn from European thinkers. Only its writers, dancers and musicians bridged the gap between East and West and between nobleman and peasant.

To most contemporary observers in Europe the Russian empire seemed in 1903 a great Asian land-mass, barbaric in customs, autocratic in government, and unlikely to progress. It was a large but slow steam-roller, an inhuman monstrosity, or at best a bear that showed great cunning and equally great stupidity. It needed to be watched, but otherwise was of little interest to the Western world. The colonization of North America was of far greater significance. There European peoples espied prospects which could not be ignored.

Few could have prophesied that within a few years an unexpected defeat by Japan in the war of 1904-5 would open up floodgates of revolution which would have far-reaching consequences not only upon Russia but upon the rest of the world.

3

THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES

Spanish adventurers who crossed the Atlantic in the wake of Columbus had found in Central and South America the precious metals which they sought. Year by year, as the treasure ships took their cargoes to Europe, Spanish merchants and settlers rested content in the sun. The old Spanish vigour for conquest and converts declined and the less obvious agricultural wealth was neglected.

By contrast, the continent of North America seemed at first raw and forbidding to European sailors. Yet it was splendidly equipped by Nature as a home for energetic men. The mountains, forests and plains were all on a grandiose scale, set in a climate burning hot in summer and fiercely cold in winter. The planting of colonies in such a continent was certainly^c no holiday task \ But the forests of the eastern seaboard proved to be a treasure-house of great variety. Fruit, nuts and berries grew in abundance, the rivers teemed with fish; flocks of geese, turkey and small game roamed in the undergrowth, and countless deer provided ready meat for the hungry settler. Water was plentiful, timber for fuel and building was never lacking; peas, beans, corn and pumpkin were easily cultivated; when, later, sheep, goats and cows were brought over from Europe they thrive wonderfully in the new land.

^c 'Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for men's habitation' wrote John Smith, founder of the first successful colony. Yet even he could not guess that this colony of Virginia was to be the advance-guard of an astonishing tide of immigration—one of the greatest folk-wanderings in history—which was to turn the forest and the plain into the industrial might of the modern U. S. A. Out of the North American wilderness was built a new and lively nation, used to change, and thus well-equipped to lead a world in flux.

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THE ENGLISH COLONIES

English settlement in North America began on a May morning in 1607 when three storm-beaten ships, led by Captain Christopher Newport in the *Susan Constant*, anchored near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. Once ashore the men found 'fair meadows and goodly tall trees % strawberries, 'four times better and bigger than ours in England', oysters, 'very large and delicate in taste'; they found turkey nests, richly coloured birds and much small game; they built a fort, a storehouse, a church and a row of little huts that made up 'Jamestown'³.

The first years were difficult. Strange and cruel diseases, such as 'swellings, fluxes and burning fevers', seized many of the colonists. Some died of famine. Others lost hope. Indeed all might have perished but for the iron discipline and resourcefulness of Captain John Smith who promoted agriculture and managed to establish friendly relations with the Indians, when they came^c creeping on all fours, like bears, with their bows in their mouths \

It was fortunate for these Virginians and the later settlers that the Red Indians, although often cruel and treacherous, were too few and backward to do more than harass and delay colonization. The Indians west of the Mississippi probably numbered less than 200,000 (the size of an English county today) and there were certainly less than 500,000 in the whole continent north of Mexico. Armed only with the bow and arrow, the tomahawk and the war club, and ignorant of all military arts, save the ambush, they were ordinarily no match for vigilant groups of settlers, and since they were only loosely organized beyond the family, one tribe could easily be turned against another. Only the Iroquois of the eastern forests, the Creek Indians of the south-west, and the Sioux on the plains of the north-west had any permanent organization. These at first seemed unaware of the white invasion.

By 1619 Virginia had 2000 men. Tobacco was being grown, which found such a ready market in London that even the market-place of Jamestown was planted with it. The year 1619 was specially notable for the arrival of a ship from England with ninety 'young maidens', who were to be given as wives to those men who would

The English Colonies

pay 120 pounds of tobacco for their transportation. This cargo was so joyously welcomed that others like it were soon sent over.

The success of Virginia reached the ears of several groups in Europe; among these was a group of English Calvinists, who for their religious beliefs had suffered persecution in England. They had already moved from East Anglia to Holland, but now in 1620, attracted by the free air of America and by the prospect of self-government, they made plans to move to the New World. Late in 1620 they sailed from Plymouth in two ships bound for Virginia. Off Land's End the larger ship had to turn back, so 102 of these pilgrims, including women and children, were crammed into the smaller *Mayflower*. After six months⁵ tossing on the Atlantic waves they landed far to the north, on the coast of Massachusetts at Cape God (near the site of modern Boston).

That winter more than half their number died of cold and scurvy. A survivor wrote on 24 March 1621, 'in three months past, dies half our company.. .so as there die sometimes two or three in a day... the living scarce able to bury the dead, the well not sufficient to tend the sick. But the spring advancing, it pleases God, the mortality begins to cease, and the sick and lame recover.'⁵ That summer they raised good crops and, under pious, shrewd leaders such as William Bradford, were soon able to deal with the Indians and other difficulties. In the fall more settlers arrived and soon their territory spread along the coasts of New England, rivalling in prosperity the colony of Virginia.

From the parent hives of England now came forth more swarms of settlers. In 1629, for example, no less than 400 settlers and 200 head of catde left London wharves for America. In 1630 came 900 more settlers to found eight new towns, including Boston. Careful planning and management by specially chartered companies led the way, but soon well-to-do emigrants began to finance their own transportation. New Hampshire, Maine, Maryland and the Carolinas, New Jersey and Pennsylvania all originally belonged to gentlemen proprietors granted land in America by the king. Charles I, for instance, granted Lord Baltimore seven million acres of Maryland, where Catholic gentlemen and Protestant commonfolk could mingle peacefully as settlers. To William Penn,

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in 1681, was granted Pennsylvania as a home for his Quaker friends and into Philadelphia, his 'city of brotherly love'⁵, came Swedish and German religious refugees at Penn's invitation.

Meanwhile other nations besides England sought out territories in North America. Quebec was founded by the French in 1608 and later in the century La Salle navigated a course from the Great Lakes down the Mississippi to New Orleans. The Dutch laboriously built up a settlement at the mouth of the Hudson River only to surrender it, with their base called New Amsterdam, to English warships in 1664. The English admiral, the Duke of York (later James II) renamed the town New York.

By 1700 there were some 260,000 British in North America, as against 160,000 Spaniards in the south, and 13,000 Frenchmen, chiefly to be found along the St Lawrence. British colonial supremacy had begun. The independent religious spirit and the hard work of the English emigrants had set the pace. Now came more Irish, Scots, Germans, Swiss and Frenchmen. For the most part they adopted the English language, law, customs, and modes of thought. But by 1750 a new man was emerging from this blend, the American, a creature cut off from the birthplace of his race and adapting himself to situations peculiar to America.

THE AMERICANS: A NEW PEOPLE

In 1750, by direct settlement, by off-shoots from earlier colonies, and by rising populations everywhere, there were above a million people in the thirteen separate English colonies. These colonies fell into three or four well-defined sections: the New England area, the Middle colonies, the Southerners, and the men of the 'back country' in the foot-hills of the Appalachians.

New England, full of zealous churchmen, assumed moral leadership. It was certainly the most well-knit colony, full of stubborn characteristics. The New England of the years 1674-1729 is well reflected in the diary of Samuel Sewall, an old-fashioned Puritan who became chief justice. In this we can see the little town of Boston, solidly built on its neck of land, and the harbour crowded with shipping. We hear the watchman call the hours; we

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see the citizens gathering in groups to discuss nominations for the council, or streaming to their favourite amusement, a funeral. We feel the shudder that runs through the town when news comes of pirates on the coast or of Count Frontenac ready to descend upon New England with his French and Indian forces. We read how smallpox runs over the town, and how childbirths yet manage to keep pace with deaths. We look with disfavour at the redcoats and hear with horror that the royal governor has given a ball that lasted till three in the morning.

We see the constable breaking up games of ninepin on Beacon Hill and accompanying the magistrate on Saturday at sundown, riding through the streets ordering shop shutters to be put up ready for Sunday, which was kept strictly free from games and travel, a day when even a knot of men talking in the street might be arrested. It was a community where preachers would paint word-pictures of sinners writhing in the torments of hellfire, where each night all good men would 'sweeten their mouth' with a passage of the stern Calvin or some Old Testament prophet.

In the Middle colonies society was more cosmopolitan and more tolerant than in New England. Pennsylvania set an example of religious toleration and international goodwill that embraced even the Indians. Philadelphia with 30,000 inhabitants was soon the largest town in the colonies, its substantial brick and stone houses in broad tree-shaded streets making for quiet elegance and substantial living. New York was, from the first, a polyglot concentration of people, maintaining close ties with Europe and boasting of clubs and concerts, pleasure gardens, coffee houses^ balls and private theatricals. A New York funeral sometimes cost several thousand dollars; and wealthy people at all times strove to dress in the latest London mode, with silks and velvets, small swords and powdered wigs. A large sprinkling of Negroes added to the colour of life in New York and already along the Hudson could be heard a dozen languages other than English.

Many of the immigrants moved inland on arrival. Among them the Germans, in particular, made good settlers, becoming prosperous farmers in Pennsylvania and developing cottage industries such as weaving, shoemaking and cabinet-making. They contrasted

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strangely with the Scots and the Irish who were also bursting in through the gateway of New York. Bringing a quick tongue, well able to quote biblical texts, and with a quicker temper to defend their interests, these pushed on into the wilderness, pressing back the Indians and keeping, as the saying went, the Sabbath—and everything else they could lay their hands on. There was plenty of trouble in the western hills and valleys.

The southern colonies were distinguished by three features. They were almost exclusively rural, with Charleston and Baltimore the only towns of even slight importance; numerous Negro slaves ministered to the planters' needs; and throughout the south a sharp stratification of classes was quite evident to the visitor. Well-to-do tobacco planters lived in imposing mansions where the mahogany furniture, family portraits and heavy silver services suggested all the luxuries of the English upper classes. In many homes, the presence of a fine library even added a touch of wide culture. There were also lesser farmers and planters, and beneath these a strata of 'poor whites': convicts, released debtors and ne'er-do-wells of all kinds, whose laziness grew worse with poor diet and the effects of hookworm in the enervating climate of the south.

Most distinctive of all were the Negro slaves, who made up about half the population. Slave traders brought their wares from west Africa for sale in America and in open markets young Negroes fetched up to £40, while elsewhere batches were bartered for tobacco, rice and indigo. Life in this new environment was probably less precarious for the Negroes than in their old African villages, but much was lost. As the fires flickered at night among the Negro quarters along the banks of the creeks beyond the estate buildings, their folk music became a familiar sound in the south, and by day their slave labours came to be regarded as an indispensable feature of southern life.

The fourth great section, the border or back country, stretched from the ragged forest clearings of the Mohawk Valley down along the eastern fringes of the Alleghenies, on through the Shenandoah Valley and into the rough Piedmont area of the Carolinas.

Here lived a rude, simple, and intrepid people, who were purely American in outlook. Buying cheap land at a shilling or two an acre, or taking it

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by 'tomahawk claim', they cleared tracts in the wilderness, burned the brush, and planted corn and wheat among the stumps. They built rude cabins of hickory, walnut, or persimmon logs, notching the timbers into each other at the four corners, chinking the crevices with clay, laying a puncheon floor, and making window-panes of paper soaked in lard or bear's-grease. The men dressed in homespun hunting-shirts and deerskin leggings, the women in fabrics made on the spinning-wheel and loom set up in every home. They pegged their chairs and tables together from wooden slabs; they ground their meal in home-made block mortars; they ate with pewter spoons from pine trenchers; they went barefoot or wore skin moccasins. Their food was hog-and-hominy, with roast venison, wild turkeys or partridges, and fish from the nearest stream. For defence against Indians the scattered settlers built a fort at some central spring, with bullet-proof block-houses and stockade. They had their own exuberant amusements—merry barbecues at political rallies, where oxen were roasted whole; the 'infare'⁵ or house-warming of newly married couples, with dancing and drinking; shooting-matches, quilting-bees, and balls with the Virginia Reel. As in the wilder parts of Scotland and Ireland, feuds and sporadic fighting furnished much excitement. On the Pennsylvania border the Scotch-Irish and Germans waged vindictive combats. In Virginia and the Carolinas personal encounters knew no rules, and 'gouging' matches made men who had lost an eye no uncommon sight. All border dwellers regarded the Indians with enmity; some tribes were friendly, but in general the settlers waged constant war with the wilderness and the red man, and were thus trained to alertness, hardiness, and clannish solidarity.*

If a land of hardship, the back country was also a land of natural enchantment. William Byrd describes the sweet grapes, both black and white, twining all over the trees, the multitude of pigeon clouding the sky, the fat bears swimming clumsily across the rivers, the rich forests of oak and hickory, and the distant peaks at sunset. He tells of the thrill of coming upon an Indian encampment, the grave dignified demeanour of the braves and bashful comeliness of the copper-coloured maidens^c neither very chaste nor very clean'. These were the frontier days of Daniel Boone and of James Adair, who followed the Indian trails, but it was the sturdy pioneer farmers who widened the belts of settlement and civilization as they moved steadily west.

* A. Nevins and H. S. Commager: *America: The Story of a Free People* (Oxford, 1942)3 p. 42.

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While the western pioneer was forging his new experiences into an American character the more favoured eastern communities were refashioning the classical education of Europe into a practical American culture. Although the colleges at Harvard and Yale continued to provide a classical education scarcely surpassed by the best European universities, newspapers and books gave special prominence to new work in botany, medicine and practical mathematics. Practical politics also flourished and the sober citizens of the seaboard towns shared in some degree the self-reliance of the frontiersmen. By 1750 there were two ideas commonly held in every colony. One was a growing belief that all men were roughly equal, and the other was a growing conviction that a special destiny awaited the men of America. Such was their exuberant self-confidence that European restraints were increasingly disregarded.

Only one factor made for caution. That was the presence of Frenchmen in Canada and in the upper reaches of the Mississippi. Spanish settlement in the south-west could be brushed aside, but the French forces were too strong to be ignored. Suddenly in 1740 Frederick of Prussia invaded Silesia, an outlying province of the Austrian lands in Europe. This action, according to the historian Macaulay, led to black men fighting black men in India and Redskins scalping each other on the shores of the Great Lakes. Certainly, whatever the results in Europe or India, this event in Europe had important repercussions in America. In the years 1740 to 1763 the colonists gave half-hearted support to the British in their struggle with the French in North America. This co-operation did little to increase mutual admiration. British officers, including Wolfe, showed scant respect for the colonists as soldiers, and the Americans scoffed even more at examples of British foolhardiness in attacking the Indian outposts of the French. Colonel George Washington's part in extracting the scarlet uniformed victims of General Braddock's army from an Indian ambush in 1756 was long believed to be typical of the out-of-date tactics of the British and proof of the resolute qualities of the Americans.

Eventually, thanks to the planning and inspiration of Chatham, the completely successful naval blockade of France, and the skill of Generals Amherst and Wolfe, the French forces in North

The Americans: a New People

America surrendered. Canada became British in 1763 and the Ohio Valley was cleared of French fur traders. The stage was set for American independence and expansion.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The British government after the war lacked the imagination to realize American needs. Thus a royal proclamation in 1763 forbade any westward expansion of the pioneer farmers. Mindful of the fur trade and genuinely anxious that the Indians should not be provoked into bloody and expensive frontier wars, the British ministers foresaw no difficulty. Yet they were never able to enforce their policy and American indignation turned rapidly to contempt for British weakness.

The underlying reason why many Americans wanted to become independent of British government in the late eighteenth century was impatience. The Americans grew tired of waiting for important decisions to be made in England on matters affecting their immediate needs. For example, if soldiers were needed to protect outlying settlers against a threatened Indian raid it was exasperating to have to seek permission from Westminster. Yet the sanction of the royal governor was necessary for such an action and he might require confirmation from the minister in England. Since in those days it took anything from six to ten weeks for a letter to reach London, and from there it was frequently sent on to a country estate, a satisfactory reply (if obtained) might well arrive in the colonies after the Indians had struck.

Few would admit the benefit of British protection in these circumstances, and when the British government, in order to pay for the recent wars, sought new means of revenue from the colonists and tightened up the customs regulations, there were many complaints. There seemed every excuse for non-payment. The free traders of American ports had for long expected the revenue man to turn a blind eye to their smuggling and when an Act against smuggling in 1763 was followed by the Sugar Act of 1764 even reasonable men felt that to increase the duties as well as to enforce the old ones was an unfair restriction on their normal trading.

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The advantages of freedom from England grew clearer each day. While young men in Boston showed their wilder feelings by tarring and feathering unpopular revenue officials, planters in the south quietly contemplated the non-payment of interest on the mounting debts they had incurred with British merchants in London. Independence would mean the removal of a £2 million debt. The British government soon played into the hands of the agitators with another measure. The Stamp Act of 1765 was merely an extension to America of a practice long established in England—it involved a stamp tax on newspapers and on the purchase of property—but it annoyed just those people, lawyers, publishers, and the like—who could read and write, to whom Sam Adams now appealed for evidence of British injustice. Another 'rebel', Patrick Henry, called for 'no taxation without representation'⁵. This slogan greatly aided Adams' campaign to organize the defeat of the Stamp Act.

The day the Act went into effect stamps were burnt in the streets, bells were tolled, shops were closed, flags were hung at half-mast and newspapers printed death-heads where the stamps should have been affixed. Amid mounting excitement the Act was withdrawn (in 1766) and this success of the 'rebels' encouraged further activities, especially as there followed in 1767-70 more unpopular Acts by the British government, notably new duties on tea, glass, paper and paint, and the use of general search-warrants. Wilkes in London fought with such spirit against similar warrants that he became an American hero.

The * radical' or 'patriotic' element grew bolder and more extravagant. In Boston the jeering and baiting of the British 'lobster backs' as they guarded the customs house, reached a violent climax when on 5 March 1770 snowballing turned into a mob attack. Largely in self-defence, shots were fired and three Bostonians fell dead in the snow. This incident was promptly transformed by the colonial agitators into 'The Boston Massacre' and was solemnly celebrated each succeeding year.

Sam Adams used this and every group grievance to win adherents to the patriotic cause. Adams was indeed the maker of independence. It was he who fanned the flame of discontent, who linked isolated complaints into a chain of alleged slavery, who

The Declaration of Independence

taught the plain people of America to become aware of their own importance. The 'Committee of Correspondence'⁵ founded in Boston by Adams in 1772., and imitated in nearly every colony, became the main weapon of the patriots in their fight against high-handed authority, monopoly trading and remote control. Many of his correspondents were educated men with a lively sense of political argument, yet it was a calculated act of violence by Adams, which did most to rouse anger on either side of the Atlantic.

In 1773 the British government granted the East India Company the monopoly privilege of selling its tea in the colonies well under normal 'smuggled' selling price. Despite various protests the royal governor of Boston upheld this right, so Sam Adams decided upon defiance. On the night of 16 December 1773 a band of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, led by Adams himself, boarded three ships of the company as they lay in Boston harbour and emptied £18,000 worth of tea into the water. Opinion in England almost unanimously condemned this 'Boston Tea Party' as an act of vandalism. Boston was ordered to close its harbour until the culprits were punished and the tea was paid for, and a series of laws practically put an end to Boston's independent government.

There was widespread colonial support for the people of Boston, especially as the British government continued to act with little reference to moderate opinion in the colonies. By September 1774 colonial representatives assembled at Philadelphia in the first Continental Congress to consider^c the unhappy state of the colonies': Resolutions were passed, urging the cessation of all trading with Britain and declaring that any force used against Boston would be met with resistance. It was not too late for a reconciliation, but Sam Adams, estimating that one-third of the colonists were still loyal to King George and only one-third patriotically rebel, knew he must go forward. At the same time the British government, ignoring the advice of Burke to forget its dignity, was determined that its authority must be maintained.

In April 1775 a practical test of British authority was dutifully made by General Gage, in command at Boston. Powder and weapons were being collected illegally in the New England countryside. So on 18 April 1775 he sent men to seize these

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military stores and to arrest Sam Adams and John Hancock for dispatch to England to stand trial for their lives. Eight hundred redcoats, marching towards the little town of Concord, found their way barred by fifty armed colonists lined up across the common at Lexington. In the early morning mist cries of defiance and counter-orders produced a shot, followed by firing all along the line. The king's men pushed on to Concord and burnt the stores, but the neighbourhood was roused and in the retreat to Boston, 'You know the rest, in the books you have read how the British redcoats fired and fled'. At Concord, as Emerson wrote later, was 'fired the shot heard round the world'. Sam Adams, that morning, as he heard the rattling of guns, exclaimed 'What a glorious morning this is!'

Warfare does not permit neutrals. Passions of revenge and elation swept the colonies and at the second Continental Congress at Philadelphia in May 1775 there rang out the declaration: 'Our cause is just, our union is perfect.' The moderate views and strong character of Colonel George Washington, who was appointed Commander in Chief of the militia, did much to justify the boast. There were some, including Washington himself, who still believed in the possibility of reconciliation but as the months went by, with Americans assuming more and more the work of government, radical propagandists, such as Tom Paine in the pamphlet *Common Sense*, urged the doubters to claim independence. Soon continental delegates appointed Thomas Jefferson and others to set forth the 'causes which compelled them to this mighty resolution'.

On 4 July 1776 the Declaration of Independence was adopted. It listed the causes for their revolt and then proclaimed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments [derive] their just powers from the consent of the governed.' As a trumpet call to the future these words came to mean a great deal.

After six years of warfare the British conceded victory and independence to the colonists. The skill of Washington in holding together a raw and homesick army in the face of casual British

The Declaration of Independence

generalship was the foundation of this American success, but the bluff diplomacy of Benjamin Franklin in Paris, especially after the Battle of Saratoga, brought invaluable French aid in the shape of supplies and volunteer soldiers. By the time the peace treaty was signed in Versailles in 1783 Americans treasured memories of local valour and had coined a distrust of all things British which lasted for nearly a century. To the rest of the world they had provided another example of a successful revolt against authority, and to many they gave a new hope that liberty in a democratic form might now be secured for all men. But much remained to be done for that hope to be realized.

THE 'UNITED STATES': THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

During the war the officers of the militia, mindful of their former toast to King George and the dangers of division among the colonists, began to toast: 'here's a hoop to the barrel'. They, more than most, recognized the value of unity. After the war many sober men saw that without some central authority the separate colonial governments would either quarrel or simply fail to co-operate on common matters. A loose agreement, called the Articles of the Confederation, already existed but it seemed insufficient; it was in Washington's view merely 'a rope of sand'.

Practical problems required an umpire. Who was to decide on foreign policy, levy taxes and enforce a common currency? Who would solve such inter-state problems as the extent of their western frontiers? Who was to administer the new territories beyond the Alleghenies? Who was to superintend the defence of the newly won independence by organizing an army and a navy?

These questions were urgent ones. Already a variety of foreign coins and much paper money of varying value, together with the duplication of inter-colonial postal services, tolls and tariffs, were disrupting trade. Many influential men, who had loaned great sums of money for waging the war, were frightened that no interest would be paid on their money unless there was some central and regular taxation. Others were disturbed by the habits of violence

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and the extreme forms of democracy practised by some colonial communities. A stronger central government was necessary.

The lead in all these matters was taken by Alexander Hamilton. Following a dispute between Maryland and Virginia over fishing rights in the River Potomac, Hamilton induced every state except Rhode Island to appoint delegates for a meeting to plan a stronger form of central government. This meeting, or Federal Convention, was held at Philadelphia in 1787. Under the chairmanship of Benjamin Franklin, the fifty-five delegates deliberated all that summer. Inspired by the ideas of Locke and Montesquieu, aided by James Madison's profound knowledge of Greek and Roman government, and upheld in moments of crisis by Franklin's homely wisdom, they eventually hammered out a new form of government called the Federal Constitution.

The laws then formulated have stood the test of time, and with only minor amendments control the working of the American government to this day, exciting the admiration of many for their simplicity, ingenuity and wisdom. Briefly, there were to be three branches of government, each independent of the other, yet checked by each other. There was to be an Executive: a president chosen by the people for a period of four years. There was to be a legislature—or Congress—a law-making body, consisting of two parts: the Upper House or Senate, to which senators, two from each state, were to be elected for a period of six years; and the Lower House of Representatives, whose congressmen were to be elected according to population for a period of two years. There was also to be a Federal Judiciary, a Supreme Court of judges, to be appointed for life by the president acting with the advice and consent of the Senate. All Congressional laws were to be accepted by the president, all treaties and appointments of the president were to be approved by the Congress. The judges were to decide points of dispute between them.

The federal government thus created was given strong powers, which included the right to levy taxes and pay interest on the national debt, to borrow money, to impose customs and excise duties, to coin money, fix weights and measures, grant patents and copyrights and to establish postal services. It had the right to

The ' United States': The Federal Constitution

maintain an army and navy, to manage foreign affairs, including Indian relations and the control of immigration. It was also given the right to regulate inter-state commerce and to admit new states to the Union on the basis of equality with the old. A federal state capital was built, and named Washington. (Here the needs for compromise went too far. It was built on a swamp halfway between north and south.) All power not definitely named remained with the states. Policing, criminal courts, education, roads, methods of voting, and all the local needs were still the concern of the state government.

This modern miracle of 'Balanced Powers' did not seem so fool-proof to all Americans of the day. Those in the smaller states feared they would be swamped in their voting by the larger states, and as the voting arrangements were, first of all, far from democratic—only those with considerable property, a bare 120,000 out of 4,000,000, having the vote—there were many who talked of a new American tyranny, 'worse than that of George III'. The federal government was imposed upon its opponents by the threat of force and by much skilful propaganda, and although one by one the state governments accepted the constitution there remained a sharp cleavage of opinion as to what the precise powers of the federal government were, and more as to what those powers ought to be. This cleavage was represented most soberly in the early days by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson was convinced that the ordinary American could manage his own affairs: he distrusted government. Hamilton, on the other hand, considered the common man to be stupid. He valued efficiency above all things and looked forward to the day when the United States would be governed by experts, businessmen and educated officials. Hamilton and his friends gained the upper hand. His federal party was much strengthened by the election of Washington to be first president, and it was Hamilton's guiding hand that set America on the road to industrial and commercial prosperity. Jefferson had his chance in 1801, but he too found himself increasing the scope of federal actions, and in the course of time federal powers were much stretched and developed to serve the needs of an expanding country.

THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES (1787-1865)

THE CHALLENGE OF THE WEST

In 1787 the majority of the four million people who had combined to form the United States of America lived in small towns, farms and plantations strung out along the Atlantic seaboard. Only a few had moved more than a hundred miles inland. In the next century, however, the people of America multiplied exceedingly and, swollen by a great tide of immigrant adventurers and political refugees from Europe, they broke clear of the coast and spread across the continent.

Older men had won, and were now enjoying, the fruits of independence. A younger generation looked for a new challenge and they found it in the development of the western lands. To young men specially, the call of the wild, the free life of the frontier, seemed infinitely attractive. Explorers, hunters and traders led the way. Soon, as others followed, it became the national fashion to seek one's fortune in the west. 'Go West, young man and grow up with the country' * was the common feeling, long before the newspaper editor Horace Greeley coined the phrase.

America's empire was on its doorstep; it was part of the same geographical country. In consequence the qualities that made for success on the frontier—self preservation, impatience and energy—came to affect in time the character of every American. The restlessness of the frontiersman and his desire for change became a feature of the eastern cities also. And in the process of expansion the government of America was subjected to such unusual stresses and strains that it too was changed. Many more people came to share

The Challenge of the West

in its discussions, yet by a miracle of political adaptability they remained broadly united; thus the federal government was able to extend its control over a far larger area than that of 1787.

In three mighty efforts the continent was made America. First came the individual settlement of the forest areas as far as the Ohio and the Mississippi, a process largely complete in 1821 when Missouri was organized as a state. Then there began a group movement across the Great Plains and over the Rockies into Oregon and California: meanwhile conflict with Mexico extended the southern boundaries and controversy with England straightened the Canadian border. Finally, after a great civil war had threatened to break the Union, the intervening prairies were conquered. By 1890 it could be said 'the frontier is no more'.

THE ADVANCE TO THE MISSISSIPPI

The political pattern of the westward advance was laid down by the North-west Territorial Ordinance of 1787. This was a scheme devised, even before the federal constitution, to settle the lands between the Ohio and the Great Lakes. It was agreed that in this area there were to be no Negro slaves, that the inhabitants were to govern themselves under Congressional guidance, and eventually, when each 'territory' held 60,000 people, the area was to become a fully fledged state. The programme then adopted was followed in all subsequent westward expansion, and in time it produced over thirty new states for the Union.

There was plenty of scope for settlement in the forests east of the Mississippi, and during the first years after independence American pioneers rapidly made new homes in such regions. Kentucky and Tennessee were so quickly settled that they became states in 1792 and 1796 respectively and Ohio followed in 1802. Beyond the Mississippi, in the land owned by Spain, the few scattered settlements, mostly grouped round Catholic missions, presented no great obstacle to American expansion, and it was comparatively easy to negotiate a treaty with Spain for the use of New Orleans as an outlet for American produce.

But when Napoleon, early in his career, forced Spain to cede a

The Expansion of the United States (1787-1865)

great tract of North American territory back to France., no westward advance was without its dangers. The possibility of a strong European rival, holding New Orleans and the territory beyond the Mississippi made most public-spirited Americans tremble with apprehension and President Jefferson was thoroughly alarmed. 'The day that the French take possession of New Orleans', he wrote, 'we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.'⁵ He sent James Monroe to Paris with an offer to buy the city from Napoleon.

Fortunately for the peace-loving president, Napoleon was anxious for American friendship and in need of ready money. He offered to sell the whole Louisiana region to America. Although no clause in the constitution authorized a president to purchase so much foreign territory, the opportunity was too great to be missed. Jefferson, once the arch-enemy of any increase in federal power, 'stretched the constitution till it cracked', and in 1803 Louisiana territory, a vast triangle of land from New Orleans to the Canadian border, was bought by the federal government for the sum of fifteen million dollars (roughly three million pounds). At the stroke of a pen a million square miles of land was acquired at a cost of twopence an acre, the size of the nation's territory was doubled and Americans rejoiced that the Mississippi, 'the father of the waters', could go 'unvexed to the sea'.

The way was clear for a general advance of the frontier to the Mississippi. The upper reaches of the river now became a bustling frontier region. 'Hi-o...hi-o, away we go, floating down the river on the O-hio.' Such was the song of thousands of emigrants seeking western homes. Soon the rough rafts gave way to larger craft powered by steam. Robert Fulton's steamboat had successfully navigated the Hudson river in 1807 and by 1811 the first of many such vessels appeared on the Mississippi. At every landing-stage emigrants were set ashore and cargoes of furs, grain, cured meat and a hundred other products were loaded up for market in New Orleans. On all the western streams puffs of smoke were evidence of fresh activity, while the giant paddle-boats of 'steamboat Bill' and his companions became a familiar sight on the broad highway of the Mississippi.

The Advance to the Mississippi

Meanwhile, through the forests came the frontiersmen, a varied body of pioneers, who broadly separated themselves into three main groups. First came the hunters or trappers, described by an English traveller named Fordham as 'a daring, hardy race of men, who live in miserable log cabins, which they fortify in time of war with the Indians, whom they hate but much resemble in dress and manners____They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs, and sometimes have a cow or two belonging to each family. But the rifle is their principal means of support/ These men were dexterous with the axe, rifle, snare and fishing line. They blazed the trail, built the first log cabins, held off the Indians, and so made way for the next arrivals. When they heard the sound of a neighbour's gun, it was time to move on.

The second group were the first true settlers. Instead of a cabin they built a log house with glass windows, a good chimney and partitioned rooms. Instead of a spring they sunk a well. They made a forest clearing, grew grain and fruit, but did not neglect to range the woods for deer and venison, for wild turkey and honey. After several years they sold their holding to a third group and moved off again to enjoy further solitude.

The third group included farmers, storekeepers, lawyers, editors, preachers, mechanics and politicians—all the material to form a vigorous society. These intended to stay where they settled and they hoped their children would stay after them. The farmers built larger barns than their predecessors and set up brick or frame houses. Others laid out good highways, built churches and schools, and grew proud of their thriving township.

The western lands underwent such rapid settlement that in quick succession Indiana (1816) and Illinois (1818) in the north, Mississippi (1817) and Alabama (1819) in the south became members of the Union. Louisiana, a state since 1812, already provided a bridgehead across the Mississippi and as the settlers moved farther up the river, the state of Missouri was formed (1821).

Gradually the repercussions of such activity were felt in the towns of the eastern seaboard and in federal politics. No one could survive in this frontier environment without developing new qualities of leadership. Where land was cheap—1*25 dollars an

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acre—and the necessary tools not hard to obtain, success depended upon energy, resourcefulness and a brand of individual courage which made men very self-reliant. These were the frontier virtues which Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, born in western log cabins in the same year (1809), were soon to exemplify and carry into the exalted arena of politics. But the upright independence and the disregard for European convention so useful on the frontier were traits which appeared less valuable in the townspeople of the eastern states. In New York and Philadelphia, for instance, European visitors frequently observed that American workmen did not tip their hats and say 'sir' to earn a shilling. The very porters accepted a job with the attitude of men conferring a favour.

Frontier life certainly bred virtues but it bred vices as well. So many tasks needed immediate attention that careful finish seemed to many settlers a waste of time. In consequence rough roads, built hastily, were soon washed away; makeshift bridges were apt to collapse, sometimes with loss of life; and even in New York the firebells clanged all night because of the many wooden and unstable buildings which then housed most of its people.

There was little leisure on the frontier for men to develop either manners or culture. More regrettably, there was scant respect for the law. The scum of society swirled out to the border and made it a place of sudden violence. Men developed ungovernable tempers and had a taste for settling their quarrels with fists or pistols. Officers of justice had to possess an iron nerve, an incorruptible will and a quick trigger-finger. Family quarrels inspired gruesome folk ballads: 'the Martins and McCoys—they were famous fighting boys'. Even within living memory family feuds continued to enliven the side valleys of Kentucky where youngsters and grand-fathers alike organized their lives to avenge the death of a relative perhaps thirty years before.

THE INDIANS

Far more tragic in consequence than such personal encounters were the ruthless dealings of the frontiersmen with the Indians. Constantly, in defiance of local treaties, they encroached upon the

The Indians

Indian lands; they destroyed the game on which the Indians depended for food and clothing; and in moments of crisis they committed large-scale atrocities against them for which individual scalplings were scant excuse.

Early in the nineteenth century several blood-curdling wars were waged, notably in the south-west among the Creek Indians and in the north-west against the followers of Chief Tecumseh. But in general the white settlers gained their ends by a gradual process of expulsion and elimination, against which the federal government made ineffective protest.

Soon the official policy came to favour the general removal of all the Indians to the Great Plains beyond the Mississippi, where it was generally supposed no white men could live, and during the presidency of Andrew Jackson this policy was energetically pursued. Most of the Indians were persuaded to move to such new^c Indian country' without much difficulty, but in the south the Creeks and the Cherokees clung to their well-tilled lands to the last. When under the threat of force they moved slowly westward, many died of hunger, exposure and disease.

Meanwhile the departure of the Indians from the forest regions between the Great Lakes encouraged another burst of settlement in that direction. The new emigrants came by wagons along the sixty-foot wide, 600-mile long Cumberland road (begun in 1811) or by way of the Erie Canal which, when opened in 1825, linked New York with the Great Lakes. Others came direct by railroad to Chicago, where by 1854 seventy-four trains a day served the great new town. Germans, Scandinavians and Britons, newly arrived from Europe, and emigrants from America's eastern cities combined to produce the states of Michigan (1837), I^owa C¹^6) and Wisconsin (1848). Even then the movement west did not cease. An English traveller in 1854 was surprised to find that St Paul in far-off Minnesota was a township of eight thousand people, with five hotels, six good churches, "streets with sidewalks' and shops 'as well supplied as any in the Union'. When, however, Minnesota became a state in 1858, the men of the western farms had acquired a new importance in American life, and the direction of further expansion was causing some concern.

FEDERAL POLITICS: THE ROLE OF ANDREW JACKSON

For over forty years the federal government of America was dominated by a few distinguished eastern families. The first six presidents, four of whom were Virginians, were men of the eastern states; so were most of the principal politicians; so also was John Marshall, who as Chief Justice from 1801 to 1835 did much to strengthen the federal authority over the individual states.

In general such men valued America's newly-won independence, without ever wishing to turn their backs on European culture or trade. For them matters of trade and foreign policy were the most important aspects of government. They shaped their policies accordingly, with very little reference to the needs of the frontiersmen. They argued over the suitability of federal tariffs and the extent of state rights. Yet even they were not unaffected by the mood of westward expansion. While the plain men of the west were demanding the secret ballot, and with it securing a greater share of political power in their local states, the gentlemen of the eastern states began to share in the growing feeling that it was America's 'manifest destiny' to rule the whole North American continent. Two examples will serve to show how this conviction began to affect American policy.

During the Napoleonic wars in Europe a British claim to board American ships in search of naval deserters had led to many bitter complaints and in 1812 President Madison, under pressure, used these as an excuse to declare war. The real purpose, however, was to allow an American attack on Canada, which with less than a million inhabitants seemed an unnecessary obstacle to America's northward expansion.

The events of the war of 1812-14 gave little cause for satisfaction to either side. The exploits of Commodore Paul Jones and other frigate captains on the high seas were largely offset by the stout defence of Canada and by a British coastal raid on Washington. The main result seemed to be renewed bad feeling between America and Britain. Nevertheless it did discourage further adventures against Canada, and John Quincy Adams was able to negotiate a treaty with Britain in 1818 which not only established an undefended

Federal Politics: Andrew Jackson

frontier between America and Canada along the line of the 49th parallel, but laid the foundations of an understanding with Britain which greatly facilitated the next move.

In 1823 President Monroe, prompted by Russian claims to territory along the Pacific coast and by a Spanish threat to recapture the former Spanish colonies in America, was able, thanks to British support, to declare for a policy which came to be known as the Monroe doctrine. In a message to Congress he laid down the principle that the American continents, both North and South, were 'not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power'. This declaration rested upon the assumption that the British navy would help to protect America. Thus secured in their isolation from Europe, Americans were able to concentrate upon their own continent. In a sense, American foreign policy was henceforth completely harmonized with the Western belief in 'manifest destiny'.

By 1824 the ten new western states, admitted to the Union since 1787, and totalling some four million inhabitants, had created a new political force. Thus in the presidential election of 1824 the men of the west were able to show their strength. Their candidate, Andrew Jackson, in fact secured most of the popular votes, but because none of the five candidates had a constitutional majority of votes in the electoral college, the choice had to be made by the members of Congress; they chose John Quincy Adams.

Adams was rich, well-educated and coldly efficient; Jackson was poor, fiery in temper and a military hero. At New Orleans in 1815, when the war with Britain was officially over, he had led a rag-bag army to defeat a strong British landing force. Now he was a victim of injustice. Despite his popularity, he was not yet president. 'We wuz robbed', cried his supporters: like sparks from the forest fire of their indignation, political insults flew thick and fast and as the next election approached a new campaign gathered momentum from all the western and southern states. Jackson's friends organized popular feeling into a democratic earthquake, which when it erupted in 1828 overwhelmed the National Republican Party of merchants and bankers and swept the Democratic candidate into the presidency.

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Jackson's supporters, as they invaded Washington to acclaim him, felt they were present at a revolution to give justice to the common man. On the day of his inauguration when he came forth to greet them 'the peal of shouting that arose rent the air, and seemed to shake the very ground'⁵. Afterwards at the White House, where refreshments were to be distributed, there was pandemonium. The crowds, anxious to see the new president, knocked over the waiters as they carried pails of orange punch, they trampled the flowers in the gardens and stood in muddy boots on the satin-covered furniture to get a glimpse of their hero.

Certainly Jackson, born in the backwoods of North Carolina, was in no mood to disappoint them. Horse-trader, storekeeper, lawyer and soldier, Jackson had few graces, but his tall, lean figure, with its hawk-like face under a splendid crest of thick white hair, seemed to personify all the vigour of the frontiersman. He shared to the full the frontiersman's belief that all men were roughly equal and that there should be no privilege, no office reserved for the rich, the well-born or the educated. His explosive temper and the obstinate convictions which earned him the name of 'Old Hickory' made him well suited to his task of attacking the oppressors of the poor.

Privilege of every kind was to be swept away. The new president accordingly dismissed many former officials and replaced them with his own friends and supporters. In so doing he began in a mild form the 'spoils system' which has done much to make American elections so excessively self-seeking ever since. He soon marked down the rich bankers as the chief American villains and supported the state banks in their opposition to the great monopoly of the Bank of the United States. Slowly, however, he grew to understand the need for a strong federal government, both in home and foreign affairs. And when, for example, in 1832 South Carolina complained that the increase in federal tariffs was designed to aid the northern manufacturers, and threatened to leave the Union, the president upheld firmly the majority view.

Re-elected in 1832 for a further term of office, Jackson trod more warily, but under his energetic leadership, popular education spread rapidly throughout the states, trade unions flourished, and

many reforms, such as the ten-hour working day in Philadelphia, testified to his continued democratic sympathies. Jackson was one of the few presidents whose heart and soul remained completely with the common people.

His successor as president, Martin Van Buren, was a 'Democrat* too, but he was a political organizer, who quite lacked the picturesque character of Old Hickory⁹. The new methods employed by him on behalf of Jackson had, however, clearly come to stay, and when his 'Whig' opponents fought the election of 1840 it was apparent that Western-style electioneering had infected both parties. General Harrison, the 'Whig' candidate, was billed as a military hero, the victor of the battle of Tippecanoe of 1812, an Indian fighter and a western pioneer farmer. To the cry of 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too', the Whig pair were elected.

There had been less than half a million voters in the election of 1824. By 1840 thanks to manhood suffrage there were nearly 2,400,000 presidential voters. Democracy had come to America. Henceforth giant mass meetings, rowdy barbecues and torchlight processions became a regular feature of American elections. The older Americans regretted the change in public manners and lamented the reckless promises of the new-style politician. In the same way they were shocked by the undisciplined character of the frontiersman: they shrank from his bumptiousness and bragging ways; they were alarmed by his impertinent curiosity, by his rapid feeding at table and his accurately aimed spurts of tobacco juice. The president's wife, Mrs Jackson, smoked a corn-cob pipe and, if the average level of manners was no lower than in the early days of the republic, respect for aristocratic culture had certainly diminished. Those who read preferred the tales of Fenimore Cooper, the autobiography of the Indian fighter David Crockett (1834) and the adventures of Mark Twain's young heroes, to the older European and classical authors. Even religion, as it followed the frontier westward, became more democratic, with much singing and loud prayers of a most enthusiastic kind.

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THE PACIFIC TRAILS

While settlers were establishing the mid-western states astride the continent from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes, explorers and traders were tracing out possible ways across the Great Plains, In particular the explorations of Lewis and Clark, two young Virginians sent by President Jefferson in 1804 on an expedition up the Missouri river and on to the Pacific coast, were so well accomplished that several fur-trading ventures resulted from their careful surveys.

The federal government soon showed its willingness to protect these traders against hostile Indians, and the exploits of Jedediah Smith and Kit Carson, both employees of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, did much to popularize the Missouri region. Meanwhile the establishment of church missions in the far north-west revealed such splendid scenery and climate that many resolved to follow the route used by the fur traders to gain access to this Oregon country.

The 2000 miles of Oregon Trail abounded in dangers and difficulties.

Starting at Independence on the Missouri, it traversed the rolling plains to the Rockies, crossed them by the relatively low South Pass, and went on through barren and mountainous stretches to Fort Hall on the Snake River, whence the trail ran through the almost impassable Blue Mountains to the Umatilla River and down to the Columbia. An alternative route beyond Great Salt Lake led to California. The first emigrant train to set out for the Pacific was promoted by John Bidwell, and numbering about eighty men, women and children, successfully wound its way through the wild country to Oregon in 1841. This was the advance-guard of an astonishing movement. In 1843 occurred the 'Great Emigration', when not fewer than 200 families, comprising a thousand people, crossed the plains and mountains, driving hundreds of cattle with them, and reached their goal. At two miles an hour the ox-team caravans could make twenty-five miles on good days; on bad days but five or ten. In 1845 the human rivulet following the Oregon trail rose to a broad stream. More than 3000 people came into Willamette Valley that year.

It was an epic migration this Oregon movement. 'Catch up, catch up!' would ring out the cry at dawn; and the long lines of covered

The Pacific Trails

wagons, marshalled by chosen leaders, would get into motion. At night-fall they encamped in a circle, wagons, baggage and men on the outside, the women, children and animals within. Sentries were carefully posted. Food was cooked, clothes were washed, on the way. Courtships were carried on, children were born, the feeble died and were buried in unmarked graves. When worn oxen and mules could no longer drag the heavy wagons, dearly prized possessions had to be left by the trail. To some who met Indians, grizzlies^ the dreaded cholera, or bitter weather, the trip might be prolonged agony. Others found it exhilarating. 'It was a long picnic, the changing scenes of the journey, the animals of the prairie, the Indians, the traders and trappers of the mountain country', wrote one. This mass-movement made Oregon an American community, doing more than diplomacy to secure it to the United States. It peopled that far-off country so effectively that it was organized as a Territory in 1850, and became a full-fledged State only ten years later.*

Meanwhile American traders and settlers had infiltrated into Mexican territory in the south-west. In the 1820^s an enterprising Missourian, William Bicknell had

got together a trading party of about seventy men, placed goods on horses and mules, and travelling 800 miles over rough dangerous country, sold his wares in the Mexican outpost of Santa Fe at a handsome profit. The next year he took wagons on the long journey. Other traders imitated him, and the celebrated Santa Fe Trail was fairly open. The traders who used it encountered many perils, for much of the country was semi-desert, parched by heat and drought; they had to ford difficult rivers; and they were likely to be attacked by hostile Comanche, Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians. While large groups of eighty or a hundred men were fairly safe, small groups of ten or twenty were likely to be overwhelmed. In time the pioneers beat out an American road which did much to win the South West for the republic.f

Santa Fe was centrally placed in a great expanse of Mexican territory. From there an old Spanish trail led into California; and to the south-east was Texas, an area as large as Germany but sparsely populated. Texas was gradually settled by small groups of Americans, but they chafed under Mexican law, so in 1835, after many complaints, they rose in revolt. An independent Texan republic was established, more settlers swarmed into the country, and in 1845 the republic, largely by choice, became an American state.

* Nevins and Commager₃ p. 176.

f Nevins and Commager₃ p. 174.

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It seemed that California, under equally corrupt and inefficient Mexican rule, would fall to the United States in a similar way, but in fact boundary disputes with Mexico led to open warfare in 1846, and the United States, which had been slow to annex Texas, promptly took over not only California but also a huge area called New Mexico. This included present-day Nevada and part of Colorado, and was acquired for 18 million dollars by the Treaty of 1848.

Within a few months California became a land of hidden treasure. Gold was discovered in its hills and 'at once a host of fortune hunters poured forth, some by sea and some overland trail, to the canyons and gulches where nuggets could be washed in troughs and pans. The mountains filled with roaring camps, San Francisco sprang overnight into a lusty little metropolis full of vice, luxury and energy.' There a ^c miner, forty-niner, and his daughter Clementine³ joined with 80,000 others in the 'days of old and the days of gold, and the days of '49'. So fast did California grow that in 1850 it was added to the Union. The manner of its admission caused repercussions all over the continent.

THE QUESTION OF NEGRO SLAVERY

By 1850 America was divided into four fairly well-defined geographical sections; the north-east manufacturing area, the slave-owning South, the individualistic farmers of the Mid-West, and the fabulous unreal country of the Far West. Each section had its own particular needs and, despite some natural dependence on each other, it was by 1850 increasingly difficult for the federal government to deal justly with every section or to combine the interests of all in an agreed policy.

Of all the sections, the South was not only the most self-contained but also the most conservative. There an aristocracy of wealthy planters drew their profits from tobacco and cotton, sugar and rice, relying upon white overseers to supervise the labour of Negro slaves. Practically all the manual work in the South, at home and in the fields, was done by Negro slaves. Many had been inherited with the farms, others could still be bought and sold

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in the open markets. Once purchased the Negro was the sole property of his owner. He could not leave the plantation, he had little hope of freedom and he had practically no chance of education.

There were by 1850 some three million Negro slaves out of a total population of twenty-three millions. There were no slaves in the northern states, but they could be found in a dozen or more states of the South. In two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, they exceeded the whites in number and in a few areas they made up more than 80 per cent of the population. Not all of the white southerners owned slaves; only a small minority, barely one in sixteen, did so and in the main slave area in the hot, flat lands of the southern creeks practically all of the slaves were owned by some 4000 families.

Since the slave trade had been banned in 1808 no more slaves had come to America. Thus many Americans thought of slavery as merely a local custom—the 'peculiar institution'⁵ of the South. They believed it would become out of date and so wither away. A majority of slave-owners, meanwhile, treated their slaves well, and often, especially in the case of domestic servants, showed them some affection. Instances of heartless cruelty, floggings, mutilations and the breaking-up of families were comparatively rare, but they tended to multiply as new large-scale methods of cotton production began to be used in the lower South. Thus slavery instead of being confined to a small area began to spread.

The demand for cotton had risen sharply with the introduction of steam-driven textile machinery in England, and since cotton crops rapidly exhaust the land, cultivators began to move westwards in search of more fertile areas, taking their slaves with them. The profits to be made were tempting and in a few decades the amount of raw cotton being grown rose rapidly: it leapt from a few million pounds weight to 670 million pounds by 1840. By 1850 seven-eighths of the world's cotton supply was grown in the American South; and still more land was needed.

When the annexation of Texas and New Mexico seemed likely, southerners claimed they had as much right to take slaves into the new lands as northerners had to take ploughs into Oregon. This

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claim was resisted. Texas already had slaves, but California, Utah and New Mexico had none. Were these areas to suffer the evils of slavery? Thousands of Americans who had no objection to slavery in the old South reacted sharply to the new claims. Tempers were roused, opinions multiplied, and a 'free-soil' party arose to defend the soil of the West from slavery. In the controversy which followed, the real problem was simply this: who was to decide for or against slavery in any area? Was it to be a private matter for individual farmers, were the representatives of each state to decide, or was the federal government to enforce an agreed policy upon all its citizens?

In 1820 Missouri had been admitted to the Union as a slave-holding state, along with the free state of Maine. By this so-called Missouri Compromise the line of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ north, the southern border of Missouri, had been laid down as the future dividing line between the free states of the North and the slave-owning South, for it had not been anticipated then that the Mexican lands in the south-west would become American. Now, if the line were extended to the Pacific, California would be cut into two and the Union would be permanently divided into two more or less equal sections, the free North and the slave South. Neither side really wanted such a division. The 'free-soil' party wanted 'to limit, localize and discourage slavery'; in opposition more and more southerners, stung into self-defence by their northern critics, began to assert their right to take slaves north of the Missouri line.

Moderate men desperately sought a new compromise. A solution hastily proposed by Stephen Douglas was taken up by Henry Clay, and with another champion of federal unity, Daniel Webster, giving it vital support in a great oration, the Compromise of 1850 was accepted by Congress. It provided for the admission of California as a free state, postponed a decision on Utah and New Mexico till their inhabitants could qualify for membership of the Union, and in response to southern demands sought to enforce a new Federal Fugitive Act, whereby all runaway slaves had to be returned to their masters.

In earlier days debates over slavery had been mild affairs. To those who pointed out the Negro's lack of education and the denial

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of human equality to the black man, defenders spoke of a heathen and violent race made Christian and peace-loving by careful treatment. They showed how the Negro was protected from unemployment, sickness and old age. Now the mood changed. Northern abolitionists, prompted to some extent by Britain's abolition of slavery in her empire in 1833, began to argue fiercely for the right of Negroes to enjoy complete freedom. Southern gentlemen became convinced that the safety not only of themselves, but also of their fellow whites in the North, depended upon the firm regulation of the relationship between black and white. The workings of the Fugitive Slave Act did much to turn quiet discussions into angry scenes, and obstinate convictions on either side made compromise increasingly difficult.

The problem of slavery became a popular issue with the publication of some stories by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Written in sentimental but vivid language. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a fair-minded yet heart-breaking description of Negro slavery. When the stories appeared in book form in 1852 over 300,000 copies were sold in the first year. Later more than a million copies were sold. A whole generation was stirred to a new awareness of the Negro problem, for cruelty, it was seen, was inseparable from slavery.

Two years later in 1854 Stephen Douglas, impatient both as a land speculator and a senator with presidential ambition, set out to hasten the development of the Kansas-Nebraska region. He proposed that, as in New Mexico and Utah, so in Kansas and Nebraska, the question of slavery should be decided by the inhabitants of each territory as soon as they reached the population required for entry into the Union. When his Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed the Senate after long and angry debates, popular emotions suddenly erupted. To open the rich western prairies to slavery struck millions of men as unforgivable. The 'free-soil'⁵ press violently denounced the bill. Northern clergymen assailed it from thousands of pulpits, and mass meetings, held in all the northern cities from Washington to Chicago, roundly condemned Douglas and his measure. When Douglas, in his home-city of Chicago, attempted to explain his motives, a crowd of 10,000 hooted and groaned until, exhausted in the effort to make himself heard, he finally drew out

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his watch and declared 'It is now Sunday morning; I am going to church and you can go to hell⁵.'

The immediate result of the new controversy was the formation of a new Republican Party (1854) in place of the indecisive Whig party. The main aim of the new party was to prevent the spread of slavery. The 'free-soil' group flocked to its banner and a powerful organization was quickly built up. Among the leaders there appeared a tall gaunt attorney from Illinois, who spoke on the new issues with a marvellous power of logic and a simple compelling sincerity—his name was Abraham Lincoln.

In Lincoln's view slavery was the concern not only of the inhabitants of the individual territories but of the whole United States. In public debates with Douglas during the summer of 1858 he reminded his audience, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand'. 'I believe that this government cannot endure half slave and half free.' Slavery, in his opinion, could not be abolished at once, but it should in no circumstances be extended. In due course it might even be restricted and ultimately abolished. By 1859 Lincoln was the Republican candidate for the presidency.

Meanwhile Kansas became an arena for rival emigrant societies each seeking to swing the majority of settlers in favour of their own view. Savage episodes of guerrilla warfare occurred, and elsewhere along the borders of slave states acts of violence multiplied as fugitive slaves were assisted to freedom. Matters were made worse by an unfortunate Supreme Court decision involving Dred Scott, a Negro slave who had claimed his freedom through residence in a non-slave area. The Supreme Court in 1857 ruled against this and stated, moreover, that no Negro could become a full citizen of the United States, nor could the federal government forbid slavery in any territory. The southerners were much encouraged by this decision. But the action of the judges and the unguarded favouritism shown by President Buchanan towards southern claims provoked more people in the North to active sympathy with the Negroes. The 'underground railroad' of escape became more efficient and soon over 20,000 newly-escaped slaves had found effective protection in northern communities.

Amid the growing violence, the exploits of John Brown and his

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sons won a notoriety which did much to encourage extremist views. Brown was a religious fanatic who considered himself appointed by God to free the slaves. His notions included the belief that a few men with guns could accomplish the divine mission, bloodshed being justified. With sublime confidence on the night of 16 October 1859 he and eighteen friends, including five Negroes, seized the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in order to arm and liberate the slaves. The following morning the local citizens counter-attacked. John Brown was taken prisoner and charged with conspiracy and treason. For his quixotic but criminal enterprise he was hanged, to the end believing himself an instrument in the hands of God. 'John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on.' Although John Brown was only a straw in a violent wind, these words from the marching song came to express the growing fervour of the campaign against slavery.

THE QUESTION OF FEDERAL UNITY: THE CIVIL WAR

At this stage the men of the South began to recall other quarrels with the North. Slavery was but one of many difficulties. The real trouble was that the South was being rapidly outnumbered and outdated. While a tide of immigration—some two and a half million in the decade 1850-60—swept through the northern towns, swelling the industrial establishments or swirling into the new states, the South remained largely untouched by change. New Orleans was its only large town. The once-proud families of the South found their influence on national affairs waning. Industrial fortunes were being made in the North; political power was passing to the greater numbers of the northern cities, and as each new state was added to the Union, the southern voice on many issues was being increasingly ignored. In particular, the Republican Party, with its uncompromising declaration to limit slavery, its vote-catching promise of free homesteads for every pioneer family, and its plans for better banking and protective tariffs to aid the northern manufacturers, seemed to spell complete disaster for the South.

When Lincoln, the Republican leader, was elected president in

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1860., southern extremists quickly refused to accept the Republican victory. It was now or never for the South—soon the superior democratic numbers of the North and West would strangle their voice in the affairs of the Union. First South Carolina., then Mississippi, followed reluctantly by eight other southern states, announced their withdrawal from the Union. They elected Jefferson Davis President of the Southern Confederate States.

Throughout the South and in some European capitals this action was regarded as a legitimate move towards self-rule. To most northerners, however, it was an act of rebellion. Lincoln argued that men owed the federal government a higher loyalty than their local states, others shuddered at the thought of customs barriers between North and South or grew passionate at the thought of slavery continuing in the South. So when in April 1861 southern guns attempted to take the federal Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbour they met resistance.

Thus the American Civil War, the war for southern independence, began. Only Lincoln seemed to have a clear idea of its purpose. He steadfastly proclaimed the principle of loyalty to the Union and did his best at all times to check all personal or sectional interests. He was well aware of the sacrifice which the war might entail, yet even he could not know the price the nation would ultimately pay for his ideal.

There were twenty-three states, comprising some 22 million people, on the federal side. Only 6 million whites and 3 million Negroes were to be found in the eleven states of the Confederacy. Yet it was not until 1864 that a northern victory appeared certain. The southern states began with certain initial advantages: a flourishing agriculture, courage inspired by pride and the habit of command, and above all internal lines of communication, which were ably exploited by a great general, Robert E. Lee. Their early confidence was buoyed up by the hope of foreign support and by their belief that the northern states would abandon the struggle. But no help came from abroad and although the North faltered, it did not abandon its resolution; under Lincoln's guiding hand its greater resources in men, money and equipment were gradually organized to bring about a southern surrender.

The Question of Federal Unity: The Civil War

Most of the early fighting took place in Virginia, where the Union armies set out to conquer Richmond, the confederate capital. In defence of the town General Lee, who had declined the command of the Union armies in loyalty to his own state of Virginia, used every mile of difficult country to ensure its safety. At one time Union troops could hear the clocks striking in Richmond, but Lee held on, and two years of fighting saw little permanent advance on this narrow front.

Elsewhere the North had better success. Their ships blockaded the southern ports and by 1863 their troops under General Grant had gained control of the entire Mississippi valley. The southern resources began to dwindle, more and more men left the farms to fill the ranks of the fallen, and a note of desperation in their efforts culminated in a bold advance into Pennsylvania. Lee staked all on this effort, but to no avail. Three days' fighting at Gettysburg ended in his first real defeat, and as he fell back into Virginia, a northern general, Sherman, began to advance from the west, bursting into the farmlands of the South, and marching through Georgia 'from Atlanta to the sea'. A trail of pillaged farms and burning houses bore witness to his pitiless advance. The southern armies, now assailed on all sides, began to lose heart. Men deserted in great numbers and in April 1865 General Lee, having little left to fight with, was obliged to surrender to General Grant at the Court House of Appomattox. Within a few weeks all resistance was at an end.

President Lincoln, patient and steadfast in his war aims, had achieved by the end of the war a position of great authority. Already in a memorable oration at Gettysburg in honour of the dead he had bid all resolve that 'this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from this earth'. Again, in his second inaugural address of March 1865 he had resolved 'with malice towards none, with charity towards all...to bind up the nation's wounds\ Although Lincoln had insisted upon the defeat of the South, his plans for the post-war settlement were generous and wise.

It was, therefore, a national tragedy when less than a week from the end of the war Lincoln was murdered by an out-of-work

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actor. The vice-president, Johnson, while he was an honest and capable man, lacked Lincoln's authority and far-seeing patience, and the other Republican leaders allowed selfish, petty and revengeful men to stir up the embers of war. Deeds were done in the moment of victory which made the work of reconstruction exceedingly difficult

During the war Lincoln by presidential edict had freed the slaves, and as the dawn of the new year 1863 came, the Negro slaves had rejoiced at this act of justice. But there was little wisdom in the laws giving Negroes full civil rights, including the right to vote, which northern politicians forced upon the defeated states of the South, for in practice this meant that the government of the South fell into the hands of incompetent or violent Negroes, backed by northern fortune-hunters called * carpet-baggers'. In desperation the southern whites organized themselves into a secret society known as the Ku-Klux-Klan, which meted out rough justice and secured some physical protection for their families amid an orgy of Negro crime. Later the society degenerated into an instrument of indiscriminate vengeance and deserved no sympathy. It was some years before good government returned to the South. As a long-term result of revengeful Republican policies, no southerner was able to become president for nearly fifty years and few southerners could bring themselves to vote for the Republican Party for a much longer period.

In the final reckoning it is difficult to assess the part played by the war in American affairs. Over 600,000 Americans had been killed in the struggle. Several hundred million dollars' worth of buildings had been destroyed. The countryside of the South for long lay desolate, and in millions of homes there was such bitterness that it needed nearly a century to heal the wounds and still the memories. Yet something of Lincoln's idealism remained and in the years that followed the Civil War his greatness became more apparent. His homespun qualities of earnestness, simplicity and generosity in debate shone through the self-seeking of later politics, and in quiet ways inspired countless Americans, old and new, to think more positively of the United States and the value of unity.

THE WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The Civil War introduced an age of new turmoil, when the inventive energies of Americans were geared to private money-making on a vast scale, when a vulgar, brassy element came to dominate much of American life, and when the ruling moral attitude seemed to be 'the devil take the hindmost'⁵. It was an age made remarkable by a great industrial revolution, during which the extremes of wealth became more noticeable, and the immigrants of many different nationalities transformed the eastern cities to such an extent that America lost much of its former Anglo-Saxon character.

Although there had been much industrial development before the Civil War, in the decades following the war every individual record was shattered. Three forces contributed towards this—the opening up of the western prairies for food production, the new inventions based on steel, and a wave of immigration unequalled in history for its richness and variety of talent. These produced the days of the multi-millionaires, the days of 'big business', when the first attempts at mass-organization and mass-production were made. Soon American exports going overseas would draw attention to America's lead in industrial matters. And from this it was a natural step for Americans to take a renewed interest in affairs beyond their own continent.

THE GREAT PLAINS

Between the settled farmlands and the Rockies lay the Great Plains—a country with little water and less timber, inhabited by buffalo and the wild coyotes. This vast prairie region with the great clouds sailing overhead was the one physical challenge remaining

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to energetic Americans. It had been seen and passed over by the pioneers seeking the well-watered and well-timbered Oregon coast, but it was not forgotten, and when the tools arrived which could make conquest possible, enterprising men and women were not lacking. Railroads, deep-drilled wells, repeater rifles, barbed wire and reaper binders provided the necessary tools for their success.

The continental railroads were the creators of a united continent; in time they combined raw materials, workers and manufactured goods into the fabric of a machine-made civilization. But they were also achievements in themselves. The Union and Central Pacific (completed in 1869), the Northern Pacific of 1883, the Santa Fe railroad and the Southern Pacific, these were all fabulous undertakings, both in the manner of their construction and in the financial operations necessary for their completion. They were built over lonely and barren country by a strange mixture of men—border ruffians, Chinese coolies and labourers from Europe—who thought nothing of working in snow, or blasting fifteen tunnels through the High Sierras. And as the engineers pushed on the construction, at an average rate of some three miles a day, gentlemen in frock-coats gathered in eastern offices to collect the private funds and federal loans needed to finance the work. The swearing, quarrelling labourers it seems had their counterparts among the tough, crooked financiers, many of whom grew rich out of the investors' money. The Big Four of the Central Pacific railroad, for example, swindled the public to such an extent that each left over forty million dollars at his death.

These continental railroads enabled the remaining Indians to be rounded up; their specially protected trains took men, armed with repeater rifles, to slaughter the herds of dangerous buffalo; their wagons carried westwards crowds of fortune-hunters, seeking mineral wealth in the hills of Nevada and Montana, or in the Black Hills of Dakota. They took out men and their tools and brought back food and other raw materials.

The mining kingdoms were short-lived but picturesque. Be-whiskered miners feverishly staked out their claims along the riverbeds; tired prospectors drank bad liquor in crude log-cabin camps;

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the crack of the revolver was often heard above the merry note of the violin, and life was exciting but precarious. Altogether two billion dollars worth of precious metals for the nation's wealth was produced, together with countless dramas for future film sagas of the roaring West.

About the same time as the miners established American outposts in the hills, the cowboy wandered along the last frontier. His life was hard and, despite the beauty of the daytime clouds or the still magical nights when he crooned to his cattle, it was exceedingly lonely.

Oh, bury me not on the lone prairie,
Where the wild coyotes will howl o'er me;
Where rattlesnakes hiss and the wind flows free,
Oh, bury me not on the lone prairie.

Soon, however, the southern scrublands were enclosed by barbed wire into cattle ranches, cattle-breeding became a great industry, and then the splendid horsemanship and the picturesque costume of the cowboys found a place in the folk-lore of America. The rough life of the ranch, the intermittent war with cattle-rustlers, the annual round-up, the branding, and the long drive to the cattle towns at terminal points on the new railroads, all provided material for story and song. But it was part of a harsh competitive world. Year by year the cowboys and cattle towns grew in number. Soon cattlemen found they could winter their cattle on the rich grasses as far north as Wyoming. Then in tens of thousands the Texas longhorn pounded out new trails, guided north by sweating cowboys who urged them on with 'a whoop and a yea, get along, my little dogies.. .Wyoming may be your new home⁵.

Meanwhile in the packing houses of St Louis, Kansas City, Omaha and Chicago, immigrant slaughtermen, often ankle-deep in blood, turned the cattle into food for millions at home and overseas. The refrigerator and the invention of the first airtight tin-can in 1879 did much to make such wholesale food production profitable.

The cattle barons had it all their own way at first, taking over more and more Indian land, ruthlessly barring their smaller competitors and waging war on the sheepmen whose herds threatened

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their grass. But in due course the reaper-binder, invented in 1872 together with the successful transfer of special Russian rustproof wheat, made possible the large-scale cultivation of the northern prairies for wheat. Great quantities of grain were carried east for American cities, with more to spare for export abroad to Britain and other parts of Europe.

Scarcely had the cattlemen and farmers begun to jostle each other on the Great Plains when the first settlers arrived. Now the last invasion of the Prairies took place. Swarming families of homesteaders, backed by the federal government in the Homestead Act of 1862 and later edicts, sought to carve out 'nests'³ of cultivation in the open plain. By fair means and foul the cattlemen resisted. They flouted the land-laws, fenced in vast areas over which they claimed natural rights, monopolized the water-courses and at times used physical violence on the homesteaders, on their sheep and goats, and on their pigs and their chickens. But it was a losing fight. The settlers could invoke the arm of the law and they came in ever greater numbers. When railroad kings, such as Jay Cooke of the Northern Pacific and Hill of the Great Northern, provided loans for the many immigrants seeking farms, a land-rush developed. Russians, Germans, Scandinavians, Scots and Englishmen poured into the West in their thousands, seeking their fortune in a plot of land. Soon five million farmers were trying to make a living on the plains where a decade before the bison had roamed.

The change was so rapid that by the close of the 'eighties the mines were well regulated businesses, owned by eastern corporations; much of the prairie land was cropped by cows *hi* a well-settled farming scene. Only in the far-off valleys did there seem much hope of a new land for the taking. Life in such areas demanded a special brand of courage from the farmers and their wives, for in time of drought on their skimpy farms the corn shrivelled up and the vines withered, the south wind blew a flinty dust in every corner of their homes, and there seemed nothing for which to hope. Some endured and survived; others languished and died. Dirt and drudgery, heat and drought and utter loneliness brought about the first retreats from the West.

A last glimpse of a successful western land-grab is afforded by

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the cheerful, frantic rush into Oklahoma. There, in 1889, the last Indian reserves were thrown open for settlement. Excited settlers crowded the invading trains and as the first train began to slacken speed' boys, middle-aged men and old fellows threw themselves off the platform⁵ of the train and commenced a wild rush. They fell upon each other, scrambled to their feet and made off for the land-office to register their claim.

The last frontier, like earlier ones, was thoroughly democratic. No profession or work had time to acquire any social prestige and each man staked out his own future. On the frontier men of many different origins mingled freely, and out of the rough-shouldering and violence there grew a universal toleration of race, language and creed. The popular election of officials—even the election of judges—seemed a practical solution in the circumstances, which strengthened American feeling in the direction of active democracy.

Where the individual failed, the mass succeeded. By 1890 the 'frontier' was no more. Six more western states were admitted to the Union, and from them a great volume of food poured eastwards to feed the city workers. By 1912 the political boundaries of the nation were drawn in their modern pattern and by then the individual energies of the frontiersmen were being employed in a diversity of new employments.

BIG BUSINESS

The presidents who followed Lincoln and Johnson were pathetic men, puppets of powerful financiers and businessmen. Grant—the war-hero—was for two terms of office a figurehead behind whom tax-evaders, crooked contractors and corrupt politicians worked their rackets. Even lesser men followed Grant. Not until 1884 did the voters revolt against Republican political managers and put Grover Cleveland, an honest Democrat, into the White House as president. Unfortunately, Cleveland, while not without courage, proved unequal to the task of making really effective reforms. Although he was again president in 1893, ^e could not bring himself to employ strong federal action in industry. He expected the industrialists to behave themselves; instead of this they

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conspired against him. In their passion for money, their need for large-scale organization seemed to outweigh any petty government regulations. Until the end of the century the years of 'rugged individualism', of unbridled capitalism', were also the days of the untaxed multi-millionaire.

The Civil War had enormously stimulated new manufacturing processes and accelerated the development of steam and electric power. From 1860 to 1890 many thousands of patents, issued for new inventions, bore witness to the forward march of technical science. The typewriter in 1873, Bell's telephone in 1876, the adding-machine in 1888 and the cash-register in 1897, together with Edison's incandescent lamp in 1880 and the generating-station in 1882, all quickened the tempo of business, while the Kelley Linotype, a typesetting machine, revolutionized newspaper production.

The discovery of vast new coal-mines and the fabulously rich and pure iron-ore deposits uncovered in the years 1870-90 around the rim of the Great Lakes, along with the application of the Bessemer steel-making process, made American steel production leap to new heights. Steel could now be provided to industry at the cost of 35 dollars a ton instead of the pre-war 300 dollars. By 1890 American steel production had soared above the British output and, backed by great reserves of coal, America suddenly became the foremost industrial nation of the world. By 1910 U.S. coal production was twice the British yearly average.

Nor was this all, for the U.S.A. took the lead in the production of petroleum oil—a drama which began quietly when George Bissell, seeing some oil advertised for its 'wonderful medicinal virtues', engaged a certain 'Colonel' Drake to prospect for it in America. Drake set up his oil-boring equipment near Titusville in Pennsylvania, and one evening in 1859 when Drake and his crew left off work and went home to bed, they left a well 69 feet deep. The following morning it was full of oil. The news quickly spread. Within five years over two million barrels of oil were being obtained annually from this and nearby wells. Many more wells were sunk in various parts of the country, and their exploitation became a major industry, employing many men and producing countless by-products in the process of refining the oil.

Big Business

It required organization of a high degree to make use of this natural wealth in such a large country and at such speed. Two men stand supreme among the many millionaire organizers who appeared at this time: Andrew Carnegie and John Rockefeller. Carnegie had come to America as a boy of twelve; in Pittsburgh his wide-awake, industrious work, accompanied by shrewd investments, brought him a small fortune before he was thirty. Then in 1865 he began to concentrate on iron and steel. His organizing genius began to assert itself in railroads, steamers, iron-mills and all the inventions allied to the production and use of iron. He bought up his rivals and built up a vertical trust, a near monopoly of the whole process from ore to steel. In 1901 the United States Steel Corporation was formed by a merger of Carnegie and his remaining rivals. Carnegie, now an old man, retired with over 1000 million dollars to spend as he pleased; his ruthless business methods were now matched by his generous and far-reaching gifts to libraries and other charitable causes.

Meanwhile Rockefeller, a silent, austere businessman from Cleveland, Ohio, was building up the Standard Oil Company. By 1882 he had a virtual monopoly of the transportation and refining of petroleum, and by 1900 he had established an empire even greater than Carnegie's. Other men followed suit and many thousands of independent businesses were quickly consolidated into a few hundred giant trusts. The 'beef' trust, the 'salt' trust, the American Tobacco Company, the Diamond Match Company, the American Telegraph Company, the whisky trust, the rubber trust—these and several more commodities were controlled by single groups of businessmen. Vast fortunes became common. The pace had been set earlier by Cornelius Vanderbilt who, by consolidating the eastern railways, had accumulated 200 million dollars. In the end, J. P. Morgan, a banker, who rose from railroads to play with ships and steel, and then to link forces with William Rockefeller to hold the financial strings of many large firms, became the individual record holder. His capital assets at one time totalled 22,000 million dollars.

Less immediately noticeable than such business deals, but more revolutionary in its ultimate effects, was the work of Henry Ford in

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this period. He, more than any other, displayed to the world those gifts of organization by which Americans are known today, and by his way of making motor-cars began a new * industrial' revolution. Having assembled his first motor-car in 1896, almost by himself, Ford continued for ten years to build cars as one does a house. With the chassis as the foundation, each part was added, often by the same man, and nothing was moved till the whole was finished. By this method Ford built a car in the record time of 12 hours 28 minutes. But he was not satisfied. He broke the assembly process of his car engines into eighty-four separate operations and then arranged for each operation to be done by a different man. By this means he found that he could build engines at four times the previous rate. Other parts of the car were soon assembled in a similar manner.

Then, borrowing an idea from the Chicago meat-packing houses, where each butcher took a portion off the animal's carcass from an overhead trolley, Ford hit upon the idea of a moving assembly-line. When each sub-assembly was added to the chassis while it was moved by a rope at a convenient speed to the appropriate fitter, he found that he could assemble a car in less than six hours. His first conveyor belt, which carried components in sufficient numbers for several cars to be assembled simultaneously, enabled him to cut this time to 1 hour 33 minutes for each car. In due course, by further refinements of procedure, Ford's methods of mass-production were to achieve an even greater speed-up. In 1915 one Ford car (Model T) was completed every 10 seconds. Applied to other production problems, mass-production methods soon became world-wide in their effect.

REFORMERS

While the average American, especially if he lived in a city, benefited by a higher standard of food and transportation, there was also much individual suffering. Mass-production and lower prices were at first achieved at the expense of social justice. In the great monopoly organizations a mere handful of financiers, sustained by absentee shareholders, neither knew nor cared much about the hardship of cramped factory conditions, the squalor of slum

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dwelling, or the misery of low wages. Moreover, the American worker was so obsessed by the necessity of holding his own job in competition from poorer and more desperate immigrants that he was slow to assert the rights of his fellow workers. Strike action was rarely successful, for although Samuel Gompers by 1886 had built up various craft unions into the American Federation of Labour, the great mass of workers was unorganized, and in any case the swift use of federal or private troops to break a strike was a normal feature of big-business methods.

Conditions in American factories were akin to the evils once present in England and Germany, but there was in America a greater disregard for the consequences of speed. Americans of all kinds, besides exposing the vices of the trusts and the corruption of politics, pointed a finger at the effects of this industrial recklessness. As early as 1873 Mark Twain had observed the shoddiness of the new urban civilization in a book called *The Gilded Age* and later Upton Sinclair, more bitterly, revealed the horrors of unfeeling capitalism. His novel, *The Jungle* (1906), in its title aptly summarized the conditions then common in Chicago meat-packing houses.

Some reforms took place at state level, but the first national wave of protest began, strangely enough, among the western farmers. Out of their social and political clubs, called Granges, a grumbling reform movement grew into Farmers' Alliances and thence into a crusading political party. After the elections of 1890 this new Populist Party spread quickly through all the sparsely populated areas of the west and south. A presidential candidate polled a million votes in 1892, and then in 1896 Populists, Democrats and others, gripped by the magnetic personality of William Jennings Bryan, came together in an electoral campaign against the financial monopoly of the eastern Republican bosses.

Since 1873 Congress had organized the monetary system on the basis of gold in place of the bimetallism of gold and silver. Now, with western mines full of silver and farmers everywhere suffering from overproduction and low prices, many felt that an increase in the supply of money by the recoinage of the silver dollar would solve all their problems. Bryan's speeches emphasized the

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dependence of the cities upon the farms, and his famous peroration, 'You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold'⁵, seemed to express every feeling of poverty-stricken men struggling against the 'money bags' of the eastern cities.

The 1896 election was in effect won by Mark Hanna, the Republican Party manager, who organized bribery of voters on such a vast scale for his candidate that Bryan was defeated. But the hopes Bryan had roused lived on, and subsequently many of his proposed reforms, purged of their 'silver'⁵ oratory, became law.

A second wave of protest began to form with a new group of reformers. These Progressives operated less frantically than the Populists. They concentrated their efforts at state level and against particular injustices, such as the abolition of child-labour, of drunkenness, of slum dwellings and of savage criminal punishments. Useful reforms were made by a number of states. Child-labour was regulated, an eight-hour day became the goal for every worker, and workmen's compensation laws in turn produced safer working conditions. In many states trade unions won the right to strike and to bargain collectively for better conditions. But still only a minority of workers were protected by law and a national federal policy was needed.

Something was at least attempted by Theodore Roosevelt, when he became president in 1901. 'Teddy'⁵ Roosevelt was a self-dramatizing man who nevertheless realized the needs of the masses for what he called 'a square deal'⁵. When he spoke of the need to purify the trusts he swiftly became in the popular view a 'trust buster'⁵, more than he intended. In reality, like most Americans, he both feared and admired the trusts. However, by strengthening the existing anti-trust laws he did succeed in supervising the management of the railroads and he definitely checked the worst evils of the other trusts. Furthermore, heartened by a wave of prosperity and his own re-election in 1904, he went on to initiate a far-reaching federal plan to conserve the forests, soil and mineral wealth of America, which did much to get the idea of federal action accepted. Under the next president, Taft, a federal income-tax was authorized and several minor federal reforms were passed which were useful beginnings.

Reformers

By 1912 the reform movement was so strong that Woodrow Wilson, elected Democratic president in that year, could safely declare war on the privileges of the trusts. By a series of Acts he also secured federal control of banking and brought living and working conditions in many backward states up to a federal minimum. Wilson was an idealistic university professor with a penetrating intelligence and a detached mind, well able to unravel the complexities of political life and, like a surgeon, to put his finger upon the underlying evils. But he was no rabble-rouser and on his own he could never have grappled with the unsavoury politicians of the day. Fortunately he was given the confidence of the people and this carried him through the task of reform. By a strange destiny he was similarly catapulted into the role of war-time president, which enabled him to become the architect of the uneasy peace that followed the World War of 1914-18. For the moment, however, there was enough for him to do in America; indeed it was not until Franklin Roosevelt's presidency that the needs of the unfortunate were really considered by a federal government.

THE MELTING-POT

Among the problems which Americans could fairly claim to have solved was the problem of assimilating the great numbers of foreign immigrants who began to swell their population towards the end of the nineteenth century. Immigration had played relatively little part in the early nineteenth-century growth of population from a mere four million in 1790 to ten times that number in 1870, but by that date 45 per cent of the population had at least one parent who was foreign-born. In the next forty years, from 1870 to 1910, almost 20 million new immigrants entered the United States. In one decade, 1900 to 1910, they came in at the rate of one a minute. Such a volume of immigration not only helped to double the population to 92 millions by 1911, but severely tested the social habits of older Americans.

The earlier immigrants had been mostly of Anglo-Saxon stock. They had also spread themselves evenly throughout the north and west, into farming and industry. The 'new' immigrants on the whole

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were from southern and eastern Europe, Italians, Poles and Slovaks, Russians and Jews. These families arrived with less money and less chance of acquiring land than earlier immigrants, so they congregated in the industrial centres of the east and Middle West, working as unskilled labourers in mines, mills and factories. Chiefly they supplied brawn; they also brought a touch of richness and colour. In individual cases they brought a developed culture. Painting, sculpture and music received a creative impulse previously lacking; in science, and later in politics, they contributed distinctive and valuable elements.

With astonishing rapidity most of the foreigners became Americans. This was partly due to their determination to accept new ways. Long before they saw the great Statue of Liberty, bidding them welcome, they were resolved on a new life and, once in America, the realization that they too could share in the building of a new country confirmed them in their desire to be truly American. Above all they resolved that their children should grow up as Americans in thought and action. Thus arose the concept of the 'melting-pot'⁵. The spread of popular education and the general use of the English language did much to make the children aware of a common American heritage, in which certain basic ideals of liberty, toleration and opportunity for the hard-working played their part in creating good citizens.

In a number of cities, however, the new immigrants aggravated the problems of housing, sanitation and illiteracy; this was particularly so among those who found adjustment to the new way of life difficult. Violence and crime tended to mar their neighbourhoods, often to such an extent that the schools could not always iron out the difficulties. About 1900 a widespread feeling developed that it was time to call a halt to unrestricted immigration. Labour organizations resented the continual debasing of wages by the immigrants; old-stock Americans disliked having so many Mediterranean newcomers and others felt America had people and problems enough. There were 75 million people in America in 1900 and 92 million in 1911. Various bills in congress attempted to impose a literacy test for admission to the United States, but it was not until 1917 that this became law.

The Melting-Pot

Eventually, in a progressive series of laws, 1921, 1924 and 1929, Congress established a 'quota'³ system for each year which limited the number of immigrants from all but Canada, Mexico and the states of South America, and immigration even from these was controlled. So by 1930 an era of American history came to an end. Thereafter the foreign-born, instead of turning their backs on Europe, began to think, as solid respectable voters, in terms of help for their fellow-oppressed through a more active American foreign policy.

AMERICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS (TO 1914)

All the time American industry was concentrated upon the growing home-market, political leaders were unable to direct attention abroad. The 'manifest destiny'⁵ of Americans was to people the vast western lands and to create a prosperous and tolerant civilization. By the opening of the twentieth century, however, pressing problems of overseas trade caused them to look outwards. A growing interest in the rest of the American hemisphere was the first sign that the 'manifest destiny' of the U.S.A. might be extended to embrace the former settlements of Spain, and the negative attitude struck by the Monroe doctrine—'hands off America'—swiftly became a more protective feeling.

The internal quarrels of Latin-American republics did not at first invite intervention, but in Cuba, still ruled by Spain, a revolt against their European governors in 1895 gained the sympathy of Americans, and when in 1898 the U.S.A. warship *Maine* lying peacefully at anchor in Havana harbour, was blown up, an outburst of indignation sent the American navy into action against Spain. Battle was joined first in the far-off Philippines, where Commodore Dewey destroyed the entire Spanish fleet in Manila Bay without losing an American life. But soon an army corps landed in Cuba and newspaper correspondents were able to trumpet the renown of the nation's new heroes. The war was over within a year. Hawaii was annexed by the U.S.A., control of Cuba was temporarily transferred to the U.S.A. to prepare for independence, and Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines became American for 20 million dollars.

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Theodore Roosevelt, who first caught the public eye as leader of the 'Rough Riders', a cavalry regiment specially recruited by him for service in Cuba., in many ways personified the boisterous energy of Americans in this period. Exuberant, full-blooded, versatile and often surprising in his enthusiasms, Roosevelt not only captured the imagination of his fellow Americans, but delighted many people in Europe by his joyful and inquisitive nature. With him Americans began to show their interest in the affairs of other lands.

During his presidency (1901-8) American financiers and engineers took advantage of a rebellion in Columbia to secure exclusive rights from the new state of Panama to build a canal across the isthmus. This Panama Canal was not completed until 1914 but in the meantime American businessmen made investments in Latin America and extended their own operations to the ports of China. American politicians joined their voices to Europeans in demanding trading rights in Asia and, being late in the race, favoured an 'open door'⁵ for all nations in China. In general Americans showed their interest abroad by criticizing the 'imperialism'³ of others, but already by 1914 their 'dollar diplomacy' could be regarded as equally suspicious. They had for long ignored the problems of the outside world. Now they came to believe they possessed special qualifications for saving the peoples of the world from poverty and war. The presence in their midst of so many nationalities from the older world did much to remind them of their responsibilities.

Certainly by the twentieth century Americans were looking beyond America. As American techniques began to transform the industrial organization of Europe, American politicians—full of confidence in their own continental achievements—became increasingly intolerant of old-fashioned dynastic conservatism and petty national divisions. They began to fancy themselves as advisers and go-getters for the rest of the world. The Great War of 1914-18, a European domestic tragedy, served to strengthen the growing conviction among Americans that the fresh brains of the New World were needed to solve the problems of the Old.

6

EUROPE REORGANIZED

I: THE FRENCH EXAMPLE

The French Revolution, which began in 1789 as a movement to reform France, ended by reforming Europe. In their struggle against the privileges of their nobles, Frenchmen discovered a new sense of kinship which, when carried into the other lands of Europe by their armies, induced similar national enthusiasms. Much of the revolutionary spirit was given practical form by the changes effected in France and Europe by Napoleon Bonaparte who, as a successful young general, managed to seize power in 1799. So great was his talent for reorganization that most of the countries of Europe profited from his energy, before they combined to reject his rule.

Throughout the nineteenth century Frenchmen continued to assume the leadership of Europe. But two factors combined to make their claims less effective. One was their inability to agree on a generally acceptable form of government until 1875. The other was the unification of Germany and its development into a highly industrialized state. The population of France rose by only a few millions, while that of Britain and Germany more than doubled. Even so the example of Frenchmen served as both an inspiration and a warning to the peoples of Europe in the nineteenth century; and in many respects the ideas of the French Revolution are a continuing force in world affairs today.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Nothing so dramatic as a revolution appeared likely in France in the late eighteenth century. France was outwardly the most advanced country in Europe at this time, and such injustice as was found there was by no means confined to France.

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Louis XIV had achieved much, but only at the expense of creating problems for his successors. He had left great debts; he had encouraged his nobles to be frivolous and so neglect their duties to their tenants; he had created a state where every decision was to be made by the king and his royal officials. Unfortunately, of the kings who followed him, Louis XV (1715-74) lacked his sense of duty and Louis XVI (1774-93) lacked his regal dignity. Both failed to make the firm and sensible day-to-day decisions required of them in a centralized state.

During the eighteenth century the royal taxation had grown heavier and more unfair. Some 24 million peasants paid half their income in various forms of tax, while half a million nobles and bishops managed to secure almost total exemption from direct taxation. Moreover the 'tax-farming' method of collection resulted in excessive amounts being taken: the salt tax, for example, cost the peasants 60 million livres, but only 20 million livres reached the government.

This state of affairs was not unusual in the lands of Europe, and overseas greater hardships undoubtedly existed. But in France there were a number of enlightened noblemen, a growing number of merchants and lawyers, and others of a middle class, who spoke openly of such abuses, even if their criticisms were not taken seriously. There were also plenty of thrifty peasants who, though owning nearly half the village lands, cast envious eyes on the ill-used lands of absentee nobles and casual churchmen in their province, and fiercely resented the feudal privileges of such men.

Many felt the laws of France were out of date. Protestants murmured at the lack of toleration and the occasional persecution. Merchants chafed at the varying systems of weights and measures, and at the number of tolls charged on their goods. A cargo of wine, for example, crossing France by river paid forty tolls. With some 360 different feudal codes of law, all Frenchmen could echo Voltaire's bitter joke: 'you changed your laws every time you changed your horses'³.

By 1788 the income of the royal government was 475 million livres, but the expenditure amounted to 530 million livres. This overspending meant that further loans were needed, but already

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over 300 million livres were being paid out in interest alone on earlier loans. With the king's government now known to be bankrupt further loans became impossible. The obvious solution seemed to be more taxes. Some of the king's advisers, Turgot, Calonne and Necker., proposed taxing the rich more heavily; they also suggested other reforms. The nobles, alarmed at this and realizing the weakness of the king, demanded that they should control the government finances. They called for a meeting of the States-General. This was an assembly of clergy, nobles and other well-to-do classes, organized as three separate estates; it was a form of parliament that had not met in France since 1614. So great was the king's need for money that he gave way: he summoned a States-General for May 1789, thereby "handing in his resignation as a despotic king". Representatives came to Versailles from all over France. Meanwhile an excited crowd, hungry and cold after a hard winter and approaching famine, following a bad harvest, gathered in Paris, all too ready to cheer easy speeches promising bread.

By June it was clear that the nobles were unable to control the States-General and few would consent either to be fully taxed or to lose their special privileges. But among members of the third estate, the lay middle class, meeting separately, there was found a common sense of injustice. As delegate after delegate read out his lists of local grievances, all joined in his anger. When the king chose to ignore their advice and locked the doors of their meeting-room upon them, a great number of delegates declared themselves to be the National Assembly of France, and invited members of the other estates, the clergy and the nobles, to join them. In a disused indoor tennis-court all swore a solemn oath not to go home until the king had accepted their demands. A nobleman, Count Mirabeau, became their chief spokesman.

Would the king give in or attempt to imprison them? At this stage the mob in Paris, inspired by revolutionary speeches and fearful of aristocratic plots to arrest their favourites, marched upon the Bastille, an old fortress believed erroneously to contain a great store of arms. Amid scenes of intense excitement the Bastille was captured. This was on 14 July 1789. The king, finding that he had

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no soldiers willing or able to enforce his orders, was powerless to do anything against either the mob or the members of the Assembly. A revolution was taking place.

The king was not a commanding person. Never very dignified in appearance—he even found wearing his sword an embarrassment—his orders were now confused and hesitant. Tossed between the entreaties of his unpopular queen to be strong and the appeals of Mirabeau to be sensible, he succeeded in offending all classes. Neither he nor the reformers would trust Mirabeau, who might have reconciled them. With no hand to restrain their enthusiasm, orators in Paris grew more reckless, whilst all over France peasants, aided by local ruffians, began to burn the chateaux of unpopular nobles or to loot their wine cellars. Soon wild rumours began to circulate of a conspiracy of nobles, supported by brigands and foreigners. A great and widespread fear of revenge led to acts of violence against individuals.

Unfortunately, in their haste to reform France, the delegates at Versailles failed to govern France. In need of money, they seized Church lands and used them to back the extravagant issue of assignats—a form of paper currency which, with food supplies dwindling, owing to famine and hoarding, led to increasingly high prices. A great number of useful laws, however, were proposed and some were accepted, including a new national system of metric measurement. Others, accepted reluctantly by the king, included the election of priests and bishops (1790) and the arrangements for a new constitution (September 1791), whereby Frenchmen were to elect their national and local governments.

Mirabeau died in April 1791. Within two months the king was persuaded by the nobles to flee the country to get military help from abroad; he was captured and imprisoned. Few people felt they could put their trust in him any more. From now on all nobles and priests were suspected of being against 'the people', and moderates of every class found themselves accused of dreadful crimes. In Paris the National Guard, composed of middle-class volunteers, could barely keep order. By 1792 every government abroad—except that of republican America—was much alarmed by the course of events in France, and in April 1792 a motley

The French Revolution

group of armies,, hired by noble *emigres* or paid for by the Austrian emperor, began to move on France. To the fear of royal revenge was added the fear of invasion. In such circumstances moderate views were brushed aside.

In August 1792 a group of Parisian orators and journalists seized power and horrified the world by guUotining a thousand of their enemies in four days. This was the first stage in the Reign of Terror which., from September 1792 until 1794, was spasmodically organized by Robespierre., Danton and Marat. Soon the new revolutionaries, through their Committee of Public Safety and their Jacobin clubs, were outdoing all others in their exhortations to Frenchmen to repel the invading armies. Believing attack to be the best form of defence, and that similar revolutions were desirable all over Europe, they declared their support for uprisings abroad, attacked the Austrian Netherlands and seized positions in the Scheldt estuary of the Rhine. In January 1793, tired of argument and fearful of counterplots, they executed the king.

Despite the energy of Robespierre and the brilliance of Carnot, the 'organizer of victory', it took two more years before the enthusiasms of the French volunteer armies and the efficiency of the younger generals produced the 'liberation of France'. Then their success prompted old ambitions to rise in the minds of Frenchmen and the idea of the 'natural frontier' of the Rhine regained its hold.

In Paris the worst excesses were over when, in a second spell of terror in 1794, first Danton and then Robespierre were themselves guillotined. By 1795 Frenchmen were so tired of civil war that they accepted the rule of a small group of men called the Directory; but it was an uneasy period which followed and it was not until 1799 that the taxes were properly collected and the ordinary criminals brought to trial again. In that year Napoleon Bonaparte took charge.

THE SHADOW OF NAPOLEON

There was in France by 1799 such a chaos of old customs, new laws and rival theories, with no certain government and bands of brigands roaming the countryside, that the great need was for a

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strong ruler, one to command respect for the law and to ensure safety of person and property. This Napoleon promised, and largely achieved.

Through his command of the army and his rapidly growing ability to decide which changes the majority wanted and which were practicable. Napoleon secured the acquiescence of most Frenchmen in his reforms. Ordinary men had little liberty under him, but they had an equality of opportunity as much as any noble who remained in France. They paid heavily in taxes but under Napoleon they could also share in the mounting roll of French military victories.

The energy of Napoleon was remarkable, yet his main contribution to France was his ability to organize men of talent. He chose officials according to their usefulness, and promoted soldiers according to merit. ^c Every soldier carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack', he said. He improved military education in the new *lycees* restored the Catholic priests to the French villages (but appointed the bishops himself) and urged lawyers and administrators to make the laws well known and effective. Despite his military preoccupations he found time to attend over half the 106 lawyers' meetings at which were prepared the great Code Napoleon. These five sets of laws combined Roman ideas, French monarchical laws and many revolutionary decrees into a coherent whole; they not only form the basis of modern French law, but have also influenced the laws of a dozen other countries.

His successes abroad were even more spectacular. By 1807 Napoleon's armies had defeated Austria, Prussia and Russia: his soldiers were garrisoning towns from Poland to Spain, from Hanover to Naples. Hundreds of German states had been united into an efficient handful, and in Italy a dozen former states had been reduced to three.

Many enjoyed the new opportunities: idle nobles found new purpose in the ranks of Napoleon's officials, common men found new hope as soldiers in Napoleon's armies; but Napoleon's ambitions knew no bounds. His passion for order, it seemed, grew with every conquest; his grand design for Europe was indeed in time to provide a model for Hitler's New Order. Each conceived

The Shadow of Napoleon

a Europe united by force of arms and ruled by a superior nation; in each case the benefits of such unity meant the loss of many individual liberties. This realization helped to bring about the downfall of Napoleon.

When the Portuguese, followed by the Spaniards, revolted in 1807 against his demand to control the trade of Europe the British were able to gain a foothold on the continent and to show how French armies could be defeated. The British army in the peninsula made a decisive contribution to 'the Spanish ulcer' which from 1808 onwards drained away much of Napoleon's strength.

Finally, following a disastrous campaign against Russia in 1812, Napoleon found himself assailed by new and determined foes. Men everywhere felt it was time to remove the 'Corsican ogre' whose grand schemes seemed so selfish at heart. At Leipzig in 1813 Prussian, Russian and Austrian armies surrounded Napoleon's forces and stormed the city. The following year Napoleon surrendered to the English navy. Although he escaped and made a remarkable comeback for a * Hundred Days' in 1815 he was defeated again at Waterloo. He was then sent to the island of St Helena in mid-Atlantic, a lonely but not forgotten man. Before he died there in 1821 a halo had risen over his head. His shadow was upon Europe for a century.

METTERNICH'S EUROPE

In 1815 the statesmen of Europe gathered at Vienna to redraw the map and to calm the emotions of excited peoples. Prince Metternich, the Foreign Minister of Austria, was a man well able to understand the need for rest, and clever enough to impose his will upon his former allies. Already respected for his opposition to Napoleon, Metternich had powerful friends all over Europe, who shared his desire to restore as much as possible of the *ancien regime* of kings, princes and landowners. Metternich was a good-looking, but rather prim aristocrat. Cultivated, conceited and intelligent in an uncreative way, he was an exceedingly able diplomat, devoted to his adopted country of Austria, and clear-sighted enough to recognize the continuing dangers of the French

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Revolution, an event which, in common with other great noble landowners, he much regretted.

Under Metternich's guiding hand, the Congress of Vienna took little note of the wishes of the ordinary people. As one might expect, the main object of the statesmen was to prevent a recurrence of war. To do this every effort was made to ring France with strong buffer states and to reward the victors, if possible, in the same move. Prussia was therefore allowed to advance to the Rhine, with much land around Cologne. Bavaria was given more territory and an enlarged Kingdom of the Netherlands was created. For this Austria surrendered her former Belgian lands in return for Lombardy and Venetia, two rich and easily taxed lands in north Italy. The legitimate kings were restored to Spain and Portugal, and Poland was given into the custody of the Tsar of Russia, whose troops were still there. Other favoured rulers made small gains elsewhere. Much of Italy was restored to foreign rulers, but in Germany even Metternich realized that the three hundred or so different German states could not all be restored; so only thirty-nine were revived in enlarged form, and these were loosely joined into a German Confederation, which was to enjoy an infrequent assembly of delegates under an Austrian president.

Metternich could not forget the French Revolution. Revolution was to him 'a monster...a disease...a volcano...a gangrene which must be burnt out with a hot iron \ Equally dangerous were nationalism and liberalism, the two heads of this dreadful monster. Both had to be resolutely opposed. Nationalism was the feeling that all peoples wanting a government of their own should have it. Liberalism was the belief that some form of parliamentary government was needed to give ordinary people greater control over their own affairs. In 1815 it was usual for both sets of ideas to be held by the same kind of men; nationalists were frequently liberals and although liberals hoped to achieve their aim of a parliamentary constitution by persuasion, the determined opposition of Metternich made revolution the only means at their disposal.

Much of Metternich's concern for propping up the past was due to the problems of the Austrian empire, where the various races, Hungarians, Czechs and Croats, as well as Italians, grumbled at

Mettemich? s Europe

their Austrian officials and were not entirely unaffected by French ideas. 'My empire is like a worm-eaten house. Once one part is removed., heaven knows how much will fall', said the Emperor Francis. Mettemich knew this, and while ruling the empire wisely, took care that there should be no encouragement to change anywhere. 'Lombards must forget that they are Italians', said Mettemich. If the echoes of this cry lost conviction it was not for want of repetition. Like a spider Mettemich wove a European web to entangle the busy revolutionary flies. In Central Europe few, at first, escaped. When, for example, revolts broke out in Spain and Naples and demonstrations took place in Germany in favour of a constitution, Mettemich inspired the resistance. His spies discovered the ringleaders—'My daughter cannot even sneeze, but Prince Mettemich will know of it', lamented an Italian. Mettemich obtained support of the French and Prussian kings and soon even the Russian Tsar, Alexander, who had once shown some sympathy for liberals, was persuaded to check dangerous thoughts among students and army officers.

Yet even Mettemich had his limits. The rebellions in Naples and in Spain were crushed, but the far-off Spanish colonies could not be controlled. In the years 1822-3 their independence was gained, abetted by the American president and the British Foreign Secretary. Nearer home, in the years 1821-30, Russian support for the Greeks, in rebellion against their Turkish masters, resulted in Greek national independence being recognized by the great powers of the Treaty of London (1830). Again, in 1830 the Belgians successfully revolted against their Dutch king who, among other errors, had unduly favoured his Protestant subjects, and this, too, Mettemich had to accept.

By 1830 British sympathy for subject nationalities and the re-emergence of French liberals together reduced Mettemich's hold on the governments of Europe. The French Revolution of 1830, which replaced one king by another, was admittedly a comparatively mild one, but it encouraged further risings in central Italy and in Poland, and although in Italy Austrian soldiers quickly restored order and in Poland the rebels were crushed by Russian forces, Mettemich's power was being undermined in other ways.

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Bankers and railway-builders began to transform north-western Europe, increasing the number of wealthy middlemen and augmenting the size and number of towns. The demands of the liberals, as a result, grew in volume and intensity. By 1848, following a year of bad harvests throughout Europe, popular misery could be used by middle-class politicians to raise widespread rioting. In France agitators frightened Louis Philippe into abdication and a republic was declared. 'When France catches cold all Europe sneezes', said Metternich. So it was. In almost every state of Germany excited writers and speakers demanded local parliaments and other liberal reforms. In Italy liberals and nationalists sought to throw off the yoke of unpopular foreign rulers in the hope that the various states might unite into an Italian republic. Even at Vienna there were riots; and throughout the Austrian empire Bohemians, Hungarians and Italians struggled to achieve national independence. Metternich was forced to flee from Vienna and, although Austrian armies, supported in Hungary by the Croats and Russians, eventually restored Habsburg rule, he was too old to return. He died in 1850. His successors in Austria concentrated more closely upon internal affairs, so Frenchmen were able once more to aspire to the leadership of Europe.

THE FRENCH ROUNDABOUT (1815-1900)

The restored monarchy

In 1815 Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, returned to France and 'celebrated his arrival by a review of the troops which had invaded French soil'. Although he gained the support of two former ministers of Napoleon, Talleyrand and Fouché, the king was not welcomed by the mass of French people. They acquiesced for the sake of peace. In the circumstances he acted most sensibly. His pride in the ancestry of his family was balanced by a desire for a comfortable, cultivated life. 'He took care of his gout and took care also that the restored monarchy should last his time.' He accepted the charter of liberties urged on him by the Tsar and Talleyrand, and declared his wish 'that all Frenchmen may live like brothers'. Like Charles II of England he had 'no wish to go on his travels again'.

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The charter required a French parliament of two Chambers. Although only 100,000 rich Frenchmen were allowed to vote, this was a start. And since the charter promised that no lands should be restored to the nobles or the Church, the peasant landowners were well content. The charter also proclaimed equality of opportunity, freedom of religion, and some freedom of the press; it required all to contribute in taxation according to fortune and sought to ensure trial by jury. Many felt that all that was needed was patience and skill to convert the public rights of the charter into permanent practice.

Unfortunately many of the supporters of Louis XVIII were ultra-royalists, *men^c plus royalistes que le roi*. They were impatient to regain the upper-class privileges of the eighteenth century, and they found in the king's brother, the Duke of Artois, a natural leader. He had no intention of being bound by the charter. 'I would rather saw wood than be in the position of an English king', he said, and when in 1824 Louis XVIII died, his body broken with gout, the duke became Charles X. The new king was sixty-seven years of age and lost little time in choosing his ministers from the ultra-royalists, who despised the parliament, and together they provided large sums of money to dispossessed *emigres* to enable them to buy back their former lands. But the king's early popularity did not last. Many romantic writers, including Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo, who had welcomed him as a sincere Catholic, were disappointed. He spurned their good advice, and jeopardized the honesty of the royal officials and the post-war mayors by purges of all who disliked his policy. His lack of imagination was his ultimate undoing, for when the elections of 1830 went against his wishes he not only issued five ordinances, virtually abolishing parliament, but casually went hunting, making few preparations in case of opposition. He expected a few broken panes of glass. Instead there was a revolution.

The July Ordinances of 1830 included an almost total ban on newspapers. Thousands of printers and journalists were thus affected; in a matter of hours workers threw up barricades in protest against the king's action and two regiments of soldiers mutinied. News of the barricades frightened the king. As the revolutionary crowds surged through Paris he left hurriedly for England.

The citizen king

The revolution of 1830 proved a brief one. At the house of Talleyrand there gathered a varied group of liberal nobles, middle-class bankers and writers to discuss the situation. Among them was Adolphe Thiers, a young journalist, bursting with a sense of his own importance and confident that he held the key to a constitutional monarchy. While the workers gathered round their old hero, Lafayette, and looked for a republic, Thiers placarded Paris with the name of Louis Philippe. This relative of the former king was hurriedly brought into the city to embrace Lafayette and accept the tricolour as a symbol that it would be 'from the people that he will hold his crown' (Thiers). The older members of the middle classes, with memories of the guillotine, feared a repetition of mob violence. To these, Louis Philippe, a duke of royal lineage yet willing to become a 'citizen king'⁵, seemed an ideal compromise. He was accepted, with some doubts, by the masses.

The number of voters was doubled, the press received more freedom than ever; and parliament rapidly became an accepted part of French life. Since the peaceful policy of Louis Philippe aroused no antagonism abroad, it also seemed likely that Frenchmen could forget about revolutions and concentrate on increasing trade.

At first the bankers and lawyers, the politicians and the journalists could twist the king round their finger. But Louis Philippe proved to have a Bourbon taste for giving orders, and although he never gained the respect of the old royalists—he lit his own study fire and walked about Paris with a green umbrella—he was too conceited to remain in the background of politics for long. In home affairs he was still content to let the middle classes get rich. A policy of *laissez-faire* he was advised, was best. As it happened, Louis was not much interested in trade or in social problems. In foreign affairs, however, he wished to hold all the strings. So when Thiers, as chief minister 1836-40, sought in his fussy, energetic way to wage an adventurous foreign policy, frightening to the king, who was resolved to be 'the Napoleon of peace', the king dismissed him. In 1840 he secured the services of Guizot, and for eight years Guizot was admirable in defending the king.

The French Roundabout {1815-1900}

'He is my mouthpiece', said the king. There could be no violent change. Thus to give more people the vote would be dangerous: Guizot believed they must be educated first.

No one doubted Louis Philippe's courage, for he survived numerous attempts on his life, but his placid, unglorious foreign policy and his refusal to make any social improvements led to many mocking cartoons in which he was likened to a sleepy pear. Even his acts of imagination, such as completing the Arc de Triomphe or bringing home the ashes of Napoleon to France, were ridiculed. 'Vive l'empereur' (the old emperor) was his reward, never 'Vive le roi'. He roused little affection and commanded no loyalty; his reign merely dragged on uneventfully. * France is bored', cried the poet Lamartine, and when in February 1848 Guizot refused to allow another private banquet, arranged to demand the reform of parliament, street scuffles grew into demonstrations, which chanted * Down with Guizot!'

Louis Philippe failed to act quickly. 'Louis Philippe and Guizot⁵, writes one historian, 'were like men who did not believe their house was on fire, because they had the key in their pocket.' Guizot was not replaced at once by a more popular minister, he merely resigned, and then Louis Philippe, sensing at last the lack of personal support, lost heart and abdicated. He was seventy-five years of age and if his action was not heroic it was at least common sense—only by bloodshed could he save his throne and he was too humane for that.

The Second Republic

Throughout France there was a sense of relief. Every group began to demand its particular cure for all ills. Army officers and the admirers of Napoleon wanted a more glorious foreign policy. The republicans toasted the return of the glorious days of 1792 when Frenchmen followed the ideals of liberty and fraternity. The socialists planned a scheme of social workshops to end unemployment. Even the middle classes had grown tired of mere money-grabbing. The revolutionaries of 1848 were full of new ideals. The voice of the great poet and republican orator Lamartine was most in tune with the prevailing mood. He headed a provisional

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republican government and it was he who secured the acceptance of universal suffrage as the basis for new elections. These were scheduled for May 1848.

Meanwhile an idea of Louis Blanc found favour. In common with other socialists, Louis Blanc had been impressed by the writings of St Simon (died 1825) who had urged the abolition of all private property and the organization of all industry by the state. Blanc's own book *V Organisation du Travail* (1840) advocated the provision of public work for the unemployed and his arguments now found ready acceptance among lower-class Frenchmen. Unfortunately his scheme was turned into a farce. At the Champ de Mars (near the site of the present Eiffel Tower) men were paid handsomely for filling in the trenches dug by others. Soon thousands left regular work for the higher pay of these 'national workshops'. The cost was mounting and, when the new parliament met, loud were the demands to abolish the workshops.

The new deputies were surprisingly conservative, proving no doubt that every French peasant, with the instinct of a miser, passionately wished to keep what little land and private wealth he had from the clutches of socialists. Karl Marx wrote his Communist Manifesto at this time (1848) and his 'spectre of communism haunting Europe'⁵ was real enough to most French deputies. The workshops were closed, the leading socialist writers and orators were arrested. At this, a swift uprising of angry workers occurred in Paris. It called forth a bloody repression by soldiers under General Cavaignac; in three June days over 3000 were killed in street-fighting.

Later in the year, still on the verge of civil war and uncertain of their tried leaders, all Frenchmen had the chance to elect a president. One of the candidates was Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great emperor; he now appeared in Paris, urging the claims of order, glory and practical sympathy for the poor. Twice already, Louis Napoleon had advertised his claims by invading France. At Strasbourg in 1836 with a handful of followers he had been caught and deported. At Boulogne in 1840 he had been captured and imprisoned. For five years, in his prison 'University of Ham', he had studied and learnt much. He had then made a dramatic

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escape. Meanwhile an earlier book, *Some Napoleonic Ideas* (1839), distributed secretly through France, had won him the attention of many influential men.

Now, as a presidential candidate, he began to win more followers. Several politicians, including Thiers, decided to support him. He might, after all, be ^c a plank from the general shipwreck of monarchism' upon which they could build. In the election Louis Napoleon obtained five and a half million votes, three-quarters of the total votes cast. The mass of his supporters had little idea of his views or of his appearance. To them he was simply a new Napoleon—promising all things to all men.

The Second Empire

Once in office Louis Napoleon built up a group of devoted henchmen. His presidential powers were used to the full, first to defend himself against suspicious deputies who feared his popularity, then to organize a *coup d'etat* which would extend his term of office beyond the allotted period of three years. On the night of 2 December 1851 all his known opponents were arrested, with little fuss and much surface politeness. Eventually over 25,000 were imprisoned or expelled from the country. In the following year, 1852, he declared himself Napoleon III, emperor of the French.

It was, however, an empire with a difference. It was to be a benevolent despotism, with many plans for the improvement of France, and there was to be firm friendship with Britain. His political opponents were to be won over by kindness.

In appearance Napoleon III had the air of 'a dejected parrot', with eyelids drooping over conspirator's eyes; even so his pointed beard and long moustache gave him a grave dignity which to some extent compensated for 'a face like a fish', and if his legs were unusually short he looked well on horseback. In character he was an enigma; few who knew him well disliked him, and his kindness to individuals was matched by a vaguely generous inclination towards everyone. He had none of the brutality of a natural dictator. Unfortunately, whatever his intentions, an incurable love of pleasure and a painful kidney disease robbed him of will-power. France was to suffer from his half-finished tasks and, in

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trying to please all groups, he ended by failing to please any. None the less, the achievements of his reign cannot be ignored. From the first he sought the friendship of Britain; and although in fighting the Crimean War with her as ally he gained little for France, the resulting Congress of Paris in 1856 was skilfully presented as a European affair, which did much to make Frenchmen forget the indignities of the Congress of Vienna forty years earlier.

He was anxious to help Italians in their struggle against Austria, and by sending French troops to aid Piedmont in 1859 he became unwittingly 'the greatest single force in the unification of Italy'. He secured the union of Lombardy with Piedmont and his word was sufficient, after a plebiscite, for three more duchies to join with Piedmont. His own preference was for a loosely federated state under the Pope, but his inability to dictate events was made clear when he sought to protect the Pope from Garibaldi's soldiers and this was responsible for much of his later unpopularity in France.

In France, meanwhile, industrial development went on apace, much aided by Napoleon's network of railways and his banking facilities. In Paris the emperor's personal interest and support enabled Haussmann to rebuild the city on clean, hygienic lines. Its straight, well-lit boulevards, its elegant buildings and spacious parks, all well drained and enlivened by music, made it a tourist centre of considerable financial value and a model for other capital cities.

Every Frenchman was allowed to vote, but Napoleon and his election manager Persigny were careful to secure the best local men as their official candidates and, moreover, Persigny expected his prefects and mayors to use such influence and bribery 'as was necessary' to get the right men elected. Once in parliament they were encouraged to keep Napoleon informed of local opinion, but they were not allowed to decide policy. However, prompted by his half-brother, de Morny, Napoleon from 1863 onwards made a genuine attempt to liberalize his government. At length, in 1870, he allowed the government to be carried on by a prime minister, Emile Ollivier, together with a ministry approved by the assembly of deputies.

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Unfortunately this experiment came too late to have a fair trial* By 1870 illness made Napoleon incapable of any decision, and control of policy passed to O'Hivier and the Empress Eugenie. Together they provoked a war with Prussia. Within six weeks the emperor was a prisoner of Prussia and Paris had declared for a republic. Soon every French army had surrendered. The empire was at an end.

At Bordeaux in May 1871 a provisional government, headed by Thiers, accepted a harsh peace treaty. In Paris a local organization known as the Commune, which violently opposed the authority of the new government, was in the same month brutally crushed by French troops. Outside Paris many favoured a monarchy, but there was little agreement on who should be king. Thiers, the old Orleanist, voiced many thoughts when he declared 'The Republic divides us least'.

The Third Republic

In 1875 a Constitution for the Third French Republic was formally accepted. It provided a set of rules which was to last sixty-five years. As first president, Marshal MacMahon, although a monarchist at heart, did much to give the new republic a good start. In subsequent years it survived much criticism, and took the strain of war as well as much civil discord.

In the years 1886-9, when General Boulanger seemed to promise a war of revenge on Prussia, many were ready to make him a dictator: fortunately he proved a sawdust hero, who disappointed his supporters by not pressing his claims. A few years later officials of the republic were accused of accepting bribes from the Panama Canal construction company, and hardly had this storm subsided than various ministers were held responsible for the unfair treatment of Captain Dreyfus, a Jewish army officer falsely accused of selling military secrets to the Germans.

There was indeed little to praise in the petty corruption of French politics; yet although few social reforms were passed, the parliamentary system seemed to offer the best hope of peaceful change. French socialist and communist deputies increased in number as more workers used their vote, but no one party gained

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a clear-cut majority over its rivals. Ministries shuffled and re-shuffled, so the general direction of policy changed very little, for in practice, in the absence of strong party leaders, the civil servants, who remained in office, made most of the decisions. Some Frenchmen grew excited about colonial ventures, others—and far more—merely longed for some means of gaining revenge on Prussia. Little of consequence was achieved. Frenchmen clung to what they had and grew cynical of ideals.

With insufficient coal and iron (since the German annexations of 1871) and with a total population falling behind that of Britain and Germany, France was not a great industrial nation. Moreover it seemed that revolutions and political argument had made the French disunited and dispirited. By 1900 the old French leadership of Europe was passing to Germany. Enthusiasm and confidence was to be found beyond the Rhine. It was to take the losses and the humiliation of two world wars to stir Frenchmen to new efforts.

7

EUROPE REORGANIZED

II: THE NEW NATIONS

THE MAKING OF ITALY

To Metternich Italy was simply 'a geographical expression'. Italy, he said 'could no more be called a nation than a stack of timber could be called a ship⁵. Yet within some fifty years Italy had become the first of the new nations organized in Europe. Much of this was due to Napoleon, to whom it had seemed obvious that Italy, separated by mountain and sea from the rest of the

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continent, and inhabited by people with a common language and religion and Roman heritage, should form a natural national unit. Napoleon gave Italians their first taste of unity, building roads and bridges to link his three main provinces and teaching noble Italians to enjoy posts of responsibility.

In the post-war years various groups of Italians chafed under the foreign rulers reknposed at Vienna in 1815. There were in fact eight major states, all but two governed by foreigners. Lombardy and Venetia were ruled by the Austrian emperor. Tuscany and Modena had Austrian dukes, and Parma an Austrian duchess. And although an Italian Pope governed the Papal States, and an Italian was king in Piedmont, their government was little better than that of Sicily and Naples, ruled by a Spaniard.

In desperation some Italians formed secret societies, such as the Carbonari (charcoal burners), which swore to remove unpopular officials as a preliminary to the unification of all the Italian provinces. Local revolutions were attempted in several towns in 1820-1 and again in 1830-1. Each in turn failed through insufficient enthusiasm in the face of Austrian white-coated soldiers. 'We don't like young people thinking, without our knowing the subject of their thoughts', said an Austrian governor, passing sentence on one rebel. Government spies were everywhere.

These failures spurred Mazzini (born 1805) to organize a more powerful society. This was 'Young Italy'. It had an immediate success. By 1833 there were 50,000 members, all of whom had dedicated themselves to work night and day for a new Italian republic in imitation of the glorious Roman republic of the past. As the pamphlets and the meeting-places multiplied, so the numbers grew. Among the recruits was Garibaldi, a sea-captain turned soldier, and soon to be a military leader of importance. But the key figure at this stage was Mazzini. Dressed always in black, grave and dignified in manner, Mazzini showed himself to be desperately hard-working in his efforts to rouse Italians to their task; furthermore his romantic fugitive life and his passionate writings did much to accustom men all over Europe to the idea of a united Italy.

Meanwhile some Catholic writers, notably Gioberti, began to urge nobles and priests to work for a federation of states under the

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leadership of the Pope. Pius IX, elected in 1846, seemed for a time to justify the expectations of these writers. He had a good reputation as a Uberal-minded cardinal, and when as Pope he made useful reforms in the lands directly under his control Gioberti and his friends were much encouraged.

The events of 1848-9, however, checked the hopes of both Gioberti and Mazzini. Mazzini's republican townsmen would have nothing to do with the Catholic aristocrats and when revolutions broke out in 1848 there were acts of heroism but little co-ordinated leadership. Manin had considerable success in Venice, where he proclaimed a republic and for over a year organized a stout defence against the Austrians, before fleeing to England. But King Ferdinand soon regained his authority in Naples and Austrian armies had little difficulty in forcing the soldiers of Piedmont to give up an attack on Lombardy. Finally, at Rome Mazzini took charge of a group of republicans who, when joined by Garibaldi in May 1849, staged, among the singularly uncooperative Romans, a brief but memorable resistance. They were heavily outnumbered, yet it needed French artillery, sent to assist in the restoration of the Pope, to dislodge them from their position on the Janiculum, a hill in the north-western suburbs. This done, the Pope returned in safety. All loyal Catholics were henceforth required to be content with their lot, for Pius IX was no longer interested in the hot-headed schemes of the nationalists.

Only in Piedmont did new vigour stir as a result of the events of 1848-9. There a new and courageous king, Victor Emmanuel II, replaced his earnest but hesitant father, 'the wobbly king'⁵, Charles Albert. Victor Emmanuel was fiercely resolved to seek the unification of Italy, and he sought new ways of doing it. Although he did not despise Mazzini's enthusiasm, he doubted the practicability of his schemes. Mazzini echoed the cry of Charles Albert, 'Italia fara da se'; it was a matter of pride to him that Italians should free themselves from the foreign yoke. He therefore still put his faith in guerrilla tactics, 'Italians, look to your bills, there Hes strength and infallible victory'. Victor Emmanuel preferred to put his faith in the business sense of Cavour, the bespectacled and shrewd editor of a Piedmontese newspaper.

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In his journal *II Risorgimento* Cavour argued skilfully for 'the resurrection' of Italy. Soon, with the support of the king, first as Minister of Commerce and then from 1852 onwards as prime minister, he was arranging a series of reforms designed to make Piedmont a modern state, efficiently ran and worthy of the friendship of England and France. Roads were improved, taxation made more equitable, the privileges of the Catholic Church were reduced and the army increased. When the Crimean War broke out in 1854, Cavour was quick to see the advantages of intervention on the side of England and France. 'Italy will be made in the mud of the Crimea⁵', he told his soldiers as they left for the east, and so it proved. The contribution of the Piedmontese army won the gratitude of the allies, and gained for Cavour a seat at the peace conference in Paris. There and elsewhere he continued to impress many by his persistent advocacy of a free Italy and by his zeal for parliamentary government.

In 1859 his patience, and an element of good fortune, brought him the active help of Napoleon III. When, under provocation, Austria declared war on Piedmont French troops were sent to help. Unwilling to wage a long war, Napoleon III hastily concluded a peace at Villafranca, but not before enough victories had been won to obtain Lombardy for Piedmont; meanwhile rebellions had been encouraged in Parma, Modena and Tuscany, and when Napoleon required plebiscites before giving his assent to their joining Piedmont, these were so skilfully managed by Italian patriots, notably Ricasoli, that a majority of the citizens satisfactorily voted for union.

Hardly had Cavour recovered from his disappointment at not gaining Venetia as well than a peasants⁵ revolt occurred in Sicily. This was quickly organized by Crispi, another Italian nationalist, into a widespread rebellion against Neapolitan rule. Almost at once, Garibaldi, at Mazzini's suggestion, called for a thousand volunteers to accompany him to Sicily. This set Cavour an awkward problem. How was he to turn the popularity and energy of Garibaldi in a safe but useful direction? He decided to connive at the venture while officially condemning it; accordingly he secured Britain's sympathy and awaited events. In May 1860 the

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'Thousand'⁵ embarked from Genoa in three old steamers and set course for Sicily. British naval vessels, sent to warn off any Austrian ships, provided a cover for their landings and once ashore the fierce discipline of Garibaldi, together with his knack of capturing the imagination of his followers, enabled the 'Thousand'³ to win an astonishingly rapid victory. In his red blouse and ostrich-feathered hat, Garibaldi seemed able to inspire men to dare all for Italy. Their success in Sicily prompted them to carry the rebellion on to the mainland. Once more a British fleet protected the small army of 'redshirts' as it crossed the straits; this time it held the ring against threatened intervention from France as well as from Austria, for Napoleon III had grown alarmed at Garibaldi's success and was suspicious of his intentions. For their part the southern peasants, though indifferent and even hostile to his cause, were rapturous in their admiration for Garibaldi the man; they watched, as his soldiers swept forward, and they saw an army of 10,000 retreat before him.

When Naples was taken in September 1860, few doubted that the impetuous hero would make for Rome. If he did so with such limited forces it was to be expected that France or Austria would intervene to stop him. Cavour rapidly decided to forestall such an action by invading the Papal States himself and so dissuade Garibaldi from an attack on Rome. This calculated gamble succeeded. While British diplomatic notes to the great powers urged neutrality, the papal army was swept aside, the Piedmont army linked forces with Garibaldi's men and Rome was left in the hands of the Pope.

Would Garibaldi accept the situation? Despite the pleas of Mazzini to establish a republic in all the liberated lands, and the cries of hero-worshippers urging him to become a dictator, Garibaldi seemed unaware of his opportunity. He was a simple man at heart—'a heart of gold, but the brain of an ox', said Mazzini. When therefore he met the king, Victor Emmanuel, on the high-road near Naples in October he cordially surrendered all his conquests and accepted Victor Emmanuel II as 'king of Italy'⁵.

So Italy was proclaimed united in 1861. Cavour, whose work had

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been thus hastened by Garibaldi's impulsive success, was barely able to found the kingdom of Italy on a parliamentary basis, before he died four months later. Victor Emmanuel held the keys of an incomplete building, with relatively few workmen to finish the task. The province of Venetia was still under Austrian rule; in Rome a distrustful Pope was protected by French guards; and despite Garibaldi's renewed interest there seemed little likelihood of any sudden change. In 1864 Florence became the seat of the Italian government but few of the nationalists were satisfied; their eyes were fixed on Rome. All the diplomacy of the king was directed towards wooing the Pope and the French, but progress was slow; the Pope especially was difficult.

Yet within a few years, Prussian actions completed the unification of Italy. Austria was defeated by Prussia in 1866, and in reward for minor Italian assistance the victors presented Venetia to Italy. Then in 1870 the Prussian attack on France caused the final withdrawal of French soldiers from Rome. Italian forces promptly entered the city and the Pope confined himself to the Vatican Palace. Within a year the Italian government was transferred to the ancient capital and 50,000 new buildings in the first ten years testified to the fresh importance Italians believed it would have.

Much remained to be done to create the spirit of unity dreamt of by Mazzini. It soon became apparent that only a handful of patriots had liberated Italy from foreign rule. The majority of their countrymen were indifferent. 'We have made Italy', said D' Azeglio, 'now we have to make Italians.' The number of law-abiding citizens was few, while the gangs of brigands, particularly in the south, were many. The wealth of the nobles everywhere contrasted sharply with the poverty of the masses, and the tradition of city-government in Italy made men suspicious of any interference by the national government. With so few unselfish politicians the parliamentary arrangements soon proved inefficient and corrupt: national taxes provided new opportunities for fraud, and the number of dishonest officials multiplied when ministers set a bad example. The Catholic Church, fortified by the Pope's new doctrine of Infallibility announced in 1870, secured general observance of

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the outward forms of religion, but evoked little enthusiasm. Neither Church nor state appeared to care much about the misery of the peasants.

'Only the monarchy can unite us', declared Crispi the ex-republican, and Victor Emmanuel, ugly and vulgar in his habits, was able until his death in 1878 to obtain widespread loyalty to his person. Thereafter, not even the monarchy commanded the affection of Italians. Only Garibaldi, with his inclination to be a dictator, threatened to generate mass enthusiasm for new causes, yet when a substantial section of townspeople were seeking their salvation in socialism, Garibaldi merely revealed his interest and did no more. As Mazzini had already realized he was 'a political goose'. Among the various prime ministers, Crispi, in office from 1887-91, showed some statesmanlike qualities, but it was not until 1900 that any really effective financial and social reforms were attempted. This was the work of Giolitti.

Perhaps Mazzini, bitterly contemplating the new Italy, was right: Italy had been made a nation by others. There was little sense of achievement. Most Italians were not interested in politics, and since the country was also lacking in coal and iron, the twenty-three million Italians failed to profit economically from their union. Curiously Italians were most prominent in the late nineteenth century as colonists, going in great numbers to the United States and to South America. Not until the time of Mussolini did a political leader capture the enthusiasm of the masses, both as social reformer and fire-eating nationalist. In their nineteenth-century poverty the majority of Italians continued to seek consolation from the Pope and his priests, and in general Italians exerted little influence upon European affairs.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Superficially there is a similarity between the unification of Italy and the creation of Germany. But in Germany, Prussia, more so than Piedmont in Italy, was both villain and hero. Reluctant at first to take any lead, Prussia in the end conquered Germany and impressed its characteristics upon much of the new empire. Over

The German Empire

the previous two centuries three remarkable rulers, the Great Elector (1640-88), Frederick William I (1713-40) and Frederick II (1740-86), had by skill and hard work created a powerful Prussian state out of a few million people. They had wasted little money on personal extravagance, secured the obedience of the majority of the nobles and raised a large army through which they had governed the country honestly and efficiently.

The Prussians, however, 'slumbered on the laurels of Frederick the Great' and hi common with other German states they were forced to accept the directions of Napoleon. Practically all the other 300 small states of Germany were swallowed up in Napoleon's Rhine Confederation of 1807, but the shock of their defeat at Jena (1806) roused the Prussian royal officials to new exertions. In particular, Stein, a Rhinelander, with the assistance of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau (neither Prussian by birth), began a series of reforms which strengthened Prussia in the struggle with Napoleon and did much to make her a leader in Germany.

When in 1815 the map of Germany was recast at the Congress of Vienna, Metternich realized that Catholic Bavaria and many of the smaller German states distrusted Prussia. So he was able to form a loosely organized German Confederation of thirty-nine states over which Austria as president could exercise control. Nevertheless at Vienna Prussia succeeded in obtaining some territory at the expense of Saxony and Westphalia, as well as additional land around Cologne; land was also regained in Poland. Prussia was therefore by far the largest north-German state; and although divided by a fifty-mile strip into two main sections, this was an incentive to further expansion.

By 1819 Prussia had established a common system of weights and measures throughout its scattered lands and in 1828 the first of the customs barriers between Prussia and its neighbours—in this case, Hesse—was removed. In 1833 Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg and several more, including the states of Thuringia, signed a commercial treaty or Zollverein, which when it came into force in 1834 established within their combined area a uniform range of custom duties; it also began to standardize the coinage, weights and measures of the various states. Later, in 1853, even

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Hanover and Oldenburg were persuaded to join this Prussian-organized scheme.

Soon the construction of railways across the northern plain linked the coal of the Rhineland with the iron ore of Silesia. A Prussian industrial revolution became possible. The firm of Krupp was founded at Essen in 1846 and with railways as the arteries of Prussian industrial life, workers moved into factory towns, trade increased and the old frontiers seemed increasingly out of date. There were only four miles of railway in 1835 but by 1848 nearly 4000 miles had been laid. These iron bonds were more permanent than promises, more effective than demonstrations, in promoting German unity and in such matters Prussian merchants took the lead. By 1870 there were 7000 miles of railways, most of the lines radiating from Prussian towns.

The accession of Frederick William IV to the throne of Prussia in 1840 much encouraged those Germans who looked to Prussia for a lead. He seemed progressive-minded and inclined to sympathize with the liberals in their desire for a parliament. However, nothing very startling occurred until 1848. Then news of revolution in France, followed by the outbreak of revolution in Vienna, gave German liberals everywhere an opportunity to frighten their rulers. Bad harvests of the previous year caused widespread famine, and in the towns riots and demonstrations swelled into revolts. Reforms were hastily promised.

At Frankfurt in Hesse there assembled eighty-three delegates, from all parts of Germany, anxious to offer the throne of a united Germany to the Prussian king in the hope of obtaining his protection. Frederick William disappointed them. He was alarmed by the revolution in Prussia, and he feared the hostile opinion of Austria. He soon showed he had no love for politicians by curtly refusing their offer, describing it as 'a crown from the gutter'. It would be, he asserted, 'a collar of slavery'. Nevertheless the delegates at Frankfurt continued to argue at length on the proposed boundaries of Germany and on the method of electing an all-German parliament. Perhaps given time they might have reached agreement and taken effective action, but Austrian troops began to reappear in Germany by 1850 and then, lacking the support of

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the Prussian king and his soldiers.* the liberal politicians could do nothing.

The widespread agitation for provincial parliaments and the many resolutions of 1848 proved that the unification of Germany was desired by a great number of people. Indeed it seemed to many that the political unification of Germany could not long be delayed, for although the psychological obstacles to one government were still considerable, even the princes were prepared to accept a German emperor. A majority of Germans, however, particularly the Roman Catholics of the southern states, favoured the idea of a Greater Germany, which would embrace all Germans including those in Austria. The real problem was, would Austria or Prussia be the most important group in this German empire? Most people favoured Austria.

At this stage events in Prussia produced a man whose personality was to stamp itself upon the German scene, leaving a decidedly Prussian image. He was Otto von Bismarck, an East Prussian Junker, or upper-class landowner, a highly intelligent, brutal man, who became chief minister of Prussia in 1862. The new Prussian king, William I, wished in 1862 to increase and modernize his army. With the help of his Minister for War, Von Roon, it was to be a professional army, with only upper-class officers. The members of the Prussian parliament, or Reichstag, protested at this, objecting both to the larger taxes required and to the exclusion of their middle-class sons from the army officer corps, so the army reforms were rejected. The king, in a huff, was ready to abdicate. Von Roon persuaded him to call Bismarck, then ambassador in Paris, to his aid.

Bismarck had a reputation for courage. Now as Minister-President he was determined that the middle-class politicians in the Reichstag should not govern the country. He calmly set about collecting the necessary taxes without legal approval of the Reichstag, and in his thin, reedy voice lectured the members on their duty to Prussia. His policy for Germany was simply stated. 'The Prussian eagle shall spread out his wings as guardian and ruler over all Germany.' Protestant Prussia must on no account be swallowed up by a greater and possibly Catholic Germany. If the Austrian

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government would not be frightened into an alliance of equality with Prussia to check German nationalism., then Prussia must tame the wild horses of the nationalists by forming a small German empire without Austria. If there was to be any unification of Germany it should be done by Prussian armies commanded by Junker officers. Bismarck was strongly conservative in his views. Like Metternich he distrusted nationalism and hated liberalism: unlike Metternich he did not attempt to stem the turbulent revolutionary waves ; he sought to divert their force into harmless channels.

Having obtained the support of the king, Bismarck sought to force Austria into partnership with Prussia. Some years earlier as a delegate at the German Confederation he had claimed equal status with the privileged Austrian president by smoking and taking off his coat on hot days, whenever the other did so. Now in 1864 he secured Austrian support to rescue the duchies of Schlesvig and Holstein, once independent, from the clutches of the new Danish king. If strictly legality was here on the side of Bismarck, so was force. The two duchies were quickly overrun and the Danish armies were compelled to surrender by the end of the year. Bismarck's manner of enforcing his policy was already alarming enough; his selfish treaty arrangements were quite unjustifiable. In 1865 German-speaking Holstein became administered by Austria; while Schlesvig, which was part-Danish, was to be administered by Prussia.

Schlesvig and Holstein were the keys to the Baltic Straits. Bismarck wanted both, and when Austria proved a difficult neighbour Bismarck provoked a war. 'War with Austria is only a question of time', he said. He first proposed a German parliament, based on universal suffrage, which deliberately excluded Austria. Then he sent troops into Holstein and declared the German Confederation dissolved.

Austria found herself isolated among the great powers. Bismarck had earned the gratitude of Russia by his support during the Polish rebellion of 1863, and Napoleon III of France was easily persuaded that France would profit from a long war in Germany; perhaps the Rhineland might be his reward for non-intervention.

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Italy, allied to Prussia a few months earlier, had been promised Venetia. In Germany, however, popular opinion was sympathetic to Austria and when war began Hanover, Saxony and Hesse-Cassel, Baden, Wurtemberg and Bavaria, all gave military support to the Austrians.

To the astonishment of all Europe the armies of Austria were defeated in some three weeks. The Prussian armies, commanded by Moltke, carried all before them and the battle of Sadowa on 3 July 1866 turned even the king, long fearful of his minister's anti-Austrian policy, into a delighted war-monger 'On to Vienna', was the general cry, but Bismarck alone in the hysteria of victory insisted on moderate terms for a quick armistice. He had no wish to destroy the Austrian empire, nor did he want to risk French intervention. By the Treaty of Prague Austria simply withdrew from the old Confederation and all the north-German states, except Saxony, were either annexed or drawn into a North German Confederation, dominated by Prussia.

Bismarck quickly held elections in Prussia, allowing universal suffrage for the first time, and such was the enthusiasm generated by the victories that the new members not only acclaimed Bismarck's foreign policy, but officially excused by a Bill of Indemnity his illegal collection of taxes since 1862. The voting was 230 for, 75 against: nationalist sentiment had lifted Bismarck high above the old liberal rocks.

Bismarck was well content. In 1867 he could say^c 'we have done enough for our generation'. Napoleon III and the French, however, could not let matters rest. Frenchmen of all parties realized that Prussia had stolen a march on them; they therefore sought a prestige victory over Prussia and expected Bismarck to buy the friendship of France by giving compensations along the Rhine. Bismarck decided that if the French wanted war they should have it on his terms.

So when, in 1870, the vacant throne of Spain was offered to a relative of the king of Prussia, Bismarck urged acceptance. As a result of the outcry in France Prince Leopold had first of all declined. He now accepted. Further French demands caused Leopold again to withdraw his candidature. Bismarck could do

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no more, but his goading had a delayed effect. The French government were not satisfied, they pressed for a more abject surrender of Prussia to French wishes; the candidature, they insisted, must never be renewed. Bismarck seized this new chance of war by publishing a telegram from the Prussian king, in which he described an interview with the French ambassador. At the same time he revealed details of Napoleon's designs on the Rhineland. These publications so roused the fury of the French that they declared war on Prussia, at a time when German patriotism was at its height, and when England, full of suspicion towards France, was not likely to interfere. Bismarck was well content with his stratagem.

Once again the efficient planning of Prussian generals, supported by the crusading spirit of their soldiers, won a victory in a remarkably short time. Within six weeks Napoleon III and one army had surrendered at Sedan and the other French armies gave up fighting soon afterwards. Paris itself surrendered early in 1871. Meanwhile in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in January 1871 William I was crowned German emperor. Nothing could have offended Frenchmen more but, to add injury to insult, at the peace treaty Alsace and part of Lorraine were annexed by Germany. These seeds of hatred sown in 1870-1 were to reap a bitter harvest in later years.

The south German states were now united with the northern states. The German emperor, with Bismarck as his Imperial Chancellor, did not at first have absolute power; Bavaria, for example, retained its king until 1914. The new federal constitution, however, made it certain that Prussia had in effect conquered Germany. Prussian representatives were to have a permanent majority in the federal parliament and, in any event, the king and his chancellor did not have to secure the approval of the elected assembly for their decisions. Moreover, as long as he could rely upon the support of the king, Bismarck's arrogant ways had to be tolerated by Prussians and non-Prussians alike.

From 1871 to 1890 Bismarck continued to guide the policy of Prussia and the empire. To preserve his form of unity he planned to keep Europe at peace. Skilfully he did it. The friendship of Austria, Italy, Russia and England was retained; France was

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alternately threatened and encouraged in colonial adventures; and for some years Bismarck's balance of power was not seriously threatened. Just as Bismarck took pains to balance the forces abroad in favour of peace, so in domestic affairs he skilfully piloted the king's government through dangerous undercurrents. He won over the remaining liberals to his side by resisting the claims of the Roman Catholic Church to dictate to German teachers. By his orders all Jesuit priests were expelled and the May Laws of 1873 severely hindered Catholic activities. But when in 1875 the Social Democratic Party was formed Bismarck rapidly called off this *Kulturkampf* and, with the assistance of a more pliable Pope, obtained the support of the new Catholic Centre Party to deal with this new threat to his authority.

These were the days when German industry was taking a great leap forward. Bismarck's successes had given the new nation confidence and strong ambition, but under him there was little chance of acquiring much power or personal prestige as a politician, so the cleverest and most energetic Germans made careers in industry. With the coalfields of the Saar and the Ruhr easily linked with the newly acquired iron ore of Lorraine, Essen soon became the industrial capital of Germany, where heavy industry, developed by the requirements of the large army, swelled to an iron and steel output greater than that of Britain. Elsewhere other industries rapidly grew up: textiles, aniline dyes, optical instruments, toys—products which had a ready sale all over continental Europe, and in Britain and America too. More and more workers moved into the towns and there suffered from the new class of industrialists, who had begun to create large-scale firms, or monopoly organizations, called 'Kartels', in which the workers were mere cogs in the machinery of production.

When workers' votes increased the number of social democrats, Bismarck vigorously opposed their meetings, for they demanded not merely greater parliamentary control of industry but the total abolition of private ownership. In 1878 hundreds were imprisoned and socialist books, newspapers and societies were banned. Bismarck went further in 1883, with a policy of inoculating the workers against socialism. He first of all arranged for compulsory insurance

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against sickness. Then in 1884 he followed this by the compulsory insurance of workers against accidents, and in 1888 the provision of old-age pensions rounded off the programme. Agricultural labourers, domestic servants and casual workers were not included until 1911.

A new ruling class was rising in Germany and Bismarck the landowner was powerless to stop its wealth increasing. In fact, by his need for financial independence of the Reichstag, he unwillingly aided the great industrialists. In 1879 he raised the imperial custom duties to obtain a greater amount of revenue without having to seek the approval of the Reichstag for more direct taxation. By so doing German industry was more protected from foreign competitors in the home-market. With the new fortunes scarcely taxed, industrial investment continued at a great pace and a feverish search for new markets abroad helped to swell the chorus of Germans who felt that colonies were vital to a great country. Bismarck long resisted this demand but in this, as in other directions, he eventually made concessions. In 1884 the first colonies were officially claimed in Africa.

When in 1890 Bismarck resigned as Chancellor after quarrels with the new king, William II, it was clear both to Germans and to the rest of the world that a new power had risen in Europe. Would there be room in Europe for a people of such talents and bursting energy without further reorganization? Even today the answer is not yet clear.

A DIVIDED EUROPE

At the end of the nineteenth century the nation-states of Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Italy, together with the lands of the Austrian empire and those of European Russia, contained over 300 million people, approximately a fifth of the world's population. Although many millions had gone overseas from these lands during the nineteenth century, those who remained continued to exhibit much vigour in trade, inventiveness and political ideas, and this enabled them to provide much of the driving force in world affairs for some time to come.

Even so Europe in the late nineteenth century was in many

A Divided Europe

respects all that Mettemich had feared, a continent divided by fierce nationalistic groups, internally rent by parliamentary bickering, and threatened by a new monster, 'the spectre of communism'⁵. By this Karl Marx not only frightened the property owners into international defence, but also roused a new ideal among the workers—an ideal of international unity based upon the common rights and dignity of the manual worker. This contrasted strangely with Metternich's ideal of the common rights and dignity of landowners.

Nationalism in Europe was often a divisive force. Thus the Austrian empire was crumbling: it had conceded self-rule to Hungary in 1867 and soon other nationalist minorities would further threaten its stability. The Turkish empire also continued to dwindle, as first Greece (1832), then Roumania (1862), Serbia (1878), and Bulgaria (1885) threw off the sultan's rule. The mood of nationalism even affected the Baltic kingdom of Norway and Sweden, for in 1871 Norway secured a separate parliament which in 1907 proclaimed an independent kingdom.

European imperialism carried the new jealousies and the new ideals into distant lands, so that what happened in Europe in the nineteenth century was in large measure to repeat itself overseas. Coloured peoples borrowed the ideas of liberalism and nationalism along with European industrial techniques, and with these tools began to achieve stronger governments and greater unity, often at the expense of their lesser neighbours, or their European masters.

The reorganization of European frontiers during the nineteenth century did not necessarily strengthen Europeans in their activities overseas. Indeed an increasing preoccupation with their own affairs would soon make them less effective abroad. Frenchmen were embittered and their numbers showed small increase. The nationalism of Spain seemed non-existent, and lacking the spur of industry Spain continued to decline in importance. Italians, without coal and iron, remained poor, while Russians, still backward industrially, were increasingly distracted by class hatreds.

Only in the new German empire did there seem an abundance of new energy. Indeed the superior size, efficiency and industrial strength of the new German empire seemed to assure it an

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acknowledged leadership in European affairs within a decade or so. But impatience, and perhaps jealousy of Britain's overseas wealth, prompted the Germans to actions which culminated in a general European war in 1914. In a sense this war was to prove a European civil war. By the time Europeans had recovered from their energy-consuming quarrels they found that many of the beliefs and habits which they had once shared as Europeans were being held equally strongly in other parts of the world.

8

BRITISH OVERSEAS SETTLEMENT
(TO 1914)

Between 1801 and 1914 nearly 40 million people left European countries to make new homes overseas. More than 20 million of these went from Britain, and although the majority settled in the United States, at least 10 million sought out areas under the British flag. For this reason alone British rule was greatly extended in the nineteenth century to include a variety of new lands. In Canada, Australasia and South Africa white settlement gradually produced substantial areas of European influence, quite unlike the commercial exploitation of previous centuries.

At first British rule was but lightly felt in these areas. This was partly because the loss of the American colonies had greatly discouraged British governments from accepting any new responsibility, and partly because the European wars, brought about by the French Revolution and Napoleon, so distracted the energies of Britain's rivals that the British were for some time able to adopt

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an attitude of almost casual supremacy overseas. This attitude was powerfully reinforced by Britain's naval and economic strength. By the middle of the nineteenth century Britain, thanks to her industrial revolution, had achieved such a lead in manufactured goods that the whole world was her market; there was therefore little need for large tracts of territory to be claimed as specifically British. Cheap British goods were as welcome along the Mediterranean coast and in parts of China and South America as they were in India; the United States took British goods almost as readily as Canada or Australia.

Nevertheless, over the oceans of the world, the British government acquired by treaty a number of bases for the use of the navy. To Gibraltar, captured in 1704, was added early in the nineteenth century Aden, Georgetown, Mauritius, Malta, Cape Town and Hong Kong, places to be remembered in the Colonial Office when small British garrisons were stationed there. In addition to these a number of trading posts, mostly along the African coast, were able to expect some measure of British attention.

The British colonial empire grew piecemeal; in a sense it was acquired 'in a fit of absence of mind'. Repeatedly in moments of crisis traders, settlers or missionaries sought the help of British forces, often playing upon Britain's fear of some foreign power in order to gain their objectives. Sometimes the call was to protect merchants or settlers from native violence; sometimes it was to protect the natives from the settlers or the traders. The British government, having taken action, would then usually stay, often reluctantly, to maintain order and justice in the area.

This was so in Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, as well as in India. But an opposite tendency was also visible. British colonial administrators in the nineteenth century encouraged some useful experiments in the art of self-government. These arose partly from design and partly from necessity. The seeds of independence sown early in Canada and Australia produced in time a tradition which created the British Commonwealth of Nations. This became in turn an ideal for all the British territories overseas, providing today a variety of independent dominions associated in the present Commonwealth.

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THE BRITISH IN CANADA

For nearly half a century after the conquest of Canada by the British, Red Indians and French Canadians continued to outnumber the British settlers. There were as many as 60,000 French Canadians in 1763 but, once the Quebec Act of 1774 allowed them to practise their Catholic faith and to enjoy their own local civil laws unmolested, they generally accepted British rule, demonstrating their loyalty on at least two occasions when Americans threatened Canada.

The British settlement of Canada really began in the years following the declaration of American independence, when some 40,000 well-to-do colonists, proud of their title *United Empire Loyalists', chose to settle in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the area north of the Great Lakes rather than stay under American rule. In order to emphasize British supremacy in Canada, an Act of 1791 separated the government of Canada into two provinces, Upper Canada, which was predominantly British and Protestant, and Lower Canada, which remained largely French-speaking and Catholic. A British Governor-General was appointed to hold the reins of power in each province.

Life in Upper Canada was particularly hard; in the forests of Ontario, however, the maple tree was a useful source of sugar and did much to save the first colonists from starvation. In time, Ontario proved a fertile area; and, well administered by Sir Guy Carleton, it attracted settlers from New England and from Scotland in substantial numbers. Soon British and French alike began to question the powers of the British governors, and in 1837 two separate revolts took place. One led by a French Canadian, Papineau, was short-lived; the other led by William Mackenzie had wider support. The British government were sufficiently impressed to send out Lord Durham to restore order and to report on the situation.

It so happened that Durham was a radical imperialist, a member of an enthusiastic group of men who believed strongly in the value of free British settlements abroad. His report was therefore carefully phrased to set a new pattern for British colonial government. ^cI admit⁵, he wrote, 'that the system which I propose would, in

The British in Canada

fact, place the internal government of the colony in the hands of the colonists themselves.' Although he was 'strongly impressed with the necessity of maintaining our connection with them'⁵ and agreed that 'the colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their own countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs', Durham insisted that the colonists 'have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points' than ministers in London. Durham was a democrat, not entirely liked at home, but his success in Canada persuaded the government to accept his report* By 1840 the British element in Canada so far outweighed the French that the two provinces could be safely reunited, and this was done at once. Durham's other recommendations were granted in instalments, and Canada was, in effect, granted self-government by Lord Elgin, Durham's son-in-law, when in 1848 as Governor-General he accepted a majority vote of the Canadian parliament.

In time, the persistent arguments of John A. MacDonald of Ontario secured a stronger Canadian federation. In 1867 by the British North America Act Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were linked with Quebec and Ontario to form a central government, whose parliament was to assemble at Ottawa. This federal government was accorded by Britain full powers over most aspects of Canadian affairs, other than foreign policy and defence, and was granted by Britain the title of a Dominion.

Meanwhile, beyond the Great Lakes, there was a vast area over which the fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company had for long held sway. Until the formation of the rival North-West Fur Company in 1784 little interest was shown in this region; then the explorations of Mackenzie and Fraser, two of its agents, opened up a fascinating new country. Alexander Mackenzie, on his first expedition in 1789, had reached the Arctic seas by way of the river that bears his name. He then returned to England to prepare himself for an expedition to cross the Rockies. This task accomplished in 1793, he continued westward along Indian trails to reach the Pacific coast. A few years later his partner, Fraser, having established new fur-trading posts beyond the Rockies, also turned explorer; and in 1808, following the path of Mackenzie, voyaged

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down the turbulent waters of the Fraser River. As a result of their exploits, hostility between the two fur companies became intense, but by a merger in 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company emerged undisputed master of the area.

Soon Dr McLoughlin, or * White Eagle⁵, the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, began to encourage trappers and Indians to take up farming, and when some of these moved south into Oregon territory they clashed with American pioneer families who had begun to arrive in the area about the same time. Disputes over land-ownership flared into an international crisis, because the existing boundary agreement of 1818 between Britain and the U.S.A. had laid down a frontier along the 49th parallel only as far as the Rockies. Beyond the Rockies nothing had been decided. A compromise was reached in 1846 by which the Hudson's Bay Company was persuaded to withdraw to the north of the conveniently extended 49th parallel and the Americans renounced their claims to the northern region. It was years, however, before local feeling subsided.

When Dr McLoughlin decided to stay in Oregon, his place as chief factor for the company was taken by James Douglas, a very determined Scotsman, who resolved to impose his view of law and order upon the traders and the farmers of the north-west. His efforts were not without success, but a tremendous and unexpected challenge to his authority suddenly developed. In 1858 gold was discovered in the Fraser Valley. In canoes and on rafts, by pack-horse and even by camel, enthusiastic prospectors hastened to the scene. Soon thousands of excited miners, most of them Americans, were working their way up the Fraser River, seeking out the gold-bearing rock or panning for gold in the gravel of the river. Douglas made a strong bid to check the rush. But his high-handed attempts to keep law and order, in particular his scheme of licensing every miner, made so many enemies that some of them persuaded the British government to take action. The trading monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in the area was withdrawn and under the name of British Columbia a Crown colony was proclaimed. Douglas remained as Governor, but with restricted powers.

In 1860 even richer deposits of gold were found in the Caribou

Mountains, several hundred miles north of the original goldfield. The strikes made there were quite sensational. For example, nine hundred ounces of gold were panned in one day by a single miner in Lightning Creek, and from two and a half miles of river-bed in Williams Creek gold to the value of at least 20 million dollars was eventually taken. Some form of order was established among the 10,000 miners by the energy of 'Hanging Judge' Begbie, supported on occasions by a company of Royal Engineers, and these same engineers built by 1862 a great Caribou high-road, which traversed the Fraser Canyon and wound along 480 miles of mountain track, making possible the safe transit of gold to the coast.

The Caribou gold-rush, although brief, transformed the whole pattern of life west of the Rockies. When the gold ran thin, many disappointed miners began to farm. It was a successful prospector who invested his gains in the first salmon-canning plant, while on every river lumber-mills, originally built to serve the needs of the miners, increased in number to provide wood pulp for export. The Indians also experienced changed circumstances. Some tribes had been massacred in resisting the miners; others had their numbers drastically reduced by diseases which the white men had brought; and all of them found that the animals, on which they had so much depended for food and furs, had been frightened away.

It was not until 1898 that gold again played a part in Canadian development. Then the great rush to Klondike goldfields attracted, according to some estimates, a quarter of a million men, and although only about 50,000 of these actually reached the Yukon frontier, many more settled in Canada on their way. Of more significance than Klondike gold were the deposits of lead, silver and zinc found earlier in southern British Columbia, discoveries which, culminating in the great Blue Bell silver and lead mine of 1887, may be said to have started the modern mining industry of the Rockies.

The prosperity of British Columbia did not go unnoticed by either the American or Canadian governments, and any doubts which the inhabitants of British Columbia had about which to join were decided in 1871 when the province joined the Canadian federation. A few years earlier the Canadian government had promised to build a transcontinental railway to link British Columbia with the

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eastern provinces, and this had done much to persuade the people. Progress towards fulfilling this promise was slow. There were great physical as well as financial obstacles, but the survey work was half-hearted, and it needed the additional spur of trouble on the prairies to convince the eastern politicians that the railway was really needed.

At Fort Garry on the Red River (near the site of modern Winnipeg) a mixture of Scottish settlers and French Indians, known as Metis, preserved contact with the outer world by the yearly visit of the Hudson's Bay Company's boats and through the carters who took their furs to the American town of St Paul. When in 1869 the Canadian government, having bought up the remaining rights of the Hudson's Bay Company for £300,000, sent surveyors to lay out new roads in the Red River area, the local settlers protested at its failure to consult them, and the Metis, in particular, feared they would lose their recently acquired lands. Under the leadership of Louis Riel, the Metis rose in rebellion.

The revolt was speedily crushed, but by the Manitoba Act of 1870 the local settlers were given full provincial rights and admitted to the Canadian federation. The neighbouring Indians were also invited to meet the Governor of Manitoba to discuss their future and in 1871 a treaty was made, whereby each Indian family was limited to a definite land reservation and guaranteed a yearly payment of 'treaty money' by way of compensation. When, a decade later, Louis Riel reappeared to champion the Metis in the Saskatchewan Valley in 1885 very few Indians gave support.

By then the Red River rebellion, together with loose talk in the United States of annexing Canadian territory, had done much to reinforce the arguments for a continental railroad. Once again, Sir John MacDonald, the Conservative leader who had urged federation, took the lead. It was he who, as first federal prime minister, had promised a railway and the survey work had, in fact, begun during his term of office. But a general election had upset the provision of funds and it was not until the return of MacDonald to power in 1878 that a new start was made. In 1881 the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was formed and work began in earnest.

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As anticipated, the physical difficulties proved immense. Apart from the spectacular feats of engineering required to traverse the main seventy-mile range of the Rockies, much of the line had to be laid over swamps, where tracks and even locomotives were sometimes swallowed up. A constant search for the best route caused delays and not until the discovery of the Kicking Horse Pass through the Rockies could the complicated survey work be completed.

This Canadian Pacific Railway became the backbone of Canada's economy. From it stemmed the early industrial development; for in the course of construction rich mineral deposits had been uncovered. It linked the resources of British Columbia with the towns of the eastern provinces. It took out 2 million European emigrants, and soon it would bring back enough wheat from the prairies to feed over 50 million people every year. The shacks built to lodge its workers were soon transformed into substantial towns; Regina in Saskatchewan, Vancouver on the Pacific coast, and "Winnipeg, chosen as the main railway-workshop, became state capitals.

Today the main line carries 90 per cent of the world's nickel, 60 per cent of the world's asbestos, and enough wood pulp to supply 80 per cent of the world's newspapers. Apples and canned salmon, copper and cobalt, minerals in abundance and variety, load the freight trains of the Company and, in addition, a world-wide telegraph service and a series of hotels, as well as air and ocean travel lines, are operated by the Company.

By the end of the nineteenth century Canada was the largest and most flourishing of British settlements abroad, but two-thirds of its 5 millions (there are 17 millions today) were still in its eastern third and only 1 per cent of the population had, as yet, ventured more than 150 miles north of the 4000 miles of undefended border. Stretching farther north was an area larger than Europe, often snow-bound, yet frill of exciting possibilities, an area whose twentieth-century development would appear to make Canada 'tomorrow's giant'.

THE BRITISH IN AUSTRALIA

Little was known about Australia—the south land—until the seventeenth century when Spanish, Dutch and English sailors vaguely explored the southern seas. Hartog wandered along the west coast in 1616 and Tasman in 1642 explored part of the island later named after him; but neither they, nor William Dampier who half a century later followed the coast for 190 miles, were very hopeful about the barren land they found.

It was the achievement of Captain Cook, in three voyages between 1768 and 1779, to reveal new possibilities. In 1770 he found that the south-east corner of Australia was far from barren. At Botany Bay, where storms drove him ashore, there was 'deep black earth... capable of producing any grain'. Here also was 'provender for more cattle than can ever be brought into the country'⁵. As long as Britain had colonies in America, Cook's description was insufficient to lure settlers to Australia, but the revolt of the American colonies created a new need—a place to which convicts could be transported. Within a few years the first European settlers were sent out.

Eleven vessels, carrying over 700 men, women and children, the survivors of an eight-month voyage, arrived at Botany Bay in 1788, accompanied by three storeships and two men-of-war. When the first anchorage proved too shallow they moved to a bay fifteen miles to the north, and there, on the site of modern Sydney, a settlement was made. The sun's glare was pitiless, and everything that grew in the bush was tough and spiky, wounding to the bare hands. But the convicts hacked and sawed, the shouts of the soldiers who guarded them rose high above the crash of trees, and slowly the ground was cleared. Occasional spirals of smoke told of native fires among the gum trees, but the aborigines were few and too timid either to help or hinder. There was little wood suitable for building. At first the convicts lived in wattle and mud huts, thatched with cabbage-tree palm or rushes. No one knew how to farm and the first crops were insufficient for their needs. To add to their difficulties no native animal yielded milk fit for human consumption, no tree bore good fruit, and there was no really edible plant. Everything had to be imported. Yet under the cheer-

The British in Australia

ful discipline of Captain Phillip the convict colony survived and by 1792, when he left, there were 4000 people in New South Wales.

During the next ten years mismanagement led to murder, riot and widespread drunkenness among the convicts and their guards. In this period, however, Captain MacArthur brought eight Spanish merino sheep into Australia and succeeded in interesting English manufacturers in the export of their wool so that a hundred years later there were over 100 million sheep in Australia. MacArthur also planted vines which did much to begin the Australian wine industry, and his efforts attracted the first free settlers.

The colony of New South Wales really began to prosper under Governor Macquarie. From 1810 onwards, with ruthless determination, he created eleven new townships and constructed 300 miles of roads. Sydney grew into an important town, with pleasant white villas among the young orchards; farmland pastures began to replace the monotonous Australian bush, and the willow trees planted along the river banks gradually gave a more gracious aspect to the colonial scene.

Some idea of the size of Australia had been gained from Flinders' circumnavigation in 1798; now explorers of the interior revealed the natural harshness of the continent. Although the penetration of the Blue Mountains in 1813 revealed excellent sheep-pastures in the plains beyond, subsequent exploration farther inland brought little immediate profit to anyone. Sturt, in the course of much exploration of the river-beds of the south-east, was permanently blinded by the sun's glare, and Eyre, who followed the southern coastline for 1200 miles, was the only survivor of a twelve-month trek. Nevertheless, by tracing the river Darling to the sea, Sturt made possible the founding of Adelaide in 1836, and his exploration of the Lake Eyre region of 1846, unpromising in itself, inspired others to emulate him.

A decade later, in 1860-1, Burke, Wills and Grey all lost their lives attempting to cross the continent from Melbourne to the north coast, but Stuart, a year later (1862), was more fortunate; he successfully traced a route from Adelaide to Port Darwin, by way of Alice Springs in the heart of Australia, and along this watered track was laid the first telegraph cable in 1872.

British Overseas Settlement (to 1914)

Meanwhile free settlements began to outnumber the penal settlements. At first they flourished or dwindled in isolation; there was little co-ordinated planning and as long as convicts remained the chief government concern there was little official encouragement to free emigration. Eventually the pleas of Dr John Lang, a champion of free settlement in New South Wales, together with the propaganda of Gibbon Wakefield in England, brought about the South Australia Act of 1834, whereby the government agreed that land could be bought by intending settlers. At 12s. an acre the price was not high enough for Wakefield, who wanted to attract only the best emigrants, but the government's new interest was underlined by their decision in 1840 to send no more convicts to New South Wales. A rapid increase in the number of free emigrants swelled the small settlements at Adelaide, and at Melbourne (1837); and when in 1840 Queensland was opened to free settlement it was not long before the convicts there were outnumbered by free men.

The evil of transportation was finally abolished by the British government in 1850; by then the quarter of a million free emigrants greatly outweighed the total of 100,000 people transported to Australia since 1788. Soon it became usual to refer to the former transportee as 'a pensioner of the Crown'⁵ or 'a government man'; more often he was simply described as one 'sent out'.

New South Wales, granted a legislative council in 1828, was allowed self-government in 1842; and by 1851 Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria had similar privileges. Progress elsewhere was slow. Western Australia, around Perth (1829), struggled for survival; with only 15,000 settlers in 1849, it did not become a state till 1870. Queensland, the hinterland of Brisbane (founded in 1825), also took long to prosper. It became a state in 1859.

In these early difficult years the enthusiasm of Gibbon Wakefield and the practical wisdom of Captain George Grey, as Governor of South Australia (1841-5), did much to encourage the colonists in good farming habits, enabling them to concentrate on the export of wheat and wool in order to achieve self-support. This stability was suddenly threatened when in 1851 a discovery of gold was made at Bathurst, a sheep station in the Blue Mountains. The rush of 'diggers' affected every settlement, so much so that in the state of

The British in Australia

Victoria the governor offered a reward for any new discoveries. At this fresh finds were made at Ballarat, and at Bendigo some 60 miles north of Melbourne. Shepherds promptly left their sheep, even the police deserted, to join in the new rash. Thousands also poured in from abroad. As a result the population of Victoria rose from 100,000 to 400,000 in four years. Some of the unsuccessful *diggers' became bushrangers, ready to pounce on the more fortunate prospectors, and there was serious rioting by those who resented the government's attempt to license each digger, but there was surprisingly little crime in the mining towns and soon the working of gold became a regulated industry.

Gold helped to diversify the work in the states. In several parts of Australia the mining of copper and coal now began, and in Queensland sugar plantations were developed. But farming remained the main occupation for most Australians. Woollen exports were for long the main link with Britain but after 1882 the use of refrigeration in ships allowed frozen Australian meat to reach British markets. Australian butter, eggs and fruit exports came much later.

The area of settlement was strictly limited by the vagaries of climate and soil, and for long lack of communications prevented large-scale expansion into the remoter parts. Although the first railway appeared in 1854, there was little incentive to either the government or private investors to provide transport where so few needed it. There were still not four million white inhabitants in 1901 when the states federated into the Commonwealth of Australia and the construction of a federal capital at Canberra was an indication that the majority of Australians were still concentrated in the south-eastern corner.

Not until the mid-twentieth century did industrial development really begin to change Australia; and even then this produced an expansion of the old coastal towns into cities rather than new construction inland. The pressing problem of Australia remains lack of people and the fact that over a vast extent of its uninhabited regions white men can hardly live.

British Overseas Settlement (to 1914)

THE BRITISH IN NEW ZEALAND

The development of the islands of New Zealand as British territory is, at first sight, not dissimilar to that of Australia. But certain distinct features must be remembered. The islands are, in fact, well over a thousand miles from Australia. And in contrast to Australia, the territory was peopled by an intelligent and numerous race of natives, called Maoris, whose ferocity and skill at war dissuaded casual settlement. Moreover, at no time was any convict settlement made on the islands.

Cook, who mapped the coastline in 1769, visited the islands five times in all, leaving sheep, pigs and geese, and he made friends among the Maoris. But most of the Maoris were cannibals, among whom sailors and traders, however hardy or desperate, ventured at their peril. Those whale-hunters, runaway convicts and rough traders who did so left such a trail of murder and hatred that it required much patient and courageous effort by the Australian missionary Samuel Marsden before he could convince the Maoris of the good faith of the majority of white men, and so make possible the first small settlements.

In 1840 the actions of a few private individuals stirred the government into showing some interest in more permanent settlements. Gibbon Wakefield, having formed the New Zealand Land Company in 1837 to organize the purchase and settlement of land, deliberately sent out a ship from Plymouth only a few hours before a government order not to proceed reached the quayside. This ship, the *Tory*, which reached the north island in 1840, founded the township of Wellington; in the course of its voyage news of an intended French settlement had reached the government and so, to forestall this, an official party under Governor Hobson was sent to the other end of the north island to negotiate a treaty with the Maoris. Aided by missionaries, he persuaded the Maoris to agree to the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) by which they accepted Queen Victoria as their sovereign and promised to grant her government the right to buy land at fair prices.

This statesmanlike beginning was marred in practice by frequent disregard of Maori tribal customs. It appeared that the Maoris

The British in New Zealand

regarded their land as tribal property; thus private sales were not recognized by them. In consequence the settlers of the New Zealand Land Company were involved in disputes with local chieftains, which often flared into sharp fighting. By 1845 the grievances of the Maoris produced a widespread rebellion.

It took five years of repeated attacks upon the stockade camps, built by the Maoris in self-defence, to quell the resistance. Fortunately, in the new Governor, Sir George Grey, the Maoris found a generous opponent, and good relations were steadily re-established. Although Grey's departure in 1854 proved a signal for more trouble, his recall in 1861 for a further period of office led to a lasting compromise, made in 1870, by which the Maoris were to hold rather more than half of the land in the north island.

Meanwhile, in the south island, a Scottish Presbyterian group had settled in the Otago region, around Dunedin; and farther south more of Gibbon Wakefield's colonists had established Christchurch on Canterbury Plain. Together with the northern colonists there were enough settlers in New Zealand by 1852 for a measure of self-government to be allowed, but immigration was never great, and although gold was discovered in the Otago area in 1861 it had no very lasting effect. Of greater importance was the dispatch of the first cargo of frozen mutton to England in 1879. Soon the thousands of sheep grazing upon Canterbury Plain indicated a valuable development in New Zealand farming. When in 1907 New Zealand became a fully self-governing Dominion, there were still less than a million inhabitants enjoying the splendour and variety of its scenery. New Zealanders, however, were already proving pioneers in racial and social equality, their government welfare schemes were well in advance of most countries and the contentment of the 80,000 Maoris was particularly impressive.

THE BRITISH AND THE BOERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The fourth area of substantial British settlement was in South Africa. There, since 1652, Cape Colony had been a port of call for Dutchmen on the way to the East Indies, and by the late eighteenth century several thousands of Dutch Boers, or farmers, and some

British Overseas Settlement (to 1914)

hundreds of French and Germans, had settled in the colony. In 1814 the British, having captured Cape Town when Holland was overrun by the French, decided to buy the territory; for £6,000,000 Cape Colony became a useful strategic base on the shipping routes to India and Australia.

The Boers rapidly found the British unsympathetic to their prejudices. The enthusiasm of British missionaries for the welfare of the Hottentot natives was backed by the judicial decisions of British courts; as early as 1811 these had shown their determination to protect the natives against ill-treatment by the Boer farmers. And when in 1820 British settlers arrived at Port Elizabeth in Algoa Bay, the Boers felt that an already difficult land situation was being further complicated by this increase of British settlement.

To the north of Cape Colony there was only desert, the Karroo, but eastwards there was good grazing land. It was the ambition of every young Boer to own 6000 acres of land and so for some time past the Boer families had been moving steadily over the eastern frontier. There too, recently arrived and pressed southwards by the warlike tribes in the rear, were the Bantu tribes, of whom the Xhosas and Zulus were the most powerfully organized. Like the Boers, the Bantu were pastoral farmers. They were as eager as the Boers to secure new land and so frontier raids were frequent.

Despite a large-scale Bantu attack in 1834 *k^e British government refused to allow any permanent advance of the frontier. The Boers were dismayed by this lack of regard for their interests, and when the chain of forts begun by the governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, to protect some new settlements beyond the Great Fish River, were pulled down, many Boers resolved to leave the British-controlled colony and to trek northwards.

Another British action helped to convince them: in 1833 t^he British government had abolished slavery in the British empire. The Boers, in common with others, were required to free all their slaves, for what seemed to them insufficient compensation. Many, who believed themselves chosen by God to be masters, could not bear the thought of equality with the 'natives'; they liked even less receiving orders from any government as to what they should do. They wanted to live in 'a free unfenced world where they could

The British and the Boers in South Africa

wander at will with their herds...in allegiance to nobody save God'. In short, they resolved to look after themselves.

In this mood of exasperation at British restrictions on their land and labour the first Boer families set out in 1834 on a journey to the Orange River. Within two years the Great Trek proper had begun. More and more families loaded their household possessions into brightly painted hooded wagons, each drawn by sixteen Afrikaaner oxen. Driving great numbers of sheep and cattle before them, with poultry in crates slung beneath each wagon, they made slow progress—perhaps five miles a day—but the majority safely reached the Orange River.

A few families settled just beyond the river, among the friendly Griquas; the rest pushed on. Some of these, under their leader Potgieter, secured by purchase, treaty, or victory at the expense of the Matabele, all the land between the Vaal and the Limpopo. A greater number, under Retief, carried their wagons and families and flocks over the mighty Drakensberg Mountains into the rolling pastures of Natal. Here was fine land and no sign of any British, and the Zulus who challenged the new arrivals were quickly crushed at Blood River. Nevertheless scarcely was a Boer republic established in Natal than a handful of British settlers on the coast enabled the territory to be annexed by Britain in 1843.

This resulted in a further trek by the Boers. Under the determined leadership of Pretorius they withdrew west of the Drakensberg and, linking up with the discontented Boers of the Orange Free State, went on to reach their fellows in the Transvaal Boer republic. There a new capital, Pretoria, duly commemorated their leader. In all, probably 12,000 men, women and children had left Cape Colony.

The British government, by treaties in 1852 and 1854, for a time acknowledged the independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, but asked that the territories be open to all comers and that no slaves be admitted. In practice, for nearly twenty years, the Boers lived without reference to the government in Cape Colony and maintained an uneasy peace with the tribes around them.

Meanwhile there was a new advance of British humanitarian reforms into Africa. Sir George Grey, as Governor of the **Cape**

British Overseas Settlement (to 1914)

from 1854 to 1861, began 'treating the natives as human beings'. Roads were built, farming and trade were encouraged, Natal was made independent of the Cape Colony and given representative government, and in due course Cape Colony itself achieved full self-government (1872). By 1875 about 280,000 British and Boer settlers lived in Cape Colony and Natal. In the Boer republics half that number (130,000) struggled for survival, as the warlike Zulus pressed on their eastern borders.

For a time it had seemed that the Boers would be left alone, but events conspired to ruin the hopes of isolation which the Boer so much cherished. The first was the chance discovery by children of diamonds near the juncture of the Orange and Vaal rivers: as a result of this a host of fortune-hunters invaded the Boer farmlands, and the British government to keep order had felt obliged in 1871 to annex the territory of Griqualand West. Then in 1878, following the request of several Boers for protection against Zulu attacks, the Transvaal itself was annexed. Strong Boer protests gained them independence again in 1881, but a second discovery—this time of gold—at Witwatersrand in the heart of the Transvaal in 1885 brought a tide of European settlers still farther into the interior of Africa.

From then onwards neither the Boers, nor the native Bantu who still heavily outnumbered all the white settlers, could ignore the mounting pressure of European habits and customs upon their territories. When Paul Kruger, president of the Transvaal republic, began to tax the gold-miners, yet refused to allow the use of English in the schools and denied the vote to all newcomers until they had been ten years in the country, most of the British in South Africa were horrified at his conservatism. The Boer leaders seemed determined to resist any economic change which would affect their political control. On three sides of their territory British traders and prospectors were active; Bechuanaland was acquired by Britain in 1885, and in 1889 the formation of the British South Africa Company began the development of the land north of the Limpopo. In such circumstances the Boers⁵ defiance of progress provoked impatient men to violence: in 1895 Dr Jameson, the British administrator of Rhodesia, led an armed raid into the Trans-

The British and the Boers in South Africa

vaal to force progress upon the Boers. His failure strengthened Kruger's obstinate leadership of the farmers and soon their unwillingness to compromise resulted in the Boer War of 1899-1902. The Boer farmers fought well, but eventually the British armies gained the victory.

With the rights of the British settlers safeguarded, it was possible to allow self-government to the former Boer republics in 1907; and in 1910 they were joined with Cape Colony and Natal to form the Union of South Africa, an independent country with Dominion status. Two former Boer generals, Botha, as the first Union prime minister, and Smuts, an influential statesman of a later period, gained the trust of the British section of the people, and a million British settlers in South Africa testified to the economic progress of the Union. But the number of British was by no means sufficient to give any guarantee of future British supremacy in South Africa. Much remained to be done to reconcile British views and those of the Boers; and with Bantu objections to their semi-servile status growing, the larger problem of white supremacy was still unresolved.

This is a problem best examined in a later context. All over Africa, by 1914, portions of tribal land had been taken by Europeans for farming or mining. In Kenya, for example, and in Rhodesia, a handful of British settlers had gained administrative control of large areas, whilst in other parts of Africa native chieftains readily accepted British rule. In general, however, these were not so much areas of settlement as areas where the disputed possession of land caused the British government to intervene and to assume a measure of responsibility for peaceful change.

By 1914, in Africa and throughout the world, the British government had acquired many responsibilities of this sort. Thanks to similar experience in India the British empire was already well served by men who foresaw a new role for themselves as the educators of overseas peoples, not only in matters of religion, government and trade, but also in industrial and social development. The British, however, were not the only European nation to assume this task. 'The white man's burden'⁵ was taken up by others equally anxious for prestige, wealth and good works.

EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM (TO 1914)

In America, and in Australasia, white men found almost empty lands where they could settle without serious opposition from the native peoples. In India, in South-east Asia and China, and in most of Africa, European settlement was not so easy. In some places climatic conditions did not encourage permanent settlement, and in others traders did sufficient business with local coastal communities to satisfy their needs without settlement. However, in the course of time, European governments often found it necessary to send soldiers and administrators to impose order upon their traders and to organize the resources of the overseas lands.

In the process they often created new unity among the local peoples. So it was in India where about 150,000 white men came to organize the lives of 320 million people; in direct consequence of their efforts the first stirring of a new Indian sense of unity was visible by 1885. In the West Indies a common pattern was similarly imposed by less than 100,000 white rulers, and soon in Malaya, in Nigeria and other parts of Africa a handful of colonial administrators created a sense of unity previously lacking there.

In Africa the very geographical factors which deterred European settlement also hampered local development. There were thus fewer trading opportunities and it was not until exploration had revealed the hidden resources of Africa that much interest was shown in this 'dark continent'⁵. From about 1884 the rivalry of Europeans in India was repeated in Africa, and later a similar burst of 'imperialistic' enthusiasm led to European economic and political control in China, in South America and in the Arab lands.

The Belief in Empire

THE BELIEF IN EMPIRE

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a combination of factors produced a great popular belief in the value of colonies, which although not confined to Britain was most evident there. At a time when the states of Italy and Germany were combining into great kingdoms and the United States had just successfully emerged as one political unit after its civil war, the people of Britain found comfort in adding together the multitude of people in their empire and finding the number greater than the combined populations of Germany, Russia and the U.S.A.

Better communications emphasized the reality of the overseas lands. The first steamships crossed the Atlantic in 1838; and from about 1860 screw propellers enabled steamers to cut more drastically the time of ocean travel. The Suez Canal, opened in 1869, saved 24 days on the sea route to India; merchant and passenger lines became more reliable as steam replaced sail; messages by telegraph cable were sent across the Atlantic after 1866; and by 1901 wireless communication between continents became possible. The postal services enabled letters from the millions of emigrants to reach Europe, with descriptions of scenery and places, soon identifiable in the cheap atlases which newly educated children could painfully decipher for their elders. Railways and steamships brought not only the older commodities of tea, sugar and rice, but also more perishable food, such as bananas from the West Indies, apples from British Columbia and oranges from South Africa. Refrigerated ships brought the first consignment of New Zealand mutton to England in 1879 and in the same year large-scale production of airtight cans made possible corned beef, tinned fruit and tinned salmon.

Meanwhile the work of the missionary societies, often closely linked with exploration, opened men's eyes to the variety of the human race. When Stanley discovered Livingstone in 1871 the account of their meeting was widely reported. The simple lantern-slides of the returned missionary in church halls; the occasional pageantry, as when Canadian Mounties, Indian princes and African chiefs took part in Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations of 1897;

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and the increasing flow of books, which included Kipling's *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 1887, and *King Solomon's Mines* by Rider Haggard—all these stimulated the imagination of the people and made ready audiences for the politicians.

As Gibbon Wakefield had pioneered public interest in settlement abroad, so Disraeli trumpeted the grandeur of British protective care. Soon millions who had never seen the Zambezi or the Himalayas began to feel themselves members of a race of empire-builders; poets, preachers and politicians spoke of the *white man's burden', of the need to bring *lesser breeds' within the law. It was left to Joseph Chamberlain, the sales-manager who became Colonial Secretary in 1895, to suggest a policy which would benefit both Britain and her colonies through the careful organization of the economic development of each country.

The industrial needs of Britain and of other countries had much changed by the 1880's. New kinds of raw material were required. In overseas lands gold was discovered which, by supplying more bullion as the basis of currency and credit, contributed to a further rise in industrial production. High-speed machinery needed a greater quantity of lubricants. New inventions, such as bicycles, electric insulation and cars, set up a demand for rubber which could be met only by plantations, such as those in Malaya from 1876. Later on, cars were to augment the demand for petroleum, for which concessions of land were sought in Persia. A variety of metals—copper, tin, silver, tungsten, chromium—were required for new industrial processes and the very improvement in living conditions in towns increased the demand for more fats and food, for soap and margarine and for coffee, cocoa and fruit of all kinds.

Increasing competition between Britain and Germany had developed, not only in European markets, but also in the ports overseas. The superior salesmanship of the Germans prompted Britain to counter German moves by taking over more land. Thus when Germany claimed New Guinea in 1884, Britain swiftly took a portion; when Germany claimed South-West Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland, the British in South Africa annexed Bechuanaland and hastened the development of Rhodesia.

As a general result the rest of the world was by 1914 either

The Belief in Empire

directly partitioned among the European powers or divided into particular spheres of influence for each competitor. In ten years alone, from 1880 to 1890, more than 10,000 million square miles, mostly in Africa, were partitioned. By 1914 six nations—Britain, Russia, France, Germany, the U.S.A. and Japan—between them controlled 60 per cent of the area of the world and 58 per cent of the world's population.

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

The conquest of India

The first European traders who went to India in the sixteenth century found a large and well-populated country, in which dwelt intelligent and skilful peoples. Although very little remained of the great empires of the past—the northern kingdom of Asoka or the Gupta kingdom of the south—Muslim invaders, who had ruled from Delhi since about the year 1100 A.D., still gave a measure of unity to the northern plains. The mass of the people were Hindu in religion, but under wise and tolerant rulers, such as Akbar the Great (1556-1605), a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, many Indians enjoyed material and cultural standards at least as high as those of the men who came from Europe. In personal cleanliness, in the technical skill of their craftsmen, in the humanity of their laws and even in the general level of literacy, Indians could even claim a superiority to the Europeans as late as the eighteenth century.

It so happened that India, temporarily, lacked a spur to fresh progress. Akbar, wise and tolerant in his dealings with men, had shown little interest in the new mechanical inventions—the clock, the printing-press and the new ships—which had so excited his European contemporaries. His successors proved less able and less wise than he. Not only did the Taj Mahal at Agra and the lovely buildings in Delhi become symbols of their royal extravagance, but some rulers, notably Aurungzeb (who died in 1707), were so intolerant towards their Hindu subjects that the framework of government broke down, and a series of private wars began.

It was a Frenchman, Dupleix, governor of the French traders

European Imperialism (to 1914)

(1730-54)³ who first saw that Indian princes would be glad of European assistance in their local contests, and he successfully demonstrated the value of small, well-trained armies. But it was Robert Clive who really applied the lesson. When in 1757 his 3000 sepoys, under British officers, met an enemy host of 50,000 on the plain north of Calcutta and in an hour scattered it among the mango groves of Plassey, the huge province of Bengal was flung open like a great treasure-chest. Fortunes could be made by unscrupulous adventurers, and to critics who accused him of taking a reward of £27,000 a year from the Indian he had made Nawab of Bengal, Clive retorted that he was amazed at his own moderation. By the end of the eighteenth century India was a vast arena of warring groups. Haider Ah, Sultan of Mysore, threatened to retake Madras and the Carnatic coast, and the Maratha chieftains were a constant danger to Bengal. 'Every inch we retreat', wrote a British official, 'will be taken by them.' With cattle-thieves raiding from the hills, greedy traders operating from Calcutta, and the need to control the waters of the Ganges, it was impossible for the British to hold their new provinces while merely resting on their military laurels. A strong and far-sighted governor was desperately needed, and the East India Company, rather unwillingly, found itself involved in government as well as in trade.

The Governor of Bengal in 1772 was Warren Hastings, and it was he who subsequently became the first Governor-General of all the Company's lands in India. With a just policy towards Indians and Europeans alike and a real respect for Indian customs, Hastings not only maintained a firm defence along his frontiers, thwarting also another French attempt at intervention, but laid the foundations of honest government over a large area. Although he had to endure on his return to England in 1785 a seven-year trial on false charges before acquittal, his example was quickly followed. After him men went to India to serve nobler ideals than the making of a quick fortune, and many died there, young and poor.

Much remained to be done to make British rule effective throughout India. Although the French East India Company had been abolished in 1769 and there was no large body of French troops in India, a number of French officers in native armies still kept

The British in India

hostility towards England alive. In particular they were active in aiding the rulers of Hyderabad and Mysore. Haider Ali of Mysore was killed in 1783, but his son Tipu proved equally dangerous, and the fires of French intrigue smouldered in India until the time of Napoleon.

The man who finally set the seal of British conquest on India was the Marquis of Wellesley, a haughty and high-handed Irishman who, as Governor-General from 1798 to 1805, saw a fine opportunity to make a name for himself. Exceedingly ambitious and so fond of glitter that he wore his orders and decorations on his night attire, Wellesley first set himself the task of clearing French advisers from the state of Hyderabad. This accomplished, he turned to the conquest of Mysore, where with the assistance of his younger brother (later the Duke of Wellington) a swift campaign in 1799 ended when the sultan was killed.

Wellesley was now free to seek new paths of glory, but the Company had no desire for more territory "if it brings with it the addition of expenses". This, however, did not deter Wellesley from seeking to impose alliances on neighbouring rulers in order to undermine the strength of the Marathas, now the main rival to British power. In consequence Central India was torn by continual warfare and ravaged by famine, as Wellesley's small but well-trained Indian sepoys, officered by British, gradually out-maneuvred the quarrelling princes. Wellesley's policy was so far continued by his successors, notably Lord Moira, that by 1818 there was no ruler of importance in India who had not signed treaties of friendship with the Company. Thus, like a gigantic jigsaw puzzle, India was pieced together under British hands.

The government of India

Henceforth much depended on the character of the Governor-General. Lord Cornwallis, twice Governor-General between 1786 and 1813, had set the general tone, by insisting that the army should be officered solely by the British and that the law-courts should be kept scrupulously honest by having only British judges. Cornwallis also established hill-stations to make it possible for white women to endure the hot season.

European Imperialism {to 1914}

Other Governors also acted with the best humanitarian motives. For example, Lord Bentinck (1828-35) sought to establish a single system of law. He also prohibited the ancient, but never widespread, practice of suttee, whereby widows were burnt alive on their husbands' funeral pyres. And, in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1833, which ended the East India Company as a trading company in India, he encouraged the teaching of English to Indians. The current belief was well expressed by Lord Macaulay: 'By good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government.. having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions.' In the long run this was achieved.

It was no wonder that much of India remained hidden to the British rulers; the best Indian minds withdrew from contact with the snobbish foreigners and the mass of Indians, grateful for any increase of law and order, passively accepted them as new overlords. Much poverty and injustice passed unnoticed as Indians made merry over religious festivals. For the masses life was pitifully brief—a mere handful of years could be expected by the average Indian—so the next life mattered more than this. As a refuge from present miseries, religion was all-important. Yet between the two principal religions of India there was a great gulf, and for this British Christianity seemed to offer only a flimsy bridge.

A large Muslim minority—perhaps a quarter—living chiefly in the north, held tenaciously to their original faith. They believed quite simply in one God and in the brotherhood of all Muslims. Death in battle with the infidel would take the true believer straight to Paradise. As poor farmers under British rule, discretion was the better part of valour; the Muslims, however, were glad that their soldierly qualities were not unappreciated by the British, who recruited them for their armies. Hinduism, by contrast, was a vast sponge, which had succeeded in absorbing a great variety of religious ideas. Hindus appeared to have many gods; the more thoughtful worshipped only Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Siva the destroyer, but a great host of mythical figures were cherished by the masses. In general, the Hindu was ready to accept each day as it came, in the belief that each individual must

endure several lives in the hope of final happiness. Each of these lives would enable him to work by good deeds and a holy life towards a higher perfection.

Hindus were therefore divided into various castes, showing their present status on the cycle of reincarnation. The caste of Brahmins, which included the priests, teachers and thinkers, was the nearest to perfection and so was held in the highest regard. Below the Brahmins were the other main castes: the Kshatriyas, rulers and warriors; the Vaishyas, traders and bankers; the Shudras, or agricultural workers. In the course of time these castes had become much sub-divided. Every caste had its share of land and one's caste made little difference to one's wealth. Caste was a matter of prestige, and a convenient form of permanent organization into specialist tasks. One could not leave one's caste nor intermarry with another; one could not even eat with a member of another caste. But within each caste there was a comradeship and co-operation that made for strength. Indian life was thus based on the needs of the group not those of the individual—in consequence the individual Hindu could rarely make a promise. This apparent lack of personal backbone the British could neither understand nor forgive. They could, however, understand a class system and quickly adapted themselves to become, in a sense, a foreign caste of rulers. They tried to govern Indians fairly, like peasants on a large private estate, and although their own prejudices led them to favour British needs, as when imports of cheap British manufactures ruined village crafts, in general they interfered as little as possible.

Yet the indirect results of their policy were often far-reaching, and when, in 1848, Lord Dalhousie came to India as Governor-General, his whirlwind of western ideas shook the whole fabric of Indian life; few remained unaware of the new benevolent despotism. Dalhousie's passion for efficiency stirred Indians to both awed admiration and angry resentment: it mattered not to him that he made enemies or that his own health was ruined; India should be knit together and made stronger by his efforts. Shortly before he arrived in India the Sikhs had abandoned a treaty which had made the Sutlej their frontier with British India. They had poured over the frontier, had been defeated and forced to accept a British

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Resident in Lahore to advise their ruler. In 1848 they had revolted. Dalhousie decided on his arrival that the Punjab must be annexed. Under the wise government of John and Henry Lawrence the loyalty of the Sikhs was won and Dalhousie was perhaps justified. But his other annexations were less successful. Seven Indian states were taken over, including Nagpur, Jhansi and Oudh; and trouble in Burma likewise led to an annexation of part of that country. Whatever the excuse, the real object in every case was better administration.

Improved communications were essential to Dalhousie's aims. He established therefore a Central Public Works Department, founded an engineering college for Indians at Roorkee, and constructed nearly 1500 miles of grand trunk road right across the plains of northern India. Railways were rapidly constructed; a telegraph service took cables thousands of miles across India; and a uniform postal-rate for the whole country was organized at a sixteenth of the former cost. Meanwhile the construction of the Ganges Canal, 525 miles in length and itself a major engineering achievement, made possible a large-scale irrigation scheme, which together with Dalhousie's other reforms—re-afforestation and the encouragement of cotton, silk and tea for export—showed his genuine concern for the Indians.

The pace of the change was too fast. Opponents were made, critics banded together, and in 1857 dissatisfaction in the Bengal army led to a serious mutiny which, once it was allowed to spread, attracted various other malcontents. On the evening of 10 May 1857 while the bells of Meerut rang for the Christian service, the sepoys of the Bengal army rose in revolt. In a matter of hours the barracks were burnt and the Indian cavalry had galloped off to raise a rebellion at Delhi, 38 miles away. There the British residents were murdered and soon, as the word spread, garrison towns along the Ganges were seized by mutineers. Only the British cantonments at Lucknow and Cawnpore stood out as islands of safety in a sea of rebellion.

The 40,000 British in India were not prepared for such an emergency, but after an initial series of disasters their commanders rallied the loyalty of the majority of their sepoys and disarmed the rest. A movable column of Sikhs assembled under John Nicholson

and advanced to the relief of Delhi. Everywhere British soldiers performed prodigies of valour and endurance, marching in great heat as much as 600 miles in three weeks and tackling forces five or six times their number. By September Delhi and all other towns but Lucknow were retaken.

In the process terrible excesses were committed on both sides. Nana Sahib murdered 200 women and children in Cawnpore. British officers such as Colonel Neill replied with equal savagery. In one place a Highland sergeant counted 130 bodies hanging from the branches of a single banyan tree. Altogether nearly 50,000 Indians were hanged or shot. Neither side gave any quarter in the actual fighting, and deeds of reckless bravery were matched by deeds of quiet self-sacrifice. The daring Rani of Jhansi, an 'Indian Boadicea', won the hearts of the rebels, and the prolonged heroism of the British defenders of the Lucknow Residency, which was besieged for nine months, stirred the imagination of their contemporaries.

It seems likely that the cause of the mutiny was not so much general dissatisfaction with British rule as distrust of British intentions. The reforms of Dalhousie had frightened many people. Agitators bribed by the king of Oudh and Nana Sahib, whose lands had been taken away by Dalhousie, found it easy to spread unpleasant reports—that the sepoy regiments would soon be posted overseas, that the Hindu religion was to be stamped out, and above all that the new cartridges were greased with the fat of cows (sacred to the Hindu) and of pigs (unclean to the Muslim).

Whatever the causes of this sepoy rising, it had called forth events which neither Indian nor British could easily forget or forgive. However, the good sense and clemency of Governor-General Canning did much to restore order and to secure the transfer of the government of India from the Company to the British government. For twenty years India enjoyed unbroken peace. The railway system was extended, new schemes of irrigation were developed and, with the abolition of the duty on imported machinery (1860), large-scale industry began in India. British capital built jute-mills in Bengal, cotton-mills in Bombay and Ahmadabad, and developed mining. Many Indians gained sufficient

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education to secure posts in government service as clerks or even as lawyers practising in the new law-courts. Their western education and their work enabled them to mix with the British 'sahibs' and some were content.

Unfortunately British goodwill was not enough. When Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India in 1877 there were many official celebrations, yet in the same year five million Indians died of famine and the relief camps were quite inadequate. Although by 1903 over 50 million acres of land were under British irrigation schemes and there were 36,000 miles of railway, which aided famine relief, the goodwill and enthusiastic initiative of the Indians was increasingly needed if the general standard was to be raised further. Some realized this but a proposal in 1883 to have Indian magistrates raised such a mutiny of white sahibs that it was abandoned; and when in 1885 an Indian National Congress Party was formed to act as a debating society for Indians, its British sponsors were alarmed to see it develop nationalistic tendencies and begin to demand greater Indian self-government. About this time a British official could speak of the 'conviction in every [British] man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue'. Such a feeling of superiority made it difficult for the 'sahib' to understand the 'native' and equally difficult for the Indians to like the British.

Meanwhile the defence of India was, as always, the dominant problem for the British government. Outlying lands such as Assam, acquired in 1826, and Sind, seized in 1843, had to be protected. And although the eastern border was made safer by the annexation of Burma in 1886, the north-west frontier caused several disasters before Baluchistan and Afghanistan could be turned into friendly territory. This preoccupation with the military prestige of the British army and the social prestige of the British officials absorbed nearly 80 per cent of the taxes paid by the Indians.

Protests were few, and if by 1885 the first stirrings of Indian nationalism were visible, this was a direct result of the new political unity which British rule had imposed on its vast area. In popular conception India was a place where elephants in gorgeous trappings carried turbaned princes in ceremonial parades, where Brahmin

The British in India

priests painted vermilion caste marks on their foreheads, where small humped-backed cows, garlanded with flowers, wandered at will among the houses. It was also a country where less visibly a few thousand British army officers and civil servants were responsible for the welfare of well over 100 million Indians. Under their devoted care, Indian soldiers found a secure and honourable life, which the poverty of their village would have denied them, and Indian clerks in the civil service were equally grateful for any small advance in their position. The mass of Indians were still poor. In isolated places, communal rioting between Hindus and Muslims was an ever-present danger which most British officials did their best to check, but neither the British government nor the native princes, who ruled nearly a third of India, were anxious to see anything in India changed in a hurry. The political, religious and social divisions of the Indians were to Britain's advantage; and thus British power was virtually unchallenged till 1919.

WHITE MEN IN AFRICA:

THE EXPLORATION OF THE CONTINENT

Long before the first Portuguese caravels nudged their way along the western coastline of Africa, Arab traders had crossed the Sahara and reached Timbuktu, while others in search of gold, ivory and slaves had certainly penetrated as far as Mombasa. But of these and earlier events in African history there are few records; and as long as the European sailors regarded Africa as no more than a coastal shelter from the more violent storms, or a convenient source of Negro slaves, Africa was known to them as the 'Dark Continent'.

The traffic in Negro slavery was well organized, and by the eighteenth century more than a thousand ships were annually engaged in regular voyages across the Atlantic. The Portuguese, very early in their coastal exploration, had set up their first slave-stations at Lagos, and the English traders had been quick to follow, being active in Gambia, Sierra Leone and along the Gold Coast. Some forty slave-stations were soon established in West Africa and men of almost every European nation were involved in the trade.

European Imperialism {to 1914}

Most of the unfortunate Negroes were, in fact, seized by Arab slavers operating deep in the interior of the continent, who then marched them in chains either north-east towards Arabia or westwards across the desert and jungle to the Atlantic coast, there to be herded into 'castles'⁵ to await the merchant vessels. The loss of life was hideous, both on the forced marches and on the Atlantic crossing. Reliable estimates suggest that over half of the captives died on these voyages. Yet Englishmen, alone, between 1680 and 1780, were responsible for the transportation of at least two million slaves. The loss to Africa is difficult to gauge. Certain it is that, apart from actual loss of population, it was difficult for Africans to develop settled communities in the face of such trade in human bodies, and the course of civilization in Africa was, in consequence, retarded.

The very extent of the slave trade did much to rouse the conscience of sensitive Europeans. The Danish government banned the trade in 1792; it was followed by the British in 1807 and the Americans in 1808. By 1820 Holland, France and Spain had done likewise. Eventually even the Portuguese began to enforce their half-hearted regulations.

Within a few years, in 1833, Britain took a further step forward by abolishing slavery itself in all its colonies. France followed in 1848, and one by one others sought to root out the evil. Yet the curse of slavery remained greatest in the heart of Africa; so to its destruction there the abolitionists now bent their furious efforts, financing exploration in the hope of freeing slaves from bondage.

The exploration of Africa was not an easy task. The northern and southern extremities were alike inviting but the Mediterranean coast soon merged into the hot sands of the Sahara, or the broken desert of the Sudan, and in the south the tropical grasslands, although teeming with wild animals, were full of swamps and hidden pools, which bred the mosquito and the tsetse fly, carriers of malaria, sleeping-sickness and other diseases. The rivers too were equally unkind to the explorer, being long meandering swamps, or else so broken by swift rapids that navigation from the coast was virtually impossible. It was therefore not surprising to find it

White Men in Africa: The Exploration of the Continent

argued that the Niger and the Nile were one river or that the Congo and the Niger were linked.

The Nile had a special fascination for explorers, and Brace's expedition up the Blue Nile in 1769-72 may be said to have begun a century of African exploration by Europeans. But it was the founding of the English African Association in 1788 which really showed the way for organized scientific discovery. This body sent Mungo Park, a Scottish surgeon, in search of the course of the Niger and it was Park's epic journeys which caught the public imagination.

Park left the Gambian coast in 1795, dressed in full naval uniform, mounted on horseback. Soon his only attendants were his servant and a young boy, both Africans. All were seized by Arab traders, but Park made his escape and thenceforth alone, with only a pocket-compass to guide him, he made his way towards the Niger, which in due course he saw 'glittering in the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward\ Some years later (1805) he headed a larger party which successfully sailed 800 miles down the Niger, before all but five perished in the rapids at Boussa.

The mystery of the Niger's course was eventually solved by the explorations of Clapperton and his servant Lander, who between 1822 and 1827 crossed the Sahara from Tripoli, discovered Lake Chad and the river Benue, and then spent some time at the highly developed trading centres of Sokoto and Kano. There Clapperton learnt of the southward flow of the river Niger. Soon afterwards Lander reached the confluence of the Niger and the Benue. As final proof Lander in 1830 made his way to Boussa and from there voyaged in a leaky canoe to the sea.

Whilst exploration of west Africa continued, and Timbuktu became the goal of many desert travellers, events in central and eastern Africa began to attract more general attention. In 1849 German missionaries had reported the discovery of snow-capped mountains near the Equator, and in 1856 rumours of a vast lake among the upper reaches of the Nile had called forth an expedition under Burton and Speke, which revealed the existence of at least three great lakes. While these claims intrigued the armchair geographers, fresh accounts of the horrors of the slave trade, compiled

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by David Livingstone, doctor, missionary and explorer, captured the imagination of a wider public.

The London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, and the Church Missionary Society of 1799 had already sent many representatives to Africa. David Livingstone (1813-73) proved the greatest of them all. A self-educated Scot, he had been sent to Africa in 1841 as a member of the London Society. Soon, after winning the love of many Africans in Bechuanaland, Livingstone set out for new mission fields. He crossed the Kalahari desert in 1849 and discovered Lake Ngami. Two years later he reached the River Zambezi, and in 1853 journeyed upstream for some distance before turning westwards through swamp and jungle to emerge eventually on the coast at Loanda. He then retraced his steps to the Zambezi. He next set out to trace the Zambezi to the sea, and so was brought to the place of the smoke which thunders', where the broad river, a mile wide, plunged 343 feet into a deep gorge. This Livingstone named Victoria Falls.

Throughout his 6000 mile journey Livingstone was horrified by the widespread evidence of Arab slave trading and, on the completion of his journey to the east coast, he decided to return to England to rouse greater support for its abolition throughout the continent. A second expedition in 1858 took him on medical work among the slave-trade areas to the north-west of the Zambezi estuary. Lake Nyasa was discovered in the process and a grim record of eight years' work was sent to England.

By now Livingstone, like many others, was consumed with the belief that he could find the source of the Nile. So in 1865 he set out for Tanganyika, and for some years was lost to the outside world. But his tremendous reputation had created such public interest in African exploration that the proprietor of the *New York Herald* was persuaded by H. M. Stanley, a young Welsh journalist, to equip an expedition to find him. Stanley 'discovered' Livingstone in 1871, ministering to the natives by Lake Tanganyika. Together they explored the lake, proved that it had no northern exit, and therefore that it could not be the source of the Nile, and then Stanley returned to Europe. Livingstone remained to make a last fatal expedition to the head waters of the Congo. He died in 1873.

White Men in Africa: The Exploration of the Continent

Stanley, full of hero-worship for Livingstone, now became the most commanding African explorer. In 1874 he returned to Africa and was soon hacking paths along the waters of the Congo, impressing all by his violence and energy. Having failed to interest the British government in the commercial possibilities of the area, he won over the Belgian king, and for four years occupied himself making treaties with over 500 traditional rulers to enable traders to exploit the area. About the same time de Brazza, on behalf of France, was carrying out a similar task north of the Congo.

It was left to Stanley, whose swashbuckling methods were well suited to obtaining trade concessions and organizing relief expeditions, to complete the quest for the Nile's source. In 1888, having reached Lake Albert, he was privileged to see the snow-capped Ruwenzori, the legendary Mountains of the Moon, and suddenly inspired he rapidly found Lake Edward, the source of the Nile, tracing its connection with Lake Albert. The days of exploration were over, the days of exploitation were beginning.

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Britain's colonies

As the potentialities of African wealth were glimpsed, a sudden rush of European trading companies began, provoking in turn keen rivalry between European governments. At first trade concessions were eagerly sought from the local African chiefs, but when Germans, for long discouraged by Bismarck from colonial ventures, appeared in South-west Africa in 1883 and began making 'paper annexations', every European government began to claim large tracts of land. Only the great size of the continent and the tremendous cost of any military expedition in such climatic conditions prevented open conflict.

Germany throughout set the pace. Togoland and the Cameroons were annexed in 1884, after treaties had been made with local rulers by their explorer, Dr Nachtigall. In the same year the presence of a few German traders in South-west Africa gave rise to extensive claims there. Meanwhile German explorers, notably the infamous Karl Peters, had appeared in the area of Lake Victoria and Lake

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Nyasa and had made treaties with the traditional rulers, calling the whole area German East Africa.

At a Berlin conference in 1884 a genuine effort was made to limit the annexations of the European powers and to keep the great rivers as free highways for all traders, and at Brussels five years later many nations promised to sell neither arms nor slaves nor intoxicating liquor in African territory. But public promises were not easily kept in face of private greed. A scramble for every piece of valuable land soon developed and Africa was rapidly parcelled out in unexplored portions by means of separate and unrelated agreements between the contending powers.

In this 'grab for Africa' Britain's strategic position enabled her to come off best. Bechuanaland was declared 'British protected' in 1885 and soon the Gold Coast (1886) and Sierra Leone (1889) were more than tripled in size. By 1890 Northern and Southern Rhodesia were hastily organized, while the activities of British trading companies in East and West Africa led to British protection being given to Uganda, to Kenya and to Nigeria. With a portion of Somaliland and the reconquest of the Sudan (1898), Britain by 1900 controlled over five thousand million square miles of Africa, and was responsible for the welfare of some 90 million Africans. France, Germany, Portugal and the Belgian king between them claimed an area of no greater size.

The man who more than any other was responsible for Britain gaining the lion's share of Africa was Cecil Rhodes. A clergyman's son, Rhodes had been sent to Africa for his health, but when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley in 1875 he had gone there with his brother and soon had acquired the only pump in the area. This enabled diamonds to be extracted from water-logged levels where no one else believed diamonds existed. So Rhodes became rich. Soon, by frugal living and shrewd capital investments, he became richer. His rivals were forced to join his company, and when it was realized that the gold discovered at Witwatersrand, near Johannesburg, in 1885 could only be exploited by skilled engineers, Rhodes' gold shares made him a multi-millionaire. He drew an income of £400,000 a year from his investments; he bought a mountain for his garden and lived like an emperor. He enjoyed his

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success; yet more than anything else he wanted to use his money to make Britain ruler of Africa.

As early as 1888 he had persuaded Lobengula, king of the Aiatablele, to grant him the rights to all metals and minerals in Matabddand. He founded the British South African Company to exploit this concession and raised a tough band of pioneers and police to serve and protect British interest there. By 1890 Fort Salisbury was founded and when, as Rhodes expected, the threatened xMatabele prepared to fight the British, a volunteer defence force successfully expelled their king from his court at Bulawayo and gained possession of more land farther north in Mashonaland. Some years later (1896) a combined Matabele-Mashona revolt was halted by Rhodes, who rode unarmed with five companions into the hostile camp and after a fortnight's parley obtained a compromise. "With the Matabele secured in native reserves, this region south of the Zambezi was found to be rich in gold, coal and bauxite, and as 'Southern Rhodesia'⁵ it began to prosper.

Meanwhile another treaty, made with the king of the Barotse in 1889, together with the co-operation of other local rulers, enabled the flat tropical area north of the river to be controlled by Britain. Although few white settlers stayed there for long, the discovery of rich deposits of copper—the Katanga copper-belt—on the Congo border, attracted many mineworkers to this area of Northern Rhodesia, and furthered Rhodes's dream of a Cape-to-Cairo railway.

Rhodes wanted to establish good relations with the Africans and to improve communications, so that British settlement might increase and trade flourish. As prime minister of Cape Colony, from 1890, he had little patience with the unenlightened Boers. When therefore Paul Kruger in the Transvaal taxed all immigrants heavily, yet refused to allow English in the schools and denied all newcomers the vote until they had been ten years in the country, Rhodes was ready to aid the English 'UManders' in rebellion. His friend Dr Jameson went so far as to invade the Transvaal in 1895 with a small force—a raid which stiffened Kruger's unwillingness to compromise. As a result of Boer pride and British impatience the Boer War of 1899-1902 was fought to enforce British views. Rhodes died before the end of the ill-fought war,

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but something of his generous spirit could be seen in the peace, and more especially in the Act of 1907, which granted self-government to the defeated Boer republics.*

Among the other men who came to rule larger areas of Africa on behalf of Britain, Sir Frederick Lugard must be mentioned. In contrast to the methods of Rhodes, Lugard's career was more that of a knight errant. As a young soldier he had set out with a rifle and fifty sovereigns—his total wealth—to declare war on the Arab slave raiders, first in Abyssinia and then in Nyasaland. Thanks to his efforts, Nyasaland in 1881 was declared a British protectorate. Lugard then set out for the Buganda territory, where slave raiders and rival missionary groups were making the work of the African king, or Kabaka, virtually impossible. There also he restored good government, and by 1893 secured British support for his actions.

He was next employed by the Royal Niger Company to treat with the rulers of northern Nigeria. Once again he was successful. Despite some opposition he successfully prohibited alcoholic liquor, suppressed the slave trade, and by 1903 had made British rule effective over a large area. Lugard was a remarkable man, smallish but taut in physique, with the square cut of a soldier and so full of energy that he could 'work all night on a mountain of files and ride all day with a fever'. As a result of his activities some 18 million Africans were by 1914 united in yet another British protectorate, that of Nigeria with Lugard himself as first Governor-General. There were only 4000 whites in the whole colony. Lugard firmly believed in the possibilities of native self-rule.

Other nations' colonies

Although the British were the most successful in gaining African territory, it was not for want of trying by others; the French, Germans, Portuguese, Italians and Spaniards—all were active in colonizing parts of Africa. The Germans, in particular, made great efforts to promote trade and spent great sums of money with little effect. Their explorers were busy in all their colonies—one, Hans Meyer, reached the summit of Kilimanjaro in 1889—and their doctors and scientists did good work in combating diseases, such as

* See p. 141, above.

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leprosy and sleeping-sickness. But insufficient settlers—barely thirty a year—emigrated to their colonies, and few of them proved popular, either as employers or administrators.

A blood-stained story of punitive expeditions was common to all the German territories. Warfare in East Africa was continual from 1888 to 1903; and in South-west Africa, when intermittent war culminated in the attempted annihilation of the Herrero tribe, the Hottentots, who allied with the Herreros, were halved in number. Altogether nearly half a million natives died as a result of German unwillingness to learn from other people's mistakes. By 1914 the German government had lost almost £100 million in developing its three African regions and German settlers generally were condemned for their harsh treatment of the Africans.

The Portuguese, the Italians and the Spaniards were even less successful. At the beginning of the century all that remained of Portugal's earlier empire were a few ruined forts and some jungle-covered chapels. Capital was lacking for any real development; and although by 1914 Mozambique and Angola were doubled in size, the British development of Rhodesia completely shattered a German vision of the two areas linked in a broad belt across Africa. The Portuguese did not rise to the new challenge.

The Italians meanwhile failed to annex Abyssinia (in the years 1885-96), and when they revived their claims to an empire some years later little of value was left for them. Only Tripoli and Libya, whose principal component is sand, were gained. The Spaniards likewise sought to extend the bridge-head in Morocco which they had secured in 1860, but despite valiant efforts their rewards were few.

By contrast the individual skill of Leopold II, king of Belgium, carved out a vast empire for himself from the Congo Basin, an area which he enjoyed as his personal possession from 1885 to 1908. The Congo was a rich tropical region producing ivory, palm-oil, rubber, coffee, cotton, gold, silver, tin and copper. In theory all nations had a right to trade there, but Leopold's desire for a profitable return from his investments overcame all other considerations. Ivory and rubber were made royal monopolies, and the concessions granted to the commercial companies engaged in their extraction allowed a frightful disregard for human life. For example, each

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village had to produce its quota of rubber, and to ensure a regular supply punitive expeditions were authorized of the most terrible kind. Cartridges were issued to African soldiers, the expenditure of which had to be receipted by the production of human right-hands. Nearly eleven million people perished in the resulting barbarism. Not until the graphic reports of E. D. Morel had provoked an international commission did such conditions come to an end. Then the Congo was annexed by the Belgian government and a steady and more humane commercial development began.

French interest in Africa had been spasmodic for three centuries, but only Senegal and Madagascar remained, when in 1830 a vast fleet carrying a third of the French army set sail for the conquest of the port of Algiers. In this grand effort to rid the seas of Algerian pirates, Frenchmen unwittingly began the subjugation of the Algerian hinterland. It proved an arduous and hideous struggle. It was 1847 before the chief Arab leader, El Kader, surrendered, and even then the peace of the interior was very uncertain. Algeria was for long little more than the training ground for French soldiery. In 1871, however, a more stable element was provided by the settlement of 11,000 Alsace-Lorrainers, who preferred the uncertainties of Algeria to German rule in Europe. With more French settlers following them, the fertile coastal strip was cultivated with vineyards and wheat-fields, herds of sheep appeared among the hills, and in the Sahara, to which French influence was extended by 1890, the sinking of artesian wells and protective forts helped to promote outlying settlements. So near was Algiers to Marseilles that it became possible for the French to regard Algeria as an extension of provincial France.

French efforts in Tunisia and Morocco were quite different in character. Tunis was seized in 1881, at the expense of Italian friendship, and there was very little commercial gain. Some years later (1904) French loans to the Sultan of Morocco and the building of a Moroccan railway line led to the occupation of Casablanca and Rabat and their immediate hinterland. Soon the recurrent violence and the non-payment of interest encouraged French intervention in the internal affairs of Morocco, and eventually in 1912 Marshal Lyautey was sent to establish French government in the area. In

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piecemeal fashion, Morocco was brought under the control of military governors, assisted by the organization of markets, schools and hospitals; and for over a decade (1912-25) the government of Lyautey was a model of orderly and humane development.

Much earlier, in West Africa, the old possession of Senegal was greatly enlarged by General Faidherbe (Governor-General from 1854) to include the Guinea coast, and to reach as far inland as Ségou. The Ivory Coast and Dahomey were conquered by military expeditions in 1891 and 1892, and gradually the exploration of equatorial Africa led northwards to the Ubangi and Shari rivers, and thence to Lake Chad, which was reached in 1897. The great desert expanse of the Sahara, being nominally under French control, provided a common link to all these French colonies, but for long *it* was a link more apparent on the map than real on the ground.

Apart from Algeria, French colonial development was perhaps most successful in Madagascar. There a period of reconquest was necessary, to re-establish the old claim to the island, and not until 1890 was French control recognized by England. Between 1896 and 1905, however, Madagascar was rid of anarchy and transformed by the efforts of General Gallieni into a prosperous land. Ruthless towards rebels, generous towards co-operators, and impartial towards the rival Protestant and Catholic missionaries, Gallieni was also full of constructive ideas. Hospitals and village hygiene centres, schools and the training of honest administrators were among his main objectives.

In the work of Gallieni, as of Lyautey later in Morocco, Frenchmen could fairly claim that in the arts of government they still had much to offer the world. Unfortunately the continued success of French colonial policy depended upon the strength of France itself. After the Great War of 1914-18, the French colonial empire was needed to bolster French wealth and prestige. This made it more difficult for France to hold out any promise of self-government to its colonies. The French tried to make the native peoples into 'good Frenchmen'⁵ rather than 'good Africans', whereas the British policy of compromise and encouragement of local initiative made the transition from paternal government to self-government a more naturally yielding process.

European Imperialism (to 19x4)

The African scene

By 1914 Africa had been almost completely partitioned among the major European powers. It was not long before the nature of the entire continent was transformed. Africa was never a continent of purely savage peoples, nor was it completely stagnant in ideas. During the nineteenth century, however, its slower ways were caught up in a European whirlwind, and by the twentieth century in place of mud huts and spear-carrying warriors there rose concrete cities in which the grandchildren of tribesmen cycled to work. Motor-lorries penetrated deep into the bush and jungle areas, and in many places the products of African mines and plantations provided a variety of new occupations for Africans, as well as for Europeans. In Africa, as in India, European standards provided a challenge and a stimulus to a more united local effort: soon Africans, too, would begin to demand higher standards for themselves, and by acquiring education on the European pattern would claim the privileges of Europeans.

10

CHINA-THE DRAGON AWAKENED

It is impossible to understand China without reference to its past. This was the mistake made by the Western traders who came to China in the late eighteenth century. They thought of China as a quiet backwater or at best a fossilized civilization and did not realize that the feelings of superiority which they encountered sprang from a long history of success in dealing with foreign intruders.

The Land of China

For many centuries China had enjoyed a greater measure of unity than any other area of comparable size: on several occasions in the past it had achieved a peak of civilization and gracious living far above any other country. It is therefore no wonder that when Western traders began to exploit China's temporary weakness and sought to partition its land as was done in Africa, the Chinese saw the dangers in time and by 1911 they had begun to save themselves. More recently it has become clear that China is not merely a new nation on the march, but an old nation reawakened, having not only the rathlessness of fresh energy but all the assurance of past success.

THE LAND OF CHINA

It has been said that if the population of China were to walk past a flagstaff in single file the column would never end. Atlases which show China stretching across into Central Asia do not sufficiently emphasize the concentration of its millions of people. Even today a bare ten million live in the western half; but on the plains, on either side of the two great rivers Hwang Ho and Yangtze, live well over 600 millions. China's population, throughout its long recorded history, has always been reckoned in millions. Yet China's strength is not that of mere numbers. The fertility of its land, the skill of its farmers, artists and scholars, and the wisdom of its rulers have combined at various stages of history to produce several great civilizations.

China has no natural geographical unity. Its many provinces, covering an area greater than Europe, include a wide variety of climate. Yet they have much in common. Over the centuries the wind from the vast Gobi desert has blown a fine yellow dust into China. This dust, as it settles, gives the characteristic golden hue to much of China's scenery: yellow trees, the brownish-yellow earth and the golden tiles on palace rooftops. The fine stoneless soil, called loess, is exceedingly fertile when well watered but returns to dust when there is no rain. Hence the need for careful manuring and the complicated pattern of irrigation streams. The plots of land are small—only a few acres at the most—and countless farmers through the ages have laboured to regulate the water

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of the great rivers. Thus today the Hwang Ho flows between embankments more than 30 feet above the surrounding countryside. The danger is always present that the river may break its banks as it has done many times in the past. Life for the Chinese has at all times been both precarious and precious.

It is on this basis of careful cultivation of the land that Chinese civilizations of the past were built. Unlike the nomadic chieftains of other parts of Asia, Chinese landlords could concentrate on the arts of government while the masses toiled on their behalf. When the rulers could agree, the ensuing peace and public works provided a Chinese culture by which even the humblest might profit.

THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

The most important factor in promoting a tradition of civilization in China was the invention of a written language some 3000 years ago, for this gave to the ruling classes a means of controlling the actions of the people, a method more subtle and yet more enduring than naked military force.

The first written signs were pictures, but soon characters were formed: thus a hand plus a rod signified a father. Unlike Western writing, in which letters of the alphabet represent sounds and are combined into words expressing ideas, Chinese writing consists of ideograms; that is, pictures expressing the idea itself. The main advantage is this. Just as Frenchmen and Germans, Dutchmen and Englishmen, Russians and Czechs can understand the few ideograms that we use, the numbers 5, 17, 20 and so on, so the educated Chinaman, whatever the dialect of his speech, can understand the one written language of China.

There were disadvantages. The Chinese characters have no sound of their own and an educated man in China spent a long time memorizing the 5000 characters he needed. An English boy has only to learn twenty-six letters of the alphabet, and how to spell, in order to read and write a great deal. In contrast, to read an ordinary book the Chinese boy must know at least a thousand ideograms or characters. So in the past only a very few learnt to read and write. Nevertheless, the common language of China,

The Chinese Language

from earliest times, allowed many Chinese officials to understand the ideas of the great thinkers, and so made possible good government over a large area, wherein craftsmen of all kinds could work in peace.

As early as the year 500 B.C. the strands of a definite cultural pattern were being woven by wandering scholars, notably by the disciples of the philosophers Laocius (Lao-Tse) and Confucius (K'ung Fu-tse) (552-479 B.C.). Lao-Tse formulated the doctrine of the Tao (or the law) asking that man should not strive in selfish activity but should allow the Tao (an external infinite indefinable spirit) to work in and through him. The teachings of Confucius supplemented the thought of Lao-Tse. His sayings in due course became the bible of the Chinese and for two thousand years until 1911 the examination system for the royal officials was based upon his precepts. Confucius was deeply religious but he claimed to know nothing about the mysteries of life and death. What he taught was above all a code of conduct. He insisted upon an elaborate ceremonial to help attune men to the rhythm of the Tao. Headvised loyalty to the emperor, the Son of Heaven, and listed rules of good conduct for all rulers, great or small. They should be an example to their subjects; because, as he said, "Rulers are as wind, their people are as grass; the grass bends the way the wind blows". He condemned violence and class distinctions and urged self-education upon all. 'If I teach a man one corner of a subject and he cannot understand the other three himself, I cease teaching him.'⁵ 'Learning undigested by thought is labour lost, thought unassisted by learning is perilous.' Not that the teachings of Confucius were always honoured in practice: violence, cruelty and treachery occupy much of Chinese history.

THE FIRST EMPERORS OF CHINA

The first absolute ruler of all China, Shih Huang Ti ('the Napoleon of China'⁹), the Duke of Ch'in, certainly believed in calculated treachery in his pursuit of greater power. Year by year, 'as the silkworm devours a mulberry leaf', Ch'in annexed the towns and territories of the other states until by 221 B.C. he held the whole of China.

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Ch'in ruled only eleven years but his changes endured almost 2000 years. He exterminated the local lords and replaced them with his own officials; he enforced one standard script and one code of laws for all the former thirty-six provinces. He built the Great Wall of China, 30 feet high, along 1500 miles of wild northern territory to defend his land from intruders. The sufferings of his workmen are remembered in the saying that every stone in the wall cost a human life.

Soon afterwards, China, so named after the Chi'n ruler, came under the sway of the Han dynasty and for 400 years (206 B.C. to A.D. 221) the use of a camel-hair brush for writing on silk (in place of the bamboo stylus used on wood) facilitated the spread of new knowledge. Chinese silk was even known in Rome; and Western envoys marvelled at the Chinese pottery and fine metal-work which they were shown. The invention of paper-making in A.D. 105 made Chinese literature admired in all the lands of the east from Turkestan to Java. The Chinese capital of Lo-Yang on the Yellow River grew to 600,000 people and, with three great markets, was second only to Rome in its grandeur. It fell suddenly.

In A.D. 311 Lo-Yang was burnt to the ground by the Huns. The prime minister was allowed honourable death by suffocation and the emperor was made to serve wine at the Hun banquets. The land was partitioned and further attacks by the Tartars brought renewed chaos and further division. Slowly the Chinese triumphed. As the barbarians in the West had been tamed by Christianity, so the uncouth Tartars were won over by the lettered Chinese. By A.D. 589 a successful soldier, Yang Chien, ruled over a China that was once more united and made possible the glories of the great T'ang dynasty which arose in A.D. 612. The increasing use of tea—a sobering beverage—and the invention of printing (about A.D. 770), combined with much fine poetry and excellent visual art, put China once more ahead of the rest of the world. Porcelain or chinaware (invented in A.D. 583) and China's silken goods again reached European markets, and in the palace library there were housed over 200,000 volumes of paper books and printed leaflets.

The fall of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 907 was not in itself disas-

The First Emperors of China

trous; another stable dynasty was established by A.D. 960. But this Sung period was one of much unrest and in A.D. 1211 China was invaded by Mongolians. Moving with great rapidity and force, these horsemen conquered great areas by terror alone. India, Russia and Arabia suffered also, yet by A.D. 1280 even southern China was subject to their 'murder machine'.

Then a miracle happened. The Mongol leader who had established his court at Peking in A.D. 1260 proved to be a wise and humane ruler. This was Kublai Khan. It was to his court that Marco Polo came with his father and uncle from Venice; their account of the wonders of Chinese cities, the busy industries, the paper currency, the gay tea-houses, bore testimony to China's prosperity.

In A.D. 1368 the Ming dynasty began, and for three hundred years Chinese achievements in porcelain, landscape gardening and painting were quite unsurpassed, but the Spanish Jesuits who reached China in A.D. 1581 found a country again rent by quarrels, brutality, massacre and famine. The Ming dynasty sank in a sea of rebellion.

The Manchu warriors, a Tartar people then occupying Manchuria, were invited to restore order. They did so by taking over the Ming organization as it stood, but enforcing it. Apart from insisting on the^f queue' or pigtail for all their subjects, the Manchus interfered little. From A.D. 1644 ^ ^ 19¹¹ ^ Y acted as garrison troops or a ruling civil service, neither trading nor intermarrying and preserving something of their own customs and ways. Yet they prided themselves upon their Confucian principles and believed they had a duty towards their subjects. So it was a foreign but not unpopular dynasty which ruled China as the Western ships began to appear in great numbers.

WESTERN INTRUDERS

The age of the ocean-going vessel had dawned within a century of Marco Polo's account of China and so, although the Chinese had themselves ventured as far as Aden in 1431, and indeed had invented the magnetic needle as early as 1095, it was Western seamen who took the initiative in linking East and West. Portu-

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guese ships had arrived in Canton in 1517; the Dutch came in 1604; and in 1637 the English arrived. From 1660 the South China word 'tay⁵ was used for the specially English trade which passed through Canton. The Cantonese—the tradesmen of China—were ready to barter with any foreigner., but China's rulers were not so anxious for European trade.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Manchu emperor Ch'ien Lung (1736-96) commanded the greatest kingdom the world has ever seen. China, Burma, Cochin-China and Nepal all paid tribute to him. 'As the sunflower blows before the sun, so does all mankind turn with adoration towards the Imperial Person⁵—so ran a correctly phrased letter from the king of Burma.

The imperial officials—the Mandarins—were very learned. They gained their posts by the age-old competitive examination, and could prove their mastery of the classics of Chinese literature, even to the extent of reciting some backwards. They believed in a minimum of government. Rule gently,' govern a great state as you would cook a small fish³, as Lao-Tse had said. 'The more rulers, the poorer the people; the more laws, the more lawbreakers.' Thus did they and the emperor attempt to rule, but in practice the local tax-collectors emptied the pockets of the peasant to their own use, and the higher officials often squandered on frivolities the taxes intended for the army. The poor of China began to look towards the Western traders for many small comforts. Yet Ch'ien Lung, ruling as he believed 300 million and boasting a total of 36,000 beautiful manuscripts in his libraries, seemed unaware of the attractions of the foreign traders. When in 1792 and 1793 English and Dutch embassies sought an extension of the trade which the common people desired, Ch'ien Lung could reply with dignity to George III that China had no need of Western products.

'As your messenger can see for himself, we Chinese possess all things in* abundance—we do not need to import the manufacture of outside barbarians in exchange for our own products____ You must realize that our manners and our laws are so different from yours that...your foreign people could not possibly adopt our civilized customs/ That such phrases were still largely true in the late eighteenth century did not prevent them becoming less true

in the early nineteenth century. Chinese officials reckoned without European firearms and disregarded the feelings of their own people. More and more ships of the foreigners appeared in Chinese waters every year to take away tea, silk and artistic knick-knacks. In return they supplied an increasing amount of opium from India via the cramped trading quarters of Canton. Opium—once used in China solely for medical purposes—now became a means of handsome profit for local officials and the source of much family misery in many Chinese homes.

At last in 1839 the Peking emperor attempted a drastic action against the foreigners. Anxious to stop the drain on the imperial silver currency, he banned the import of opium without, however, suppressing the native opium trade. Furthermore, he ordered the public destruction of all the opium in Canton, valued at one and a quarter million pounds, without compensation to the owners, and to make this possible he confined the entire foreign colony to their houses for six weeks, so bringing all foreign trade to a standstill. Guilty and innocent alike suffered, but the British alone were blamed for the trade. At first the threats and insults suffered by them merely caused the whole British community to sail away, first to Macao and later to a small fishing settlement called Hong Kong. Then the Indian government, bemoaning the prospective loss of the 15 per cent of its total revenue which came from duties on opium, joined its voice to the demands of owners of the opium clippers, some of whom had convinced themselves that opium was a positive benefit to China. Together they pressed the British government into action.

The so-called 'Opium War' of 1839-42 in fact began over a legal dispute that followed a drunken brawl, in which a Chinese was killed by American and British sailors. The Chinese, believing in 'a life for a life' insisted upon a sailor being handed over. The British refused and when twenty-nine war-junks were sent to take their 'life' British frigates returned fire. This conflict in morality is the more interesting when one remembers how British standards of humanity had improved by the mid-nineteenth century. As recently as 1814 Parliament had abolished disembowelling alive as the penalty for treason, the death penalty for stealing had

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disappeared in 1818 and in 1833 slavery in the British empire had been abolished. Victorian Englishmen could express horror at Chinese atrocities with a clear but very new conscience. The Western education of China was beginning.

The war of 1839-42 proved that the emperor was as powerless to resist the Western barbarians as he was to prevent an increase in local-grown opium. The Treaty of Nanking of 1842 was to mark the beginning of the partition of China's coastal trade among Western traders. Five ports were opened to Western traders and Hong Kong was left in British hands. The door of China was ajar and soon, with the emperor's authority further declining as the widespread T'ai-p'ing Rebellion took hold, the seizure of a former British boat, the *Arrow*, by Chinese customs officials in 1856, and other irritating incidents, all provided an excuse for a British military expedition to Peking (1860) which secured further trade concessions. The chief of these was the opening of the Yangtze River and the development of Shanghai. It became a trading centre thrice the size of Liverpool, handling over half of China's trade.

The Celestial Empire rapidly became 'a great market to be exploited to the full, a rich territory to be carved up like a sirloin steak'. While some men, notably Sir Robert Hart, for some fifty years (1859-1908) a loyal servant of the Imperial Court, did great work for China's internal trade and taxation, many Western merchants preferred the existing weak and corrupt government to the vigorous and righteous one promised by the leaders of the T'ai-p'ing revolt. This rebellion, one of many between 1850 and 1873, began as a strictly disciplined attempt at reform, with a puritanical religious faith to inspire it, but it became anarchic, swollen by the mass of brigands, members of secret societies and other partisans into a vast rabble, causing death and destruction on a fantastic scale. One secret society alone ran an army of 50,000 men; as many as 40,000 rebel prisoners were executed in cold blood by government troops; altogether some twenty million people, both combatant and civilian, lost their lives in the turmoil of these twenty years. Partial order was at length restored with the aid of foreign officers, including General Gordon.

Other countries began to press for trade concessions, whilst

the murder of missionaries, border incidents and plans for railway construction provided Germany, France, Japan and Russia with excuses for claiming spheres of influence and obtaining leases of land. To Germany went Kiao-Chow and Shangtung province, France claimed Kwangsi and Yunnan, while Russia and Japan squabbled over Manchuria and especially over Port Arthur. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 resulted in the annexation of Korea by Japan, who also occupied Formosa and Fukien opposite. Britain took Wei-hai-wei and claimed the Yangtze Valley. There a British admiral, commanding gunboats, protected British traders and Chinese pirates with calm impartiality.

In a number of Chinese ports and towns the native Chinese lived in British cantonments, subject to British law-courts and British trade regulations. It was as though today Londoners were to be ruled by West Indian officials, subject to West Indian policemen and West Indian customs, with Cardiff or Liverpool similarly organized. Only the rivalry of the foreign powers, it seemed, prevented the final partition of China.

CHINA AWAKES: THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

At this stage, a new Chinese patriotism began to rise. Something of the original puritanism and reforming zeal of the T'ai-p'ing rebels lingered in an anti-drink, anti-opium, anti-tobacco campaign. As thousands of Chinese 'coolies' were transported to labour in California, South America, Malaya and South Africa, the more educated Chinese began to urge a new patriotism upon all their countrymen. Among them was Sun Yat-sen. But before his organization took root, the old China suffered one last spasm and struck out blindly at Western control.

The real ruler of China in the years 1861-1908 was the Empress Dowager, the masterful Tzu-Hsi. She would have none of the reforms suggested by her advisers, but was shrewd enough to divert the rebels against the foreigner. So was produced the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. The Boxers—I Ho Ch'uan (the Righteous Harmony Fists)—were one of many secret societies. In 1900 they roused themselves to massacre, and 'officially' executed many

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foreigners (missionaries and Chinese Christians included) and to destroy much foreign property. In revenge, a combined force of Austrians, French, Germans, Italians, Japanese, British and Americans marched on Peking and sacked it, extracting compensation and checking the widespread turbulence with an indiscriminate violence equal to that of the Boxers.

This humiliation, followed closely by Japan's defeat of Russia on Chinese territory in the years 1903-4, sent a shudder through the body of official China and a thrill through every truly patriotic Chinese heart. Even the empress, who in 1889 had used funds allotted to the modernizing of the navy to build herself a palace with a miniature lake and porcelain houseboat, now began to reorganize education, the army, and the legal system. The need for Western methods was at last recognized. But it was too late to save the Manchu dynasty. For in Sun Yat-sen the Chinese had found a prophet and leader of revolutionary power, a Chinese Mazzini.

Born near Canton in 1866, Sun Yat-sen had been educated at Honolulu, where his brother, an emigrant coolie, had prospered. On returning to China he had for many years preached rebellion against the alien Manchu dynasty without success. He studied medicine at Hong Kong and then wandered abroad, collecting funds from the four million overseas Chinese and from other well-wishers. Meanwhile, to rouse enthusiasm within China, he organized newspapers, with the editors living just outside China, to supply a constant jet of liberal-democratic propaganda. 'One newspaper is worth ten armies', he said.

The first rebellion failed. So, year after year, Sun Yat-sen planned the assassination of high officials. Many were good men and reformers, but in Dr Sun's eyes they were tainted with loyalty to the Manchu throne. He became a wanted man, hunted all over the world. In 1896 he was in fact kidnapped in a London street and only saved from the certain death that awaited him in China by a message smuggled to an English friend, who persuaded Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Secretary, to demand his release from the Chinese Embassy in London.

There were revolutionary societies more extreme than Dr Sun's Republican Unity League, but his blend of Chinese custom with

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Western ideas made for popular support. His propaganda began to have its effect: efforts multiplied. Then success came unexpectedly. In October 1911 a bomb accidentally exploded in a secret Hankow workshop, the local revolutionaries panicked and, hoping to save their lives in general disturbances, declared for a general rebellion. The revolutionary tinder had been well prepared by Sun Yat-sen. Ten provinces and the naval forces declared for a republic. By February 1912 Dr Sun was proclaimed president. For sixty years the Western nations had banged at the house of China, seeking the 'open door' of trade. Now, with the door at last wide open, to the amazement of all, within and without, the great structure, riddled by white ants, suddenly collapsed, leaving the surprised Europeans still holding the door handle' (C. P. Fitzgerald). The Manchu empire fell to pieces and the Western powers found their privileges valueless. With China in chaos, Yuan Shih-k'ai, the strong man of the Manchu dynasty, decided to save what he could. He compelled the abdication of the Regent and obtained a patched-up peace with the rebels on the basis of a republic of which he would be president. Sun Yat-sen, convinced that the sole cause of China's troubles was the Manchu dynasty, withdrew quietly from his office. Yuan became president.

While the new government wrestled with the problems of finance and how to attract loans from abroad to a revolutionary republic, a series of reforms swept the country. The pigtail disappeared and the emancipation of women was begun. The old habits of obedience were thrown aside and Dr Sun, in dismay, watched his revolution swamped by the selfishness and stupidity of the masses. In every province local leaders openly disregarded orders from the government now centred in Nanking; and when the republican leaders fell out, the lawlessness increased.

Two main parties arose. These were the Kung-ho, later Chin-pu-tang (Progressive Reformer Party) of Yuan, and the T'ung Men Hui, later Kuo-min-tang (the National Republican Party) of Dr Sun. Yuan's policy was too conservative for Sun Yat-sen and his soldiers proved too strong for Dr Sun's supporters. By 1914 Dr Sun had been forced to flee the country again, and Yuan, as military dictator, began to enforce his own rule upon China. His

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administration was honest and China prospered, but attempts to make him emperor proved unpopular. They were not renewed.

Yuan's death in 1916 left the country headless; although Sun Yat-sen set out to unite the farmers of southern China through the armies of his brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek, the old imperial unity of China had been destroyed, it seemed, for ever. Could a new unity of China now rise from the common patriotism of its peoples? Whilst civil war raged so fiercely, Sun Yat-sen may well have had his doubts, but his vision of a new China—a giant dragon equipped with modern weapons of education, industry and mass-co-operation—did not entirely disappear, and before his death in 1925 many had glimpsed what might be achieved if men of goodwill could combine.

II

THE GREAT WAR AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THE COMING OF THE GREAT WAR

For twenty years after the defeat of France, European politics were dominated by Bismarck. 'The contriver of three wars was transformed into a pillar of peace', as he strove to restrain the ambitions which his former actions had aroused, and the German people, who had come to expect cheap victories^ now found themselves frustrated at every turn by his conservative policies. Denied by him any measure of parliamentary control over their own affairs, they yearned for more power as a nation. Some argued for colonies overseas; others sought land in the east at the expense of Russia.

The Coming of the Great War

Philosophers proclaimed the Teutonic mission to rule the world, while soldiers wished to test their professional efficiency in some new war.

This German megalomania was summed up in the person of the young emperor, William II, who succeeded to the German throne in 1888. William II was born with a withered arm. He was jealous of others' success and anxious to impress everyone with his own importance. Above all he showed himself envious of British imperial power, and by his actions proved that if he could not steer the European boat he would at least rock it to demonstrate German strength. When Bismarck resigned in 1890 to make way for this impatient man, William proclaimed 'same course—full speed ahead'⁵. The course, however, proved so erratic that in time even the Kaiser's supporters grew alarmed; by then the Kaiser had done much to establish the mood of irresponsibility in which the nation blundered into war.

Bismarck, to some extent, had already sown the seeds of future war by his harsh treatment of France in 1870, which caused many there to brood on revenge. More unwillingly, by his encouragement of Austrian ambitions in the Balkans, he had risked losing Russia's friendship. Even so he was able to 'paper over the cracks' * with Russia, he encouraged France in colonial ventures and he was specially careful not to annoy Britain in any way.

The Kaiser brushed all such restraints aside. With little realization of its effects he cast off Bismarck's alliance with Russia, and promptly drove Russia into the lonely arms of France. He engaged von Tirpitz to plan a large fleet of capital ships and so alarmed Britain by his Navy Act of 1900 that all hope of Anglo-German friendship was lost. His provocative speeches on colonial matters caused Britain and France to settle their outstanding colonial disputes in an Entente Cordiale, signed in 1904. Even then he did not learn moderation. Although Germany's own record of colonial administration was a poor one, the Kaiser dared question French colonial rights in Morocco. A speech at Tangier in 1905 promised support for the local sultan. The intervention may have been justified but it led to a closer co-operation between Britain and France.

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Again., when the first naval dreadnought was launched in Britain in 1906 and by comparison all other battleships were rendered second-rate., the Kaiser accelerated German naval construction, and announced an extensive programme of military rearmament. Thus he persisted in his crude attempt to frighten Britain into an alliance. Instead, as the Kiel Canal was widened to take battleships far bigger than was necessary to protect Germany's merchant fleet, Britain reacted defiantly. When, for example, in 1908 British economists countered a naval demand for four more dreadnoughts by saying only two could be afforded, British public opinion was so insistent that, within a year, 'we compromised on eight' (Churchill).

A system of rival alliances was hardening. In 1907 Britain signed an agreement with Russia, and although the evil genius of the German Foreign Office, Baron Holstein, who from 1890 onwards had done a great deal to upset common-sense diplomacy, was removed in 1906, an anti-British Chancellor, von Bülow (1900-9), did little to create a mood of fresh co-operation. Neither he nor the next chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, a more trustworthy man, really attempted to check the arms-race which was beginning; in consequence, although the Kaiser was gradually losing control over German affairs, the British government became convinced of Germany's aggressive intentions.

In 1911 the Kaiser intervened once more in Moroccan affairs, sending a gunboat to Agadir to protect 'German interests' and to encourage Moroccan independence. As a result of this, together with the growing evidence of the size of the German army, an Anglo-French Naval Treaty was made in 1912 whereby Britain agreed to guard the North Sea, including the approaches to the channel ports, in return for French protection of British interests in the Mediterranean. Thus Britain was practically committed to the naval defence of France.

Meanwhile in the Balkans a series of events helped to strengthen German fears of 'encirclement'. Many Germans urged the need to expand eastwards for more 'living space'. This *Drang nach Osten* was shared by the Austrians, who in 1908 annexed Bosnia much to the indignation of Serbia and Russia. Both these Slav

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countries looked forward to a favourable opportunity for some revenge.

From the time of the restoration of the Karageorgevic dynasty in Serbia in 1903 the Serbs had nursed great hopes of a pan-Serbian kingdom, which would embrace not only Bosnia but also other parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire; and in this ambition they were encouraged by Russia. Some large-minded statesmen, including possibly the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand, seemed to have accepted the idea of a great Serbia, enjoying self-government within the Habsburg empire^ in a position similar to that of Hungary since 1867. Unfortunately in Vienna Baron von Aerenthal did not share these views, and his policy of dominating the Slavs triumphed.

Temporarily the Serbs turned their attention to the Turkish empire, weakened by war with Italy. In 1912 they joined with the Greeks and the Bulgarians to seize what they could of the Turkish lands remaining in Europe. Within a month their small armies had won a brilliant success, and in a second war over the division of the spoils Serbian armies were again victorious. As a result the Serbs were intoxicated with enthusiasm.

When the activities of Serbian secret societies spread to Bosnia, Austrian hopes of crushing Serbia once and for all stiffened into a definite policy. It did not prove difficult to gain the promise of German support. The Germans had for long cherished plans for a Berlin to Bagdad railway; their military advisers were already active in Turkey; and, if the Kaiser had any fears of a European war, his generals had none. They were ready. Thus the Austrians, secure in the knowledge of German approval, unaware of Russia's determination to fight rather than accept any more diplomatic defeats, waited for an opportunity to strike at Serbia.

On 28 June 1914 the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. This gave the Austrians the excuse they wanted to send an army into Serbia. They claimed that the shots fired by Gavrilo Princip were not merely inspired by Serbian nationalists but were actively planned by the Serbian government. After nearly a month's deliberation they suddenly insisted that Serbia should admit an army of

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occupation, and although the Kaiser at this stage urged moderation, Austria refused to accept any suggestion of compromise, so Serbia was invaded. The Serbs immediately appealed to Russia for help. Germany threatened war if Russia did not stop mobilizing her forces. The Russians refused. At the same time the Germans demanded a guarantee of French neutrality in the event of war with Russia. This the French could not promise. The German generals, who for long had considered war inevitable, now took control, urging the immediate invasion of Belgium. They were confident that they could thereby ensure a French defeat before either Britain made up her mind to intervene or the Russian armies could present an effective second front.

Five days after the Austrians declared war on Serbia, Belgium was invaded by the Germans. British indignation, matched by fear of the German fleet operating in the Channel, prompted a swifter action than the Germans had expected. Britain declared war in support of its ally France and in defence of gallant little Belgium⁵. Thus those Germans who had hoped merely for a prestige victory in the Balkans now found themselves involved in a war of European proportions. Few people expected a war of such magnitude, nor did they foresee its terrible results. Far too many influential Germans had argued that only in war can a people fulfil its destiny; echoes of this German militarism were heard too in other countries. The inevitability of war was not only accepted, it was even welcomed. In such a mood of irresponsibility a war began which was to cause the death of eight million men. It was to involve another twenty million in serious injury. The cost of the misdirection of human effort, both in terms of financial and physical loss, was to be staggering, and for good and ill the war was to have far-reaching effects on Europe and throughout the world.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR (1914-18)

Although more than fifty countries and over fifty million men were eventually to take part in the war of 1914-18 the principal military campaigns fall into a simple pattern. This is because the main weight of effort fell upon the western front and there, in the concentrated

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horror of Flanders fields, all glamour was stripped from war as never before.

The initial German advance in the west took them nearly to Paris. But at the battle of the Marne the heroism of the French armies, with assistance from a small British force, held off the main German attack. As the invaders fell back to reorganize, the British expeditionary force was moved to Ypres just in time to save the channel ports from German occupation; thereafter a line of trenches and barbed-wire fortifications began to stretch across northern France and Belgium.

The German effort had been temporarily upset by a war on two fronts and valuable troops had been needed to meet the powerful Russian 'steam-roller' army as it moved into East Prussia. The Russians, however, were stopped at the battle of Tannenberg in August 1914 and, although they subsequently parried various Austrian advances, their effort, within a year or so, largely dissolved into isolated acts of courage. Meanwhile, confronted by Turkish and Austrian armies, the Serbs began to despair of the struggle.

On the sea the much-vaunted German surface fleet did not appear in any strength. A British naval blockade began which slowly strangled all Germany's overseas trade. The Germans in reply made submarine attacks on British shipping. Thus in May 1915 British naval strength made possible a landing at Gallipoli, an expedition against the Turks designed to bring succour to the Serbs and to prompt the Russians to new efforts. Although gallantly executed, this Dardanelles campaign was lacking in surprise and inadequately supported; and it proved a costly failure. A similar sea-borne attack on Salonika later in the year was no more successful, so that by the end of 1915 Serbia was crushed and Bulgaria had joined the enemy side.

On the western front, as both armies developed heavier artillery, shell-fire devastated great areas. The use of barbed-wire defences covered by machine-guns rendered bayonet charges quite suicidal, and lives were frequently lost without the slightest military compensation. More men, and more shells, were constantly required by the generals. In Britain conscription was therefore introduced and gradually extended to fill the gaps in the armies; the French

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likewise strained their economy to put more men at the front. In the factories efforts were redoubled to produce more munitions, and government expenditure upon war needs grew fast.

Early in 1916 a naval battle took place which was strangely decisive in its results. The German fleet suddenly emerged from harbour: Admiral Jellicoe, * the only man on either side who could lose the war in an afternoon \ fought a careful battle off Jutland and, despite severe British losses, forced the German fleet back into harbour. The naval blockade was continued.

Meanwhile a great German military offensive against the French sector was checked by the defenders of Verdun. An allied counter-offensive on the Somme resulted in appalling casualties. Sixty thousand British lives were lost on the first day, and in three month's fighting over half a million men perished on both sides. An advance of barely six miles was made.

In December 1916 Lloyd George became British prime minister. His ruthless energy and agile brain had already done much to gear British capital and industrial production to the needs of total war. Now his resolution stiffened the morale of both nations, as first the French army was shattered by a mutiny, and then British shipping was seriously threatened by three hundred U-boats suddenly let loose in unrestricted submarine warfare.

This desperate move by the German High Command, announced in January 1917, resulted in one ship in every four being sunk, but American ships suffered too and this led in April 1917 to an American declaration of war on Germany, whereupon American shipping enabled a convoy system to be operated. By this, merchant vessels sailed in company under the protection of warships, and although rationing became necessary in England, the menace of starvation slowly receded.

All through 1917 indecisive but costly trench warfare continued. The capture of the village of Passchendaele, an action undertaken to relieve pressure on the French, cost 300,000 British lives. Elsewhere, however, events which were to prove of wider importance were taking place. In the Arab lands British officers were finding allies against the Turks; by contrast in Russia a successful revolution against the Tsarist government led to the loss of Russian

The Course of the War (1914-18)

support. In November 1917 the more extreme Bolsheviks under Lenin seized power in Russia and declared for a policy of peace. The allies vainly attempted to keep Russia in the war; instead the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, accepted by the Russians in 1918, gave the vast Ukrainian wheat-fields into German hands.

Relieved of Russian pressure the Germans made another bid to end the war before the American forces could arrive in Europe in large numbers. But the March offensive of 1918 was held. In this, Haig, the British commander whose lack of imagination had been much criticized, showed fine determination in rallying the British armies to a last stand. With their 'backs to the wall' the British at last accepted a unified command; and then the French and British together, under Marshal Foch, slowly turned their stubborn defence into a definite counter-attack.

At this stage American resources proved decisive. With American soldiers now arriving in France at the rate of a quarter of a million a month the Germans began to lose heart. President Wilson of America offered the German people a generous peace in his Fourteen Points, so that by September, when the exhausted German armies were in full retreat, an armistice was being sought. Germany's allies fell away, the civilian population revolted and the Kaiser fled to Holland. A cease-fire was ordered in November. In consequence the allies were able to impose whatever terms they wished upon Germany in the Treaty of Versailles, which followed in 1919.

THE PEACE TREATIES

The men who met at the Peace Conference which opened in Paris in 1919 had to deal with unusually complicated problems. The war had dislocated the lives of more people than ever before and representatives of many nations expected to take part in the discussions. In accordance with the popular emotion of the time a glare of publicity surrounded every act; as well as the photographers, journalists and deputations of all kinds, scores of technical experts and hundreds of officials swarmed around the meetings of the main statesmen and made their work particularly difficult. Moreover, despite the anxiety of the framers of the

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treaties that this war should end all wars, the climate of opinion in Paris did not encourage generosity, nor allow even moderation towards the defeated.

The principal leaders at the conference were Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of Britain and President Wilson from America. Clemenceau's aims were simple. He demanded the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, he required adequate compensation or reparations for French loss of life and the devastation of her villages, and he was determined to obtain some guarantee that France would never again be attacked. By his stubborn attitude he gained most of his wishes. Alsace-Lorraine was recovered, and Germany, forced to accept responsibility for the war, agreed to pay £100 million a year for sixty-six years in reparations. Over half of this was allotted to France. In addition all Germany's colonies were delivered into the custody of Britain, France and the other victorious powers.

Lloyd George, more interested in genuine peacemaking than Clemenceau and more realistic than Wilson, did his best to modify French vindictiveness, while securing practical benefits for all the allies. As a Welshman, he had every sympathy for small nations and was much attracted to Wilson's proposals for the 'self-determination' of all subject peoples. Wilson, with the prestige of America behind him, was undoubtedly the popular hero of the hour, but unfortunately he underrated the power of prejudice and the depth of emotion in European affairs. Many believed him to be the man who could put all things right, a view to which he was apt to subscribe; in consequence his rather fixed ideas ran counter to Lloyd George's sense of opportunism.

To Paris had come many national patriots, seeking rewards for services rendered during the war. Of these Masaryk, the Czech leader, made a great impression on everyone, and Paderewski's charm won over Wilson to the cause of Poland. Such men gained their ends, thanks to the principle of self-determination, but false hopes were raised by Wilson's naive optimism that all the national groups in Europe might eventually become self-governing democratic states* all associated in a League of Nations, which would then be the sole governing body in international affairs.

The Peace Treaties

The map-makers were to some extent assisted in their efforts by the fluid nature of the eastern frontiers; they were able to redraw the boundaries before Russia had recovered from civil war or before rebel leaders, such as General Kemal in Turkey, could organize opposition. In general the new frontiers followed ethnic lines. Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were taken from the chaos of the Russian empire; the old state of Poland was reconstructed; and a new composite state of Czechoslovakia was formed by the enlargement of Bohemia. Austria and Hungary were both reduced in size to make possible a greater Roumania and to allow the formation of Yugoslavia—the union of Serbia with other Slav regions. Greece also gained territory. But Italy obtained only a portion of the lands she had been promised—a matter which was to rankle later.

Altogether., it can be said that, considering the circumstances^ the settlement made at Versailles was a fair one and most people were satisfied, despite the fact that some of its more unwise features were taken up and magnified by subsequent agitators.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The various treaties were., however, remarkable for something more than a readjustment of frontiers. Each began in the same way with a section outlining the Covenant of the League of Nations. This was the first deliberate attempt to set up permanent machinery for settling disputes between states. The Covenant, in its final form, was the work of many people, notably General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil, but it was due to the perseverance of Wilson that it was incorporated with the treaties to remind the victors of its importance. It was unfortunate that the Covenant thereby acquired unsavoury associations for the vanquished.

The Covenant decreed that all members of the League of Nations should send a maximum of three representatives to form an assembly, in which each member-state should enjoy one vote. This was to meet regularly each year and was to provide 'a forum for the discussion of the world's affairs \ There was to be also a Council of the League, composed of permanent delegates from the

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great powers and four others to be elected by the smaller states. This council was to frame general policy.

At first forty-two states formed the League; others joined soon afterwards., and although neither the ex-enemy powers nor Russia were allowed to join immediately they were expected to take part later. Each member-state undertook not to go to war before giving the League a chance to arbitrate in the dispute. AH members promised to reduce their armaments, to make no secret treaties and to co-operate in such international activities as the work of the International Labour Office, which was formed to encourage better labour conditions. The former German and Turkish colonies were declared to be subject to League^c mandates', and the mandatory powers were expected to groom the people under their care for national independence. No attempt was made to control the activities of the member-states, but in case war should break out arrangements were to be made by as many countries as possible to apply sanctions such as economic pressure against the aggressor. This idea of 'collective security' was, however, so ill-defined that it proved the major weakness of the League.

As long as a fervent public opinion backed it, every government loyally conducted much of its diplomatic business through the League Assembly. But the absence of the United States, whose people refused support for Wilson's ideas of intervention, and the omission of Germany and Russia made it inevitable that Britain and France should dominate the League Council in the early years. When Germany and Russia came to take part later not only had public support waned but it was difficult to regard the League as the principal means of genuine diplomacy.

Nevertheless, for over a decade, the work of the League in its permanent offices at Geneva in Switzerland was to prove a feature of world affairs which no country could afford to ignore. Many observers would agree that it was not until the League failed to restrain the Japanese from the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 that the ideal of 'collective security'⁵ was shown to be a mockery of reality. Then it was seen that the smaller members of the League could do little if the great powers would not act. Few countries were prepared to risk war unless their own immediate interest was

The League of Nations

threatened, and in the absence of effective 'police action'⁵ within state boundaries aggressive dictators such as Mussolini could build up their armed forces and take risks which merely incurred the League's disapproval. Thus when Italy in 1935 invaded the territory of Abyssinia, an active member of the League, the call for sanctions against Italy was not fully implemented, and without the vital embargo on oil supplies there was no effective restraint. By 1936 the League had wasted to death from disuse.

POST-WAR TROUBLES

It was not intended that the League should be the only international link: various other treaties were signed, notably in America, in the usual attempt to stabilize existing positions and to promote international goodwill. Thus the Washington Naval Treaty of 1921 sought to fix the ratio between the principal battle-fleets, and the Locarno Treaties of 1925 managed to obtain the solemn promises of Germany, France, Britain and Italy to uphold the existing western frontiers and not to change the eastern frontiers by force. Some progress was also made in general disarmament, but each state urged a reduction in the number of weapons which it did not specially need and argued for the retention of those essential to its defence.

The universal horror of war was, however, clearly shown by the Kellogg Pact of 1928, by which some sixty-three nations proclaimed their desire to 'outlaw war', and in other spheres there was undeniable evidence of increasing international co-operation. High hopes were entertained of the healing power of sport and of the international links which air transport would eventually forge. Many felt that the exchange of news and views by means of newspapers, radio and cinema must also have a unifying effect upon the different nationalities.

But countering this real desire for peace were new seeds of hatred and abuse which war had widely sown. Nationalism, like an evil genius uncorked by war, spread into economic policy. There was a lack of balance in the trade of the world; America closed up her markets for manufactured imports and continued to over-

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produce food which many in Europe could not afford to buy. Large-scale unemployment made workers ready to accept dictators promising quick results; the stagnation of industry increased the desire for protective tariffs and everywhere the fear and distrust of Russian communism made employers hostile to working-class organizations.

It was not an easy time for any of the new states. Under the guidance of Masaryk, Czechoslovakia came nearest to the ideals of democratic government; Poland soon sought salvation under a dictator, Pilsudski (1926). Dictators, in fact, began to regulate economic affairs in a number of countries. Thus in Italy Mussolini and his Fascists were allowed in 1922 great authority by the king; in Hungary Admiral Horthy as Regent exercised sole power from 1920 onwards; in Turkey General Kemal had begun by 1923 a national revival; and in Spain, Portugal and Roumania army generals soon gained control of the government. Although in most cases a framework of parliamentary rule was retained, parliaments in fact rarely swayed affairs.

Between France and Germany thinly veiled hostility continued. The French could not easily forget their heavy losses, nor were they willing to forgive the German nation. As a result German attempts at democratic government received little encouragement. When in 1923 it proved economically difficult for Germany to pay her instalments of reparations, without severe loss to her own and world trade, the French impatiently invaded the Ruhr to secure payment in kind. A wave of stubborn national pride swept Germany. No one would mine the coal and iron, a general strike developed and a poisonous atmosphere of discontent spread through every class. German economic life was eventually put back on an even keel by the good sense of the Stresemann government; and then, assisted by large loans from American bankers, Germany was able to re-equip her factories with more modern machinery and to develop new products, while France, denied German reparations, found recovery difficult.

Meanwhile Britain also was beset with problems. There was a debt of over £1000 million owed to America, civil war was raging in Ireland (1919-21), there were ugly riots in Egypt and India, and,

Post-War Troubles

to add to such troubles, a sudden rise occurred in the number of unemployed. By March 1921 there were over one and a half million people out of work in Britain. The economic situation was especially alarming, for after a short peace-time boom in trade it was found that British products no longer sold so readily abroad. American industrial exports now practically monopolized the American hemisphere, and in many countries in the Far East Japanese products, which had found ready markets during the war when the supply of British goods was short, continued to outsell British goods. An attempt to cut the price of coal by reducing miners' wages produced a General Strike in 1926 and, although some improvement in trade was visible once this was settled, little effort was made by either the government or the employers or the workers to bring about either new industrial methods or more saleable commodities.

It seemed a sorry world. Everywhere, in Britain and in Europe, most people were anxious to forget the horrors of war in the pursuit of frivolous entertainment. The war had spread a taste for American fashions. Fast cars, cocktail parties, dancing and a widespread addiction to all forms of games were on the increase, and when the cinema industry developed 'talkies' from 1922 onwards, American techniques and social habits were much copied.

Other social changes occurred, accelerated by wartime habits. Thus the old property-owning class, particularly of landowners, was steadily replaced by new wealthy classes, and a greater uniformity of dress and behaviour became noticeable. The common enthusiasm and common sacrifice during the war had encouraged a stronger belief in the equality of all men. Just as remarkable was the emphasis placed on the equality of the sexes. Women, the younger ones especially, claimed further emancipation from customary restrictions, and in dress, in manners and employment they strove to resemble men more closely.

The war had so much reduced individual differences to a common denominator that all the older personal values became suspect. Men had grown so cynical about religion that church-going declined. Many restraining conventions were disregarded. Marriage was dismissed by some as old-fashioned. In music, formal melody

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gave place to the improvisations of jazz; in painting, the natural balance of landscape and figures was upset in the new 'cubism⁵ and 'surrealism⁵; in poetry, free verse discarded the bonds of regular rhyme. A restless search for new sensations not only encouraged dramatic newspaper headlines but emphasized the value of size and speed in everything. Bigger buildings meant better ones. Riches were for display. Speed meant progress.

Despite this 'disenchantment⁵ with the past the people of the post-war years were not entirely without ideals. Some frankly advocated the uplift of the masses by 'American-style democracy⁵ and by novel industrial processes of 'mass production⁵, arguing that material things were a means to a fuller life. Cheap clothes, cheap furniture and cheap electricity certainly transformed the lives of most working-class people. It was the age of the masses. Silk stockings became the right of every girl; canned food increased the luxuries on every table; motor-bus services, the cinema, telephones and wireless broadcasting vastly extended the range of ordinary people⁵s lives. The applications of scientific discoveries, it was felt, would shorten the working day and provide increasing leisure for all.

Those whose ideals made them look beyond the provision of material comforts usually concentrated their efforts upon the ensuring of peace among nations or towards the abolition of class divisions. Many fastened their hopes upon the League of Nations, others became passionate advocates of Russian communism. But to most the fruits of peace, at any price, seemed exceedingly sweet.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Russia's problems (1903-24)

By the end of the nineteenth century Russia⁵s empire had grown so large that only a strong and determined ruler could maintain his hold upon the people. Only a Tsar prepared to listen to advice and to make genuine reforms could secure the co-operation of both nobles and peasants. Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) was not such a man. A kindly family man, with little imagination, he was immersed in court trivialities and in most things was ruled by his

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wife. He paid little attention to the far-sighted policies of men like Witte or Stolypin; instead he listened to the boastful Plehve, Minister of the Interior, or relied upon the ruthlessness of General Trepov, his chief of police.

In 1904 a dispute with Japan as to the purpose of Russian railway construction in Manchuria had produced a convenient^c little war^j to distract public attention. But to everyone's surprise the eastern David had defeated the Russian Goliath. In despair at the mismanagement of the war and the government^s blindness to their troubles, men from all ranks of life turned in expectation to the Tsar. He failed them.

When at the Winter Palace in January 1905 thousands of Russians were shot down in cold blood while presenting a petition, the faith of most ordinary people in the goodwill of the Tsar was shattered for ever. There began a year of smouldering discontent, with looting and arson in the countryside and demonstrations in the towns which culminated in five days' savage fighting in Moscow. Sporadic peasant attacks on unpopular landowners continued throughout the following spring. To this it seemed the Tsar had no answer but punishment. Forty thousand Russians were banished in 1906 and over 4000 were executed for their part in the rising. His saviour was Witte who, recalled to office, persuaded the Tsar to grant a Duma, a Russian parliament. This Duma met in May 1906 and Witte, by a combination of reform and the promise of more, won over the more influential of the critics.

The Tsar, however, did not appreciate his minister's ingenuity; Witte's unpopularity in court circles gave the Tsar an excuse to dismiss him, and the Duma was largely neglected. Equally the Tsar failed to realize the value of the work of Peter Stolypin, who was his chief minister from 1906 to 1911. Stolypin urged more land ownership by the peasants and had his reorganization of Russian agriculture on the lines of the English enclosure Acts been accelerated there would have been fewer peasant supporters of the later violence. Stolypin was assassinated at a Kiev theatre in 1911: his efforts were discontinued and by 1914 only one peasant in four owned the land he cultivated.

Outwardly all seemed well from 1906 until 1914. The secret

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police at least were efficient, and successive Dumas, although lacking any control over either finance or foreign policy, kept alive the hopes of the liberal-minded gentry that one day they might become an effective parliament. Nevertheless the failure of any Duma to do more than nibble at the abuses of the Tsar's government encouraged many critics to consider more violent action.^c The throne of Nicholas was like a richly carved old chair set upon a thick carpet while underneath were rotten boards gnawed by rats and mice³ (Firth). Anarchists, nihilists and socialists, each in their own way plotted the downfall of the Tsar's government.

The best-organized of the revolutionaries were the Bolsheviks, the Socialist Party led by Lenin. All socialists, as disciples of Karl Marx, believed in the inevitable success of the workers' revolution, but since a meeting in London in 1903 the Bolshevik (or majority) portion had decisively broken from those who were prepared to work through a Duma. Lenin advocated a small, strictly disciplined Socialist Party whose members must be prepared to use violence to secure their aim of a fully socialist state: the events of 1905 only confirmed his belief in the value of the turmoil caused by war.

When war came in 1914 the Bolsheviks, many of whom were in exile, welcomed the war almost as much as those in court circles, where it was believed a successful war would restore the falling prestige of the Tsar. The Bolsheviks for their part confidently expected an international workers' rebellion. Both were disappointed. And yet the war was decisive; for like a catalyst it precipitated sudden change.

Official hopes of many easy victories were quickly dashed. The huge peasant armies of Russia were ill-trained and so ill-equipped that on occasions they even fought with sticks and bare hands. By 1917 over two million were killed, five million were wounded and many more were missing. Food shortages led to mutinies among the regiments and bread riots in the principal cities.

For a time the Tsar escaped blame. During his absence at the front, the control of affairs fell increasingly into the hands of the Tsarina and her adviser, Rasputin. This self-styled monk, a coarse, unkempt creature with hypnotic powers, had no policy, except to urge stronger government. Universally hated and feared, he was

murdered—at the third attempt—by some patriotic young nobles in December 1916, but the deed did little to end the mismanagement of the war.

The Duma now began to demand changes of the Tsar himself, and when he sought to dissolve this very moderate body, it courageously disobeyed. In March 1917 (February by the old Russian calendar) the Tsar was forced to abdicate. Prince Lvov and some other nobles formed a provisional government and an almost bloodless revolution seemed to have taken place. But many soldiers had already deserted. Some had returned to their villages, where they had burnt landowner's houses and had seized their land. Orators and newspaper articles daily agitated for further action and in the provisional government, only Kerensky, the socialist, gained the enthusiasm of the masses.

Kerensky became prime minister in July, but the Duma moved slowly, and when Kerensky appeared lukewarm in his attempts to continue the war, the French encouraged General Kornilov to seize power. Although Kerensky defeated this attempted *coup d'etat* of September, his difficulties had multiplied. There were long queues for bread and angry demonstrations against the war. Above all, since the return of Lenin to Russia in April, the Bolsheviks had begun to gain the ear of the workers and the soldiers. By energetic propaganda Lenin had succeeded in rousing his followers to new efforts; also his slogans, 'land by seizure', 'peace with your legs', appealed directly to the peasants who wanted land and to the soldiers, who found desertion a convenient way of ending the war. Soon in every large town Bolsheviks, organized in Soviets (or councils), obeyed Lenin's orders rather than those of the provisional government of Kerensky.

On 7 November 1917 key points in Petrograd (now Leningrad) and Moscow were seized by the Bolsheviks. At Petrograd naval guns, manned by mutinous sailors, were trained on the government buildings, whilst other Bolsheviks occupied the central telephone buildings, the railway stations and the main post office; they also seized the power- and gas-stations, the banks, the food and coal reserves, and set a guard on every bridge. In Moscow they were equally successful. There was very little bloodshed.

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Throughout the country a mere 50,000 active Bolsheviks overcame passive resistance from many petty officials, taking over offices and organizing committees to run the factories, banks and railways, and also attempting to manage the land. At higher levels peace negotiations were promptly begun with Germany, all foreign debts were cancelled, and when only 170 Bolshevik deputies were elected in the elections for a new Duma, the other five hundred or so deputies were removed. Soon popular enthusiasm for such swift changes turned to dismay. The harsh terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918), the ruthless actions of many local committees, especially in the matter of grain collection, and the encouragement given by foreign governments to ex-Tsarist officers, provoked a civil war. Throughout Russia, anti-Bolshevik armies collected and set up command posts.

Now was Lenin's chance to prove that he was both a theorist and a man of action* Born Vladimir Ulyanov, the son of a schoolmaster, he had adopted the name of Lenin, the 'Man of Might', as a youthful revolutionary. Now he was to justify it. With infinite resource and good-humoured patience (despite a bullet in his neck) he held together the quarrelling sections of his party and adapted his means to the task of maintaining a Bolshevik grip upon Russia. Workers everywhere were urged to revolt: 'workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains \ In Russia all private trade was banned, food supplies were confiscated and ration cards replaced money as a means to everything from food to razor-blades and buttons.

Meanwhile, Trotsky was placed in command of the Red armies, and for two years, using a train as his mobile headquarters, he dashed about his fourteen fronts, exhorting, inspiring and frightening unwilling soldiers to successful actions. By 1921 the Polish invaders had been driven back to Warsaw, the White armies had been defeated and the armies of France, Britain, Roumania and Japan had withdrawn from Russia. Little mercy had been shown by the contestants. The official executions totalled 70,000 and in the fighting at least two million were killed, with dreadful acts of barbarity on both sides. Almost incidentally, the Tsar and his family had been killed by local order in July 1918.

The Russian Revolution

The civil war quite disorganized Russia. Peasants hoarded their corn, and the chaos in the transport arrangements upset any alternative food supplies. Famine was widespread. In the Volga region a severe drought made matters so bad that the bark of trees was eaten, and bodies were even dug up for food. Probably three million in all died from starvation and at least another five million died from disease in the years immediately following the fighting.

It was in these circumstances that Lenin was planning a vast transformation of Russia. In appearance he was a small stout man, with a bald head and a small black beard. Neat and tidy in his habits, he was almost unobtrusive until he began to talk. Then the precision of his brain began to show. 'His words always brought to my mind the cold glitter of steel shavings', said Gorki, one of his associates. Lenin was well aware that in order to change Russia he had to change the Russians. For this the party members were to be his agents and, although he had shed many of his ideals in order to retain his hold on Russia, something of his original idealism was communicated to the younger generation of Russians.

Communism, in theory, meant that all the means of production, land, factories, mines, banks, would be state-owned, and that all political power would be in the hands of the workers, 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'. Lenin's aim, however, was a strong industrial state, run on communistic lines where practicable. Communism to Lenin was simply 'Soviet rule, plus the electrification of the whole country \ Communism, in practice, was to be a means to greater Soviet power. So in 1921 Lenin's New Economic Policy showed his practical sense. Private shopkeeping was again permitted, a new currency was established and the peasants were allowed to sell as they wished, but strong government control of every branch of production and distribution was maintained in a variety of ways.

The government of Russia was meanwhile organized as a vast pyramid of Soviets. Till 1936 the Soviets at villages and urban level were elected by a show of hands, on a franchise limited originally to the manual workers. These Soviets elected higher Soviets and these in turn elected the Supreme Soviet of each republic. The provinces of the former Russian empire were given self-govern-

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ment on this basis and together they formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The only candidates for election were members of the Communist Party, themselves chosen for their ability and good behaviour by the Central Committee of the Party.

Thus Lenin, by dominating the Central Committee, kept control. Under his guidance careful plans were now made to restore Russian prosperity and to revolutionize industrial production. But barely had Lenin launched his proposals than in May 1922 he suffered a stroke. In March 1923 another paralysed him and took away his speech. The old feuds broke out and new opposition stirred. The Red army was strengthened by Trotsky, with political commissars attached to each unit, keeping close watch on its officers. The O.G.P.U., or state secret police, founded by Stalin and Molotov, made many arrests, and by exaggerated tales of terror spread new fear. Stalin as Secretary of the Communist Party won the confidence of Lenin and was nominated by him as his successor, in preference to Trotsky.

When Lenin died in January 1924 a great funeral was staged by Stalin and the embalmed body became one of the sights of Moscow. Lenin's photograph for long retained pride of place in homes and schools, in factories and on hoardings. Stalin was able to use Lenin's prestige to back his own desire for power. Together with his own shrewdness this enabled him to outmanoeuvre his rivals; one by one, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others fled the country or lost influence.

Stalin's Russia (to 1936)

The new man, Joseph Djugashvili, or Stalin (the 'man of steel'), was a Georgian; 'a dirty Asiatic', said Trotsky. The son of a cobbler, his mother a washerwoman, he had obtained an education in a school for priests and an early reputation for obstinacy, perseverance and ruthlessness. As a revolutionary he had escaped several times from Siberia and had founded the journal *Pravda* (Truth). A short, thick-set man, just over five feet in height, Stalin could be a genial companion, who enjoyed a good joke and occasionally relished a frank opinion. But behind his heavy sallow face with its beetle brows and wary expression there was a calculating

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brain. His sense of humour served only to mask the strong streak of cruelty in his make-up.

He and Trotsky thoroughly disliked each other., and Stalin's victory over his rival marked the end of Trotsky's dream of world-wide socialism. Stalin wanted communism to be successful in one country first. He therefore continued to play down communist propaganda abroad and concentrated on Lenin's plan for industry; he became in the process 'the greatest westernizer in Russian history since Peter the Great', by methods not dissimilar.

Between 1925 and 1928 elaborate plans were made to bring about large mechanized farms, gigantic new industries and a literate population. In October 1928 the first Soviet Five Year Plan was proclaimed. Soon doubts were transformed into enthusiasm and the slogan 'The Five Year Plan in Four' was taken up by millions of workers. Every effort was made to obtain co-operation by means of individual and local targets, but opponents and saboteurs were punished severely. Workers absent without leave lost the government allowance of food and lodging, lateness and laziness were penalized and habitual offenders were drafted to Siberia as labourers. 'If thou wilt not work, neither shalt thou eat', was the accepted principle.

Great progress was certainly made in industrial production. By 1932 according to League of Nations figures the production of petroleum had doubled; coal, iron and steel production had risen by 80 per cent and the output of electricity was more than doubled. All this was in four years. Enormous tractor works were established at Kharkov and Rostov, car factories appeared in Moscow and Gorki, Baku became the centre of a great oil industry and at Dnieprostroian enormous dam was rapidly constructed. The number of children at school nearly doubled in four years and tremendous enthusiasm was generated among those Russians who were fit enough to take the strain. Passive resistance, rather than deliberate 'wrecking', resulted in some targets not being reached, but the only real failure was in agriculture.

There Stalin demanded either state farms run as factories, or collective farms (Kolkhozes) where the profit was divided among the participant villagers. When the first failed the second was

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enforced. Civil war almost resulted, for many peasants destroyed their animals rather than surrender them to the collective farms, and over five million peasant proprietors (kulaks) were executed or deported to poor land (often in Siberia) before Stalin, faced with widespread famine, changed his tactics. He then emphasized that the collective farms were voluntary, while forbidding the sale of private produce in the state-monopolized markets. Gradually the difficulties of selling their produce, together with the denial of tractors and other equipment to the small farms, drove many of the twenty-five million peasants to co-operate in the 250,000 large farms. Yet by 1932 collectivization was incomplete. In some areas 80 per cent were forced into the larger farms; in White Russia barely half had consented (43 per cent). These were the brutal years of Soviet reorganization.

The second and third Five Year Plans attempted to remedy the defects and deficiencies of the first. Emphasis was placed on better transport and more education, on better medical attention so that more work would be done, and on the complete but more gradual collectivization of the land. The Moscow underground was built as a showpiece of communist achievement: not one advertisement defaced its marble splendour and the absence of litter testified to the new civic pride of the Russians. Many foreigners were as surprised to hear genuine expressions of contentment as they were to see the number of women doing men's work.

Luxuries, the Russians argued, were impossible till the necessities of life were produced. However, they were ashamed that their standards of comfort were so low; the younger generation especially were sensitive to reminders of the past. Thus a foreign tourist might be prevented from photographing an old-fashioned carriage lest outsiders thought it typical of Russia. The invisible loss of liberty, never very great for some people, was generally accepted as the price for the material progress, which all could see. Yet this was undoubtedly a period of drab austerity for practically all Russians.

Abroad, neither the diplomatic recognition of the U.S.S.R. which most countries had given by 1924, nor the entry of Russia into the League of Nations, could end the guarded hostility on both sides. Western citizens noted with some awe the demonstrations

of massed tanks, aeroplanes and soldiers on Russian parade days. They were constantly reminded by refugees of the political brutalities. Dramatic^c purges', notably the execution of a hundred prominent people in 1930, recurred. Even in 1936, by which time Hitler's actions in Germany were equally alarming, news of the death of Zinoviev and Kamenev, among others shot as * wreckers', diversionists and spies, had a barbaric ring, and when in 1937 eight generals, including the civil-war hero Tukhachevsky, were shot as traitors, it was small comfort that they were named as German spies. Fear of Bolshevism, as seen in action in Russia, remained for long the keynote of Western foreign policies.

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THE WORLD-WIDE CRISIS (1929-45)

Most wars are caused by the previous one and this seems especially true of the war of 1939-45. The Great War had not only resulted in the defeat of Germany and the break-up of the Austrian empire, it had also made possible a communist revolution in Russia and had upset the balance of world trade. Desire for revenge and fear of communism were important causes of further German aggressiveness, yet more than these unemployment, or the simple fear of losing one's job, which arose from failure to trade, was probably the mainspring of the war of 1939-45. Men who were fully employed would have been less ready to listen to communist theories or to Hitler's criticism of the Treaty of Versailles. The world economic slump of the years 1929-33 made young men bitter and violent, as the war of 1914-18 had made older men

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disillusioned and fearful. Frightened men do not act reasonably, nor do hungry men. So the world economic crisis produced violent governments in both Germany and Japan, and largely through their actions another world war began.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC SLUMP (1929~33)

An economic boom may be defined as a period of optimism about future profits, a period when many goods are produced, when new factories are built and when, in order to secure enough workers, high wages are offered. It is a time of very full employment. If there is unrestricted competition for raw materials and unrestricted spending, prices tend to rise. This encourages manufacturers to even greater efforts. But if the volume of trade expands too fast there is danger of overproduction leading to a sudden collapse, or slump.

Something like this happened in America in the 1920⁵s. The idealism of earlier days seems to have disappeared with the eclipse of Wilson in 1921. Both Presidents Harding and Coolidge believed in giving a free hand to 'big business' and as a result businessmen ran the federal government for their own benefit. It was an age of money-grabbing, when the sinister gangster frequently extended his activities beyond the prohibited liquor trade to other business transactions. Soon the hope of a quick fortune caught up thousands in the whirlwind of speculation. Great fortunes were made overnight through the buying and selling of stocks and shares.

By 1929 owing to the excessive encouragement given to new ventures America was overproducing. The supply of goods exceeded the effective demand. New machinery had increased the production rate, a greater acreage than ever before had been cultivated for all kinds of food, and high-pressure sales-talk, by raising the demand for cars, radios, refrigerators, etc., had tended to over-emphasize the real needs. American farmers and workers did not all share in the business prosperity.

Such general overproduction could only continue if exports were made on a vastly increased scale but, in fact, world trade was barely increasing. Instead every country, not least the U.S.A., was erecting tariff walls to protect its own growing industries; in addition trade

The World Economic Slump (1929-33)

with the U.S.A. was made especially difficult by the lack of a common currency, for much of the world's gold was already in the U.S.A. and Americans were unwilling to lend or invest gold abroad in sufficient quantities. In consequence of this failure to trade, large quantities of wheat and coffee, to give but two instances, would soon be burnt for lack of buyers in America, while men in other parts of the world starved for want of wages.

Quite suddenly the folly of the situation was glimpsed and on 21 October 1929 the fear of some investors that future profits were uncertain pricked decisively the gambling bubble. In three days on Wall Street some sixteen million shares were sold, so that they became almost worthless. Several millionaires became paupers overnight, work in many places ceased for lack of capital and a nation-wide slump began. There were eventually fifteen million Americans out of work.

People in Europe were rapidly affected. Throughout 1928 and 1929 Americans had recalled loans from abroad to gamble more readily at home. Now much of the rest of their money was required for ordinary needs. Such withdrawals affected Germany in particular, and some Germans, either fearing another inflation or guarding against the possible bankruptcy of their banks, withdrew their money in gold from the great Austrian bank the Kredit-Anstalt. In June 1931 the Kredit-Anstalt went bankrupt. By August 1931 it was clear that the Bank of England could not help, whereupon it too suffered gold withdrawals by its foreign creditors.

The whole currency of Germany and Britain, as in most countries at that time, depended upon the credit given to gold. Loss of confidence in the value of money now started an economic slump in both countries and unemployment rapidly increased. Thus the financial crisis in America caused most of the countries of Europe to plunge into an economic abyss. Each country strove to recover by its own methods, but a common feature was the acceptance of a managed currency (unrelated to the gold standard) and the greater control accorded to every government in economic affairs. The old unrestricted capitalism and 'rugged individualism' was subjected to national planning to some degree or other, in America, in Germany and in Britain.

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In the long run the country to suffer most was Britain. Between 1929 and 1933 world trade shrunk to a third, and this followed a period when British overseas trade was already in the doldrums. Although a profit in the national trading was achieved in 1929 and 1930, there was a large deficit in 1931, and the annual deficit for some years thereafter (apart from 1935) ^{was an amount} averaging £40 million a year. This represented only 1 per cent of Britain's savings invested overseas, but because it was increasingly difficult to sell British goods abroad such a dependence upon foreign imports was alarming.

Most serious at the time was the presence of three million unemployed. The human misery and economic wastage of this unemployment is not easily expressed. Some men were out of work for seven or eight years. Few actually starved but ill health and the lack of hope caused many to die prematurely. The National Government, formed by a coalition of parties in September 1931, made some effort to reduce the cost of all exports by allowing greater trading monopolies and tried to obtain more markets at home by an Import Duties Act (1932) which put a 10 per cent duty on most foreign goods, but there was no real attempt to deal either with the immediate problem of the unemployed or with the basic industries where most of the unemployment occurred. There were still one million out of work as late as 1939.

The old basic industries of textiles, coal and shipbuilding struggled on. Instead of running nearly half the world's cotton-spindles, as in pre-war days, Britain now ran less than a quarter. Coal output was less than before the war, and more costly; and the decrease in world trade meant less shipbuilding. Manufactured goods, such as cycles, rayon, electrical equipment and the more complicated machine parts were being increasingly exported, but Japanese cotton cloth, German coal and steel, and a whole range of American mass-produced products were competing strongly with British goods overseas. In the long run the conservatism of the British employer and worker, together with the general unwillingness to accumulate capital to develop the new industrial goods which would sell better in the world's markets, was responsible for a slow decline in British economic strength.

The World Economic Slump {1929-33}

America, at least, gained a leader. At first the depression was deeper and the suffering possibly more bitter than in Britain, for there was no system of unemployment relief and vast numbers literally starved. But when Franklin Roosevelt became president in 1933 he refused to believe, as President Hoover had done, that 'things would right themselves'. By the sincerity of his radio 'fireside' talks, and by the charm of his personal relations, he gave Americans renewed confidence in themselves. 'The only thing we have to fear is fear itself', he said. Soon to this moral courage was added a comprehensive programme of vast public works; of large-scale industrial development, re-forestation and land reclamation; of relief for the unemployed, the aged and the sick. All were largely financed by the federal government in the belief that the new employment would create a new prosperity in which people would be well able to afford the higher taxation needed for these projects. This 'New Deal' policy was an act of faith, which events justified. Not only was economic recovery begun, but more wholesome social relationships were achieved. The New Deal programme had points of comparison with Russian Five Year Plans and with the economic policies of Italy and Germany, but it was not a strait-jacket, rather it was a garment knit closely to individual needs. The reputation of Roosevelt as the champion of democratic planning was to sustain him in office as president of America until his death in 1945.

The economic crisis had few repercussions in Russia, for by 1931 that country was largely self-sufficient and indeed was almost sealed off from the rest of the world. Nor were France and Italy greatly affected, being less industrialized than the other great powers. But in Germany the crisis gave an opportunity for the National Socialist Party under Hitler to obtain a grip on the government.

HITLER'S GERMANY

Among Germans in 1918 there had been a general disgust at the losses of a war in which nearly two million of their soldiers had been killed and over four millions injured. There was also a quiet refusal to believe that the German nation had been beaten. In the misery

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of defeat the Kaiser and the economic blockade were at first blamed, but soon the Treaty of Versailles became the scapegoat of German difficulties. Germans who did not mind losing their overseas colonies were much disturbed by the thought of Poles and Czechs ruling over German minorities; and although they had privately scoffed at the idea of paying reparations they believed the serious post-war inflation of 1923 was entirely due to French greed for their money.

The German mark, worth a shilling before the war, had lost half its value by 1918. By 1920 the mark was worth a halfpenny. Further inflation occurred, encouraged by the need to pay large sums in reparations, and was so unchecked that soon over 30,000 marks were worth less than £1. When the French invaded the Ruhr in January 1923 the financial situation swiftly became both farcical and disastrous. By September 1923 some 480 million marks were needed for £1 sterling, and the rise of prices was so great that a week's wages, if not spent at once, could not buy a postage stamp. Men hired taxis to carry home their wages, and rushed to buy what they could from the shops before the price of food rose above their means.

This inflation had several long-term effects. Of these, perhaps the most important, was the opportunity given to the National Socialist Party. For although many industrialists shed all their debts as a result of the inflation and were thus able to build brand new factories with new equipment, many of the middle-class Germans, having lost their savings and become workers, bitterly resented their lost status. The National Socialists, who wanted a rearmcd and more efficient Germany, gained the support of the industrialists. They also encouraged the downtrodden Germans to believe that they were truly the *Herrenvolk* (the master-race) of the world; their troubles were not of their own making, they were the fault of Jewish financiers, the result of the Treaty of Versailles, the work of the unpatriotic German communists. The National Socialists were thus the party which collected grievances and 'united the disillusioned of every class \

The leader of the Nazis (National Socialist Party) was Adolf Hitler, himself a bundle of grievances. The son of an Austrian

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customs official and thoroughly spoilt by his mother, Hitler had grown up a lonely, frustrated man, a 'white crow' among his early companions. Casual labourer in Vienna, house-painter in Munich, German army corporal and post-war private informer, Hitler felt himself an unacknowledged genius, and came to identify his personal needs with those of Germany.

By 1923 he had transformed a so-called German Workers' Party into the National Socialist Party, with a private army of Brown-shirt storm-troopers, the backing of a newspaper and the support of several influential men, including General Ludendorff. The swastika had been adopted as the party emblem. An attempt to seize power in 1923 failed but Hitler's brief imprisonment enabled him to begin writing *Mein Kampf*, a curious mixture of policy and prophecy, history and autobiography. In this book the main objectives of his party were continually emphasized. The Germans must be protected from the Jews; the Germans must obtain more living-space by conquest of eastern lands; the Germans must rearm in order to overthrow the provisions of the Versailles treaty.

During the years of prosperity in 1923-9 when Stresemann, first as Chancellor in 1923 and then as Foreign Minister 1923-9, did much to restore German self-respect, Hitler gained relatively few supporters. In 1928, for example, there were just over 100,000 party members. But 800,000 voted for Nazi candidates that year and the party could not be ignored. Nazi assemblies were skilfully organized. At the meeting-place^ swathed in great swastikas, martial music was played while stalwart brownshirts kept order. Warming-up speeches were made; then Hitler would appear in an old raincoat, give and receive the raised arm salute and begin a rambling, repetitive, angry, whining, shrieking, tub-thumping speech. The pattern was usually much the same; it began with a recital of the evils of the Treaty of Versailles, followed by the story of Hitler's personal struggle to aid Germany. Then came an account of the party's fight against the Jews, the Bolsheviks and foreign powers, with some reference to topical events. It was a compelling, often frightening performance. This man of coarse features, with his falling lock of hair, his smudge of a moustache and his staring eyes, seemed to act as a loudspeaker proclaiming the

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most secret desires, the least admissible instincts^s of the average German.

Soon after Stresemann died in 1929 the economic slump began. When the unemployed flocked to the meetings of the communists, industrialists and army officers began to look with considerable favour on the discipline of Hitler's anti-communist gatherings. Large sums of money, notably from Fritz Thyssen, were made available to him. Rival meetings were broken up, Jews and their sympathizers were 'beaten-up' in alleys, and a list was compiled of 'public enemies'. Through violence and fear the Nazis grew in strength. There were nearly a million members of the party in 1932 (920,000) and, as unemployment grew, many more moderate Germans cast their votes for Hitler. In the elections of 1932 over a third of the seats in the Reichstag were won.

By 1933 there were six million unemployed in Germany; German exports had been halved: workers and manufacturers alike looked for a saviour. The middle class wished to avoid another inflation; equally they feared communism. Hitler's claims were attractive. He promised a strong Germany in which rearmament and a public-works programme would remove unemployment, and he claimed that state control of wealth would prevent inflation without taking away private ownership. The communists seemed the only alternative.

By 1932 'anarchy surged through Germany's streets. Four armies (Reichswehr, communist, Brownshirt and President Hindenburg's own Steel Helmets) armed at least with knives, daggers and knuckledusters, howled through the squares, roared through the cities, beat a tattoo through the whole land' (Taylor). The aged President Hindenburg, finding no one able to keep order, was at length persuaded to accept Hitler as Chancellor. He took office in January 1933. Within a week strict censorship of the written and spoken word was imposed. During new elections the Reichstag was burnt to the ground and the communists were blamed. Every effort was made to panic the voters into becoming Nazi supporters, but there was still some passive resistance; and only 44 per cent voted for Nazi candidates. Soon the secret police were at work; the *Geheime StaatspoUzei* (Gestapo) was founded in

April and their agents appeared in schools, in factories and in buses. They were even sent as guests into private houses. By dramatic arrests and by a whispering campaign of terror the opposition was steadily weakened. Trade-union funds were confiscated, no political parties other than the National Socialist were allowed, all the newspapers were taken over and Nazi leaders, called Gauleiters, were appointed to organize the provinces on approved Nazi lines.

By 1934 the members of the Reichstag had surrendered all their powers to Hitler. In July the murder of probably 2000 former supporters, including Captain Roehm, leader of the Brownshirts, revealed the arrogance of Hitler's claims. 'In those twenty-four hours, I was the Supreme Court of Germany⁵', he later boasted to the members of the Reichstag. No one dared contradict him. When Hindenburg died in August 1934 Hitler became the German president.

Meanwhile the effects of Hitler's *coup d'etat* were being felt abroad. In October 1933 Germany left the League of Nations. Rearmament began openly. In July 1934 Dr Dollfuss, the Austrian dictator, was murdered by Nazi hirelings and in March 1935 conscription was re-established in Germany. Such events did not tally with Hitler's declarations of goodwill. Britain, France and Italy briefly combined to warn Hitler by the Stresa declaration of 1935 but he continued to gloss over his actions, timing his threats and promises with an uncanny sense of the general desire for peace. Thus a naval treaty was made with Britain which made no mention of submarines; by a free vote 90 per cent of the people of the Saar showed their desire to rejoin the German fatherland; and by clever propaganda he was able to demonstrate that conscription meant a spell of social service for German youth. There was much to be admired. New factories were built, great trunk roads (*autobahnen*) were constructed. It was suggested that these and other splendid public works, trumpeted more openly than the rearmament, were solving the problem of unemployment. Part of Hitler's appeal now, as always, was idealistic. He urged hard work and athletic pursuits. He preached the value of discipline. It became easy for foreign admirers to close their eyes to the less pleasant features of his regime.

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By 1936 all other opinions were being dragooned by Nazis placed in charge of broadcasting, the cinemas, the theatres, newspapers, schools and universities; even the churches were carefully watched. There were 'concentration camps' for the Jews, indeed the merest suspicion of a Jewish grandparent or a Jewish wife was sufficient excuse for a midnight arrest, and occasionally a courageous opponent returned to his home as ashes in a parcel, for the Nazis were masters of the grotesque.

Every attempt was made to inculcate the Nazi spirit into the German people. All boys had to join the Hitler Youth for military training, to listen to race lectures and to sing patriotic songs. At the age often a promise was made 'I consecrate my life to Hitler. I am ready to die for Hitler, the Saviour, the Leader'. Likewise, girls were forced to join the *Bund Deutscher Model* for housecraft, babycraft and interminable lectures. The propaganda was continual. 'If you tell lies often enough, they will be believed', said Hitler, and in Joseph Goebbels he found one well able to enforce this principle.

Meanwhile the German army grew in size and power, and under Hermann Goring the Air Force or *Luftwaffe* was expanded into a terrifying instrument of war. 'Guns before butter' was Goring's slogan, and in preparation for the national self-sufficiency which war would demand many substitute foods and fabrics were developed by German scientists.

In March 1936 Hitler sent German troops into the Rhineland. This was a demilitarized zone 30 miles east of the Rhine. The generals warned Hitler that military reoccupation in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles would mean war. Hitler, however, relied on the British sense of 'fair play'; and his egotistical belief that he would be right gave him a cool courage. 'I go the way which Providence dictates with the assurance of a sleepwalker', he said. Britain and France failed to make a united protest. Hitler's policy was vindicated in the eyes of the generals.

In January 1937 Hitler stated that 'the period of so-called surprises' had come to an end. He claimed that he had no designs on Austria, Czechoslovakia or Poland and that the only enemy of Germany was communism. Many were ready to believe him. The British and French governments, at least, hoped that this

was so, and not a few individuals were ready to say 'Good old Hitler'.

Hitler knew that only by continued success would he keep the support of the German generals and he knew too that he was gambling upon Western * appeasement'. But he had reason to believe that there were many anxious lovers of peace in France and Britain who would never fight and that the Western governments were unlikely to join forces with Russia. Other dictators, heartened by his success, were beginning to distract public attention. So when Mussolini launched an attack on Abyssinia, and General Franco led the insurgents in a civil war in Spain, their actions helped to divide Hitler's enemies.

While the cautious Russians retreated into a massive shell of self-defence, content to give little more than moral support to communist sympathizers except in Spain, France and Britain dithered. The League of Nations was allowed to become an ineffective means of mobilizing world opinion against war. 'Appeasement', as practised by Britain and France, became the synonym for giving in to the dictators.

HITLER'S ALLIES AND THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

In an age of dictators there was none so grandiose in his plans as Benito Mussolini. Long before Hitler rose to power, Mussolini had impressed many people as an intelligent leader, just the man to reform the 'casual, lazy' Italians. As in Roman times when the *fascis*, a bunch of rods bound together, was the emblem of authority, so Mussolini's Fascist Party would bind the individualistic Italians into a powerful nation.

Mussolini was a gifted actor and an expert propagandist. An ex-socialist, he had posed as the saviour of the middle classes from communism, and while his armed gangs cleared the streets of his critics his patriotic speeches won him a measure of popular support. In 1922, under the threat of a Fascist * March on Rome', the king had invited him to 'restore order' as head of the government. Gradually he had strengthened his position. At large rallies he was acclaimed as the 'Duce' and was photographed as a pugnacious.

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beavily jowled, robust leader. His declared aim was to make the Italians 'a nation of soldiers', and soon he was boasting of the 'eight million bayonets' he could mobilize 'in a few hours'. He also spoke grandly of 'blotting out the sun' with Italian aircraft.

His achievements were magnified by his friends abroad. He stopped strikes, he built a few good roads, the Pontine marshes were partially drained and the main-line trains ran on time. But the size of his army and navy concealed their defects; there were millions of gaudy uniforms but no new rifles. And although his opposition to communism won him the blessing of the Roman Catholic Church, culminating in the Concordat of 1929, there was little genuine attempt to deal with the poverty of the Italian masses.

The country was organized by the energy of the Fascist party members according to Mussolini's notions of a 'Corporate State'. After 1928 no opposition parties were allowed, but delegates from all the main industries and professions were gathered into a Lower House of Parliament and these, together with the specially selected members of the Senate, were allowed to advise the Duce and his Fascist Grand Council. By a variety of decrees Mussolini regulated industry; he carefully controlled education and supervised every branch of culture.

The Fascists could point out several admirable features of their regime in Italy and they had imitators abroad. But their much-vaunted discipline turned easily into bullying, and in foreign affairs their emphasis on the virtue of action showed how dangerous their theories might be. Mussolini claimed the Mediterranean as Italian—*Mare nostrum* he called it—and for some years the French possessions of Nice, Tunis and Corsica were regularly demanded by Fascist cheer-leaders and slogan-mongers. The French government, therefore, was tempted to buy Italian friendship by encouraging Mussolini's ambitions in Abyssinia.

Italy's attack on Abyssinia in 1935 revealed the hollowness of Mussolini's morality, for when the tribesmen proved stubborn, dive-bombers and mustard-gas completed the conquest. The war also exhibited the divisions of opinion in England and France, where despite their wish to stop Mussolini the governments could not agree on a common policy. Frenchmen had begun to fear

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Hider as a greater danger than Mussolini and, although the Abyssinian war succeeded in stirring the conscience of the British public, neither the French nor the British government dared risk war with Italy by closing the Suez Canal or by denying the Italians the oil supplies vital to their campaign. Mussolini's success encouraged others; and by his intervention in Spanish affairs he continued to distract and divide England and France to the advantage of Germany. Events in Spain should have brought a common policy. There, since the death of General Primo da Rivera, who had been dictator from 1923 to 1930, and more especially after the abdication of the king in 1931, a violent clash of opinions made honest government difficult. In 1936 a coalition government of moderate socialists and communists provoked conservative elements among the large landowners, businessmen, Catholic Church and Spanish army into vigorous counter action. In Morocco General Franco raised the flag of revolt, and when in July 1936 his forces invaded Spain a civil war began which attracted sympathizers from several nations.

Spain became a battleground of rival faiths. Italians, on the side of Franco, found themselves fighting members of the International Brigade, who had volunteered to fight for 'the republicans'; German and Russian dive-bombers vied with each other in murderous attacks on cities and mountain strongholds; and a long and bitter struggle ensued. Not until 1939 did Franco enter Barcelona and Madrid and so gain general control.

Meanwhile, as a result of the war, Germany and Italy cemented an association, which from November 1936 was known as the Rome-Berlin Axis. German rearmament grew in pace, but the British prime minister Baldwin feared to warn the electors of the true state of Britain's defences lest the Labour Party, which was strongly pacifist, should gain power. In France there was even less decisive leadership. America, by its Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1937, reaffirmed its policy of 'isolationism' and it was not surprising that Hider came to believe that the Western democracies would never fight.

Early in 1938 Hider announced his concern for the Germans in Austria and Czechoslovakia. In March 1938 German troops

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crossed the Austrian frontier, ostensibly to supervise the plebiscite which had been arranged to decide for or against union with Germany. Afterwards 997 per cent voted for union. Czechoslovakia was now clearly threatened and some anti-German riots were used by Hitler as an excuse to demand German control of those areas where there were large German minorities. If, however, these 'Sudeten German'³ lands were to be united with Germany the strategic threat to the rest of Czechoslovakia was obvious. To guard against this Chamberlain and Daladier, the British and French prime ministers, flew to meet Hitler in Germany—it was Chamberlain's first flight. The leaders reached a compromise, but a week later Hitler raised his demands. Britain, France and Russia began preparations for war. Then, on 29 September 1938, the Western prime ministers again flew to Munich, and there with the promise of 'consultation in the future' they accepted a slight modification of Hitler's new demands, but the Sudetenlands became German. Western military chiefs argued that Czechoslovakia was quite indefensible, yet the Czech government was not consulted, nor indeed were the Russian leaders. Chamberlain, it seems, was convinced that Hitler was sincere in his desire for peace, and even claimed he had gained 'Peace with honour... peace for our time'. Most people, however, accepted the Munich agreement reluctantly, many regarding it solely as a chance to obtain a 'breathing space' which would enable Western rearmament to catch up with that of the Nazis.

Early in 1939 German troops occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. There could be no doubt now of Hitler's intentions at Munich. Britain and France promptly guaranteed the frontiers of Poland, Roumania and Greece. Yet such guarantees were of little value without Russian backing; and since the surrender of the Czechs, the Russian policy under Litvinov of co-operation with the West had been switched via Molotov to one of suspicious self-defence. The Western powers had bought time at Munich: now the Russians decided to buy space for their defence. On 21 August 1939 a Russo-German pact was signed by which Russia was to have a portion of Poland and a free hand in the Baltic provinces if she stayed neutral in the event of war.

Hitler's Allies and the Outbreak of War

On 1 September 1939 Poland was invaded, first by Germany and then by Russia. The whole country was already under fire when two days later Britain and France, loyal to their ineffective and unwise guarantee, declared war. Their reasons for fighting were clearly stated by Chamberlain in a broadcast. 'It is evil things we shall be fighting against⁵, he said * brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression and persecution.' His voice was tired, and the spirit behind it was deflated. But the view, at last, was clear; the policy of 'appeasement' had come to an end.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-45)

Within a month of Hitler's invasion the Polish forces were defeated. A desperate defence against the German armoured divisions and the fleets of bombers availed them nothing. Meanwhile in Britain the evacuation of mothers and children from large cities, the enforcement of a blackout at night and the carrying of gas-masks were the chief evidence of a war that to most people was still far away. It was some time before the war had any impact upon the West. A British expeditionary force went to France and French troops manned the concrete underground defences of the Maginot line. Deeds of heroism at sea, where German submarines and aircraft were active, were reported in the newspapers. But of military action there was none. Instead all through the winter of 1939-40 the struggle of Finland against a Russian attempt to extend her defences farther west attracted public sympathy. Not till the spring of 1940 did this 'phoney war' in the West come to an end.

Then, in April 1940, the Germans suddenly attacked Denmark and Norway. The ports and aerodromes were quickly seized and the landings of British and Allied forces came too late to bolster Norwegian resistance. Within two months the Germans were in control. The loss of Norway resulted in the resignation of Chamberlain as prime minister of Britain and in May Winston Churchill took over the leadership. That same day, 10 May, the Germans, without warning, crossed the frontiers of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

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Holland was quickly overrun. Parachute and airborne troops came down in large numbers, and motorized columns sped far and fast into the country, spreading alarm and completely disorganizing the defences. The airfield at Rotterdam was captured and the city was mercilessly bombed. On 15 May the Dutch army surrendered. The Belgians were no more fortunate, for though British and French forces left their prepared defences to go to their aid they met with little success. By the end of May the Allied armies were split apart, the Germans had swept into France, and the Belgian army was quite exhausted. German armoured columns reached first Boulogne and then Calais, cooping up the British and the Belgians in a narrow coastal strip; at this the Belgian King Leopold surrendered, hoping to save his army from complete annihilation.

The British seemed doomed at that moment. But a skilful and desperate rearguard action enabled the bulk of their forces to retreat towards Dunkirk. There on the beaches men gathered in long patient queues or sheltered in impromptu holes among the sand-dunes, while the navy prepared a great rescue operation. Seven hundred small craft, manned by civilian volunteers, assisted the larger naval vessels, and in the course of a week over 335,000 men were taken from the delirium of modern war to the quiet of the English countryside. By a miracle of seamanship they were lifted from the beaches and were delivered to English harbours, to smiling policemen directing them into neat railway carriages, and thence to food and drink at wayside stations. Their appearance shocked the people of England into a realization of the extent of the disaster.

Their equipment had been left behind but the existence of these men made possible the eventual victory, for in less than a fortnight the French had surrendered and Britain was alone in the struggle. The German armies, turning south, forced their way along roads crowded with refugees and, meeting with little armed resistance, took Paris. A week later, on 22 June, severe armistice terms were dictated to the French government. All the French forces were disarmed and the northern half of France was occupied by Germans. A new French government, under the aged Marshal Pétain and his more active but treacherous vice-president, Laval, was set

The World War (1939-45)

up at "Vichy. The mass of honest Frenchmen, bewildered by the suddenness of a collapse for which there seemed no reason other than the disunity of their leaders and the complacency of their generals acquiesced in defeat.

Britain now faced the prospect of invasion* buoyed up by a mixture of hope, resolution and ignorance of the full facts.^e We shall defend our island whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender.' With such words Winston Churchill prepared the nation for its task. But fortunately the invasion did not take place.

Hitler's advisers, mindful of the British navy, would not risk an invasion until the British air force at least was 'neutralized'. This Goring promised. So during August 1940 the Royal Air Force was brought to batde above the south-eastern counties, first in defence of the ports, then of the fighter bases and radar stations. The losses of British aircraft were severe but they were counter-balanced by the loss of trained German bomber crews, and when in September the air attack was switched from the fighter bases to the city of London, in angry retaliation for a daring attack on Berlin, the British so far recovered the use of their airfields and destroyed so many of the enemy bombers that Hitler postponed the invasion indefinitely.

All through the winter German air attacks continued on London and the principal cities. But now they came at night. By day the British under the drive of Churchill harnessed their energies to produce munitions, to train soldiers and to prepare for a long contest. Their hearts were somewhat lightened that winter by signs of increasing American support and by good news from the Mediterranean.

There Mussolini, having declared war after the fall of France, had picked a quarrel with Greece, and was also sending troops into Egypt. In neither contest was he very successful; the Greeks fought well, and half the Italian fleet in harbour at Taranto was, in November 1940, crippled by torpedoes dropped by planes of the British Fleet Air Arm. Then in December the British Army of the Nile under General Wavell suddenly surged forward into Libya. This

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surprising advance, with its capture of 100,000 prisoners, was followed by other victories, for a few months later British, Indian and South African forces overran the Italian-controlled lands of Abyssinia and Eritrea. The Italian threat to the Suez Canal was thus temporarily removed.

The failure of Mussolini helped to decide Hitler's next attack. In March 1941 German troops were sent to Tripoli to reinforce the Italians and at the same time, with the co-operation of the governments of Roumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Hitler struck at Greece. A popular rising in Yugoslavia impeded his troops but by April the Germans had occupied Athens. The British hold on Libya was meanwhile weakened by the dispatch of men to aid the Greeks, with the result that all Libya, apart from a small garrison at Tobruk, was surrendered to the advancing Germans. Crete also fell into German hands, after a rapid invasion by their parachutists and glider-borne troops.

British convoys now strove desperately to get through the narrow seas of the Mediterranean to reach Egypt. Malta was hard pressed by aerial bombardment and German reinforcements poured unchecked into North Africa from Italy. In Iraq, however, a premature pro-German rising was swiftly parried by British troops, and Free French forces, organized by General de Gaulle, were able to remove Nazi sympathizers from Syria. Britain clung uneasily to her positions in the Middle East and awaited the next German move.

Suddenly on 22 June 1941 Hitler attacked Russia. It had long been a temptation to him, and now his experts agreed that the conquest of Russia would provide Germany with such ample supplies of food, armaments and oil that England could then be destroyed at leisure. It was the belief of the generals that a Russian campaign need last only eight weeks, and certainly the advances of the first weeks seemed to justify their optimism.

In the north, assisted by the Finns, the Germans rapidly approached the suburbs of Leningrad; in the centre they came within twenty miles of Moscow; and by November they had broken right through the Ukraine, occupying Kiev, Kharkov and Rostov. Behind the German lines Russian units struggled stubbornly in large pockets

of resistance. The famous dam at Dniepropetrovsk—the pride of all Russia—was blown up by the retreating Russian armies, and elsewhere much of value to the Germans was destroyed. When at last winter brought the advance to a halt, the casualties on both sides had already run into millions. Nevertheless the Russians had successfully salvaged most of their armies, whilst in the rear Marshals Voroshilov and Budyanny had begun preparing new armies from the great reservoir of manpower, with which to counter-attack in the spring.

Events now assumed titanic proportions and by the end of 1941 the European contest had been transformed into a world straggle. On 7 December 1941 Japanese carrier-borne aircraft attacked the American Pacific Fleet as it lay at anchor in Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Simultaneously Japanese forces landed in north-east Malaya and Siam, attacked the Philippines and swarmed on to many other Pacific islands. American indignation was so widespread that in the declaration of war President Roosevelt was able to include Germany and Italy as well as Japan as enemy countries. For some time Japanese successes continued on an alarming scale. Their aircraft sank two of Britain's biggest battle-ships, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse*, almost as soon as they arrived in the South China Sea, and so with complete freedom they landed reinforcements in Malaya, forcing a retreat upon the British and Indian troops in that area. Small groups of men, bewildered by the skill, speed and stamina of the Japanese soldiers in jungle conditions, fought rearguard actions to hold bridges and sectors of road and railway, but to little purpose, for the great naval base of Singapore, facing starvation, was surrendered in February 1942. Manila, capital of the Philippines, had already been taken; and, as the Japanese flotillas swept on into the Dutch East Indies, other forces penetrated through Siam to Burma. By May 1942 they had even threaded a way through the Burmese jungle and their armies stood at the eastern gates of India.

For six months the Japanese flood went unchecked. Then American naval and air forces scored two decisive victories. The destruction of a Japanese expedition in the Coral Sea saved Australia from invasion, and in June 1942 the battle for Midway

Island caused great Japanese losses. For the moment the Japanese advance was held.

That summer of 1942 saw the last great successes of the Axis powers. At sea the U-boats created more havoc among Anglo-American shipping; in Russia the German armies swept right into the Caucasus and began to threaten seriously the oilfields of Iraq and Iran; and in North Africa General Rommel drove his Italo-German armoured columns to within sixty miles of Alexandria. Each, however, proved to be a turn of the tide.

The city of Stalingrad stood in the path of the Germans. There for more than two months a great battle raged, and although fighting took place over the ruins of nearly every building in the city, it was not taken, nor was the River Volga crossed. In November 1942 the Russians successfully counter-attacked. From the north-west new armies crossed the Don and then drove due south until a huge German army was surrounded, and left either to starve or surrender. Its Field Marshal, von Paulus, surrendered.

In North Africa, meanwhile, Rommel had been halted at El Alamein, where a defensive position had been swiftly improvised by the British along a low ridge. By July 1942 the Alamein line, 'once no more than groups of desperate men, was as tight as a bow string with an arrow in it'⁵. It was, however, a bow braced by tired men, who feared further retreat. At that moment the appearance of a new Commander-in-Chief, General Alexander, and his operational deputy, General Montgomery, infused new vigour into the desert armies. Montgomery burnt all papers relating to retreat. 'There is to be no retreat', he said. The line was to be held and preparations made for an attack in which the new equipment and fresh forces, then arriving, would play an important part.

On 23 October 1942 the signal was given for the battle of El Alamein. * Under a brilliant moon', wrote a company officer, 'twelve thousand guns broke the fitful silence of the arena. A vast crescent of flame raked the enemy front in depth and the whole line flashed intermittently as the guns fired and reloaded at what seemed lightning speed.'⁵ So began a great slogging-match of artillery, while the tanks and infantry moved through the gaps in the mine-fields and the booby traps, and the bombers roared overhead. At

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the end of the week the enemy line was broken; a frantic retreat began, and vast quantities of stores were left behind, to be sorted at leisure, as a pursuit by the British-manned American tanks took the leading columns into Tripoli.

While the victory of El Alamein was being won, large American and British forces, under the command of General Eisenhower, landed in French Algeria. At this, before the Germans could seize it, the greater part of the French fleet scuttled itself in Toulon harbour, and many more Frenchmen rallied to General de Gaulle and the Allied cause. By April 1943, after stiff fighting, the Americans had linked forces in Tunisia with the desert veterans of Montgomery's Eighth Army and in May a quarter of a million prisoners were taken in the northern tip of Tunisia.

American war production was now proving decisive. In the factories of Detroit and Chicago the mass-production was so great that it was possible for the United States to supply arms and equipment for two giant campaigns at the same time. American bombers streamed into England, soldiers and equipment arrived in great profusion and, fortunately for Britain, despite the fierce claims of Admiral King for his operations against the Japanese, Roosevelt agreed that the war in Europe should have chief priority.

At sea the Battle of the Atlantic against submarines was being painfully won. The rate of ship construction now made up for the losses, and such was the efficiency of the aircraft patrols and escort vessels, directed by Admiral Horton, that the U-boats instead of hunting in packs were now themselves hunted as individuals. Meanwhile, in the air,^c thousand-bomber raids on Berlin—the first of which had been made in May 1942—became a frequent occurrence; and the nightly raids on industrial targets, according to the ruthless pattern set by Air Marshal Harris, caused widespread destruction. Six hundred acres of the Krupps armament works were eventually laid waste by R.A.F. bombers, and at Hamburg, after three nights' bombing in July 1943, the city was quite paralysed by fire—such was the devastation that over three-quarters of its inhabitants were driven from their homes. Soon American Flying Fortresses brought terror by day, and then even the

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suspicion of Stalin that no invasion of the western continent was being planned was temporarily forgotten in his praise.

In July 1943^{an} Allied landing was made in Sicily. Almost at once, on 25 July, Mussolini was forced to resign and was arrested. The invasion of the Italian mainland in September speedily brought about an Italian surrender. Although German reinforcements succeeded in rescuing Mussolini by a daring raid and managed to check the Allied advance, their stubborn resistance in Italy was at the expense of the German armies on the Russian front, where a major offensive was being launched. Not only were the Germans driven from Kharkov in August 1943, but Smolensk was retaken by the Russians in September, and in November Kiev fell. A further thrust brought the Russian armies well beyond the Dnieper.

When in December 1943 Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill met in Teheran, the leaders were able to look beyond the war to the peace treaties, as well as planning the final onslaught. In the occupied countries of Europe a German defeat at last seemed possible. Marshal Tito and his partisans waged open war in Yugoslavia; guerrillas were in action in Greece; and in Holland, Norway and Poland saboteurs played havoc with German morale. Meanwhile the French maquis prepared for the expected Allied invasion of Western Europe. It was now Germany's turn to show such degrees of resourcefulness and determination that the Allied victories of 1944 were hard won.

On 6 June 1944 the most complicated military operation of all time was put into action, when after months of planning and the most elaborate preparations a grand invasion of Europe began on the beaches of Normandy. Under cover of a huge air force, thousands of landing barges conveyed over a million men to fill and enlarge the beach-heads. Two floating harbours were towed across the Channel to enable tanks and supplies to be put ashore and, having achieved a measure of surprise, the landings were successful.

Just too late a German secret weapon, the flying bomb, came into action. Turned against London and the civilian population, the flying bombs were an alarming reminder of Germany's latent power. Fortunately by August 1944 the Allied invading forces,

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like a great gate hinged on Caen, swung across France. American armour under General Patton surged rapidly ahead. Paris fell, Brussels was freed. The flying bomb launching-sites along the coast were seized, and by winter the Rhine was being approached.

The progress of the Russians in this period was just as spectacular. Following the capture of Odessa in April 1944? Roumania was invaded and Bulgaria was occupied. A Russian army joined with Tito's partisans to take Belgrade, whilst in the north much of Poland was overran. Early in 1945 Marshals Koniev and Zhukov struck towards the river Oder, barely fifty miles from Berlin.

In the west the Americans, after a setback in the Ardennes, redoubled their efforts, and in March 1945 a Rhine railway bridge, captured intact at Remagen, was reinforced by large-scale crossings on either side. Then, under cover of a smoke-screen sixty miles long, streaked with tracer bullets, the barges found their way across the river and within a week the invasion of Germany had begun on a broad front.

The Nazi regime rapidly disintegrated, as first the Russians took Vienna in April, then the cities of northern Italy were liberated, and finally Berlin itself was encircled by the Americans and Russians. Before its surrender, Hitler, Goebbels and other prominent Nazis committed suicide. By 7 May the war in Europe was over.

These dramatic events, following upon the death of President Roosevelt in April, together with the hideous disclosures of the mass sufferings in the concentration camps of Belsen, Dachau and Auschwitz, had helped to distract men's minds from the war in the East. There the end came so suddenly that it was not till some time afterwards that people in Europe realized just how much had been achieved by the Americans during earlier years.

By July 1944 great amphibious operations, on an 'island-hopping' pattern, had brought American marines to the Mariana islands, and the first landings in the Philippines had occurred in October of that year. The battle of Leyte Gulf, which preceded this, was certainly the biggest naval engagement of the whole war. Inside three months Manila and the whole Philippine group of islands was retaken. Farther north, the capture of Iwojima (in the Bonin

Islands) was followed, after particularly fierce fighting, by the seizure of Okinawa, less than four hundred miles from the Japanese mainland; so that by June 1945 ^{an} invasion of Japan by the Americans had become a planning proposition.

Meanwhile the 'forgotten army' of the British was reconquering Burma. From August 1944 General Slim had conducted an ambitious campaign, based on air supply, which took his army through difficult jungle terrain, and in May 1945 Rangoon was retaken—just one day before the monsoon broke. Malaya, Java and Sumatra were still in Japanese hands, however, and further battles seemed likely when on 6 August 1945 an American atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Three days later a second bomb was dropped, on Nagasaki. In each case the destruction was appalling. Some 60,000 people lost their lives in Hiroshima, another 40,000 died in Nagasaki. The Japanese surrendered. *One* world crisis was over. Another, of a different sort, had begun.

13

THE MODERNGIANTS

The post-war period has seen Europe split into two main sectors, each dominated by the ideals and policies of the two major powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. With a large and relatively well-educated population, the countries of Western Europe have tried to rise above their old national rivalries to achieve a measure of European unity; among them Britain, having lost her position of industrial superiority in Europe and her position of political authority over much of the rest of the world has struggled to hold a balance between her position in Europe and her position in the

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Commonwealth. In a wider sense Britain, with the aid of Europe and the Commonwealth countries, has tried to mediate between America and Russia, whose rival methods of organization are being increasingly applied to the rest of the world. Such are the improvements in communications, and so widespread are the applications of Western science, that a pattern of one world is rapidly emerging from out of the dispersed human and mineral resources of the various continents. Europe has thus become but one facet of the world scene.

POST-WAR EUROPE (1945-60)

In all, the war of 1939-45 had caused the death of over twenty million people. More than thirty million more had been wounded; and the number of homeless was quite incalculable. For many of these, peace brought no release from their suffering. Refugees, chiefly from eastern Europe, sought work or liberty in other lands; severe shortages of food occurred in Russian-occupied territory; in western Europe there were no immediate signs of prosperity, and in Germany there was a mood of utter helplessness.

Germany in defeat was occupied by the armed forces of Russia, America, Britain and France, and its eastern boundary was redrawn along the line of the rivers Oder and Neisse. Elsewhere most of the pre-HMer frontiers were officially restored. In the west, France, Italy and the Scandinavian countries took on their old shape and quickly regained democratic governments. But in those countries liberated by the Russians, governments on the communist pattern were set up. It soon became clear, however, that no frontier counted for much while American and Russian armies remained on European soil. The real division of Europe was between the allied Western powers and communist Russia. No general peace treaty was possible till these two sides could agree. As a result, occupying forces stayed in Austria until 1955^{aa<^} although Berlin remained partly in Western control, the division of Germany into western and eastern zones, with their frontier posts a hundred miles west of Berlin, became a permanent feature of the post-war map.

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The one thing which the four major powers could agree upon was a trial of German 'war criminals'. An international tribunal set up at Nuremberg condemned to death a number of former German leaders., including Goring, Ribbentrop and Streicher. Himmler committed suicide. Other Nazi officials were meanwhile executed or imprisoned by German local courts. On other matters Russia and the Western powers failed to agree. In Churchill's phrase, an 'iron curtain' of silent mistrust dropped between Russia and the West. On one side of the Iron Curtain stood Soviet Russia, dominating not only the eastern third of Germany, but all the eastern countries, including Poland and, after 1948, Czechoslovakia. Yugoslavia, under Tito, was less of a Russian satellite, but it was thoroughly communist and did not encourage contacts with the West. On the Western side, by far the most influential power was the United States. Russian communism backed by Russian armies seemed to the Americans every bit as dangerous as National Socialism. Mainly for this reason, American forces stayed in Europe. While they remained the Russians stayed too, and so from 1947 there developed between the two new giants a tense though bloodless conflict which came to be known as the 'cold war'.

In this atmosphere of hostility, the work of the United Nations, the new international organization by which it was hoped peace would be maintained, was made exceedingly difficult. Although it attracted the active support of practically every nation of the world, the decisions of its Security Council had to be unanimous and Russia frequently used her veto to prevent any action. The United Nations found problems all over the world, and on this greater stage the powers grouped themselves into three main camps: those of the Western world, those of the communist bloc of countries, and those of the uncommitted lands of India, Africa and the Middle East.

At first the problems of Europe took precedence. There the war had produced such economic difficulties that the peace and prosperity of all the West European countries seemed to depend upon American goodwill. Without American money their difficulties would be so prolonged that the resulting unrest would most probably

lead to communism. This was especially true of France, Germany and Italy. One who realized this was General Marshall, the former Chief of Staff of the American Army, who in July 1947 outlined his proposals for foreign aid in a speech at Harvard. The decision of the American government to support the Marshall Plan was probably the most important post-war decision. By August 1948 Truman, re-elected U.S. president, was able to launch a programme of economic aid to Europe which cost 6000 million dollars in the first year and provided for a good deal more in the next three years. Over 12,500 million dollars were in fact made available, largely in free grants, by 1951. Britain alone received 2694 million dollars (a sum equivalent to saving every British taxpayer 35. in every £1 of tax).

This American aid was offered to all countries prepared to help each other by economic co-operation, and so it fostered a good deal of international planning. In drawing up a joint shopping-list of basic needs, the old nations of Western Europe began a series of actions which tended to unite them economically and politically as never before. Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg formed a customs union called Benelux which was effective from 1948, and in the following year the Council of Europe was formed. Every non-communist European country except Spain took part in the meetings of this council and from them arose the Schumann Plan which envisaged joint management of coal and steel production. Six countries accepted the resulting European Coal and Steel Community in 1952. 'Euratom' was a similar attempt to provide cheap atomic power on a non-national basis; meanwhile progress towards a European Free Trade Area and Common Market was being made.

Britain remained aloof from much of this economic reorganization, but American enthusiasm for a common Western plan for defence against Russia led to British participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This was called into being by the United States when in 1948-9 the Russians attempted to blockade Berlin. Berlin was saved by a gigantic air-lift of food and other requirements, and it was decided that American forces in Europe should be permanently strengthened. A defence pact was made

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with fourteen western countries, a N.A.T.O. headquarters was established in Paris, an initial grant of 1000 million dollars for immediate rearmament of the N.A.T.O. countries was made, and in 1955 Western Germany was admitted to the organization.

American financial help supported a succession of French coalition governments whose only bonds were fear of the communists and distrust of the followers of General de Gaulle. It also gave sufficient prosperity in Italy to allow the Christian Democrats and other moderates to outvote the communists there. In Western Germany it encouraged industrialists and workers to work hard to achieve prosperity, and under the moderate conservatism of Dr Adenauer, Federal Chancellor of Western Germany since 1949, Western Germany's post-war recovery was remarkable. Although older politicians shared Adenauer's anxiety for the reunification of Germany, to close the 'gaping wound in the heart of Europe', the younger generation appeared less interested in old frontiers. They wanted security and this seemed most likely in the framework of Western Europe.

In some ways there is already a federal state of Western Europe, lacking only a common language and the direct taxation of its citizens to approximate to the United States of America. The speed and ease of modern translation, as well as the links by radio and television, has done much to overcome the language barrier. But political problems remain; old prejudices and old ambitions still hinder greater unity. In recent years German nationalism has shown itself to be still alive; in France, General de Gaulle, elected president in 1958, has proved himself less ready than many politicians to sacrifice France in the interests of European co-operation. Fear of Russia, as much as economic advantage, is the chief spur to Western European unity.

BRITAIN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

In 1939 the British empire was at its greatest extent. By 1959 it had virtually come to an end. From the pre-war chrysalis had come the new independent states of India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, the Sudan, Ghana, Cyprus and Nigeria. The Federation

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of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the West Indies Federation also, had achieved a status almost equivalent to that of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa before the war.

In most cases British methods, including the use of the English language, British legal training and parliamentary procedures, were retained, and in addition British financial and technical assistance given to the former colonies did much to prolong mutual interest. Together these provide definite links between the nations associated in the Commonwealth. And in the case of the older Dominions the British queen acts as a visible symbol of unity.

In so far as Britain and the Commonwealth have common ideals and interests, Britain may at times command the prestige of a great power, yet it has not the stature of the United States or Russia, for although the Commonwealth countries contain a quarter of the world's population, its lands are so remote from each other that they cannot act with immediate effectiveness. But the power of a united Commonwealth can still be decisive in world affairs. Britain, at the hub of the Commonwealth, exerts both a traditional and financial influence over the other member-states. By its 'silent social revolution' of the war years, accelerated by the socialist government of 1945-51, Britain created *a welfare state', which was subsequently copied by other countries. The old class-divisions were swept aside by a great redistribution of wealth and new educational policies. Taxation according to income and state payments to the needy meant that a greater share of the national output of goods and services were available to three-quarters of the population. Moreover in the same period, aided by American loans, British industries, and more especially the export trades, were adapted to the needs of the modern world. Rayon and terylene instead of cotton goods, radar and machine tools instead of heavy engineering, contributed to a new prosperity which keeps British prestige high in the world.

The strongest colleagues of Britain in the Commonwealth are Canada and Australia, both countries of predominantly British stock and equally likely to grow in importance. Canada is especially flourishing. It is not only the third largest political area in the world, but is already the third largest trading nation. Canada's

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industrial resources are so great that her population of some sixteen million is increasing at the rate of a thousand a day. Her reserves of coal are seven times those of Britain; her production of iron ore, which has risen sharply since 1939, may soon equal that of the U.S.S.R.; in hydro-electric power she is exceeded only by the U.S.A. and most of her petroleum requirements were met by her own oilfields in 1960. With enough grain to feed 92 million a year, enough wood pulp for 80 per cent of the world's newspapers, and minerals of great variety and abundance, Canadian income per head is second only to that of the U. S. A. Canada, like Australia, is not entirely British. In addition to four million French-speaking Canadians in the eastern provinces, Scandinavian, Polish and Ukrainian immigrants account for half the population in some of the western provinces. Since 1931 Canada has been, with all the British Dominions, equal in status to Britain and free to decide her loyalties. Nevertheless, Canadians, proud of the four-thousand-mile undefended frontier with the U.S.A., persists in friendship with Britain and exhibits keen rivalry towards 'the States'.

By contrast, Australia is still largely underdeveloped, with barely ten million people, most of whom live in the south-eastern cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Although aeroplanes and radio stations nowadays keep close contact with the ranches of the interior, where sheep and cattle are herded as much by men in jeeps as by men on horseback, geographical factors make agricultural progress slow. Equally, despite the development of hydro-electric schemes in the south-east, industrial progress continues to be handicapped by the lack of sufficient workers. Not till more white settlers are attracted to Australia can a proportion of Asian immigrants be allowed without injury to the 'White Australia' policy. However, Germans, Italians and Scandinavians, as well as British, are going to Australia; and given the resources of atomic power and strong financial backing Australia could become a continent of great opportunity. Meanwhile, for strategic reasons, Australia looks more and more towards America for example and aid.

Throughout the Commonwealth countries British development schemes are frequently paralleled, if not overshadowed, by

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American assistance either by way of funds or technical experts. And if much of the impetus remains British, American co-operation is usually welcomed.

THE UNITED STATES (1939-60)

° The war which did so much to damage the economies of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom stimulated that of the United States, bringing to an end the great depression which had dragged on throughout the 1930's and intensifying production to a degree which would have seemed impossible in pre-war days' (Hampden Jackson). The production of manufactured goods, for example, trebled in the course of the war effort. Yet this industrial expansion was in many respects simply another surge forward on top of earlier productive records. What was really new was the force with which American economic power acted upon the rest of the world.

When President McKinley annexed the Philippines in 1898 he had taken Americans over the threshold into world affairs. Even so the majority of Americans for nearly forty years preferred not to notice the changed atmosphere. Thus not only did Congress refuse to support Wilson's League of Nations but in a series of Neutrality Acts between the wars it announced that the U. S. A. had no wish to attack, or to defend, other peoples. And for many years American suspicions that 'wily British diplomats' would drag the U.S. into another war continued to reinforce the old desire to 'steer clear of permanent alliances'.

Until the first presidency of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 American foreign policy was mainly to create a larger navy, to collect the interest on her overseas loans and to criticize British° colonialism \ Roosevelt, however, saw the dangers of isolationism and began to re-educate Americans to their responsibility to become 'Good Samaritans' abroad. When war broke out in 1939 his long campaign against the Neutrality Acts took on new urgency. Gradually the acts were repealed and by 1941 his Lend-Lease Bill was providing Britain with many necessary tools for war. Once America had entered the war against Germany and Japan, Roosevelt's concern for a new world organization, his support for U.N.R.R.A., for

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the World Bank and the World Monetary Fund schemes, all familiarized the Americans with the needs of other peoples. This was not the least of Roosevelt's achievements. After the war President Truman showed he too had learnt the lesson of international co-operation. The American Constitution expects its president to give a lead; this task Truman did not shirk. As president from 1944-52 his courage and his common sense made him almost as important as Roosevelt. His were the decisions to drop the atom bomb in 1945, to back the Marshall Plan in 1947-8, to launch America into N.A.T.O. in 1949, and to lead the United Nations into military action over the Korean dispute in 1950. These decisions involved a nation of over 175 million Americans; and once made there was no going back.

The 'Truman doctrine'⁵ of economic aid to the underdeveloped countries was in complete contrast to the earlier^c Monroe doctrine⁵. Both American parties were now committed to this global intervention. Thus, when General Eisenhower was elected president in 1952, the first Republican to occupy the White House for twenty years, Americans chose him in the belief that this popular hero of the war would be able to combine the defence of American democracy and free enterprise all over the world with a measure of economy at home.

In their post-war enthusiasm to defend 'the free world'⁵ from the boggy of communism Americans were apt to forget that among the liberties was the freedom to reject the American way of life. They were too ready to assume that everyone else wished to behave like themselves, and because their intention to do good was so strong they were genuinely surprised to learn of the unpopularity of America in some places abroad. While such men as Senator McCarthy received widespread support for witch-hunts against communists in America, it was no wonder that many people abroad were ready to dismiss the great American loans as no more than enlightened self-interest, designed solely to combat communism. The real test of American generosity has yet to come, for American foreign aid rests upon continued prosperity at home, and so far this has continued with scarcely a check for more than two decades.

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More than ever in the post-war years America became the Eldorado of the free world. Despite minor fluctuations, the overall industrial production, which rose by 50 per cent in the ten years from 1949, created such prosperity that three-quarters of American families own cars and well over half own their own house. More and more workers have moved out of the 'blue-collar jobs' into 'white-collar posts'. Technical training is available for all; and education for leisure is almost a necessity. Not only have wages risen but hours of work have been reduced so much that in the car industry a four-day week is in sight. A merger of the two great trade-union federations, the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., organized by George Meany and now (i960) controlled by Walter Reuther, will give the American worker an even greater chance of higher standards. At present over half of the population, the * middle millions', have incomes between \$3000 and \$6000 and many thousands are paid well over \$100,000 a year. The national income of America is three times that of the U.S.S.R. and its income per head is twice that of Great Britain (or over four times that of the U.S.S.R.).

In this land of equal opportunity and 'keeping up with the neighbours' one way to show individuality is to have something new. Advertising and business methods in America are kept vigorous by this constant challenge of new tastes, and new wants are promptly satisfied on a national scale. Americans like to move, and over thirty milhon, it has been estimated, move their place of residence every year. This has produced a definite trend towards the far west and the south, which has made Los Angeles, for example, a rival of Chicago and Detroit as the workshop of America. It has also accentuated the growth of great clusters of houses, called 'interurbias', such as the '600-mile-long city' that runs from the north of Boston to the south of Washington. In this and a dozen other similar areas is enclosed half the total population of America and there the typical American culture of a car, a refrigerator, a college education and a television set (one for every four people) thrives in an atmosphere of family friendliness.

Americans are still a mixture of racial groups. Their patriotism is recent, often earnest, and sometimes brittle. They have often

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tended to imagine unseen enemies in their midst and for this reason Negroes as well as Catholics and Jews have in the past suffered from persecution. And if today socialists as much as communists suffer outbursts of popular spite, Americans are proving more generous in their treatment of other minorities.

In recent years the Negro, in particular, has gained a new status. A Supreme Court ruling of 1896 had laid down a policy of segregation, of separate but equal rights. At that time nine out of every ten Negroes lived in the South; but today a third of the fifteen million American Negroes live outside the South. Thus a local problem has become a national one and many people have made strenuous efforts to treat the Negro as a fellow American. President Truman, by simply saying Negro army officers could command white soldiers, began a steady avalanche of small changes, and the Supreme Court ruling of 1954, which ended compulsory segregation in different schools, hastened the process of reform. Railway stations still have separate entrances and there are still separate drinking fountains in departmental stores, but few restaurant owners now debar Negroes as guests, and churches, even in the South, are beginning to welcome them into their congregations. American Negroes are the most advanced of their race. Many are well paid, well educated and cultured: each one enjoys the protection of the same laws as a white citizen, and all that is really needed to turn the old colour bar into 'colour-blindness' is to treat the Negro not merely as an equal, but as an individual.

Besides the Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Red Indians have in the past received scant courtesy from the white men. But since Roosevelt's 'New Deal' policy of 1934 the Indians have gained much in technical aid and human sympathy. As a result their total number has risen once more and now nearly equals the Indian population at the time of Columbus (800,000).

Despite the racial, national and sectional divisions of the United States, it is an area well knit by common forms of government and by communications. Air travel is so well developed that nowhere in the U.S.A. is more than ten hours away from anywhere else by air. Road travel too has been transformed by the great stretches of new roads (partly financed by tolls). Space still permits broad

The United States (1939-60)

highways and huge clover-leaf fly-overs, while the increasing traffic problems in the cities are being tackled by the imaginative use of great tunnels, such as the Lincoln Tunnel in New York. Radio and television networks, educational and advertising methods, despite the highly competitive nature of each, also provide Americans with an underlying unity of habits, and a common social *mores* such as few other countries have yet experienced.

THE SOVIET UNION (1936-60)

The grip of Stalin

The most remarkable features of recent Soviet history have been the continued growth of the industry of the country, the vigorous exploitation of Siberia on a grand scale, and the extent to which Stalin, from 1928 until his death in 1953, managed to control the lives of the Soviet people. The German invasion of 1941 contributed to each of these; yet in a sense it merely accelerated forces already at work.

Russian losses during the war were staggering. Military losses amounted to seven millions and civilian losses were at least five millions. Official estimates said that twenty-five million had been rendered homeless and that one-third of the nation's wealth had been destroyed. Yet by 1955, at the end of the fifth Five Year Plan, industrial production had not only recovered but was more than double the pre-war effort. Coal output totalled 391 million metric tons, steel production was 45 million tons; each stood at ten times the 1928 figure. The supply of hydro-electric power had reached 170 million kWh (compared with only 5 million kWh in 1928) and oil production had trebled in five years to 50 million tons.

Such achievements were at the expense of agricultural production; housing was neglected; and by Western standards every kind of consumer goods was in short supply. The manufacture of shoes, for example^ only provided for one new pair per person each year; clothes were drab and poor in quality, and luxuries were strongly discouraged. In order to finance new capital development and to maintain a great sci^itific research effort, taxation was high. It was, moreover, arranged as a spur to greater production, never

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as a means to redistribute wealth. The amount of tax paid depended more upon the nature of the work than the size of the income. Thus independent craftsmen, priests and the like, 'non-cooperators'⁵ in the national plan, paid more than those working directly for the state. Similarly the social services were designed to reward industrial record-breakers or to maintain productive workers in health; no unemployment pay was thought necessary and quite half the population did not qualify for the various other state benefits. The most privileged were those party members who in every walk of Soviet life, in coal-mining, in offices and on farms, had the duty of promoting greater industrial production.

In theory, Soviet Russia was a vast democracy, for since 1936 a new constitution had given every citizen the right to vote for local, provincial and national councils. In addition representatives of the people (one for every 300,000) also formed the Union Soviet while others made up the Soviet of Nationalities. But in practice it was a dictatorship, either of Stalin or of the Communist Party; at best it was a dictatorship of the majority. Russian leaders heavily outnumbered those of other nationalities and in all major decisions the views of Stalin and his supporters prevailed.

The German war enabled Stalin to acquire even greater authority, for as the Russian generalissimo he was accorded a measure of genuine popularity which he never had before the war. The Russian people saw in him the defender of their earlier revolutionary achievements and with him they resolved to rebuild their devastated cities and surpass their earlier records. Thus Stalin became the mainspring of Russian effort in the post-war years. As the strain of office took its toll, Stalin grew increasingly suspicious, and watchful of possible rivals. Able men went in fear of their lives—their careers endangered by a single word. To maintain his power, Stalin ensured that all key positions were occupied by men loyal to him. Below them, the members of the Communist Party, some eight million carefully selected men and women, controlled on his behalf the police force, the newspapers and broadcasting stations. They regulated the movement of individuals, the publication of literature and the postal correspondence in jagid out of the Soviet Union.

Just as the actions of most Russians were frozen by his gaze, so abroad Stalin, ever suspicious of British and American motives, brought down an 'iron curtain'³ and encouraged the 'cold war'⁹. Although his armies had advanced many miles farther west, partly by conquest and partly by treaty at the end of the war, Stalin did not appear content. Soviet frontiers, totalling 10,000 miles, enclosed a huge area, difficult to attack in depth yet easily penetrated. The age-old Russian desire for more space as a first line of defence remained strong. In Stalin, however, the natural watchfulness of the Russians was grotesquely overdeveloped. When he died in 1953^a S¹ ^ wave of relief swept Russia and the world. Once again in Russian history the death of the giant cat allowed the Russian mice to creep out of their holes. A day of greater freedom appeared to have dawned. And when a group of new Soviet leaders, with Malenkov as an easy-going chairman, proclaimed a 'new course', it was not surprising that greater food production should be foremost on their programme for more consumer goods.

Agriculture had always been a difficult problem for Soviet planners and the peasant remained an awkward piece in their jigsaw. By 1938, it is true, most parishes had a collective farm but there was still much resistance to new methods. During the war extensive efforts to raise food from new land led to the organization of very large combined collective farms, with more effective use of machinery, but the food was still not readily forthcoming in the amounts required.

From 1950 onwards Nikita Khrushchev came to the fore with an ambitious New Lands Plan. This aimed at reclaiming up to thirty-two million acres of wasteland or virgin soil, mostly in Kazakhstan and Siberia. Khrushchev, who had a reputation as an agricultural expert—one who got on well with the peasants—also urged less form-filling and greater emphasis upon local planning. But such schemes could not begin in earnest until Khrushchev himself had gained power in 1954.

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The conquest of Siberia

Thirty years ago only Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev of Soviet towns had more than half a million people. Today of the twenty such towns in the Soviet Union six are east of the Urals. Most of the old Siberian towns, Tobolsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Yakutsk on the Lena, Irkutsk by Lake Baikal, originated in the fortified strongholds of Cossack adventurers. A few, such as Chita beyond Lake Baikal, were founded by political exiles. Until the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway there was little co-ordinated effort made to exploit such unpromising land. Such attempts as were made were often hastily abandoned.

Under the Soviet government the exploitation of Siberian wealth was greatly accelerated. Siberia became an arena not only for forced-labour squads but for experimental settlements of all kinds. Some of the first volunteers worked in grim, even heartless, conditions and much was wasted effort. Yet by 1939 over a hundred new towns had been established along the railways to the Pacific coast or in the Himalayan region of Central Asia. These towns, although often quite isolated with no surrounding settlements, are today fully equipped with pavements, electric lighting, trams, cinemas and other western amenities. Prominent among such towns are Stalinsk in Central Siberia, and Karaganda, a coal town of 350,000 in the desert of Kazakhstan.

In all the great expanse of the Soviet Union there are perhaps four or five main centres of rapid development. These are the Caspian; the Urals; the Kuznetsk coalfield in Central Siberia; the eastern shores of Lake Baikal; and Central Asia. As the centre of the oil industry, Baku on the Caspian Sea grew to nearly a million people pre-war, but since 1952 new petroleum fields in the Second Baku area, to the north of the Caspian, have begun to outpace Baku's development. Stalingrad, which had reached 445,000 before savage fighting reduced it to a pile of rubble, has been almost entirely rebuilt to serve new needs and is likely to grow beyond the present 525,000 mark. In the Urals the older iron town of Magnitogorsk doubled its population between 1939 and 1956, and Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk are now twice the size. Farther

east, Novosibirsk, with only a few thousand people at the beginning of the century, had reached 406,000 in 1939 and has nearly doubled since. Serving the same Kuznetsk coal basin, Stalinsk and Kemerovo were transformed from villages to cities of over 150,000 people in three years before the war, and today Stalinsk has some 350,000 inhabitants. Beyond Lake Baikal at Ulan Ude in Buriat Mongolia is the largest automobile factory in Siberia, and hydro-electric schemes based on the lake will soon open up an area rich in iron and gold. Communications in the bleak region to the north are still inadequate, yet already over 10 per cent of the world's gold is found here.

The net result of Siberian development appears small, providing work for only 20 per cent of the population of the U.S.S.R. Even so, progress is steady. In 1939 the new industrial areas of Siberia accounted for nearly a third of Soviet output. Twenty years later in 1959 over half of the Soviet wealth was of Siberian origin.

Communications are still the Achilles heel of Soviet plans. Although the railway system has been doubled since 1913, Soviet railway mileage (58,000 miles) is still less than that of Britain or Canada. Much has been done in both road and water transport in the west, and for passengers air travel is becoming increasingly common, but climatic conditions are a great hindrance. Russian pioneering zeal, exemplified by the establishment of sixty 'meteorological'⁹ stations in polar regions, continues undiminished. As many as a hundred ships a year now make the northern passage from Murmansk to Vladivostok. Meanwhile the industrial value of Siberia grows every year.

The pattern of development in Central Asia is rather different, for the old Russian conquest of the area was both speedier and bloodier than the colonization of Siberia. In Central Asia, moreover, Soviet difficulties are less of a geographical nature and more religious and political in origin. In the old Khanates of Turkestan the Soviet government inherited several million Muslim subjects and only after some hesitation were Soviet agents set to work to organize them according to the general plan of the Soviet Union. By a combination of force and education they introduced European clothes, began to teach a written language in their schools and

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established state medical centres. This Russification allowed the survival of many local languages and customs., but the railway link with Moscow (and since 1930 with Barnaul and Stalinsk) has brought more and more Russian advisers to Central Asia, and the city of Tashkent has grown steadily more Russian in character. Highly industrialized, with three-quarters of a million people, the modern buildings of Tashkent are in strong contrast with the ancient cities of Bukhara and Samarkhand, and Soviet engineering feats in the surrounding mountains, where the road winds among passes 11,000 feet above sea level, bring communist wonders to within a few hundred miles of Pakistan.

Central Asia is a region of strong contrasts, of desert, mountain and steppe, of arctic cold and tropical heat. Cotton and tea plantations are found in the south, yet the northern republic of Kazakhstan (six times the size of France, with only six million people) is the equivalent of the American prairies, 'the new bread basket of the Union' of Soviet Russia. Such republics, while enjoying federal status and much economic independence, are as much controlled by the Soviet government as the United States government controls the foreign policy and foreign travel regulations of, say, California or Kansas.

Russia since Stalin

The Russian empire—the Soviet Union—is today at its greatest extent. With frontiers only a few hundred miles from Germany, India, the Persian Gulf, China and Japan, and with admirers in all parts of the world, its achievements are as loudly trumpeted as those of the United States. Its weaknesses have for long been concealed. But since the death of Stalin, the Russians have appeared more human and their achievements therefore more credible.

The re-shuffle of power which followed the death of Stalin brought the promise of 'peaceful co-existence'⁵ with nations abroad. At home the promise of more consumer goods, which at first seemed simply a bid for popularity under Malenkov, became more like a genuine policy under Khrushchev. When Khrushchev, in a sensational speech to the twentieth Party Congress in 1956, roundly condemned the old policies of Stalin an era of liberalism seemed at hand. The secret police had already lost much influence

The Soviet Union (1936-60)

with the execution of Beria (their chief) in 1953, and when first Malenkov and then Bulganin lost their high positions without losing their lives it seemed that Khrushchev as the new Soviet leader had found a new way of ruling. This view was rather upset by the brutal way in which Russian tanks were used to crush the Hungarian rebellion of 1956.

Nevertheless, Khrushchev has shown himself ready to adopt a new approach to foreign affairs. Just as he went among the Russian farmers to encourage food production, so he has visited foreign capitals in search of friends. Despite some rashly provocative remarks, his speeches abroad smack of great confidence in the Soviet way of life. His conviction that communism will win by peaceful means is strengthened by such technical achievements as the production of a Russian H-bomb in 1953, the launching of a space-rocket in 1957, ^ the photography of the moon's far side in 1959.

At home a relaxation of censorship has also revealed that, despite communist propaganda, the Russians are not quite a nation of robots. Many are well-educated and thoughtful on a wide range of subjects. But all appear sensitive to any criticism of the new Russia and some odd fears remain. Foreign influences are still suspect and Russian children are not allowed science fiction, or comics, or detective stories, for fear of the corrupting influence of American fashions. Despite the emphasis upon equality there are still rich and poor in Russia. The new poor are the old, the unskilled and the independent-minded. The rich are the generals, the scientists, the engineers, the managers and government officials. The close-cropped hair of the men, the tough equality of the girls as they do men's work, the absence of litter in public places, the ban on advertisements and the discouragement of courting couples in the open—all suggests a uniform and highly disciplined people. But there is still much individuality left. The Russians may on official occasions sit in straight rows, with stiff manners and wooden faces, but in private their enjoyment is hearty; the old love of rowdy parties, long discussions and high-spirited dancing has not been crushed. The government, although it has practically wiped out illiteracy, has not succeeded in making circus horses of all the Russians. The signs point to greater freedom of thought in Russia.

FAR-EAST CHALLENGERS

It is estimated that by 1984 the populations of India and China will together make up half the world's population. Already the number of Chinese children under four, it is calculated, is equivalent to half the population of Russia. India has some 400 million people, China has over 600 million. Such figures would mean little were not India and China each politically united as never before, and experiencing industrial revolutions of a vast and increasingly rapid kind. The other countries of Asia, which between them could muster another 300 million inhabitants, are so divided, both politically and geographically, that they cannot compete with either of these two great powers. Pakistan and Indonesia, Burma and Malaya, Indo-China and Siam, all have racial and religious links with either India or China and their future is still uncertain. Only Japan, with 90 million people organized in an advanced industrial economy and with the prestige obtained from its imperialistic successes in 1931-45, may be considered likely to pursue an independent course in the near future.

Japan, in many ways, led to the Asian challenge to Western domination, and she did so by putting on the armour of the West. India and China, likewise, are using Western tools, but they have chosen to use rival Western ideas of government. India is attempting to progress along the paths marked out by British parliamentary democracy, while China, by contrast, has borrowed much of Russian communist planning.

JAPAN (1853-1960)

For nearly ten centuries, and especially in the period 1640-1853, the kingdom of Japan managed to ignore the rest of the world. Though Portuguese and Dutch sailors occasionally entered the island

harbours and priests worked inland, an almost total exclusion of strangers was achieved. As a result the Japanese people developed some strange characteristics. Energetic, highly artistic and highly emotional, the Japanese were so ill-accustomed to dealing with novel situations that they were apt to take refuge in an outburst of violence. They paid homage to the semi-divine Mikado, but obeyed the military dictatorship of a hereditary prime minister.

In 1853 there sailed into Yedo Bay (Tokyo) four ships of the United States navy under Commodore Perry and within a year his guns had forced the Japanese to make a new decision. In 1854 Japan opened its ports to American trade; Russian, Dutch and British ships quickly followed.

The Japanese realized that the only way to avoid the fate of China was to acquire the weapons of the Westerners. They suddenly resolved to become the Britain of the East. As Britain had extended its power over the Atlantic so Japan would rise to command the Pacific, the * ocean of the future³. Britain became the model to imitate.

In 1868, shortly after the accession of the young Mikado Mutsu Hito or Meiji (1867-1912), an alliance of lesser chieftains led by Saigo Takamori began a national revolution which, in effect, was a restoration of the emperor to a position of respect. The hereditary prime minister, the Shogun, was compelled to abdicate; the great barons were pensioned off and forced to live in Tokyo under observation. Education was made compulsory and a national army, including commoners, was raised by conscription in 1873 to replace the old private armies. When in 1877 the samurai (warrior class) persuaded Saigo to lead them in a second rising against the national army, his defeat and death cleared the way for more democratic changes. Western dress, including Western hairstyles, was adopted; the emperor himself initiated his people in the Western habit of beef-eating; Japanese women gave up blackening their teeth and shaving their eyebrows; they even began to dance in the European style; and proposals for a Diet, or parliament, were eventually accepted. Elections for the first Diet in 1890 were so contrived that only one per cent of the total population could vote, and in the matters of voting as in other things, the Japanese 'adopted our faults and kept their own'⁵.

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Meanwhile the army and navy were remodelled. Guns replaced swords, battleships took the place of war junks and in 1894 the Japanese launched an attack in China which secured for them Formosa (Taiwan) and enabled them to claim Korea (Chosen). The Russians failed to take note of Japanese strength and when they showed their unwillingness to 'divide the melon' of Manchuria with Japan, the Japanese made a defensive alliance with Britain (in 1902) and then attacked and defeated Russia two years later. The results of this Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 were both unexpected and far-reaching. Not only did Japan begin to replace Russia as Britain's main rival in the Far East, her success inspired and alarmed the Chinese—it showed what an oriental nation could do using Western firearms and Western industrial methods. By 1910 Korea had been annexed and soon extensive claims were being made on the Chinese mainland.

Japanese ambitions to expand into China were given further impetus by the rapid growth of her population. From 1897 & &ad become necessary for Japan to be a regular importer of rice, and her need for food grew. Better medical knowledge and the rapid growth of industry allowed Japan's population of 33 million in 1867 to reach 43 millions by 1900. In the next fifty years it was to climb to 85 millions.

The European war of 1914-18, followed by revolution in Russia and extensive civil war in China, gave Japanese leaders an opportunity for conquest which strangely was not taken. This was largely because liberal parliamentary parties for a short time gained control of Japanese affairs. But when the world economic depression of 1930-1 revealed Japan's increased dependence on foreign trade and imports of raw material, strong nationalists regained control. By assassination and large-scale bribery the military leaders and industrialists, who wanted an empire, took charge. In 1931 Manchuria was seized and in 1937 China's mainland was invaded. Japanese leaders were surprised at their general lack of success. The British would not be their friends, the Chinese did not welcome Japanese leadership against the Western bloodsuckers', and few Asian countries showed any enthusiasm for Japanese schemes for 'co-prosperity \ Naive diplomats made promises all round, generals

Japan {1853-1960}

made brutal threats, and the war with China, which should have lasted four months, dragged on. It was to last eight years.

In December 1941 Japanese planes attacked the American fleet at Pearl Harbor. Simultaneously Japanese forces attacked all over South-east Asia. Yet the flood of conquest, which covered Indo-China, Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and many Pacific islands, was a very shallow one. The opportunity was tempting and the Japanese attempted too much. They were being swept back into Burma and mopped up in the Pacific when the atom bombs were dropped at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Such terrifying destruction convinced even the most fanatical leaders that surrender was necessary. The Mikado himself emerged from seclusion to urge peace upon his ministers.

So in 1945 Japan was occupied by American forces. Under General MacArthur American officials tried to purge Japan of all its anti-democratic elements. The army was disbanded, the old politicians were debarred from office and the great business monopolies—the Mitsui and Mitsubishi—were broken up. An intense pacifist mood made the Japanese willing collaborators.

Before the war there had been in Japan doctors and teachers, foreign missionaries and social workers who had sought to bring about slum clearance, agricultural improvements and fair wages. One such reformer, Toyohito Kagawa, deserves special mention. He had preached reconciliation between China and Japan and had suffered imprisonment in 1940 for his anti-war campaign. Such liberals now had a third chance. The schools were reformed, trade unions were encouraged and land reform attempted.

The occupation lasted seven years, during which time a large force of American experts in army uniform strove to make the Japanese into copy-book Americans. The Japanese co-operated in ju-jitsu fashion. They accepted the idea of their emperor as a constitutional monarch, they began to work through parliament again, they seemed to like American advertisements. But the taste for television sets and washing-machines and cars may not have gone very deep. Many preferred a frugal meal and a barely furnished home, where there were just a few flat cushions to sit on, a low table, a charcoal brazier and a few ornaments.

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When the Americans left, the old politicians crept back into important positions, and industry began to swell once more. MacArthur's plan to make Japan 'the Switzerland of Asia' with a tourist trade and a few high-class manufactures, such as cameras and clocks, was quietly discarded. It is indeed difficult to see how Japan can avoid industrial development while its population continues to rise. In 1951 there were 85 million and by 1970 it is expected that there will be over 100 million Japanese. The islands are already more overcrowded than those of the United Kingdom, and there is also a smaller area of agricultural land. Unless industry can be built up carefully and markets found for Japanese exports wages will continue pitifully low (a seventh of the British level). As it is, Japan must import great quantities of food to survive.

With no outstanding leader and a weak parliament, Japan's future seems unpredictable. However, it is possible that China in her new strength will attempt to bring Japan back in her orbit, as in time past.

INDIA (1900-60)

Once the British started in earnest to conquer India they took fifty years to sweep from the coast to Afghanistan. It took another fifty years to sort out, understand and administer their vast new empire. During this period India remained a land where the dusty splendour of its temples and palaces contrasted strangely with the noisy squalor of its town bazaars and the apathetic poverty of the countryside. There was less violence in the lives of most Indians, but few went beyond the cultivated fields around their villages and, despite British attempts at improvements, the lot of the vast majority of Indians remained a short life and a poor one.

In the village huts, situated beside the mango groves, straggling along the banks of a river, or simply grouped around a banyan tree, few Indians were aware of the great and revolutionary changes taking place in their land. Yet by the turn of the nineteenth century, a handful of devoted British administrators had established a framework for a new 'India', united, progressive and peaceful. The most valuable change was the emphasis laid on the rule of law; that is, declared and known rules of conduct, which took the place

India (1900-60)

of local despotic decisions, imposed often according to individual whim. Another change was the creation of a civil service, superior to any which had been known before in Asia, 'efficient, economical, almost incorruptible, and unfiamboyant' (Wint). It set up new standards of honesty and thoroughness which the Indians themselves recognized as desirable, and in which they were anxious to play their part.

A third change was the encouragement given to the growth of an Indian middle class, not mere traders but a wealthy, self-confident, ambitious intelligentsia who copied, and to a surprising degree enjoyed. Western habits. Such men were frequently well travelled and many profited from education in English schools. From this group sprang the first Indian nationalists, men who wanted not merely *Swaraj* (self-rule) but who sought the unification of all Indians. They wanted their fellow Indians to realize that they were the inheritors of India's civilized past, whose glories they wished to recreate.

Typical of these early nationalists was W. C Banerjee, a Brahmin from Bengal, and a member of the landlord families created by British tax policy. Born in 1848, educated in England and trained for the Bar, he was a fervent admirer of British institutions, but he wanted more self-government for the Indians and, as president of the Indian National Congress Party (founded in 1885), he strove to win the British to his views.

With him other sensitive Indians emerged from their shells. Slowly the British found room for such men within the legal profession, within the civil service and in the lower ranks of the army. Although progress towards full responsibility even in minor posts was slow, thousands of Indian lawyers and *babus* (clerks), using English as a valued common language, became so excited by their prospects that at first they almost forgot to be rebellious.

The struggle for 'Swaraj'

British administrators in India for long acted upon the assumption that, although Indians might usefully be consulted, they could never rule entirely by themselves. It was argued that British democracy would not work in India, because there were insufficient

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leaders, the people in general were illiterate, and in any case majority decisions could not be permitted in a country where there was such a large Muslim minority.

Early in the twentieth century, however, Indians began to challenge these assumptions. After the formation of the All-India Muslim League in 1906, Hindus and Muslims alike began to seek a greater share of local government in the districts and in the provinces. Gradually the British yielded. Provincial councils from 1909 onwards included Indian members and during the 1914-18 war the British government was prompted by the gallantry of Indian troops to make a definite promise of eventual self-government.

An Act of 1919 in fact introduced a semi-democratic system for an experimental period of ten years. By this Act a greater proportion of the seats in the central and provincial councils was allotted to Indian leaders and in the provinces Indians were given charge of agriculture, health, education and public works. Such progress was far too slow for an increasing number of Indians, who now demanded *Swaraj*; that is, full self-government. Many were not merely impatient of British promises; they doubted British sincerity. An incident in 1919 at Amritsar did much to inflame Indian anger. This was the action of General Dyer who dispersed a crowd of demonstrators at the cost of three hundred lives. The resulting agitation brought to the fore M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948), a lawyer who had already made a name for himself as the champion of the Indian communities in South Africa. He now began to mobilize and direct a much more radical band of Indian nationalists, who urged the British to quit India at once.

By 1920 Gandhi had won the Congress Party over to his policy of 'peaceful non-cooperation' with the British. In practice this meant something like a general strike. In Calcutta for example there was^c not a taxi, not a tram, not a coolie moving' when he called for action. Hundreds of his supporters would quietly lie down on a railway-line at each end of a train so as to prevent it from leaving the station. Telephone wires were cut, letters were not delivered; those imprisoned often refused to eat, and Gandhi himself endured long fasts to impress his views upon his followers and upon the

government. Soon the Indian masses saw in him a Mahatma, a great soul; his opinion was sought on every topic, and British politicians, realizing his widespread influence, grew wary of his agile, legal brain.

Although he recognized the value of much of Western thought, Gandhi was essentially an Indian in outlook. He emphasized this by wearing an Indian *dhoti* (loin-cloth). 'A spare, thin, little man³, bird-like in appearance, 'single-minded and apparently simple⁵ in his purpose, Gandhi was a difficult man to tie down in argument for he was 'a man who did much of his thinking with his heart³. He dreamt of a truly united India, without caste distinction, without religious enmity, without unemployment or poverty. He knew that to achieve this he would have to reform the Indian character; accordingly his own manner of life, his homespun *dhoti* and vegetarian diet, served to emphasize the self-help, self-discipline, austerity and non-violence which he believed necessary. He realized that Indians, in their present state, were mainly villagers. Thus his advocacy of a spinning-wheel in every home was a simple remedy for the long seasonal unemployment between the harvest and the monsoon rains; he believed village crafts would restore economic self-sufficiency to 80 per cent of India's population and would greatly lessen the dangers of violence among these idle and frustrated millions. In all this he claimed to be 'a practical idealist'.

Not everyone in the Congress Party shared Gandhi's distaste for machinery. But there was no doubt of his hold on the imagination of the masses or on the policy of the Congress Party towards Britain. Everywhere the white hat of the party member proclaimed a growing determination to achieve *Swaraj* in the Gandhi manner.

Unfortunately, Gandhi's actions often seemed quite unpredictable. He was apt to behave as if actions morally right could have no evil consequences; and thus, although he condemned violence, his 'civil disobedience' campaigns often provoked acts of terrorism. In consequence in 1922, and again in 1930, he was put in prison. Yet even there he captivated his gaolers, and from prison in 1932 his threat of a 'fast to death' was sufficient to win over thousands to his policy. No lasting settlement was possible without Gandhi's approval. The British government therefore treated

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him with patience and perseverance, though exasperated officials often found it easier to talk to Nehru, Gandhi's son-in-law.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (born 1889) was educated in England and, although a fervent disciple of Gandhi, was more Western in his thought processes. Above all he was an admirer of Western scientific methods. With his father in 1928 he had proposed a single unitary Indian state instead of the federal state of India favoured by Britain, and when in 1929 Mohammed AH Jinnah began to turn the Muslim League into a militant rival of the Congress Party in defence of Muslim interests, Nehru in support of Gandhi would not admit Jinnah's claims. He feared the British might make the Muslim League and the rights of other minorities a reason for further delays in transferring full power to the Congress leaders. To such men as Nehru and Gandhi minorities were simply members of one great family and should be treated alike. Nehru further asserted that the British were holding back the industrial development of India, and claimed that only Indians could solve their own problems. More and more of Congress, including some Muslims, agreed with him. But Jinnah grew more obstinate and the British more cautious.

However, the viceroy had already conceded that India would one day have Dominion status, and after further consultations and much delay a Government of India Act in 1935 provided full provincial self-government in two years. Thus in 1937 Indians elected their representatives for the eleven provinces. It was intended, for the time being at least, that the federal government, which now included the Indian states, should remain firmly in British control, and there seemed little likelihood of further concessions for some years. When war came in 1939 British disregard for Indian feelings provoked new opposition. India was declared to be at war, without reference to the Congress politicians, and so while two million volunteer soldiers fought with distinction on all the British batdefronts, two million Congress politicians renewed their cry of 'Quit India'. Widespread disturbances occurred and not even the Japanese threat to India in 1943 moved Gandhi and other Congress leaders from their policy of non-cooperation in the war effort. Meanwhile, with Jinnah now pressing for a

separate Muslim state of Pakistan, the feud between the Muslim League and the Congress Party grew more bitter.

Nevertheless by 1945 many Indians (both Muslim and Hindu) held responsible positions in the army, in the police force and in local government. In medicine, in engineering, and in education also, their skill matched that of their British colleagues. It was felt by the British Labour government that the promise of self-government, carried to India by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942, could now be honoured. In 1947 Lord Mountbatten was sent to India to secure Indian independence as soon as possible. Jinnah's threat of the bloodiest civil war in Asian history if a separate state of Pakistan were not conceded was taken seriously. So in June 1947 it was agreed that India should be partitioned into two fully self-governing Dominions.

Indian independence was celebrated with great rejoicing on 15 August 1947. Within a few weeks, however, in Bengal and along the boundary areas of the Punjab, hideous scenes of massacre, burning and mutilation took place. Over ten million Hindus and Muslims fled in fear from their homes and about a million lost their lives in a fierce religious vendetta. The trouble was greatest in the Punjab, where the outbreaks of violence lasted some months. But Gandhi's presence in Bengal did much to calm the emotions of the masses there and altogether over thirty-five million Muslims remained unmolested within India's new boundaries. By the end of the year the border violence abated and only isolated atrocities continued. When on 30 January 1948 Gandhi fell a victim to a Hindu assassin, while holding a prayer meeting in Delhi, Hindus and Muslims alike mourned his death, and in tribute composed their differences.

With the death of Gandhi, Nehru, as Premier of the new India, rose to greater authority, and when Jinnah died a few months later the more moderate men who came to the fore in the divided state of Pakistan allowed Nehru to organize India with less fear of war from his neighbours. Only events in Kashmir threatened danger to his plans. Over five hundred of the princely states voluntarily joined the new federation of India; the one exception, Hyderabad, was compelled to join in 1948. Since then India has been free equally from large-scale disorder.

Indian achievements (1948-60)

The achievements of the first ten years of independence were considerable. In terms of her large population India was a poor country; in 1948 barely two in ten could read—over 80 per cent still lived in scattered villages—and only a nucleus of trained administrators and army officers was left when the bulk of the British withdrew. Yet under Nehru's guidance India has walked a tight-rope towards full parliamentary democracy. In 1952 a general election was held in which about 108 million people took part. They chose between several parties, all of which had freely expressed their views, in the press and on the platform. Voting was in secret and, by the skilful use of picture symbols, such as an umbrella or a plough or an elephant, to denote the parties, a sober and purposeful election resulted; over half of those eligible participated. In 1957^a a second large-scale election was equally well conducted.

As a democratically appointed Premier, Nehru wields tremendous power with moderation. India is a free state in which minorities are protected and there are few political prisoners. The government is still chiefly in the hands of members of the Congress Party, yet a high degree of discussion and a strong regard for individual liberty is noticeable, and much of the original idealism of Congress members remains. Land reform has begun, social services have been inaugurated and a steeply progressive income-tax acts as a genuine equalizer of the former extremes of wealth. Indians are still divided into castes, but their journeys in buses and trains, their work in industrial conditions and the new education make intermingling more frequent and so the number of untouchables is growing less.

Despite pressure from some quarters to abandon it, the value of the English language is still realized by Congress leaders, and in both the civil service and the army British advisers were for long retained. The Indian army, a civilizing force in the past owing to its technical education and discipline, is still a useful means for training administrators. So far its leaders, unlike those in Pakistan, have not challenged the authority of parliament.

India (1900-60)

The real danger to Indian progress comes from religious extremists and from the communists. While Nehru is alive, economic progress will probably be enough to stave off communism, and his firm toleration will check any form of Hindu fascism, which could be conservative at home and aggressive abroad. But a more radical land reform is certainly needed.

One who realizes this is Vinoba Bhave, a disciple of Gandhi. Bhave, with no possessions except a watch, a fountain pen and a pair of spectacles, has since 1951 attracted flocks of followers during his pilgrimages on foot across India. In less than five years his prophecies of woe to the landowners unless they yield up one-sixth of their holdings to the landless have led to the transfer of over four million acres of land.

His activities draw attention to India's backwardness compared with most European countries. Poverty and ill health must cramp the lives of many, when more than half of Indian families in 1955 obtained incomes of less than £2 a week in English terms, and when the average income per head in 1959 was about 95. a week as compared with the United Kingdom average of £5 per head. Quite half the children die before the age of fifteen.

To deal with such problems the government has encouraged five-year economic plans to increase food production and to expand India's industrial output. American technical assistance and a renewal of British investment in India has begun to transform the lives of Indians at a much greater pace. The construction of dams and reservoirs, power stations and steel works, together with further schemes of irrigation, have roused wide public support; and all over India deep wells, schools and hospitals are being provided by the co-operation of government officials with the villagers in voluntary community development projects.

Nehru's policy of 'neutralism' abroad has above all enabled India to concentrate on domestic matters, yet he has also succeeded in raising India to the ranks of the great powers at very little cost. Nehru has proved himself anti-communist by word and action, but he has also fostered an armistice in Korea and profited from an exchange of visits between Russia, India and China, At the Bandung Conference in April 1955 India and China headed a meeting

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of twenty-nine Asian and African states and, in co-operation with Britain, India's role in the Colombo Plan, designed to raise living-standards in Asia, gives her a position of leadership in South-east Asia which only China can hope to challenge.

CHINA (1911-60)

The Chinese Revolution of 1911, apart from removing the Manchu dynasty, produced only minor reforms. Indeed for a time it seemed as if the Chinese were only making a few renovations in their old house. Many Chinese hoped that the younger generation, following the old ideals with new self-discipline and the assistance of more Western knowledge, would slowly build a 'New China'. Instead civil war and selfishness triumphed for thirty years and a new revolution became necessary.

More recent changes suggest that the whole house is being pulled down. Until the dust settles it will not be possible to discover the temper of the inhabitants. 'Let China sleep', Napoleon once said, 'when it wakes the world will be sorry.' The old dragon of China has been roused several times in the past, but never with such fire in its belly as now. At first sight it even seems a different animal.

Struggles for unity (1916-49)

When the strong-man Yuan Shih-k'ai died in 1916, power in China went to anyone who could grab it. Assassins, hired for a few coins, would remove honest officials,* large gangs of bandits terrorized the country districts. Pirates not only swarmed along the rivers and coastal areas, but ventured on the high seas, posing as ordinary passengers until, at a given signal, they produced automatic pistols and overpowered the crews.

In their counting-houses along the coast Western traders watched the struggle between the rival parties with cynical detachment. The warlords rose and fell in strength, supported and encouraged abroad as if they were football teams. Under them smaller gangsters profited from the general lawlessness. Bribery and betrayal seemed universal; patriotic Chinese despaired of unity and progress. Dr Sun's three principles of nationalism,

China (ipu-60)

democracy and welfare no longer seemed to be the remedy. Instead he began to diagnose a new disease. Park notices in the European sector of Shanghai proclaimed 'Dogs and Chinese not allowed', so it was easy to point out the symptoms of capitalistic imperialism \ The Chinese masses were being exploited by Western foreigners and their Chinese agents. Sun Yat-sen turned to Russia for help.

Under the guidance of a Russian communist leader, Michael Borodin, Dr Sun's Kuomintang Party became strictly disciplined. It was fashioned into a straitjacket which should keep China in order. Several army leaders, including Dr Sun's brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek, were sent to Russia for military training, and all the party members were taught the principles of Marxism. Thus did Borodin (destined to end his days as a prisoner of Stalin) transform the former liberal ideals of Dr Sun into the harsher methods of Marxist Russia.

When Dr Sun died in 1925 the refashioned Kuomintang Party was taken over by Chiang Kai-shek. And slowly his armies gained greater power. Over the years the number of warlords had been much reduced. Now only two seemed able to dispute Chiang's claims. These were Feng Yu-hsiang in central China and Chang Tso-lin in the north. But by 1928 Chiang's armies had captured Peking, he had set up a new capital at Nanking, and was attracting to his banner many young idealistic Chinese who saw in him a means to a 'New China'.

A Methodist in religion, Chiang seemed a leader dedicated to the cause of good government. He had thrown off the Russian alliance, and with a programme of technical improvements began to interest Americans in his schemes. Chinese officials were sent to study in American universities, and from America there came doctors, engineers and missionaries. Much was achieved: the irrigation works were repaired, an extensive road-building scheme began, a modern banking system was created, and over more and more of China law and order was restored.

But much was left undone. Chiang relied increasingly upon the goodwill of the upper classes—the merchants and the Chinese gentry. Too often the pressing problems in the villages were left

untouched. Peasants were still imprisoned by local bosses without proper trial, and taxes were often extracted by the landlords many years in advance. Chiang's government also paid little attention to the needs of the workers in the factories and mines, where danger, disease and overwork called forth unfavourable reports from League of Nations observers. Critics multiplied and it was not long before Chiang's authority, never fully established, was challenged by some very determined rivals, among them the Chinese communists.

The communists, on the advice of Mao Tse-tung, had abandoned the towns in 1927, and were reorganizing in the country districts on a new basis. Mao urged fair taxation and widespread land-ownership for the peasants and eventually his arguments were accepted. 'The people are the sea', said Mao. 'We are the fish and the people the water through which we move. As long as we swim in the sea we shall survive.' With enormous patience he set out to seize small areas and to govern them so well that in time the co-operation of the peasants would be gained wherever the communists ruled. Thus larger areas came under communist control. Their armies, well organized by Chou En-lai and skilfully led by Chu Teh, were able to defeat five expeditions sent against them by the Kuomintang government and by 1931 they were able to declare the whole province of Kiangsi a Chinese Soviet republic.

While Chiang Kai-shek pondered these difficulties, others conspired against him. Alarmed by Chiang's growing power the Japanese generals and industrialists decided to regain control of Manchuria before it was too late. In 1931 after a series of hostile acts they invaded Manchuria and threatened similar action elsewhere. At this, patriotic Chinese urged a truce between the Kuomintang and the communists; but Chiang, confidently predicting the defeat of the communists, contrived to ignore Japanese threats in order to concentrate on further campaigns against his Chinese rivals. By 1934 he was, in fact, nearing success. His blockhouses and aeroplanes had forced a general retreat by the communists in Kiangsi and, it seemed, complete victory would soon be his. But the communist armies, led by the resourceful Chu Teh, broke through the cordon of government troops, and then by an extraordinary feat of fighting and sheer physical endurance

China (1911-60)

marched 6000 miles in 265 days, going first towards Tibet and then northwards to the remoter parts of Shensi province. Of the 100,000 who set out, barely 20,000 arrived; but the communists had shown themselves possessed by an unconquerable spirit.

Although it was some years before these tattered remnants could emerge from their caves to organize a new Soviet republic in Shansi and Shensi, their^c Long March⁵ had caught the imagination of the younger generation in China. The communists appeared as modern examples of those audacious honest bandits who throughout Chinese history have defied corrupt governments from mountain retreats. Chinese romantic literature is full of such Robin Hood characters and for the first time educated Chinese began to find attractive features in Chinese communism. Chiang Kai-shek was to discover that even his generals were not immune from the spell. In 1936 General Chang Hsueh-liang the ex-ruler of Manchuria, blockading the communist forces in Shensi, was converted by the communists to the idea of a national truce to fight the Japanese. So when the unsuspecting Chiang Kai-shek arrived to inspect his army, Chang made him a prisoner until he agreed to ally with the communists against the foreign enemy.

The alliance thus concluded was made none too soon. In July 1937 the Japanese struck along all the coastline and estuaries of China. To their surprise they won no decisive victory. Chiang retreated on all fronts. He was quite convinced that American aid would be forthcoming in due course, so he^c sold space for time⁵ and rallied his supporters by his steadfast confidence. In his new eastern capital of Chungking his faith had to sustain him for many years, for although in 1941 the U.S.A. and Britain became his allies, the American fleet was put out of action in Pearl Harbor, Burma and Malaya were soon overrun, and it was not until 1944 that the construction of the Burma Road brought in adequate supplies of arms and equipment from India for the Chinese to launch an offensive.

At first the war increased the patriotic feelings of the Chinese, but long years of waiting and hoping sapped the morale of most. In the safety of Chungking officials became timid and lazy, in the countryside taxes grew heavier as self-seeking army officers and

contractors enriched themselves out of public funds; some even collaborated with the Japanese. By contrast, the communists, by hiding among the people of the villages, often in Japanese-occupied areas, earned further respect. Neither Kuomintang nor communist leaders, in fact, regarded the Japanese as the main enemy. While the communists by carefully planned guerrilla actions gathered arms and an increasing reputation for patriotic zeal, Kuomintang supporters loudly proclaimed the united loyalty of China to their allies and more quietly blockaded communist strongholds. As Generalissimo, Chiang commanded feelings of awe and admiration among many Chinese; and abroad, he and his wife (a talented graduate of an American university) became objects of hero-worship. But a book, *China's Destiny* written by Chiang in 1942 suggested that he was already 'a prisoner of the conservatives \ Because he preferred loyalty to criticism, Chiang allowed the structure of his government to be eaten away by the white ants of bribery.

When Japan collapsed in 1945 there was a race by the Kuomintang and the communists to occupy the best positions in the territory vacated by the Japanese. Thanks to American ships and aeroplanes, Manchuria and all the great cities were regained by the Kuomintang; and soon, although the communists remained in control of many country districts, Chiang held the main railways and the principal ports. With American financial aid given in great measure, his government seemed to have every advantage but popularity.

In fact practically all the 1000 million dollars made available by the U.S.A. for China's recovery were squandered. Dollars intended for the purchase of machinery were used to buy luxury goods for sale by officials on the black market. Everyone in the government but Chiang himself, it seemed, was out to feather his own nest. Some honest men withdrew into private life, others joined the communists. An uncontrollable inflation swept the country, so that the Chinese dollar became practically worthless and a million dollars might well be needed to pay an ordinary dinner bill. Kuomintang leaders used secret police forces to assassinate their critics so complaints were unwise; but in the eyes of most influential Chinese, the government had lost its "mandate

China (1911-60)

from heaven³. Many felt justified in turning to the communists in the hope of the new broom, which Chiang seemed unwilling to wield. He remained at the head of the party only by his skill in managing his quarrelling subordinates.

By August 1947^a foil-scale civil war was again in progress. Kuomintang soldiers, having suffered years of irregular pay, had little incentive to fight well; so when the communists offered to buy their arms, thousands changed sides. Likewise officers, including the General commanding Peking, surrendered whole armies in response to communist bribes. As the communist armies swelled in numbers, orthodox land-battles replaced guerrilla warfare, and in the autumn of 1948 the battle of Hsuehchow proved a decisive victory for the communists: Chiang lost his capital of Nanking and within a few months all the other towns were in communist hands.

The discipline of the communist troops was everywhere remarkable. There was no looting, they proved honest and reliable, and if their country-bred officers found difficulty in lighting their cigarettes from electric-light bulbs, or took typewriters to be transmitting sets, they learnt fast. So did the townspeople. Like pliant bamboo, they accepted their new masters readily. Newspaper headlines in a week changed from 'The bandits are approaching the city' to 'The bandits have fled from the city'⁵.

By the end of 1949 only the large island of Formosa and a few offshore islands were retained by the Kuomintang. Chiang, in exile, seventy-two years of age, and still gravely dedicated to the cause of a 'New China', was surrounded by men who had lost their ideals.

Communist achievements (1949-60)

By 1949 the communist leaders had won over the peasants and had conquered the townspeople. They had yet to win over the intellectual and educated Chinese, who in general continued to scoff at the 'coolie armies' and smiled to hear of the fleas in the trousers of Mao Tse-tung. The number of actual communists was relatively small, a bare million among China's masses. Yet their achievements in the next ten years were quite astonishing both in range and effectiveness, and the immediate results, at least, were beneficial.

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Within a year inflation was checked, the corruption of officials was stamped out, and policemen no longer kicked the coolies. The country was reunited in such a way that China once again counted as a nation in foreign affairs- If the methods used were at first amateurish and unusual, the majority of the Chinese rejoiced at the honesty and the energy of the new regime. Membership of the Chinese Communist Party rose from a million in 1945 to some five million in 1951, and under the guidance of these enthusiasts a new social discipline was rapidly created which foreign observers at the time could not fail to observe. People queued to enter buses instead of fighting, the trains ran on time, the electricity supply did not fail, the streets were no longer filled with litter and, proudest of all the communist boasts, there were no flies in the market-places.

The new wind of equality which was sweeping through China affected most of all the coolies. For the first time coolies were considered worthy of some education. But women too gained. In the idealistic days of the Kuomintang the more well-to-do had begun to enjoy a measure of freedom. Now the communists encouraged complete emancipation for women of all classes. No longer were child-marriages allowed or polygamy permitted. The women of the new China need not endure any more a life of strict obedience to father, husband and sons. A new spirit of comradeship transformed the relationships of men and women and, as in Soviet Russia, women working outside the home were a rapidly accepted feature of the new regime.

Changes such as these, on such a large scale, could scarcely be effected without opposition and there were frequent explosions of violence. The old weapons of torture, imprisonment and execution were wielded on a terrifying scale by the communists, lest^c reactionaries', 'spies', local tyrants and common criminals should ruin their paradise. Mob violence was incited against unpopular individuals, children were encouraged to inform against their parents, and every European was suspected of being a spy.

When in 1950 the forces of the United Nations crossed the 38th parallel into North Korea, communist fears became an unreasoning panic. Not only were armies rushed into North Korea,

but thousands of innocent people were accused of being Kuomintang spies and after a mockery of a trial were sentenced to death. Many such trials and executions were broadcast and listeners in Hong Kong could hear the shots and the screams of the dying. Peking radio officially stated in 1952 'more than two million bandits were liquidated' in this period.

The declared intention of the government was to raise the material standards of its subjects by expanding production. To this end everyone was expected to contribute. Slogans, loud-speaker lectures on the trains, group discussions in the streets, all urged co-operation, hard work and study. By the widespread use of wall-newspapers (often no more than a blackboard and some chalk manned by an editor in touch with headquarters) instructions of all kinds were made known.

It was only by means of the written language that the Chinese could make themselves generally understood. Yet few could read more than a few symbols. So in 1956 a simplification of the many Chinese characters was made which enabled five people out of every ten to read the newspapers where only one in ten could read before. Eventually it is hoped the spread of Mandarin (the Peking dialect) will make possible a Chinese phonetic alphabet, and thus allow the use of more rapid printing methods.

In the absence of sufficient capital for machinery it was recognized that organized manpower was China's major asset. 'Since the days of the pyramids', said a B.B.C. commentary, 'human labour can scarcely have been used with such ant-like profusion/ In gangs of several thousand the Chinese built dams of pressed earth and long lengths of roads and railways. A strange mixture of compulsion, willing co-operation and genuine pride inspired these human beasts of burden to spectacular achievements. Their hard labour has made possible remarkable industrial progress. Coal output, for example, leapt beyond all previous totals: half way to Britain's production by 1957, ^{^ rose} according to Chinese claims, to reach the British annual output by 1958. Not only was the old industrial region of Manchuria further developed, but dramatic changes took place in other areas. Villages have swollen into industrial cities, within a decade. In addition all over the

country small workshops have contributed to the national effort to a surprising degree. It is estimated, for example, that there were over half a million blast furnaces erected in family backyards.^c If it is said, 'the capitalists treat the people like cattle; the communists treat them like tractors'; to this the Chinese may reply that they are working for future prosperity.

China is not yet a major industrial power. Its natural resources, apart from coal, are neither plentiful nor easily accessible, and yet the list of engineering products in general production is already impressive. It ranges from lorries and locomotives to machine tools, scientific instruments and textile machinery. Farm machinery is given high priority, since the more sober efforts of China's leaders are directed towards greater food production for the rapidly growing population. At first, measures of flood control and famine relief required most attention. For example, the Yangtze river needed dykes 95 feet high to save Hankow in 1954³ and the danger is ever present that the Hwang Ho also may break its existing banks and take a new course to the sea, as has happened once already in history. More recently, more efficient methods of cultivation have been investigated by communist leaders. This has involved a drastic reorganization in the countryside.

Traditionally the Chinese have always worked the land in small plots of only a few acres, and by 1949 communist land reform had created more than 500 million peasant shareholders, owning on an average a third of an acre. This had been conceived as part of a general plan to secure the co-operation of the cultivators. In 1954 a different process began: this was the gradual collectivization of the land. In accordance with Mao's favourite maxim 'go slow at the start and fast at the end', voluntary co-operative schemes first embraced some 70 million cultivators, then the process was accelerated by force. Finally in 1958, quite undeterred by criticism that much of China's land is best farmed like so many small gardens, the government went one stage further: they linked the collective farms into 'communes'. By 1959 nearly 90 per cent of the rural areas were so organized.

The^c commune' is, in fact, an employer not only of farm workers but also of electricians, teachers, canteen workers, factory hands

and even tax-collectors. This bold experiment is not merely intended to eliminate famine but is designed as the most truly communist form of society ever attempted. It is also a means of ordering conveniently the thoughts and actions of millions of subjects. It contrasts sharply with India's simpler and more individualistic experiments in land development.

The government of China since 1953 has been based on the idea of 'democratic centralism'. The ordinary citizen over eighteen elects his district council (*Qisiang*) and each of these joins to elect the county councils. In turn these elect the provincial governments, from which the National People's Congress is formed. Congress meets once a year and the government is chiefly carried on by the standing committees it appoints. In theory these appoint the Chairman of the Republic. Until 1958 it was Mao Tse-tung; they appoint also the premier (Chou En-lai) and their own chairman (Liu Shao-chi). The Party is similarly organized, with Mao as head of the Party Politburo and thus the real leader of China.

Government policy is worked out in detail by the cadres; these are groups of specially trained young men and women who are the missionaries of the Communist Party. They discuss social projects with the workers and endeavour to win support for new ventures, while noting all genuine local difficulties. Workers are invited to help in the planning, but once the plans are agreed no opposition is allowed. Those who will not co-operate are often given special shock-treatment followed by 'brain-washing' to convince them of the errors of their ways. The government, it seems, will go to any lengths to win over the majority: minorities suffer.

Dominating the policies of the Chinese government is Mao Tse-tung; with patience born of long years of guerrilla warfare, he is dedicated to the task of raising the living standards of the masses. His prestige is immense and while he remains popular with the peasants any number of unpleasant changes may be tolerated. His methods are carefully thought out and he seeks obedience through conversion rather than by force. He believes in 'mass persuasion' through 'brute reason'. This is the modern Chinese torture used in the interests of 'greater productivity'. Mao has no obvious rivals. Proud of his peasant origin, he lives simply, enjoys

physical exertion and writes excellent poetry. His main task is to formulate the principles on which policy shall be based. Chou En-lai, his prime minister, is exceedingly able and his charm and diplomacy bend to his need a supple, disciplined party, cunningly braced by Mao's theory.

Most Chinese are only too ready to be convinced of the value of their present government. They are glad that China is strong. And a successful government they believe has the 'mandate of heaven'. To oppose such a government would be not only stupid but wicked. They willingly endure present discomforts for the sake of future happiness.

In foreign affairs China has rapidly become a world power. Atomic warfare which so frightens the rest of the world, including the Russians, is less immediately dangerous to China's dispersed millions. When Stalin died, Mao became the senior communist leader and the Moscow-Peking alliance has practically become an alliance of equals. Japan, parts of Mongolia and Siberia, and the lands of Indo-China are once again within China's orbit, and Chinese ambitions could swell to include all the Chinese settlers in Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia within one empire. Moreover, with communications so much improved, the Chinese are not only intensely aware of the outer world, but are likely to exert a much greater influence on affairs abroad.

It became possible to reach Nanking from London in 1955 within a week by air. In 1956, when Chou En-lai flew to Warsaw and Budapest to put the moral authority of China behind the Russians after the Polish rebellion and the Hungarian rising, he was indeed the first man to bring China into Europe. Chinese intervention in European affairs may well recur in the near future.

In Asia, meanwhile, India and China, brothers-in-arms against 'Western imperialism' and rich uncles to millions of Asian peasants, eye each other with increasing wariness. China, with a population of 600 millions, greater by far than either America or Russia, or India, will certainly grow in military and industrial strength. There is, however, some comfort in the saying 'even trees cannot grow into the sky'. If history is any guide, even the spectacular growth of China will slow down with time.

TURKEY AND THE ARAB LANDS

The lands of the 'Middle East' have no natural geographical unity. From North Africa to Persia there is a variety of spoken languages, a strong contrast in climate and scenery, and a sharp cleavage between the occupations of townspeople and country-dwellers. Yet there is a traditional unity to much of the area, derived mainly from two of the great empires of the past, Arab and Turk. The Islamic religion of the Arab empire and the Arabic written language provide a core of custom and literature common to much of the whole area, and this cultural unity was until recently reinforced by the political framework of the Ottoman Turkish empire. Islam, despite the fact that some of its original vigour has departed, remains a lively political force, extending to Morocco on one side and Pakistan on the other. The belief that all Muslims are brothers inspires sympathizers for the Arab cause and lends support to Arab nationalism.

In the last fifty years great and rapid changes have occurred in the lands of the Middle East. These are partly due to the accumulation of Western ideas throughout the nineteenth century. More dramatically they spring from the collapse of the Turkish empire in 1918 and from the sudden wealth obtained from the discovery of oil in the Middle East. General Rental's modernization of Turkey and the example of the Jewish settlers in Palestine have also promoted a new sense of what can be achieved in long-neglected areas.

With over 80 million Arabs scattered throughout the world, it is natural that some should dream of greater unity; indeed individual calls to action find echoes in many parts of the Middle East. Much, however, remains to make that dream a reality. For the present,

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the Middle East remains the cross-roads of the modern world—an area where all fashions meet, where hopes conflict and passions divide.

ISLAM AND THE TURKISH EMPIRE

Some understanding of the work of Mohammed and his Q'uran is essential for the study of the Middle East. Mohammed was born in A.D. 571 at Mecca, a trading-centre in south-eastern Arabia. About the age of forty, growing dissatisfied with the polytheistic idol worship of his fellow Arabs, he withdrew from the commerce in which he was engaged and began to preach the necessity for Islam; that is, submission to Allah, the one true god. The word of Allah was in time revealed to Mohammed in a collection of sayings known as the Q'uran (or Koran). These called for repentance, and laid down a code of laws for the faithful to follow. They prescribed a simple and sober life in which, for example, alcohol and the flesh of the pig were strictly forbidden. Mohammed exhorted the faithful to offer prayers daily towards the Ka'ba sanctuary in Mecca, and gradually his voice was heard. By his death in A.D. 632 much of Arabia had accepted his teaching.

In the next hundred years the religious fervour of Islam imparted such a purpose to Arab raiders that all their weak neighbours gave way and the green banner of Islam flew triumphant from Samarkhand to Spain. Later conquerors took Islam to India, reaching southern India by 1300, while traders carried it into Africa and as far as the islands of the East Indies. For several centuries Muslim astronomers, physicians and mathematicians were far in advance of European scholars, and Baghdad became the centre of a large civilized area. In 1055, however, Baghdad fell to the Seljuk Turks and then again to Mongolian invaders (1258). It was left to Ottoman Turks to reunite most of the provinces and to preserve the religion of Islam. These warriors, having thrust far into the Balkans by 1400 and taken Constantinople (1453), rapidly extended the power of their Sultan to Baghdad and to Cairo. By the death of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1566, Constantinople was the magnet for taxes and produce from a great variety of peoples.

The Turks were nominally Muslim, but they treated non-

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Muslims with toleration provided they paid heavily for the privilege. Always a racial minority in their empire, they depended for their continued success upon the constant recruitment of talented foreigners into their ranks, and for many years their armies terrified Europe. Twice, in 1529 and again in 1683, the Turkish armies reached the gates of Vienna. But thereafter a decline set in and it was as much as the sultans could do to defend their outlying provinces. On the whole, Turkish governors paid little attention to the welfare of their subjects. Roads were few, famine was frequent. Schools, hospitals, libraries, and even mosques,, were but the rare impulses of individual sultans. The wonder was that the Ottoman empire, with so little popular support, lasted so long.

By the late eighteenth century it became clear to the Turks that Westerners, previously treated with scant courtesy, both as inferiors and as infidels, would have to be taken more seriously. For their part Europeans began to see in the decaying Ottoman empire some rich pickings. Austrians in the Balkans, Russians in the Ukraine, Frenchmen in Egypt and Englishmen in the Persian Gulf were unpleasant reminders of the limits of Turkish power. Even so, for another century at least the sultans skilfully played off one rival against another.

EUROPEAN RIVALS IN EGYPT

By the end of the eighteenth century Frenchmen had secured a near monopoly of trade in Egypt, and Napoleon's intervention in the Ottoman empire in 1798 was designed to hinder British efforts to develop the land-route to India. But in Egypt, as elsewhere, Napoleon's appearance stirred new ambitions. There was not only a revival of interest in ancient Egypt and a renewal of British trade in the area, which led to Aden being founded as 'the Gibraltar of the East'⁵, but in Mohammed AH there arose a 'Peter the Great of the Arab world', an imitator of Napoleon.

An Albanian soldier, Mohammed Ali had been sent to fight Napoleon. But he remained in Egypt, made himself Pasha, and from 1805 onwards began to refashion his adopted land as his

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idol Napoleon might have done. Mohammed was a strong, broad-shouldered man with a short grey beard and a sharp eye. He 'looked like an old grey lion'. Although a good Muslim, he was so mesmerized by the technical skills of the West that he resolved to bring Egypt up to date and then to reorganize the surrounding lands. In due course the efficiency of his soldiers gained the respect of the Sultan and the suspicion of the great powers. At first he fought on behalf of the Sultan in Greece, but in 1831 he claimed Syria as his reward and the following year overwhelmed a large Turkish army in Anatolia; it seemed there was nothing to prevent him from entering Constantinople only 150 miles away. Russian troops, however, came to the Sultan's aid and Mohammed was temporarily bought off with the cession of Palestine and Syria. In 1839, on the death of the Sultan, Mohammed tried again to reach Constantinople, but those European leaders who preferred a weak sultan to a more powerful Mohammed Ali combined against him. Palmerston wrote that 'Mehemet Ali will be chucked into the Nile' if he were not content with Egypt. Britain, Austria and Prussia combined to remove him from Syria.

Meanwhile in Egypt Mohammed was not entirely successful. From the masses he could inspire no enthusiasm for his grand schemes. Labourers, whipped into his workshops, escaped again into the marshes; the new machinery installed in his factories rusted from lack of care; the peasants hoarded their corn and lied to the government inspectors. Yet, before he died in 1849, Mohammed had brought into Egypt doctors, soldiers and teachers from France, engineers and merchants from Britain. What is more remarkable, he left no debts. His worst legacy was his descendants.

Mohammed's successors were weak men. Their grandiose public works and their private pleasures caused them to borrow so recklessly from foreign bankers that by 1875 the Khedive Ishmail owed over £90 million. France and Britain competed for favours. The French won the first round when they secured permission to build the Suez Canal; it was opened in 1869 by the Empress Eugenie, riding side-saddle on a camel. In 1875 Britain, profiting from France's defeat by Prussia, outmanoeuvred the French bankers and purchased the Khedive's controlling interest in the Suez Canal

European Rivals in Egypt

for £4. million. The British thereafter obtained a new grip on Egyptian affairs which tightened as France withdrew. With Britain committed to the defence of the Suez Canal, either by troops or through partnership with the Egyptian ruler, it was not long before British financial advisers were telling the Khedive how to rule his country. Although the cry 'Egypt for the Egyptians' was briefly heard in 1881 when an army revolt led by Colonel Arabi deposed Ishmail, a British army was quickly on the scene: in 1882 it shattered the nationalist army at Tel-el-Kebir.

In 1883 Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) arrived in Egypt as the principal British adviser to the new Khedive; for the next twenty years he exercised a benevolent despotism over much of Egyptian life. Prompted chiefly by the need to protect the canal, yet also inspired by a passion for good government, Cromer improved roads, railways and postal services, extended irrigation schemes, and in many other ways enabled British heads to direct Egyptian hands towards a Western-style country. Cairo became the largest city in Africa and Cromer's Egypt subsequently became a model for European officials in every Arab land.

THE DISCOVERY OF OIL

In other parts of the Middle East, in Mesopotamia where the Sultan nominally ruled, and in Persia, the impact of Western ways was for long only lightly felt. Thus the printing-press did not appear in Teheran until 1823, and Western education was officially discouraged by Nasir-ud-din, who was Shah of Persia from 1848 to 1896. The British, always nervous lest Baghdad should become a Russian town, kept the Persian Gulf clear of foreign warships and occasionally intervened in local affairs in support of Western traders. But it was not until the turn of the century that fresh events dictated a change of policy.

In 1898 the Germans began to show an interest in the Turkish empire. Their proposals to build a Berlin-to-Baghdad railway involved Turkey in a friendship with Germany that was to lead to her participation in the Great War and the collapse of her empire. At the same time German ambitions elsewhere ended the

Turkey and the Arab Lands

Anglo-French rivalry in Egypt and prompted Russia to an agreement with Britain.

The Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907 came just in time, for in 1908 oil was found in south Persia, an area which Russia had agreed should be a British sphere of influence. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company, formed the following year, soon acquired exclusive rights to exploit the oil and by 1913 a hundred wells had been sunk. In the same year the pipeline to a refinery at Abadan was completed and the British government, mindful of German threats and the increasing use of oil-fired ships by the British navy, bought the controlling shares in the Anglo-Persian Company.

When war broke out between Germany and Britain in 1914, Turkey gave support to Germany. Although the volume of oil from Persian wells was, as yet, quite small, it was known that there was more oil underground in Arab territory. This was a good reason for British soldiers and diplomats to win the Arabs to the British side. But the first question to be answered was this: would the great Ottoman empire break up under the stress of war?

THE TURKS BECOME A NATION: KEMAL ATATURK

Slowly through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries outlying portions of the Ottoman empire were nibbled away. Only the rivalry of the great powers, it seemed, prevented a wholesale division of the property of the 'sick man'⁵ of Europe. From time to time, it is true, attempts were made to revive the glories of the past, but they only served to prolong the agony. The only serious attempt to give a blood transfusion was that of the Young Turks, who in 1908 had their *coup d'etat* accepted by the Sultan. Some minor reforms were introduced by them, and German technicians began to modernize the Ottoman army. But in 1911, and again in 1912, defeats were suffered first at the hands of Italy and then of the Balkan states. Tripoli, Libya and most of the European lands were lost; even so, it required a general European war to shake down the Ottoman house on top of the sick man.

The 1914-18 war, fought nominally against Russia, Serbia, France and Britain, ended in widespread disaster for Turkey. The

The Turks Become a Nation: Kemal Ataturk

Treaty of Sevres of 1920 assumed that the Ottoman empire was quite dead. Most of the European lands were surrendered and the Arab provinces became mandated territories under the League of Nations. The Greeks not only received Thrace but were given the province of Smyrna in Asia Minor. Other lands—indeed all the fertile coast plains—were awarded to France and Italy.

As the treaty was being signed the Greeks invaded western Anatolia to seize a greater portion. At this crisis the Turks found a leader. At Ankara in Anatolia, General Kemal with the remnants of his army, which he had refused to disband, called upon all Turks to uphold the cause of Turkish sovereignty. 'I shall remain in Anatolia until the nation has won its independence', he declared. His aim was ambitious, yet simple: to break the Treaty of Sevres and to rouse the Turks to new efforts. A new nation was to arise, released from the cares of empire (there was to be no reconquest of the Arabs) and liberated from the customs of the past. Kemal was no ordinary man. He was to prove to be no ordinary dictator. Born of poor Albanian parents in Salonika, he had achieved brilliant success in the Turkish armies, but his uncouth manners and brutal opinions had found little favour in court circles. Now in defiance of both the Sultan and the allied powers in Constantinople, the Greek invaders were bitterly resisted. Within a year from his victory at Sakharia (August 1921) Kemal had driven the Greeks from the mainland and had begun an advance towards Constantinople. At Chanak the British navy and three battalions barred his path; but the crisis was sensibly resolved by the two men on the spot (Kemal and General Harington) and the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) eventually emerged. This acknowledged Kemal as *de facto* ruler of Turkey and restored Constantinople and half of Thrace to him in return for the voluntary surrender of the Arab lands.

Kemal was by no means master of his own house, for his fanatical idealism drove even his friends into moderate opposition. Nevertheless, at his bidding, representatives came to Ankara to form a National parliament, and there on 29 October 1923 a Turkish republic was proclaimed, with Kemal as president, commander-in-chief and leader of the People's Party. The Sultan had fled the previous year. A comprehensive programme of reform, symbolized

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by six white arrows on a red background, announced that republicanism, patriotism and popular reforms were to be obtained by strong state action, by secular control and by other revolutionary methods.

Kemal's first reforms cut at the heart of old Turkey. The Caliphate was abolished. The religious courts and the mosque schools (which taught children to learn the Q'uran parrot-fashion) were swept aside. The outward signs of the past were dramatically eliminated from Constantinople and from all the market-places. Gone were the obese Turks in red fez and flowing robes, counting their beads or spitting grape-pips. Gone too was the cosmopolitan atmosphere of handsome Arabs, dapper Egyptians, Persians and Caucasian Russians. Instead, within a few years, Constantinople (renamed Istanbul in 1930) became a city where bowler-hatted office-workers affected Western manners, and where women in cotton print dresses went openly shopping without their veils. A combination of example, persuasion and compulsion brought about these changes. Thus Kemal first ordered the wearing of army caps and then demanded the disuse of the fez. The harem was completely abolished; then women were given the vote and the same legal rights as their husbands. Meanwhile the old titles were replaced by shorter surnames and the brisk Western handshake was used instead of the leisurely salaam in greeting.

At Ankara a new Scandinavian-style capital was planned. The old mud-brick town on a branch railway line swiftly became a concrete city for 250,000 people. It possessed broad, tree-lined highways; hotels which fairly glittered with glass; a railway station, complete with a marble waiting-hall; and houses all electrically lit. It was supplied with water from a giant reservoir dug from the old mosquito swamps, found near the old town. In this modern capital, and soon throughout Turkey, the Gregorian calendar, the metric system, the Latin alphabet and Western (or Arabic) numerals were gradually enforced. Kemal himself adapted the alphabet to Turkish needs and toured the country with blackboard and chalk, lecturing illiterate villagers and scholarly civil servants with enthusiastic impartiality, so that government orders could be written and read in the new script.

The Turks Become a Nation: Kemal Atatürk

Economic reforms were driven forward at the same steady pace. In 1923 there were practically no railways and no industries. The peasant farmers used a primitive plough to scratch the surface of the hilly and waterless plateau. Now technical schools, reservoirs, roads, irrigation works and model farms competed for their interest. State loans enabled the peasants to buy their own land—this in striking contrast to Russian practice at that time—and soon motor-lorries brought agricultural experts to demonstrate tractors and steel ploughs. In 1923 few Turks were literate, but by 1935 a quarter of the men could read and by 1947 over half the population could do so.

A peaceful foreign policy allowed Kemal to concentrate Turkish energies on home affairs. Commercial treaties with Russia, Italy, Yugoslavia, Roumania and Greece helped to bury old enmities, while the small but efficient conscript army ensured that foreign opponents would be wary. There were mistakes, although Kemal would never admit them. 'Intense vitality in every glance and gesture', wrote the British ambassador, 'his mind and body seemed like springs coiled ready for action.' Ruthless in judgment, yet anxious for honest opinion, Kemal gave the vote to all men and women and earnestly tried to find out what they needed. If he allowed only one party at first, it was to ensure that his decisions once made were not hindered. Gradually, as his programme was accepted, he withdrew from politics. In 1930 he made a genuine attempt to found an opposition party to provide sensible criticism, but this encouraged the reactionaries so much that it was suppressed. However, a definite trend towards democracy was established. Another opposition party was founded after Kemal's death and in 1950 this Democratic Party was allowed by Ismet Inönü, Kemal's successor, to take over from the official People's Party. Thus Kemal's intention was realized.

By 1938, when Kemal died, few of his aims were questioned. His 1934 Five Year Plan may have owed much to Russian example, but the Western-style dress, the telephone, the morning newspaper, the bulldozer, and co-education echoed the ideas of a Mohammed Ali and the practical work of a Napoleon more than the theories of Marx. Kemal was a man with a self-imposed mission; harsh, remote

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and rapacious, he had servants but no friends; yet he compelled admiration by his success. Indeed, his work provided an object-lesson for other successful soldiers, many of whom dreamt of turning reformer in imitation of him; KemaTs influence is still felt in the lands of the Middle East.

ARAB INDEPENDENCE

A widespread Arab revolt against their Turkish overlords had begun in 1916 and, if the first thought of Arab leaders was for complete local independence, some, including Sheikh Hussain of Mecca and his sons, Abdullah and Faisal, began to hope for one united Arab kingdom. They reckoned without British and French tenacity. Despite war-weariness, both these governments seemed unwilling to let go their wartime hold on the Middle East. The Treaty of Versailles served to strengthen this hold, for it put the Arab provinces of Palestine, Trans Jordan and Iraq under the direct rule of Britain, as mandated territory to be administered for the benefit of the inhabitants. Similarly Syria and the Lebanon were mandated to France. Egypt became a British protectorate. Individual Britons and Frenchmen might be genuinely anxious for Arab welfare, but the first concern of their governments was for the defence of the Suez Canal, for the safeguarding of the oil supplies, and for national prestige. Thus official relations with the Arabs were strained, particularly in Egypt.

Lord Kitchener, British Resident in Cairo before the war (in 1912), had already set an example of official distaste for all things Egyptian, and with him many Britons speedily convinced themselves that the real object of the Egyptian agitators was a return to 'class privilege, oppression and corruption'³. During the war a government ban on all forms of political opinion drove even moderate men, such as Zaghlul, into the Egyptian Nationalist Party and an atmosphere of sullen distrust smouldered till 1919. Then Zaghlul raised a demand for complete independence. Riots and strikes broke out; Zaghlul was temporarily deported. Few British could believe that the Egyptian fellahin really preferred the rule of their fellow Arabs to the efficient and honest British, and

Arab Independence

although they sought a compromise solution, and the British government's Declaration of 1922 purported to allow Egyptian independence, British technical advisers and businessmen remained. More than these, the presence of British troops in Cairo continued to anger the Egyptian nationalists. Murders, rioting and demonstrations, followed by official restrictions, became a regular feature of Egyptian life. In 1924 Sir Lee Stack, the British commander of the Egyptian army, was murdered; in 1926 King Fuad and the British generals refused to accept Zaghlul as prime minister; and in 1928, after Zaghlul's successor was justly accused of bribery and dismissed, the king openly ruled without a parliament.

For some years the king and his friends made fortunes out of the taxes, and such was the misgovernment that hostility towards Britain lessened sufficiently for there to be a general acceptance of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. By this agreement the British secured the right to garrison troops in the Canal Zone for twenty years. (The shadow of Italian bombers then attacking Abyssinia perhaps encouraged a spirit of compromise on this and other vexed questions.)

Meanwhile farther east the fortunes of the Arab leaders were equally fluctuating. Of the sons of Sheikh Hussain, Faisal was the first to gain a crown, in Syria, but in 1920 a French army secured his removal. However, his brother, Abdullah, who had seized power in Amman before the British arrived, was accepted by the British and in 1923 his independent rule in Transjordan was fully recognized, subject only to a military alliance with Britain. Faisal had a second chance when, following Arab unrest in Iraq, the British government persuaded the Iraqis to accept him as king and sent Sir Percy Cox to rule Iraq according to the pattern of Lord Cromer in Egypt. An Anglo-Iraqi treaty, finally accepted by the Iraqi National Assembly in 1924, provided for a royal government, dependent upon the approval of British advisers. Gradually the wisdom of King Faisal won him a greater measure of power; a modified treaty in 1930 allowed him to exercise a benevolent despotism and in 1932 Iraq became an independent kingdom. Faisal's death in 1933 ^{was a real loss to Iraq}.

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Britain's main aim in the Middle East was stability. In this way trade could flourish and some measure of comfort could be brought to the poverty-ridden Arabs. When local rivalries gave rise to disputes the British contrived to act both as umpire and guardian of their own interests. Thus when the Hijaz dominions of Sheikh Hussain were invaded in 1924 by the more powerful Amir Abdul Aziz—Ibn Sa'ud—the British transferred their recognition to the latter and hailed him King of the Hijaz, Najd and its dependencies—now named Saudi-Arabia—in return for his friendship and his guarantee that he would respect the boundaries of Iraq and Transjordan. He proved a humane and capable ruler.

By 1936 Arabs everywhere were growing more confident of their ability to run their own affairs. Particularly in the towns a new mood of aggressive nationalism was noticeable. Egypt had virtually become an independent state by the treaty of 1936 and in the same year Syria had been accorded by France a facade of self-government. A stream of books and newspapers, published in Cairo, in Damascus or in Beirut, began to remind educated Arabs of their common heritage, and while Syrian scholars provided the evidence of past glories, Egyptians organized and financed the nationalist propaganda.

Among the 50 million Arabs of those days, Egypt's 16 million formed the strongest state. There were another 15 million Arabs in the French protectorates of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, but these were mostly well under French control, and in any case they were separated from Egypt by Italian settlements in Libya. The remaining Arabs were almost equally divided between Iraq, Syria-Lebanon, Saudi-Arabia and the Yemen. Egypt seemed strategically well-placed to exercise leadership. Yet, no sooner had Egyptians begun to dream of greater Arab unity than between them and their fellow Arabs appeared a new obstacle, one which threatened to be more permanent than the personal rivalries of Arab leaders. This was the Jewish plan for Palestine. By 1936 Jewish immigration into Palestine had come to resemble an invasion.

The Problem of the Jews

THE PROBLEM OF THE JEWS

In 1914 there were perhaps 50,000 Jews living in Palestine, a mere handful of all the Jews scattered throughout the world and a minority among Palestinian Arabs. Although the idea of a national home for Jews had frequently been considered, there seemed little likelihood of such a solution to Jewish troubles until 1896, when Theodor Herzl, a Viennese journalist, was prompted by the Dreyfus case in France to write a pamphlet calling for a Jewish state. His arguments fell on fertile ground: almost overnight he found himself head of a Zionist Party which, rejecting a British offer of Uganda, resolved at a congress in 1905 on a Jewish home in Palestine and nowhere else. The British prime minister, Balfour, was won over to the idea by Dr Weizmann, a Polish Jew then lecturing in chemistry at Manchester University, and in America a lawyer, Louis Brandeis, found in President Wilson a sympathetic listener.

In 1916 Balfour became British Foreign Secretary, and since in wartime many saw the value of Jewish gratitude, especially in the shape of men and money from America, there was widespread Western support for the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which 'viewed with favour' the establishment in Palestine of 'a national home for the Jewish people...it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of other non-Jewish communities in Palestine'⁵. The Jews, exultant, remembered the first part and interpreted the second quite differently from the Arabs. At the same time Arab fears were allayed by the belief that the declaration was little more than a paper promise from which nothing would materialize. But soon, with the encouragement of Lloyd George, Smuts and Wilson, the Jews began flocking into Palestine in what seemed to the Arabs alarming numbers. The Zionist organization spoke of preparations being made in Palestine for the 'millions who wait outside'. Arab hostility flared into violence and the British soldiers sent to keep order were accused either of being pro-Arab or of fomenting strife. Only the patient restraining hand of Sir Herbert Samuel, as British High Commissioner, with a large armed police force to support his impartial rule, achieved some semblance of peace.

Turkey and the Arab Lands

By 1933 the Jews were 200,000 in number, a vigorous minority amid a million Arabs. Their enthusiasm to make the desert 'blossom like the rose' contributed to the general prosperity of Jew and Arab alike, yet to some observers their political plans seemed to admit scant consideration for the Arabs in Palestine; and already some Jews were casting covetous eyes on the 'great, desolate and uncultivated stretches of land³ across the Jordan. For the time being the British, mindful of Arab opposition, strove to preserve the restrictive immigration terms of their Mandate, and in normal circumstances they might have succeeded. From 1933 onwards, however, the planned persecution of the Jews in Hitler's Germany caused an international tragedy. As a result the stream of refugee immigrants into Palestine rose, from an average of 9000 a year before 1932 to nearly 62,000 officially recorded immigrants in 1935. Many more were smuggled in. By 1937 the number of Jews in Palestine had reached 400,000, four or five times the Jewish population in 1917 and double that of 1933. Isolated acts of violence between Jew and Arab now grew into organized acts of sabotage. Attacks by Arab guerrilla groups in turn provoked Jewish reprisals. It mattered little that the majority of Jews behaved with restraint or that Zionist leaders, such as Dr Weizmann, genuinely sought British co-operation. Extremists on both sides multiplied; and whilst the experts discussed a possible partition of Palestine between Jews and Arabs, an uncompromising civil war began.

Despite Arab public opinion over the border, any discussions as to what was a fair yearly quota were rendered valueless by the practical impossibility of keeping the Jews out. As the persecution grew more severe in Germany, Jewish organizations, backed by ample funds, contrived to smuggle refugees into Palestine at such a rate that the yearly totals reached 50,000. So when in 1939 a British White Paper proposed to allow a further 75,000 Jews and then no more without Arab consent, the Arabs felt they could not accept this promise at face value.

There was no denying the achievements of the Jewish settlers. The Arab farmers were neither lazy nor thriftless, but they lacked money and knowledge. The Jews rapidly acquired both; and with boundless enthusiasm transformed the land they settled on. Sand-

The Problem of the Jews

dunes, now properly irrigated, were turned into orchards; reclaimed marshland and medical skill spelt the end of malaria. Deep ploughing, artificial fertilizers, scientifically selected breeds of plants and animals, such Western techniques quadrupled the crops and increased the yield of milk by as much as ten times. Even the hens laid three times as many eggs. Much was done on a communal basis: Jewish public funds enabled land to be put aside for re-afforestation, and experimental communities, where all the equipment was held in common, set to work on areas which individuals might have neglected. Linking the efforts of all the settlers was the Jewish labour organization which, apart from constructing roads and public buildings, provided loans and medical services; these included hospitals, clinics and creches. The organization also promoted musical festivals and ran a dramatic company. Jewish agricultural settlements ranged in a wide crescent from the Sea of Galilee to Jerusalem by way of the coast; in addition a thousand industrial enterprises sprang up in the glossy new city of Tel Aviv, and in the older town of Haifa. By the Sea of Galilee the Jordan hydro-electric power station provided lighting for all the settlers, and farther south the Dead Sea chemical works extracted potash and bromine from the world's greatest reservoir of chemicals. Such examples of Jewish energy, enacted in an atmosphere of Arab hostility, did nothing to allay Arab fears. When war came in 1939 the Arabs could be justly alarmed by future possibilities. A third of Palestine's population were now Jews. How much would the Arabs stand?

The war of 1939-45 not only intensified the plight of the Jews, it emphasized also Britain's reliance upon Arab friendship. The need to defend the oilfields from German threats enmeshed Britain more in the affairs of the Middle East than ever before. The reaction of both Jewish and Arab nationalism towards Britain therefore became even more violent in the post-war years.

THE BATTLE FOR OIL

By 1939 oil no longer came solely from south Persian wells to the refinery at Abadan. It came also by pipeline across the desert to the Mediterranean coast from oil-wells in Iraq.

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Oil had been discovered at Kirkuk in Iraq in 1927 and it was in general production there by 1934. Oil was also found in 1932 on Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf and in 1936 in the remoter regions of Saudi-Arabia, but it was several years before production in these areas grew to any size. Oil was, of course, a vital ingredient for success in modern war. Development was accordingly accelerated and throughout the war the Suez Canal, through which came most of the Persian oil, became a vital artery of British war needs. The Iraqi wells were also of sufficient importance to warrant a close watch on the pipelines and their pumping stations. These might be put out of action either by direct attack or by sabotage.

If the Arabs were ever really hostile to Britain they were slow to take advantage of British and French weakness at the beginning of the war. Even in Egypt, where King Farouk was suspected of double-dealing, the Egyptian army appeared to co-operate loyally in the defence of Egypt against first the Italians, and then the Germans; the Egyptian government, under the Wafd leader Nahhas Pasha, likewise gave its support, encouraged no doubt by a large British force in Cairo. In Iraq a revolt of four colonels (the Golden Square) with Raschid Ali as their catspaw proved surprisingly short-lived, and a second attempt was swiftly ended by the British occupation of Baghdad. Similarly a joint British-Russian invasion of Persia in August 1941 had little difficulty in securing a new Shah, more favourable to the Allied cause. Even when the German threat to the oilfields, in the form of a great pincer-movement through Egypt and the Caucasus, seemed most likely to succeed in 1942, the Arabs, to their credit, remained generally loyal, preferring no doubt British rule to that of the Germans. By 1943, ^m fact> British troops had gained an uneasy control of the oilfields which they held until the end of the war.

The need for oil did not end with the war. By 1950 Middle East oil production had grown so much that it had displaced the Caribbean as the greatest oil-exporting region of the world. Further developments continued at a great pace. In particular advances in Kuwait and Saudi-Arabia enabled the total production of oil to jump from 50 million tons in 1951 to 90 millions by 1955. Soon

The Battle for Oil

over a third of the world's supply was being obtained from the Middle East, and this despite the fact that there are as yet not a thousand wells in the area. World demand for oil is increasing so fast that even America, with as many as 30,000 new wells sunk every year, is beginning to import petroleum. Thus the Middle East, rejoicing in huge known reserves, has acquired a new economic importance at a time when Arab nationalism is growing stronger.

THE JEWS AND ARAB NATIONALISM

Oil had been found in the more backward of the Arab lands. The more prosperous countries of Egypt and Syria therefore felt frustrated at having none. They were both ready to offer political leadership to the Arabs; and yet the lack of easy communications, the control still exercised by the British in the Suez Canal Zone and in Transjordan, and the presence of the Jews in Palestine, all seemed to make Arab unity more unlikely than ever.

In the post-war period Syria and Lebanon were able to declare their independence of France, but internal quarrels meant that Syria for one gained little advantage from this. Egypt suffered a continued British occupation and when the Wafd government was removed for its dishonesty the Egyptians showed little gratitude to their mentors; nationalists clamoured the louder for a complete British withdrawal, and they now included in their cries the Canal Zone, where British rights were guaranteed by treaty.

Meanwhile the post-war plight of the Jews in Europe had prompted Jewish leaders everywhere to demand unlimited immigration into Palestine. The end of the fighting in North Africa had made possible a good deal of arms trafficking and this, long before the end of the war, had once more produced a civil war between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. A Jewish underground army, the Hagana (self-defence), was well prepared for such an emergency. The Palestinian Arabs, on the other hand, could do little on their own. By 1945 the more extreme Jewish Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization) had declared war not only on the Arabs, but on the British troops occupying Palestine. A bitter

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and violent struggle took place: railways were cut, hostages were taken, and in retaliation for the arrest of moderate Zionist leaders the King David Hotel (the British military headquarters) was blown up by Jewish terrorists with great civilian loss of life.

By now even the official Zionist organization led by Ben Gurion was demanding more land for the Jews. British proposals for the partition of Palestine were reluctantly accepted by the Jewish leaders, but they were rejected by the Arabs and by the rank and file of the Zionists, so the whole problem was referred to the United Nations Assembly. This eventually approved a partition more favourable to the Jews. But as soon as the British forces withdrew, the Jews abandoned partition and their armies imposed their will sufficiently upon the ill-organized Arab guerrillas to proclaim the Jewish state of Israel (1948). Although this was recognized at once by the U.S.A., Russia and others, Arab soldiers promptly crossed the frontier to assist their brothers, but the Israelis, fighting with great skill and fanatical energy, scattered the invaders. By 1949 the Jewish state of Israel, 600,000 strong, stood like 'a rock in the surrounding glow of Arab hatred'.

This defeat of the forces of the Arab League had special repercussions in Egypt, for it roused the anger of many young army officers, who for long had chafed under the directions of dishonest politicians. In July 1952 a revolutionary group, with the popular General Neguib as their figure-head, seized power from King Farouk. Their declared aim was to remove corruption, to inaugurate land reform and to clear the British from the Canal Zone. They also were determined to champion the Arabs against all forms of Western exploitation: and this meant in particular the Jewish state. In 1954 Colonel Nasser, who now emerged as the real leader, secured the evacuation of British forces from the Canal Zone, but the violence of his speeches caused such alarm that when he sought an international loan to build a High Dam across the Nile at Aswan it was refused. In reply Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company in 1956.

Soon afterwards the constant irritation of marauding Egyptians along Israeli borders, together with Nasser's aggressive remarks and the fear that he was seeking Russian aid, provoked a full-scale

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Jewish attack on his forces. The canal seemed in such danger that British and French forces landed in Egypt a few days later (November 1956) to force a cease-fire. This was achieved, at the expense of a blockage of the Suez Canal by the Egyptians, and much increased Egyptian resentment.

As a result Nasser has continued to work for Arab unity, forming with Syria in 1957 the United Arab Republic, and his popularity farther east is still considerable. Not unnaturally Egyptian and Syrian leaders have much to gain if the Arab oil resources can be pooled. For the present, however, Nasser has problems enough in Egypt, where the population (twenty-three million in 1955) is still rising faster than food production. When he came to power, land reform was urgently needed. In Egypt, as elsewhere in the Arab lands, over a third of the cultivated land was owned by a handful of landowners, so that the peasant proprietors, with an average of half an acre apiece, were usually in the grip of the money-lenders. In addition, chronic diseases, such as trachoma, worm disease and malaria, continued to affect more than 80 per cent of the population, making sustained effort impossible. If Nasser can avoid letting his dream of Arab unity lead him to war and instead can concentrate on such projects as the construction of the Aswan Dam he may yet become the 'Kemal of Egypt'. Hard work and increased productivity are needed to reform Egypt. It is too early to say how far the promised social revolution has taken root.

THE BENEFITS OF OIL

In recent years the profits made from oil have begun to transform the lives of the Arabs. Formerly the royalties paid by the foreign oil companies were but a small proportion of the total profits. Strong national feelings in Persia and the example of the new Arabian-American Company in Saudi-Arabia, which in 1950 adopted a 'fifty-fifty'⁵ basis for profit-sharing, have between them drastically altered the situation. Between 1952 and 1955 the total oil royalties doubled, yielding in all some £325 million for Arab use. As a result, spectacular changes have already taken place in at least two areas: Saudi-Arabia and Kuwait.

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In 1936 Ibn Sa'ud, who as ruler of Arabia held together the various tribes of the desert by his knightly and humane qualities of leadership, was receiving a mere £15,000 a year, mostly in dues levied on pilgrims to Mecca. Then oil was discovered in the eastern sector of his lands. By 1952 he was receiving an income of £53 million. Now the taxes on pilgrims have been abolished and the increasing flow of tourists is catered for by motor-coaches, lorries and aeroplanes. Railways and roads have appeared in the desert and modern amenities grace the expanding towns. Royalties provided Saudi-Arabia with just £100 million in 1955, possibly more than can be effectively spent in any year, and the amount is still increasing.

Kuwait, an area approximately the size of Wales, also received £100 million in royalties by 1955. The Sheikh Abdullah has done his best to spend much of these huge annual sums on the welfare of his 250,000 subjects. He has built hospitals and schools, which are quite fabulously designed and equipped; and great crates of peaches and apricots, refrigerators and cars are regularly imported in return for the oil which the tankers take away. Kuwait itself is a steel and concrete town, clean and well organized. The old and new there mingle happily: thus Arab housewives, some held in such strict purdah that they dare not climb to the rooftops to see the view, enjoy the blessings of piped water and free mobile clinics.

Such Western amenities are not yet so plentiful in either Iraq or Iran (Persia). In Iran the first oil royalties found their way into the pockets of landowners and politicians, who cared little about the masses. And although in 1925 a seizure of power by Reza Khan led to several Western reforms on the lines of Kemal in Turkey, the reforms did not go very deep. It is true the new Shah built railways, constructed a new capital at Teheran and persuaded the townsmen to wear Western dress, but the parliament (or Majlis), created as part of his Western façade, has proved little more than a club for rich men to indulge in a pantomime of debate.

The reforming zeal of his successor was cut short by the assassination of a capable minister (General Razmara) in 1951; since then the Shah's decision to sell Crown lands to the peasants

The Benefits of Oil

by interest-free loans has shown his continuing good intentions, but extensive poverty breeds city mobs, whose patriotism is best roused by envy and greed. Thus the oil royalties, already £13 million by 1949, were used by the rich landowner Dr Moussadeq to excite popular emotion and thereby demand total nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. This was forced upon the main shareholder, the British government, in 1951. By 1955 the giant refineries at Abadan had sufficiently recovered from the loss of Western technicians to yield £30 million profit. But there is still little sign that Iran's 15 million people have much benefited by the change.

In Iraq, as in Iran, the contrast between the ostentation of the rich and the poverty of the masses is remarkable. The oilfields, controlled equally by British, Dutch, American and French interests, with 5 per cent in private hands, yielded £69 million profits in 1955. Even so for some time wages remained low, bribery was widespread and mob violence was an alarming feature of the towns. The overthrow of the monarchy in 1958 has resulted in rather more honesty and a few reforms, but the intentions of General Kassem are not yet clear; the communist party remains strong, and not everyone realizes the expense and technical skill required to get at the oil which is Iraq's main source of wealth.

With such areas as Kuwait on one side and Israel on the other, there are incentives enough to inspire Arabs to new efforts. At the moment personal jealousies, religious intolerance and the general lack of communications hinder a common effort. Violent nationalist feelings, easily aroused against foreign 'imperialist exploiters' or against dishonest local officials, do little to remove the poverty of the masses.

Arab leaders have yet to learn that foreign capital and skill cannot easily be dispensed with. Meanwhile nationalist feeling grows stronger among a restless and underprivileged proletariat. The danger is obvious. 'If Arab history is any guide the final achievement of unity will not be a gradual but a cataclysmic process' (Gibb). Only wise leadership can use the great asset of oil in the interests of the Arab peoples.

THE LANDS OF THE FUTURE

In the lands of Africa, South-east Asia and Latin America there are still millions of people as yet scarcely touched by the ideas or the inventions of the Western world. In recent years, however, the pace of change in these areas has been increasing. Powerful countries are emerging which offer leadership to their less-fortunate neighbours, and great sums of money from America, Britain and Russia are being made available for their economic development. As each year passes the importance of these areas is likely to grow, if only because of the rapid increase in their populations. Africa already holds over 200 million people; South-east Asia, if we include Pakistan, totals some 160 millions; and Latin America, whose population is rising the fastest, contains 190 millions.

Since the war many of these countries have achieved political independence; the existing sovereign states among them occupy over half the seats in the Assembly of the United Nations; and as trouble makers or allies they cannot be ignored by the great powers of the world. But despite their assertions of unity and independence, and the undoubted fact that economic progress in some areas may well be reckoned in days, practically all of the new states will rely upon the continuance of American, British or Russian aid for some years to come. They are therefore lands of the future rather than immediate challengers.

AFRICA: ITS PROBLEMS

Africa in the twentieth century has acquired a new importance. Focused in this great continent are the problems of economic development and race relationships which may soon radically affect white men everywhere.

Africa: Its Problems

One of the main difficulties facing African statesmen is that the political boundaries drawn with such haste in the nineteenth century do not always suit modern conditions. Over a third by length of Africa's boundaries are purely geometrical and do not follow the nature of the ground; others were accepted before exploration was completed, and thus what at first appeared to be clearly defined river boundaries have since been seen to run into swamplands, and many tribal areas have been found to overlap the political frontiers. Large territories are often punctured by smaller regions: Basutoland, for example, is completely surrounded by the Union of South Africa. Others suggest on the map a unity more absolute than that which exists on the ground; thus Nigeria is three regions at least and some would say it should be nine.

The people of Africa, speaking some seven hundred languages, are concentrated in four or five main areas. These are the northern coastal region from Morocco to Egypt; the western coastal region from Gambia to Nigeria; the Union of South Africa; the settlements around the central lakes, especially Lake Victoria, and the independent kingdom of Ethiopia and its neighbours.

Five European powers retain a strong interest in African territory and peoples. Of these Britain is responsible for over 56 millions, with a declared policy of trusteeship for them which aims at their eventual self-government. The total number of British settlers and government officers (other than those in South Africa) is rather less than 250,000 (equivalent to the population of Nottingham or Newcastle). British administrators for this reason have tended to accept the existing tribal rulers, as in Tanganyika or Northern Nigeria, or have encouraged the formation of local councils rather than attempt to impose white rule. They have also allowed the local languages to be used in early schooling. Their general intention has been to train, by university education in English, administrators on the English pattern. Slowly, prodded and persuaded by these educated Africans, the British have conceded more and more power to the black men. Thus Ghana became in 1957 the first black Dominion, Nigeria followed in 1960 and Sierra Leone in 1961.

By contrast, France, with over a million white settlers in North

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Africa, has tried to treat her colonial possessions almost as provinces of metropolitan France. Since 1958, however, the formation of the *Communaute frangaise* has resulted in most of the French colonies gaining their freedom. In 1958 every French colony in Africa—except French Guinea—agreed to stay within the French Community, and in 1960 each proclaimed its full independence, while continuing to send delegates to meetings of the Senate of the new organization. This Senate is formed on the basis of one member for every 300,000 people, and together with an Executive Council decides matters of common policy. With French remaining the official language for each of the member-states of the Community, much of the old unity has been preserved. It has yet to be seen, however, whether present groupings will be maintained or whether some new pan-African association will emerge.

The Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Belgians and, until they lost their colonies, the Italians, have all tended to follow the earlier French model, concentrating on material progress, in preference to education for self-government. Events in the Congo (1960) provide a tragic commentary on this approach.

The main problems of Africa are at first sight economic ones. By European standards agricultural production is primitive and the acreage under cultivation is severely limited. While desert, jungle and the wild open spaces of the veldt have their part in African scenery, the most characteristic feature is the bush, the low trees which stretch in almost uninterrupted monotony from the Limpopo to the Nile, and the African—if a single type may be said to exist—was originally and in some cases still is chiefly a peasant farmer, who likes to 'make shift'⁵, to burn the bush, raise a few crops, and then move on. Many still live in tribal villages, where the land is commonly held but the tools and animals are privately owned. The conservatism of the majority, or the hostility of the witch-doctor, can make the villager's life full of taboos—things he must not do. All initiative can thus be discouraged. This and the frequent drought makes real progress difficult. For not only does the heat take away all energy, causing the bush to wither away to dry sticks and the animals to perish in thousands, but a forest fire, perhaps twenty-five miles long, may consume whole tracts of

Africa: Its Problems

land. Meanwhile diseases of every kind—malaria, sleeping-sickness, hookworm, dysentery, typhoid and scurvy, to name but a few—are constantly with the African, reducing his stamina and forcing him to work in fits and starts.

Even so in the last fifty years the lives of millions of Africans have been revolutionized by European intervention. Instead of tribal warfare with spears there are now town riots with bricks and broken bottles; instead of naked warriors chanting in tribal dance, English-speaking audiences may now watch open-air cinema-shows or listen entranced to saxophone players in a dingy beer-house of some shanty town. Hospitals and schools have been built in the bush, and by the shore of some great lake African farmers may be seen disinfecting their cattle. In Kenya there are plots of land divided by wire fences and hedges on the European pattern; while in the cities of Accra, Nairobi and Salisbury, university students, whose grandfathers might have been slaves, may study medicine or European history. Even the trackless jungle has begun to change. There are still remote parts where the 'pulse-beat of existence'⁵ is 'accompanied by the crunching of bones and the tearing apart of soft brown skins', but tourists, from the safety of their cars on new asphalt roads, may now photograph lions and other wild life a few feet away.

AFRICAN STATES

Three main areas may be taken to illustrate some aspect of African society today. These are South Africa; West Africa; and the various regions of North, Central and East Africa. In the Union of South Africa three million white men exercise dominion over nine million black men, obtaining prosperity at the expense of much bitterness and fear. In West Africa, particularly in Ghana and Nigeria, educated Africans are trying to find a democratic means of persuading their fellows to adopt Western ways. And in Algeria, in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and in the Rhodesian Federation white men are seeking to create multi-racial societies in which the white settlers will guide the native Africans to higher standards of living.

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South Africa

The states of the Union of South Africa cover an area four times that of the British Isles. Here one thinks nothing of travelling a hundred miles for an evening party and a car is regarded as a necessity. White settlers can enjoy a healthy open-air life, full of sunshine, and a degree of industrial prosperity high even by European standards. The countryside is almost treeless, with no real villages to link the isolated farmhouses because the majority of people live in bungalow towns on the coast or around the mining areas of Witwatersrand in the Transvaal. Half the world's gold is mined in the Transvaal, and the whole country is rich also from wool, diamonds and uranium. But South Africa's economy has come to depend upon the use of Bantu labour and this fact colours every political discussion.

Ever since the Boer War, when the Afrikaner republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were linked with the British coastal states, the white settlers have been divided in their political loyalties, largely according to their attitude towards the black men. The Afrikaner whites, who represent today about 65 per cent of the white population, soon came to the conclusion that of three possible solutions to the Bantu problem—integration, total segregation and separate development—only the last two were acceptable and their views have been gradually imposed upon the rest.

At first integration was briefly attempted. In 1910 General Botha as the first Union prime minister, with his lieutenant, General Smuts, tried to achieve a genuinely united South Africa, but within a few years Smuts saw more hope in partial segregation. For a time attempts were made to re-establish tribal reserves, beginning with an Act in 1913 which allotted more land to the Bantus, but little success attended these measures. The land was inadequate, often poor in quality and, in any case, over half the male population neglected the land to spend most of the year working in the mines, where high wages could be had. When these black workers in the towns seemed to threaten the living standards of the white labourers the Nationalist Party, organized by General

Hertzog, grew in strength. This party wished to secure preferential treatment for the Afrikaners.

From 1924 to 1933 Hertzog was in power, but despite the fact that Smuts joined his cabinet after the world economic crisis the policy adopted towards the African pleased no one. It was a mixture of educational advancement and a whittling away of Bantu voters from the electoral roll till they were represented only by a few Europeans, a policy symptomatic of the general inclination of white men to segregate the black man from the white without violence. During the war of 1939-45, when Smuts was again at the head of South African affairs, more liberal policies towards the African prevailed, but Smuts was too busy keeping the Union on the side of Britain to attempt any radical reform. The problem festered. In 1948 the Nationalists, under the much more extreme Dr Malan, regained power. Malan at once showed his anti-British feeling by declaring that it was the Union's ultimate ambition to become a republic and then inaugurated a full-blooded policy of racial separateness, called apartheid. Apartheid was not new, nor was it confined to South Africa. In Rhodesia Sir Godfrey Huggins had already expressed a similar view when he said, 'While there is yet time and space, the country should be divided into separate areas for black and white⁵. Significantly he had added, 'In the European area the black man will be welcomed as a labourer'. What was new was the vigour with which apartheid was enforced in South Africa.

Henceforth there were to be not only separate farms, separate Hving-quarters, separate toilets and separate buses for Africans, but also separate schools and separate churches. Only Africans were to teach Africans and no African was permitted to enter a white man's church. Furthermore, mixed marriages were declared unlawful, African trade unions were banned and every African was issued with an identity card, absence of which could lead to imprisonment. These 'pass laws' reduced the town African to the level of a slave, for they were not merely intended as a method of identifying the many Africans who cannot read or write, but were necessary in order to enforce a set of regulations affecting the employment and leisure of every African. In 1957 ^{over 1000} Africans a day were convicted of offences which were not offences

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when committed by a white man. Organized protests were many, and early in 1960 the shooting of seventy-four demonstrators at Sharpeville clearly revealed to the outside world the critical situation in South Africa.

Nearly all the wild elephants of South Africa are tucked away in the forty-four national parks. About half the Bantu are similarly confined to the native reserves, but at least a million now live nasty, brutish and often violent lives in shanty towns, such as Sophiatown near Johannesburg. Attempts to rehouse these people in small cube-shape houses laid out in geometrical patterns have not entirely succeeded. The African, seeking colour and a measure of independence, prefers a gramophone and a bottle of gin in a leaky corrugated iron shack of his own to a roofed and rented bungalow with a worthless vote and a legally signed pass in his pocket. Outbreaks of violence are all too common in these African townships.

Denied the mild leaders of the African National Congress, such as Chief Luthuli, honest men applaud extremist, and sometimes criminal, leaders; they admire the organization of black gangster hold-ups. Similarly the fears of even moderate-minded white men, excited by tales of robberies and murder, make desperate counter-remedies unavoidable. Yet it is difficult to see how apartheid, quite apart from its moral aspect, will work, for attracted by the relatively high wages of South African towns, more and more vigorous Bantu drift south, while liberal-minded South Africans move north into Rhodesia. It is a lesson of history that if one will not talk with moderate agitators, one has to fight extremists. Fear breeds violence.

West Africa

In contrast with their fellows in South Africa, black men in the coastal regions of Ghana and Nigeria have acquired a new dignity in recent years. Through long association with Europeans, the Negro traders of the west coast acquired wealth and education, which in the nineteenth century made them leaders among Africans; and more recently lawyers, doctors, teachers, shopkeepers, trade-union leaders, all have risen out of the prosperity of European trading ventures in West Africa. The climate did not allow white settlement, so Africans were encouraged through education to seek

better posts, first in trade and then in the government service. Soon they began to argue convincingly for self-government.

The Gold Coast politicians were especially active. In the years after 1945 the town mobs were readily stirred by their passionate oratory, and riots were held in check only by British co-operation with the People's Convention Party, led by Dr Nkrumah. Full independence was conceded to the Gold Coast in 1957 since when, under the old name of Ghana, it has chosen to remain within the Commonwealth, but as a republic. The pace of change appears rapid, for it was only as recently as 1900 that the British finally crushed the Ashanti tribesmen and annexed the northern territories of the Gold Coast. Today in Accra and Kumasi fine public buildings stand as symbols of a lively community of just under five million Ghanaians (1958). The principle of one man one vote has given Dr Nkrumah a parliamentary dictatorship, yet discussion is free and every effort is being made to establish friendly trade relations abroad. The Volta River hydro-electric scheme promises greater economic stability although over-hasty modernization plans could prove dangerous. Continued unity, now that anti-colonialism is out-moded, is essential, and if this leads to over-zealous police action, it must be admitted the temptation is great.

The political difficulties are even greater in Nigeria, where a state of thirty-two million people was granted self-government in 1960. In an area 500 miles by 400 miles—larger than France—there are many tribes, with the western Yorubas, the eastern Ibos and the northern Hausas dominating their neighbours. The modern buildings of Ibadan or Lagos in the Western region contrast vividly with the villages of the Northern territory, where thatched huts protected by rocks and cactus hedges nestle on hillsides. And such physical differences are accentuated by conflicting religious customs. The departure of British officials from Nigeria has led to a decrease in Christian mission schools and hospitals, and here, as in many parts of Africa, the Protestant brands of Christianity, so often regarded as 'white-man's religion', are on the decline. Islam has always been strong in the northern regions, but over six hundred mosques in Ibadan alone indicate the growing strength of Islam in this part of Africa.

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Social changes have been rapid in Nigeria, with the lorries penetrating into once remote regions and the schools and colleges promoting the ideals of Nigerian citizenship. Nevertheless, it comes as a great shock to Western-educated Africans of the towns when they realize that many of their countrymen still walk in fear of evil spirits and go naturally without clothing. Fortunately Nigeria has a record of great stability in its political leadership: since 1950 each of the three main regions have kept the same prime minister and one of these, Dr Azikiwe, became Governor-General in 1960. But there are as yet insufficient Nigerians of experience and education to deal adequately with the problems of this complicated area. Furthermore the large units of centralized states, so much desired by the national leaders, are much disliked by the villagers. Many local leaders want to break away from Nigeria, and if Africa generally is to avoid becoming a land of small warring states much will depend upon Nigeria's example. The unhappy divisions of the Congo Republic since 1960 both illustrate and emphasize the dangers. Nigeria's leaders, Dr Azikiwe, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Chief Awolowo and the Sardauna of Sokoto, have in this sense the fate of millions in their hands.

North, East and Central Africa

In North Africa, which is more truly Arab than African, most of the coastal territories have gained their independence since the war. Morocco, once divided between France and Spain, has since 1956 returned to the rule of its sultan. Libya, settled unsuccessfully by the Italians under Mussolini, became independent in 1951: there the concrete farmsteads, complete with identical barns, storeplaces and sets of furniture which Mussolini provided for his settlers, have largely been lost in the sand which was always the principal component of the Italian empire. The somewhat more fertile Sudan was given independence by Britain in 1956, and in 1956 also France conceded independence to Tunisia.

Only in Algeria has independence been denied; since 1958 self-government has been promised, but as long as large-scale terrorist actions continue the great number of French settlers will insist on the imposition of law and order. The discovery of important

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mineral wealth, and more dramatically of oilfields, in the southern territory of Algeria, beneath the Sahara desert, has made it difficult for France to withdraw completely from the area. The oil, discovered in 1956, is already being produced in sizeable quantities, the potential is great, and it is possible that Morocco and Tunisia may yet rejoin France in an effort to develop more of the Sahara region for their mutual economic benefit.

In eastern Africa, Ethiopia, which until Italy conquered it in 1936 was for long the only large sovereign native state in Africa, has profited from the improved communications left by the Italians, and has brought in European experts to instruct selected people in medicine, agriculture and engineering. Haile Selassie, the emperor restored by Allied arms, believes in material progress, but will not allow a parliament or a free press for his fifteen million subjects. Ethiopia is a large country, dominated by its modern-style capital Addis Ababa, where white houses dotted among the trees of a eucalyptus forest, 8000 feet above sea level, are visited by scavenging hyenas, whilst in the fields below leopards prey among the tribesmen's flocks of goats. Changes seem imminent in both internal and external affairs. Since 1950 Ethiopia has gained access to the sea by federation with Eritrea and some of its leaders have designs upon the Somaliland coast.

Rather different in their problems are the tribal lands farther south, where the presence of Indian and Arab racial groups, each more numerous than the British settlers, complicates the pattern of government. In Kenya the 30,000 white settlers represent less than one per cent of the total population, and until recently (1959) their exclusive occupation of the fertile highlands near Nairobi so embittered the Kikuyu tribesmen that Mau-Mau gangs were able to terrorize much of Kenya (1952-8). The Owen Falls Dam on the Victoria Nile, completed in 1954, and other economic factors, point to the need for co-operation between all the East African territories, but Uganda., from which white settlement has been barred, already enjoys a prosperous economy based on cotton and coffee, and some of its tribes fear the effects of a possible federation. The Baganda, the most advanced tribe of Uganda, for similar reasons, sought complete independence for themselves

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between 1953 and 1956 but were unsuccessful. They tried again in 1960.

Although Britain's declared policy is to groom Africans for 'paramount' rule, progress is too slow for African leaders, particularly those in Kenya. Much, however, is being done to train Africans to help themselves. Makerere University in Uganda, technical colleges and craft schools in Nairobi, and the establishment of many new industries based on hydro-electric power—such improvements reflect credit upon the Legislative Councils, where representatives of Europeans, Indians and Africans work in relative harmony.

In Central Africa, the substantial white settlement in Southern Rhodesia (one in twenty of the population) resulted in self-government being granted in 1923, subject only to a British veto over laws affecting adversely the status of Africans. Largely for economic reasons the two Rhodesias were linked with Nyasaland in a Central African Federation in 1954^a a union which is still much resented by the people of Nyasaland, who fear that this can only increase European control of their country. Whilst the Kariba Dam on the Zambesi, opened in 1960, seems to offer great economic possibilities for all the peoples of the federation, as long as only three Africans find a place in the Federal Assembly, Africans will believe that any move to gain greater independence from the overall control of the British government must result in lower standards for themselves. The ideals of the Colonial Office and the interests of the white settlers do not easily coincide.

Everywhere in Africa the most pressing need is for better land. 'Erosion is the biggest problem confronting the country, bigger than politics', said Smuts, and if white settlers continue to enjoy the best land, Africans will naturally complain and give cause for the educated nationalists to agitate for power. Many African leaders, of course, realize the difficulties that stand in the way of real progress and are prepared to accept foreign advice. The average African obtains in produce or wages the equivalent of about 10s. a week, therefore there are limits to self-help; improvements, if they are to come quickly, must stem from foreign capital and foreign equipment. Better communications, piped

water, and adequate educational facilities, each demand steady capital investment from abroad. It is estimated that investment at an annual rate of £2 from every person in Britain could transform the entire continent, and yet this would raise African standards of living only at half the rate of the post-war increase in Britain. In 1950 the various investments (totalling £16 million) provided perhaps a sixth of what was needed. Even so, the^c wind of change⁵, which has stirred Africans to new life, is threatening to become a whirlwind; only wise government and widely spread economic progress can make Africa safe for democracy and ensure that there is true tolerance of white, black and coloured men alike.

INDONESIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

Historically the lands of South-east Asia have been at once a thoroughfare for Western traders and an area of settlement for Indians and Chinese. Long before the Portuguese arrived upon the scene, Arab, Persian and Indian ships had plied among its harbours, transferring spices and other products towards Europe. Great dynasties had likewise existed in Sumatra and Java long before the Dutch established their trading base at Batavia, and for over three hundred years while the Dutch organized the prosperity of the maritime states, Chinese shopkeepers and labourers moved steadily into the area, assuming the proportions of an invasion under Dutch noses. The Chinese became the middlemen of South-east Asia, filling the cracks in Dutch business organizations and forming in their distinct communities a useful link between the foreign merchants and the native peasants. In their thousands they married local women, but trained their children in Chinese traditions and ways.

The Dutch throughout their stay in the East Indies showed little interest in the culture or the religions of the area, and the British similarly, when they began their trade with China, were slow to assume any responsibility for the welfare of native peoples. This is perhaps not surprising when one considers the distances between the principal centres of population. From Mandalay to Manila is a distance greater than that from London to Moscow;

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from Hanoi to Jakarta is as far as from Oslo to Cairo. Nevertheless Western traders succeeded in giving this vast region a spider's web of unity, and by various economic developments contributed to an astonishing rise in the population of the area.

British intervention in the East Indies became significant in the late eighteenth century when the Malacca Straits first became the "English Channel of the East³". Through it passed ships of the British East India Company on their way to fetch tea from Canton, while in the opposite direction sailed native vessels with cargoes of opium from Bengal. Within a few years of the seizure of Penang Island in 1786, Napoleon's defeat of Holland enabled the British to take Java, and this action of 1811 fired Stamford Raffles, then the Secretary in Panang, with an ambition to govern the whole area of the East Indies on behalf of Britain.

Raffles established a new base at Singapore for this purpose and encouraged Chinese and Indian immigrants to settle there. He wished to replace all local traditions by British laws and by fair and regular taxation; he further hoped to finance schemes for the reduction of poverty in the area. His brief rule (1811-16) certainly founded the fortunes of Singapore, but his dream did not materialize, for in 1824 an Anglo-Dutch Treaty restored the islands to the Dutch. However, the Malayan peninsula was allotted to British traders and the occupation of Rangoon in the same year, together with an agreement with Siam, did much to ensure the prosperity of future settlements in the area.

Soon the coming of the steamship, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, revolutionized the trade of South-east Asia; Arab and Chinese-owned steamers as well as European vessels now linked the outlying areas, and by encouraging rice production for export made possible a great growth of population. The building of railways further stimulated the 'rice-bowl' lands of Burma, Siam and Indo-China. Burma was annexed by Britain in 1886 and the route from Rangoon to Mandalay became a tradesmen's entrance into South-east China. Meanwhile Java and Sumatra, under Dutch rule, profited from plantations of sugar, rubber and such products as palm-oil and copra.

Towards the end of the century the racial disturbances produced

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by Chinese immigration gave an excuse for greater British intervention in the Malay peninsula, and within twenty years of the first treaty with the ruler of Perak in 1874 the British had established (1895) ^a Federation of Malay states (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) in which British enterprises could more easily flourish. Thus the open-cast tin mines of Malaya, which were mostly Chinese owned, had in 1870 an output no more than those of Cornwall, and yet by 1936 European deep-mining methods had more than doubled the tin output.

European capital investment was beginning to transform the working-life of the whole of South-east Asia. For instance, in the period 1900-14 British money helped the Dutch to double sugar production in Java and Sumatra; it also quadrupled the production of tea and palm-oil. But the most remarkable increase was the output of rubber. The first East India rubber had been planted as early as 1855, and there were small Malayan plantations after 1876, but until 1889 the total annual production was barely a ton. By 1914, however, some 15,000 tons, twice the amount of jungle rubber, came out of the new plantations, and by 1927 over 90 per cent of the world's rubber was produced in Malaya and Indonesia.

In the inter-war years the populations of these Asian countries were seen to be rising fast. The peninsula of Malaya where only 300,000 had lived in 1874, held over five million by 1939; Burma, Siam and the Philippines more than doubled their numbers in a similar period. The population of Java, which had already increased from 4 million in 1800 to 28 million in 1900, reached 48 million in 1940. Java became in consequence the most thickly populated agricultural area in the world.

About the same time education on the Western pattern began to affect peoples' lives. The most advanced in this field were the Filipinos, for American money and skill from 1898 onwards had so transformed the Philippine islands that the Filipinos not only learnt to manage industrial enterprises themselves but by 1935 were able to enjoy a large measure of self-government.

By contrast in Java and Sumatra the Dutch believed in doing their own planning. As a result the natives, although they shared in the general prosperity, had little or no share in the government.

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In Malaya, the British were equally cautious in their dealings with another mixed population. The native Malays were outnumbered by Indian and Chinese settlers and when the Indian traders and the Chinese shopkeepers claimed votes, the British sought to protect their own interests, and those of the Malays, from both of the grasping minorities.

Throughout Asia the rapid rise of Japan was observed; similarly the propaganda of the Chinese revolutionaries after 1911, and the Indian demands for *Swaraj* each found echoes among the peoples of the South-east. For a time, however, prosperity did much to reduce the protests. The majority of the peasants valued material things more than the vote. The villager who acquired a kerosene lamp, a bicycle or a sewing-machine was happy: later he even thought of schools as a kind of slot-machine which sold tickets of admission to better-paid jobs, rather than as a preparation for self-government. It was therefore some years before an effective nationalist movement arose in either Malaya or Indonesia. Nevertheless a communist revolt in Indonesia in 1926-7 made the Dutch wary of the most moderate nationalists: Soekarno, Hatta and Shahrir, imprisoned by them in 1934, were not released until 1942—and then only by the Japanese. Meanwhile in Indo-China a Russian-trained communist leader, Ho Chin Minh, was able to evade French officials and prepare the ground for 'liberation'⁵ either by Russia or Japan.

In December 1941 Japan struck. Speedily the self-appointed Asian 'deliverer' rid the nationalists of their Western enemies, and although some of the virtues of Western rule later shone through the dark cruelties of the Japanese, no nationalist group in the post-war years was prepared to accept Western rule in the old form.

The Philippines gained full independence in 1946. Burma was granted independence, shortly after India, in 1948 and the republic of Indonesia, proclaimed by Dr Soekarno in 1945 and recognized by the British military authorities, was eventually accepted by the Dutch government in 1949.

Only in Malaya and Indo-China was a settlement long delayed. In Malaya guerrilla forces led by Chinese communists harassed

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outlying areas for many years, and not till these gangs were reduced in number did Britain in 1957 grant full independence within the Commonwealth to a federated Malaya separate from Singapore. More tragically, in Indo-China the French waged a long and bitter struggle with the nationalists, and were quite unable to establish generally accepted local governments because of the presence of large rebel Viet Minh armies reinforced by Chinese communists. These demanded that their independent communist government should rule over Viet Nam also. In 1954 a cease-fire resulted in the end of French hopes and an uneasy division of the country into four independent states. Meanwhile independent Siam, having played with a democratic republic, returned in 1951 to a military dictatorship.

In none of these countries has independence brought an end to violence, for rival forces, chiefly communistic, threaten the existing governments. The racial balance, notably between Chinese and Malays in Malaya, also needs constant adjustment and everywhere economic problems seem to baffle leaders who in the past had only to cry 'freedom'⁵ for their supporters to cheer them, in the belief that freedom would mean more rice or a bicycle. Although few families have any housing problems, and for clothes a coloured sarong and a cotton singlet will usually suffice, the food supply is uncertain—four-fifths of the diet is rice and to expand food production or to develop industry foreign capital is required. This spells foreign domination to the most nationalists. However, American and Russian aid is not spurned, an extension of the British Commonwealth Colombo Plan to South-east Asia has been welcomed, and the various United Nations agencies are being increasingly used. More significantly, attempts are being made to persuade the Asian countries to pool their resources. The conference at Bandung in 1955, attended by India, China and twenty-seven other Asian and African governments, emphasized these hopes of co-operation.

Of all the countries of South-east Asia, Indonesia, despite no common language, seems most likely to prosper. The large islands of Java and Sumatra, together with most of Borneo, the Celebes, the Moluccas and the thousand lesser islands which make up this

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republic, stretch across the map to the extent of Europe. Yet upon the sound administration of the Dutch, President Hatta and Dr Soekarno have built well, and with clear leadership they have retained both unity and a measure of liberty for all the area. Under their 'guided democracy' the various separatist movements may be sufficiently checked to enable Java, with 53 millions of the 82 million Indonesians, to develop as the second Japan of the East.

LATIN AMERICA AND BRAZIL

Latin America is a continent of contrasts, covering an area two and a half times the size of Europe. Brazil alone is larger than the United States and Argentina is five times greater than France. The people of the twenty independent republics, totalling 190 millions, are spread unevenly along the coastal regions, with concentrations in southern Brazil and Argentina, in middle Chile and in the northern states of Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico. Between these centres there is no easy means of communication, other than by sea. The great mountain ranges and the huge Amazon basin are virtually uninhabited.

The people are a mixture of races at various stages of economic development. In Bolivia and Peru, for example, the mass of the people are Indian, whereas Argentina and Uruguay are almost exclusively white. Brazil is officially described as 63 per cent white, 21 per cent brown, 15 per cent black and 1 per cent yellow, although a long tradition of intermarriage and racial toleration has made it the true melting-pot of the American continent.

In the years following the declarations of independence from Spain and Portugal each of the republics tended to become dependent on one or two principal exports. Thus Chile provided nitrates and copper, Bolivia mined tin, Brazil and Colombia grew coffee, Mexico and Venezuela produced oil and Argentina exported grain and meat. There was little trade between the various states. All they had in common was an inflow of European immigrants and European money, and a lingering tradition of Spanish rule, for throughout Latin America, apart from Brazil, Spanish remained the common language and much of the old Spanish outlook

remained in the ownership of land and in the practise of the Roman Catholic religion.

Bolivar and the other liberators had hoped for a federation of states but they were disappointed, and Bolivar wrote in 1830: 'For us America is ungovernable. He who serves a revolution ploughs the sea.'⁵ Lack of experience caused frequent political upheavals and each republic suffered alternate periods of anarchy and tyranny. Bolivar's own creation of Colombia soon divided into three separate states and Mexico after 1838 split into five independent states. Paraguay's unhappy history included war with her southern neighbours between 1865 and 1870, and with Bolivia in 1932-5. Few escaped the rule of the strong-man, *caudillismo*, and everywhere the poor man suffered. The peon stood hat in hand as the caballero rode by.

Neither Britain nor the United States, who had each earned some gratitude for their assistance at the time of liberation from Spain, were much interested in anything but raw materials from the new states. It was their trade, however, which really began the internal development of South America. Funds were easily raised in Britain during the nineteenth century for South American ventures and by 1876 the total investments had reached £80 million; they then rose much more rapidly to nearly £1000 million by 1913. There was some further investment after the war, but since the difficult days of the 'thirties the total remaining invested has dwindled to less than a quarter of the 1913 figure. However, American investors have taken over to such an extent that since 1950 new investment alone, from public and private sources, has totalled over 10,000 million dollars (£2500 million), that is to 1957-

With this high-tide of investment there came a great number of immigrants; Portuguese, Spaniards, Germans and Italians, in particular, swarmed into Brazil, to Uruguay, to Argentina and to Chile. The population grew rapidly. Argentina, for example, with only 2 million people in 1862 has nearly 20 millions today (1958). Brazil in much the same period grew from 4 millions to nearly 60 millions.

The prosperity of the foreign merchants and the ever-increasing

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concentration of wealth in the hands of a few landowners soon provoked strong local demands for the redistribution of land and for a share in the government. In this, Mexicans gave a lead. First Benito Juarez, by his tenacious struggle against the French forces of Napoleon III (in the years 1861-7), helped to revitalize a country which had already lost half its territory to the United States. Then Porfirio Diaz, in the period 1876-1911, modernized Mexico with roads, railways, ports and telegraph lines. Unfortunately little was done for the peasant during his efficient rule: 70 per cent of the people remained illiterate and of those who tilled the land 95 per cent owned none of it. It was left to Francisco Madero to begin in 1910 a social revolution. The reforming zeal lasted for thirty years, during which time free elections were secured and poverty was diminished; under President Cardenas (1924-40) a large-scale redistribution of land took place, public expenditure on education and agriculture was much increased, and in 1938 the expropriation of the foreign-owned oilfields was hailed as a great Mexican victory. Mexico's example inspired other republics, notably Uruguay, Colombia and Costa Rica, to similar peaceful transformations, and after the seizure of power by Dr Vargas in 1930 Brazil too was developed for the declared benefit of the native Brazilians. But the most completely transformed Latin-American state was Argentina. There foreign influences over a number of decades did much to groom Argentinians for the economic leadership of the continent.

The very rapid economic development of Argentina seems to have followed the victory in the 1880's of Buenos Aires and its provinces over the provinces of the interior, where the great Argentine hero of independence, General San Martin (1778-1850) had set a pattern for colourful leaders. For long the gauchos—the wild horsemen of the pampas—had continued to show their admiration for such men, supporting among others the ruthless dictator Rosas, who ruled Argentina from 1835 to 1852. But slowly the introduction to the pampas of quieter breeds of animal, the British shorthorn (from 1827) and the Aberdeen Angus, followed by the construction of railways with British capital, helped to tame the gauchos for new occupations. Within a few

years of Buenos Aires becoming the national capital (1880) the use of the refrigerator-ship and the tin-can made possible huge deliveries of meat to Europe, and the pampas, fenced with wire, grew increasingly large quantities of maize and wheat for export. Until 1937 at least, Argentina produced three-quarters of the world's exports of maize and a quarter of the world's exports of wheat, as well as providing the major portion of Britain's meat requirements.

In this process of change the country filled with Italian and German immigrants, until quite a third of the population was of Italian stock. This, in turn, prompted a movement towards economic self-sufficiency, anti-British and anti-American in tone, a mood which during the Second World War flared into a fierce nationalism. In 1943 General Peron seized power in Argentina, and as president from 1946 to 1955 he succeeded in gaining popular support for his dictatorship by high-sounding attacks on all foreign powers, by extravagant promises of higher wages and by a measure of social security for the * shirtless' ones. This appeal to the under-dog was not entirely new—since 1920 Haya de la Torre had campaigned in Peru for the Indians and the half-breed mestizos—but Peron's glamorous personality and the zeal of his wife, Eva, caught the imagination of the masses and succeeded in distracting attention from the secret police and the strict press-censorship.

Peron, however, failed to 'deliver the goods'. By 1952 grain exports had dropped, from nearly 60 per cent of the total exports pre-war to less than 10 per cent, and in his efforts to raise the price of meat many in Argentina went meatless. Finally his attacks on the Catholic Church lost him support, and army leaders in the provinces (under General Lonardi) encircled Buenos Aires with a host of malcontents. In 1955 Peron fled. His attempt to make Argentina the leader of Latin America appears to have failed, for although Buenos Aires is still the richest city in South America, two of its newspapers, *La Nacion* and *La Prensa*, ranking among the world's greatest, and although some 80 per cent of Argentinians are able to read and write, other states are looking increasingly towards Brazil for their guidance.

Brazil was originally Portuguese. Its earliest prosperity was founded on sugar (1500-1700) and then for a century or so it

Lands of the Future

depended upon rather haphazard gold- and diamond-mining. During the years 1850-1950, however, it found new wealth in coffee plantations, and by 1934 there were nearly 3000 million coffee trees in Brazil. Today, profits from coffee are dwindling. In their place Brazil is developing its mineral resources at a tremendous pace, assisted by American capital. A mixed population of German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants fill the two great cities of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Modern skyscrapers tower above the older buildings and new hydro-electric schemes give offices and streets an American glitter. A great effort is being made to spread the population away from the sea through the construction of a new capital city at Brasilia, 600 miles inland. Railways and air transport are making Brazilians of all classes highly mobile. Many a jungle-dweller, who would still flee in terror from a motor-car, enters an aircraft with perfect composure, and air services are generally so frequent that no one needs to reserve seats.

All over Latin America every government seems in a hurry to build in the latest architectural style. Magnificent new flats rise out of the hillsides to match the white skyscraper offices. New roads and railways, in some cases climbing to 16,000 feet above sea level, increasingly link the main centres of population. Among them, for examples, the railway from Bogota to the sea in Colombia, the Corumba to Santa Cruz line in Bolivia, or the road up to Caracas are engineering marvels of the first order.

The past is still visible in parts of Latin America, in Lima and in Mexico City for example, or in the religious processions when ancient statues are carried out into the blazing sunlight / but members of the younger generation of Latin Americans are impatient for novelty. To them the skyscraper, the plate-glass window, the aspirin, and the popcorn machine represent the wonders of civilization; and among the factors making for Latin-American unity in the present age are the making of music and the universal language of football.

THE PROBLEMS OF ONE WORLD

During the course of four centuries (1500-1900) men of European origin virtually conquered the world. By their political organization, assisted by their superior technical skills, they succeeded in linking a multitude of peoples into larger units of government against which single nations and tribes could no longer stand. With compass and theodolite they mapped the world; with microscope and drugs they found ways of increasing the health and number of the world's populations; by steam and electric power they revolutionized the world's communications.

The very success of their efforts created problems for their descendants. Today the weapons which once so terrorized the overseas peoples threaten to recoil upon their inventors. Equipped with European techniques the superior numbers of non-Europeans are already beginning to dictate new terms of behaviour., and in the future it is likely that a very different pattern of power will emerge. For the present, however, many of the great decisions for the world's future rest with the older industrial powers, of Europe, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Only by their wisdom and co-operation can present problems be solved. Today, as never before, none can escape the problems, the hopes or the decisions of others. Thus atomic energy, released as an explosive force, could easily destroy the cities upon which modern civilization depends, thereby affecting regions over many parts of the globe; alternatively, atomic energy₃ released in the form of electrical power, could bring the standard of living of the underprivileged countries up to European and North American standards. We are truly all members of one world.

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COMMUNICATIONS

Four hundred years ago Magellan's sailors took three years to encompass the globe. In 1942 an American presidential candidate, Wendell Wilkie, was flown round the world in 36 hours. His phrase, 'One World', seemed justified by his experience of global travel. The revolution in communications was begun by the ocean-sailing vessels of the sixteenth century, but it was the application of steam-power which first accelerated the speed of the revolution. The Liverpool-to-Manchester railway of 1830 soon had its pioneering counterpart in practically every major country of the world. By 1900 a network of railway lines served the more advanced states, increasing the ease and comfort of travel overland. Steamships similarly transformed ocean travel. The *Great Western*, one of four paddle-steamers to cross the Atlantic in 1838, took fifteen days. A hundred years later in 1938 the *Queen Elizabeth*, a vessel sixty times as large, crossed the Atlantic in less than four days.

Even more revolutionary in their effects were the applications of electricity. The telegraph, invented in 1837, drew together distant cities with swift messages: by 1902 even Australia was linked in this fashion with England by ocean cable. The telephone, invented in 1876, likewise transformed business life, and Marconi's transmission of wireless signals across the Atlantic in 1901 opened the way for a truly spectacular advance in tele-communications, with broadcasting as an important sideline.

Electricity also made possible the development of the petrol-engine. The first motor-car, a Daimler, appeared in 1884. Soon other models, mass-produced by Ford, Austin, Morris and others, reached all parts of the world. By 1930 when the speed limit of 20 m.p.h. was abolished in Great Britain there were over a million cars in Great Britain alone, a number increasing to nearly three million by 1939, and nearly nine million in 1960.

The development of the aeroplane was even more dramatic. From 1903, when the Wright brothers flew a powered heavier-than-air machine for nearly a minute, progress was rapid. Bleriot flew the Channel in 1909, and in 1919 Alcock and Brown crossed the Atlantic in a flight which lasted seventy-two hours. By 1939,

Communications

thanks to the pioneering efforts of individual record-breakers, a number of regular passenger and air-mail routes spanned the capital cities of the world, with speeds comfortably past the 200 m.p.h. mark. By 1945 the introduction of jet-propelled aircraft made speeds of 600 m.p.h. common. In 1955 a flight from London to New York and back was made in just over fourteen hours, and in the same year an airliner reached Sydney from London in just over twenty-four hours.

Perhaps even more significant than such records, however, was the use of radar and other devices which nowadays enable ships and aircraft alike to find their way through darkness and fog. As a result the average journey is not only far safer, it can also be accurately time-tabled, making for regular and frequent travel.

GOVERNMENT

Such improvements in communications have already made meetings of the world's statesmen and officials a commonplace. Messages may be passed half-way across the world in a matter of minutes by telegraph, telephone or wireless transmission. Already television conversations are possible over several hundred miles, and the barriers of language are rapidly by-passed by modern translating methods. Photographs and tape-recordings can transfer scenes and speeches across the world with equal facility, so that newspapers in London can give details of, say, a flood in India, within a few hours, and radio news can be literally up to the minute.

Such rapid exchange of information makes the work of government far easier over large areas. World government is fast becoming a technical possibility and in this light the United Nations Organization may be viewed as a serious attempt to act as a governing body. The general framework of this organization was approved by the great powers during the war. Its Charter was signed in 1945 by fifty-one states and within ten years there were over seventy-six member-states taking part in U.N. discussions. The United Nations aim 'to maintain international peace and security'³ and 'to achieve international co-operation in the treatment of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian questions'. To achieve this,

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delegates from every member-state meet in the General Assembly, while delegates from eleven special states form a full-time Security Council.

The Assembly meets normally once a year, but it may be summoned for particular purposes; it may make recommendations to the Security Council, it controls the finances of the organization and approves the appointment of the Secretary-General. The Security Council has five permanent member-states, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R.,⁵ Great Britain, France and Kuomintang China; the other six are elected by members of the Assembly for two years.

Although more widely supported than the old League of Nations there are two major obstacles to effective action by the United Nations. One is the requirement that all the members of the Security Council must agree on important issues, and the other is that no delegate in either the Council or the Assembly is ever likely to vote against the interests of his own country in favour of the general interest. Since 1945 the ^euse of the veto by Russia in the Security Council (except for the brief period of her withdrawal from the Council) has checkmated many moves of the majority. The veto was also used by Britain and France in 1956. And on several occasions when unpopular matters have been debated in the Assembly national delegates have walked out in protest. Thus discussions of French actions in Algeria, of the apartheid policy in South Africa and of Russian intervention in Hungary have been wrecked by the refusal of the defendants to plead their case. While the belief persists that such discussions are beyond the powers of the United Nations, as are the affairs of Wales, or South Carolina, or Uzbekistan, the United Nations can never be the world government which some people desire.

However, thanks to substantial, although quite inadequate, grants of money from its member-states, the United Nations through its specialized agencies is effective in changing the world. Prominent among these agencies is the World Health Organization, which through its supplies of medicine, vaccines, blood transfusions and medical advice is attempting to relieve diseases, such as leprosy, which affect millions throughout the world.

It remains to be seen whether the United Nations can develop

Government

enough of these supra-national links to compel its member-states to follow its directions. Some experience of forming a U.N. armed force was gained in Korea in 1950, in the Suez Canal zone in 1956 and again in the Congo in 1960, but the failure of U.N. attempts to command the mineral resources of the world, such as uranium, show how incomplete is its power. At present the United Nations might deter an unprovoked attack by Finland on Russia, but not of Russia upon Finland. Over-mighty states, like the medieval barons of old, cling stubbornly to their freedom of action.

FOOD AND POPULATION

The population of the world is growing at an alarming rate. In 1760 there were perhaps 700 million people in the world. By 1960 the number had quadrupled to over 2800 million. Prophets in the field of population trends have been apt to go astray. Even so the statistical evidence collected by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations suggests that this figure will be doubled within fifty years. The present increase amounts to seventy million a year, over 120 a minute—one extra mouth as fast as one can count. As a Director of the Food and Agriculture Organization has said, 'Any night as we go to bed, we may ask ourselves what we can find for breakfast for the 50,000 extra who will be with us in the morning'.

Such facts raise questions not only of food supply but also of political power, for over half the present population of the world live in Asia, and another third live in Africa and Latin America, areas where the people are already undernourished by North American or European standards. They would appear to have first claim on any increase in food production. Such increase is by no means certain. Although only 10 per cent of the world's land surface is cultivated at present, the yearly loss of cultivated land through soil erosion and extra building is almost as great as the exploitation of new land. Unfortunately the unused land of today requires a much greater effort to develop it than the unused land in the past, for much is swamp or semi-desert, tropical forest or tundra, and there is very little left of the once-vast reserves of readily fertile lands.

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So far the work of the United Nations in its World Health Organization and U.N.I.C.E.K. has outweighed the work of U.N.E.S.C.O. and F.A.O. (Food and Agriculture). Possibly in the long run the combined medical and educational onslaught on malaria, cholera, tuberculosis, smallpox and the like will produce healthier individuals more able to solve their own problems. Initially, however, the problems are likely to loom larger than the solutions.

At present the general effect of the increasing world population seems to indicate a further shift of political power towards the lands overseas, to China, to Africa, to Latin America and to South-east Asia. A rising population usually means a vigorous, if not an aggressive, people, and the food requirements of these countries may be reflected in higher food prices in the older industrial countries. In any event present trends in population growth can only be ignored by the existing great powers at their peril.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

The nation-state arose when the cost of warfare proved too great for private individuals. Today the cost of industrial organization and the development of nuclear energy, whether for war or peace, is proving increasingly beyond the resources of small states. Moreover the * second industrial revolution' based on electrical power, relies upon a constant supply of carefully trained men. These factors alone would tend to promote greater co-operation among nations; but it has also been realized that the misuse of nuclear energy could be disastrous. In a few seconds nuclear energy, released in a handful of bombs, could destroy our cities, initiate new mass diseases, and so contaminate water and vegetation as to ruin for centuries our carefully balanced civilization. Nuclear power may also threaten the whole world through the effects of unguarded radiation. It could, however, produce such reservoirs of power for industrial uses as will bind the world together in a new political union.

The nuclear age of history was born on 2 December 1943. 'On that day Enrico Fermi, an Italian-born scientist working in

Chicago for the American government, made the first nuclear furnace to give out heat. The actual site was a disused squash-court, and the energy generated insufficient at first even to light a single electric lamp. But Fermi succeeded in showing that, with his uranium-graphite reactor, he could release nuclear energy, he could control it and he could stop it⁵ (Appleton). Within two years this was the force, released from amounts of uranium and plutonium each little bigger than a cricket ball, which destroyed the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. By 1958 the first nuclear plant for industrial purposes, established at Calder Hall in England, was controlling well over a million times the power.

While the military and medical problems threatened by atomic warfare exercise the minds of statesmen and others, scientists and engineers are concentrating on how to find cheaper and more convenient methods of utilizing nuclear energy. Already it is predicted that British nuclear reactors will by 1966 produce via steam as much electricity as coal now does, and thereafter become a cheaper source of energy than coal. Similar developments in other advanced industrial countries will rapidly supplement existing supplies of energy, and still greater expansion is confidently forecast.

Nuclear energy is released by^c changes in the extremely minute atomic nuclei—the central core of atoms—which are less than a millionth of a millionth of an inch in diameter⁵. This is done when the nuclei of heavy atoms, such as uranium, are split up by fission into two fragments, or when light atoms, such as hydrogen, are fused together to form helium. In either case the energy released is tremendous. Thus a few pounds of plutonium can produce the explosive effect of 20,000 tons of T.N.T. and a ton of uranium can produce the heat equivalent to the burning of three million tons of coal.

The world's reserves of uranium, like those of coal and oil, are limited, but the development of heat from nuclear fusion, which depends less upon natural resources and more upon trained minds and financial backing, will mean that accidents of geography such as mineral deposits or oilfields will count for less in the future, while technological knowledge will count for more. The rise of the 'meritocracy' of brains and ability will no doubt be worldwide.

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Future industrial strength would seem to lie with areas where scientific knowledge is greatest.

But wisdom is needed too. The machines of the first industrial revolution, being largely machines to replace or multiply muscle-power, threatened only a few people if they broke down. The machines of the second industrial revolution, which not only multiply muscle-power a hundredfold but also attempt to exercise brain-control once their operators have decided upon and set their requirements, have a further danger in that they rest upon the skill of fewer people. The specialized knowledge required to keep control of these and other discoveries, such as chemical drugs, places a very heavy weight upon the whole scientific house-of-cards. Our civilization rests upon specialized knowledge as a man balances on stilts.

There is, therefore, a need not only for more and more specialist scientists and technicians but for 'generalists' also, men who can study the interrelations of things and handle people with sympathy and skill. Otherwise the speed and complexity of modern organization may outrun or outwit its operators. We must educate, or we shall fall; we must also co-operate, or we shall perish.

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APPENDIX

*Tables I-IO and Figs. 1-6 illustrating
the developments described in the text.*

Appendix

TABLE I

	Western	European	Eastern
1450		1453 Printed Bible	1453 Turks at Constantinople
	"1492 Columbus in America		1498 Da Gama in India
1500	1519 Cortez in Mexico	1517 Luther's protest	1505 d. Ivan the Great 1509 Sea battle of Diu 1519 Magellan's voyage
	1544 Potosi silver	1543 d. Copernicus	
1550	"1562 Slave trade begins		1556-1605 Akbar's reign
	-	1588 Spanish Armada	1581 Conquest of Siberia begins
1600	1607 Virginia colony 1620 New England colony	1608 First telescope	1600 East India Company 1613 Romanov dynasty
	V	1642 d. Galileo	1641 Malacca (Dutch) 1644 Manchus in China
1650		1652 Air pump 1662 Royal Society	1652 Dutch Cape colony
	[1682 St Louis founded	1688 English Revolution	1689-1725 Peter the Great
1700	1718 New Orleans founded	1704 Steam pump 1715 d. Louis XIV 1727 d. Newton 1736 Chronometer	1725 Behring Straits
	L		
1750	1759 Quebec taken 1776 Declaration of Amer. Ind. [1787 Federal Constitution	1763 Treaty of Paris 1775 Watt's steam engines 1789 French Revolution	1757 Battle of Plassey 1770 Cook in Australia 1788 Botany Bay colony 1796 d. Catherine the Great
p o o	Each calibration of the vertical scale represents 10 years		

Appendix

TABLE 2

Western	European	Eastern and African
1783 America independent		
1787 Federal Constitution	1789 French Revolution	1788 Botany Bay colony
	1799 Napoleon*	
1803 Louisiana purchase	1805 Battle of Trafalgar	•
		1812 Moscow campaign
1813 Spanish colonies revolt	1815 Congress of Vienna	1819 Singapore founded
1823 Monroe doctrine	1825 First railway	
		1836 Great Trek begins
1839 Durham Report	1838 Atlantic steamships	1840 Treaty of Waitangi
1841 Oregon Trail open		
1845 Texas annexed	1848 Revolutions	1848 Dalhousie in India
1848 California gold	1852-61 Cavour	1854 Japan open to trade
	1856 Crimean War ends	1857 Indian mutiny
1858 Fraser gold	1862-90 Bismarck	1861 Emancipation of Serfs
1861-65 Civil War		
1867 Dominion of Canada	1871 German Empire	1869 Suez Canal open
	1878 Congress of Berlin	1873 d. Livingstone
1876 First telephone	1884 Conference of Berlin	
1885 C.P.R. complete	1890 Fall of Bismarck	1885 Gold in Transvaal
*		
1898 Spanish-American War	1901 Atlantic wireless	1899-1902 Boer War
1903 First aeroplane	•	1904-05 Russo-Japanese War
•	1914-18 First World War	1911 Chinese Revolution
1915 Ford car (Model T)	1919 Treaty of Versailles	•
1917 U.S.A. enter War		1917 Russian Revolutions
		1924 d. Lenin
1929 Great Slump begins	1929 d. Stresemann	1928 Chiang Kai-shek*
1933 Roosevelt President	1953 Hider*	1931 Japanese in Manchuria
	11939-45 Second World War_____	1936 Soviet Constitution

Scale: Each dot in the spaces between events represents 5 years

* Assumed power.

d. Died.

Appendix

TABLE 3. *Some recent world events*

In the West		In the East
	1930	
Financial crisis	1931	Japanese invade Manchuria
	1932	Second Russian Five Year Plan
Roosevelt; Hitler (Jan.)	1933	
	1934	Chinese communists 'Long March'
Invasion of Abyssinia	1935	Philippine self-government granted
Rhineland reoccupied	1936	Soviet constitution
Spanish Civil War (1936-9)	1937	Japanese invade China
Austria taken; Munich	1938	
Czechoslovakia; Poland	1939	
Norway; Holland; France	1940	
Lend-Lease Bill	1941	Russia invaded (June); Pearl Harbor (Dec.)
Stalingrad; Alamein	1942	Singapore fell; Midway Island captured
North Africa; Italy	1943	
Normandy landings	1944	Leyte Gulf
German surrender	1945	Atom bomb; Japanese surrender
	1946	
Marshall Aid	1947	Partition of India
State of Israel	1948	d. Gandhi; d. Jinnah
N.A.T.O.; Adenauer	1949	Chinese communists in power
	X950	Korean War
Festival of Britain	1951	
E.C.S. Community	1952	First Indian General Election
Eisenhower in office	1953	d. Stalin
Nasser in power	1954	Khrushchev in power
Fallof Peron	1955	Bandung Afro-Asian Conference
Hungarian revolt; Suez	1956	Simplified Chinese alphabet
Ghana independent	1957	Russian space-rocket
De Gaulle president	1958	Chinese communes
	1959	
Brasilia built	1960	Nigeria; Congo independent
	1961	Gagarin space flight

Appendix

TABLE 4. *Some trends in population*

(All figures very approximate in millions)

	Year			Percentage of total population (1950)	Percentage annual rate of increase
	1800 906	1900 1608	1950 2400		
Estimated world total population ...					
Continents*					
Europe without U.S.S.R.	187	401	539	22	0.7
North America	6	81	165	7	2.1
Central and South America	19	63	163	7	3.2
Africa	90	120	198	8	1.3
Asia including U.S.S.R.	602	937	1322	55	0.8
Oceania	2	6	13	1	2.3

	Year				
	1600	1700	1800	1900	1950
Individual countries					
France	16	19	29	(1875) 36	42
Germany	—	(20)	(25)	(1910) 65	(66)
Great Britain	6	7	11	37	47
Italy	(13)	(11)	(20)	—	48
Russian empire ^f	—	8*	36	(1913) 159	200
Spain	8	6	—	—	28
United States	—	—	5	76	150

() = country divided.

* Adapted from Table quoted by Stamp, *The Changing World*, p. 1005.

Annual rate of increase calculated over period 1900-50.

^f Varying areas.

^{\$} Muscovy only.

TABLE 5. *Some estimates of national income per head
in 1949 (in dollars)*

Australia	680	Japan	100
Canada	1230	United Kingdom	770
China	30	United States	1450
India	60	U.S.S.R.	310

Source: *United Nations Yearbook*. Figures for comparison only.

Appendix

TABLE 6. *Populations of various countries today {in millions)*

Europe	Eastern Germany	18	Spain	29
(1954 estimate)	France	44	United Kingdom	5i
	Italy	48	Western Germany	52
	Netherlands	11	Yugoslavia	17
	Poland	27		
America	Argentina	20	Colombia	13
(1958 estimate)	Brazil	60	Mexico	30
	Canada	17	The United States	170*
Asia	Burma	19	Pakistan	82
(1955 estimate)	China	582f	PhiHppines	22
	India	382	Thailand	20
	Indonesia	82*	U.S.S.R.	203§
	Japan	89		
Middle East	Egypt	23	Turkey	23
	Persia	21	Total Arabs	about 80
Africa	The Congo Republic	13	Nigeria	35
	Ethiopia	16	Union of South Africa	14
	Ghana	5	Kenya	6
Others	Algeria	9	Australia	10

Note: All figures approximate.

* In 19503 150 m. of which 15 m. were Negro and 10 m. foreign-born white.

f Also 12 m. overseas and 8 m. in Formosa.

i Of which 50 m. live in Java.

§ Of which about 45 m. live beyond the Urals; and 114 m. are Russians.

|| Of which 20 per cent are white.

TABLE 7. *Some presidents of the United States*

The first date given is the year of election; each of the presidents Hsted below was elected for two terms of office, or more.

Washington*	1788-96	Cleveland	1884-8 and 1892-6
Jefferson	1800-8	T. Roosevelt	1900-8
Monroe	1816-24	Wilson	1912-20
Jackson	1828-36	F. D. Roosevelt^:	1932-45
Lincolnf	1860-5	Truman§	1945-52
Grant	1868-76	Eisenhower	1952-60

* First president.

f Assassinated in office.

i Died in office.

§ Succeeded as vice-president.

Appendix

TABLE 8. *Important rulers (excluding presidents of the U.S.A.)
with dates of effective power*

Louis XIV (France)	1641-1715	Napoleon	1799-1815
Frederick II (Prussia)	1740-86	Louis Napoleon	1851-70
Peter the Great (Russia)	1689-1725	Mohammed Ali (Egypt)	1805-48
Catherine II (Russia)	1762-96	f Metternich (Austria)	1805-48
Alexander II (Russia)	1855-81	t Cavour (Piedmont)	1852-61
William II (Germany)	1888-1918	f Bismarck (Prussia)	1862-90
Victor Emmanuel II (Italy)	1861-78	f Witte (Russia)	1892-1903 and 1905-6
Louis Philippe (France)	1830-48	Mussolini	1922-43
*Wellesley (India)	1798-1805	Kemal Ataturk	1923-36
*Dalhousie (India)	1848-56	Stalin	1924(i928)-53
*Cromer (Egypt)	1883-1903	Chiang Kai-shek	1928-49
*Gallieni (Madagascar)	1896-1905	Hitler	1933-45
*Lyautey (Morocco)	1912-25	f Adenauer	from 1949
Rosas (Argentina)	1835-52	t Nehru (India)	from 1947
f Kruger (Transvaal)	1883-1900	Khrushchev	from 1954
Vargas (Brazil)	1930-46	Nasser (Egypt)	from 1954
Peron (Argentina)	1943-55		
* Appointed officials.		t Appointed ministers,	

TABLE 9. *Some recent groupings*

(1) The COMMONWEALTH countries, full members, with the date of achieving Dominion status:

The United Kingdom	Pakistan, 1947
Canada, 1867	Ceylon, 1948
Australia, 1901	Ghana, 1957
New Zealand, 1907	Malaya, 1957
The Union of South Africa, 1910-61	Nigeria, i960
India, 1947	Sierra Leone, 1961

(2) The UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, with the date of each republic's creation:

Russia, 1917	Tadjik, 1929
Byelo-Russia, 1923	Kazakh, 1936
Ukraine, 1923	Kirghiz, 1936
Transcaucasia, 1923 (since 1936 divided into Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan)	Lithuania, 1940
	Latvia, 1940
	Estonia, 1940
Turkmen, 1929	Moldavia, 1940

(Since 1956 the Karelo-Finland republic has become part of the Russian S.S.R.)

(3) The ARAB LEAGUE (members with date of admission):

Egypt, 1945	Yemen, 1945
Saudi-Arabia, 1945	Libya, 1953
Lebanon, 1945	Sudan, 1956
Syria, 1945	Morocco, 1958
Jordan, 1945	Tunisia, 1958

Appendix

TABLE IO. *Some recent changes in status of colonial territories*

Colony	Colonial power	Date of independence	Colony	Colonial power	Date of independence
Algeria	French ^f	1842	>	Morocco	French and 1956
Burma	British ^f	1886	1948		Spanish 1912
Cambodia	French ^{};}	1864	1954	Nigeria	British ^{};} 1914
Congo	Belgian [^]	1908	i960	Northern	British ⁱ 1889
Congo	French [^]	1888	i960	Rhodesia	
Ceylon	British ^f	1815	1947	Nyasaland	British [^] : 1891
Cyprus	British ^f	1914	i960	Pakistan	British
Egypt	British ⁱ	1914	1936	Philippines	American [^] 1898
Ghana	British [^] :	1874	1957	Senegal	French [^] 1815
India	British ^f	1947		Sierra Leone	British 1787
Indonesia	Duter ⁴	1949		Somali	British and i960
Jamaica	British	1655	1957*		Italian [^] 1891
Kenya	British [^] :	1888	}	Southern	British [^] : 1889
Laos	French ^{];}	1893	1954	Rhodesia	
Libya	Italian ^f	1912	1951	Sudan	British ^{);} 1899
Madagascar	French [^]	1890	i960	Tunisia	French [^] 1881
(Malagasey)				Vietnam	French [^] 1893
Malaya	British [^]	1874	1957	West Indies	British

* Federation, not yet fully independent.

f Protectorate.

\$ Annexation.

Mandated or Trust Territories

Cameroons	British 1918 till i960
Iraq	British 1918 till 1927
Lebanon	French 1918 till 1941
New Guinea	Australian 1918 till ?
Palestine (Israel)	British 1918 till 1948
South West Africa	Union of South Africa 1918 till ?
Syria	French 1918 till 1941
Tanganyika	British 1918 till ?
Togoland	British 1918 till 1957

Some other European Colonies

Angola	Portuguese
Basutoland	British
Bechuanaland	British
Borneo	British
Guiana	British
Mozambique	Portuguese
New Guinea (Western)	Dutch
Puerto Rico	American
Swaziland	British
Uganda	British

The French Community 1958

Member-states in 1958 and fully independent since i960:

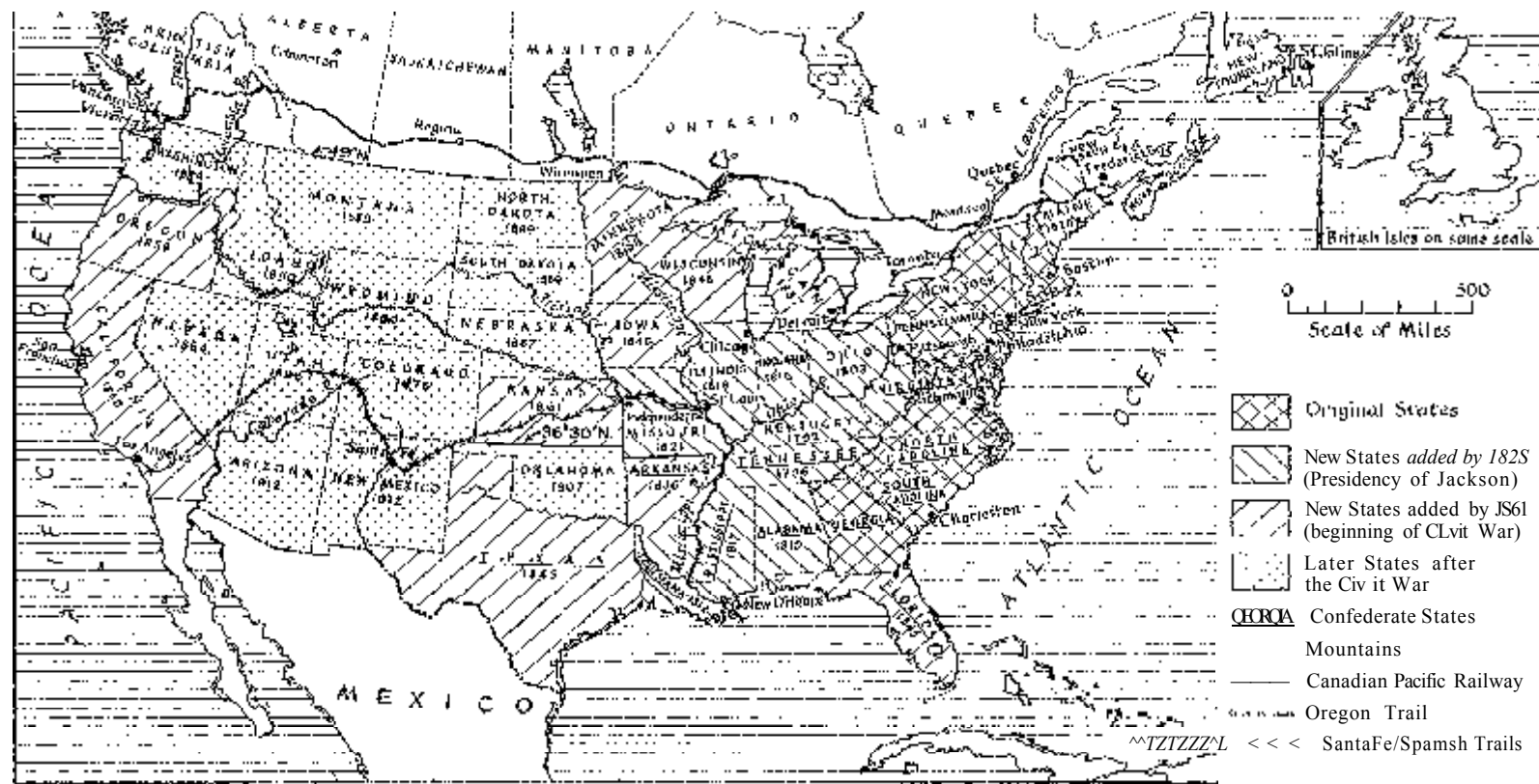
Mali (French Sudan)	Upper Volta*	Congo (French)!
Dahomey*	Niger*	Gabon
Senegal	Chadf	Malagasey
The Ivory Coast*	Central Africaf	Mauritania

* Entente.

f Union.

Note. French Guinea became the fully independent state of Guinea in 1958 and is not a member of the French Community.

KJJ



- i. Vermont 2. New Hampshire 3. Massachusetts 4. Rhode Island 5. Connecticut
6. New Jersey 7. Delaware 8. Maryland.

Fig. i. Expansion of the United States and Canada.

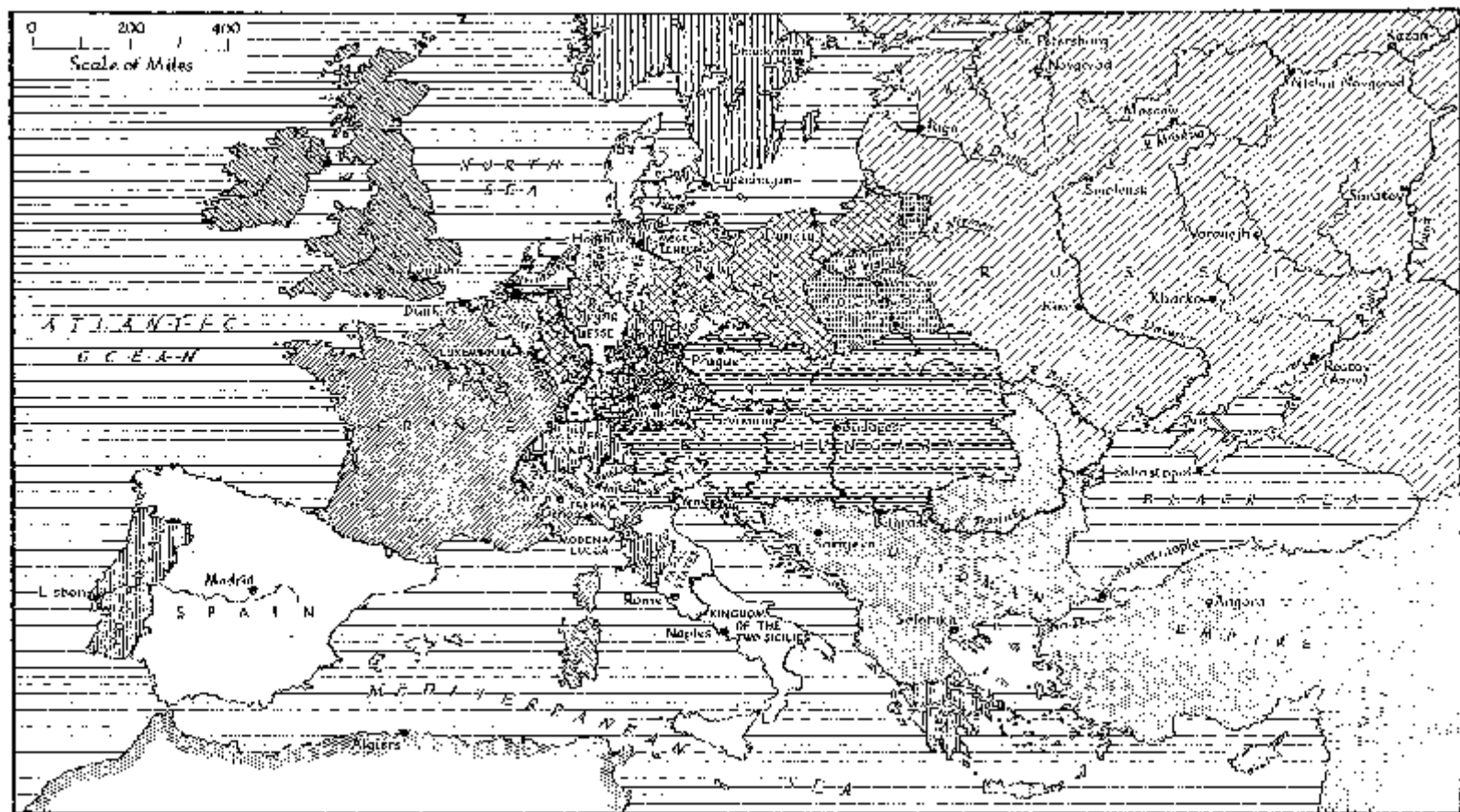


Fig. 2. European political divisions (1848),

is)

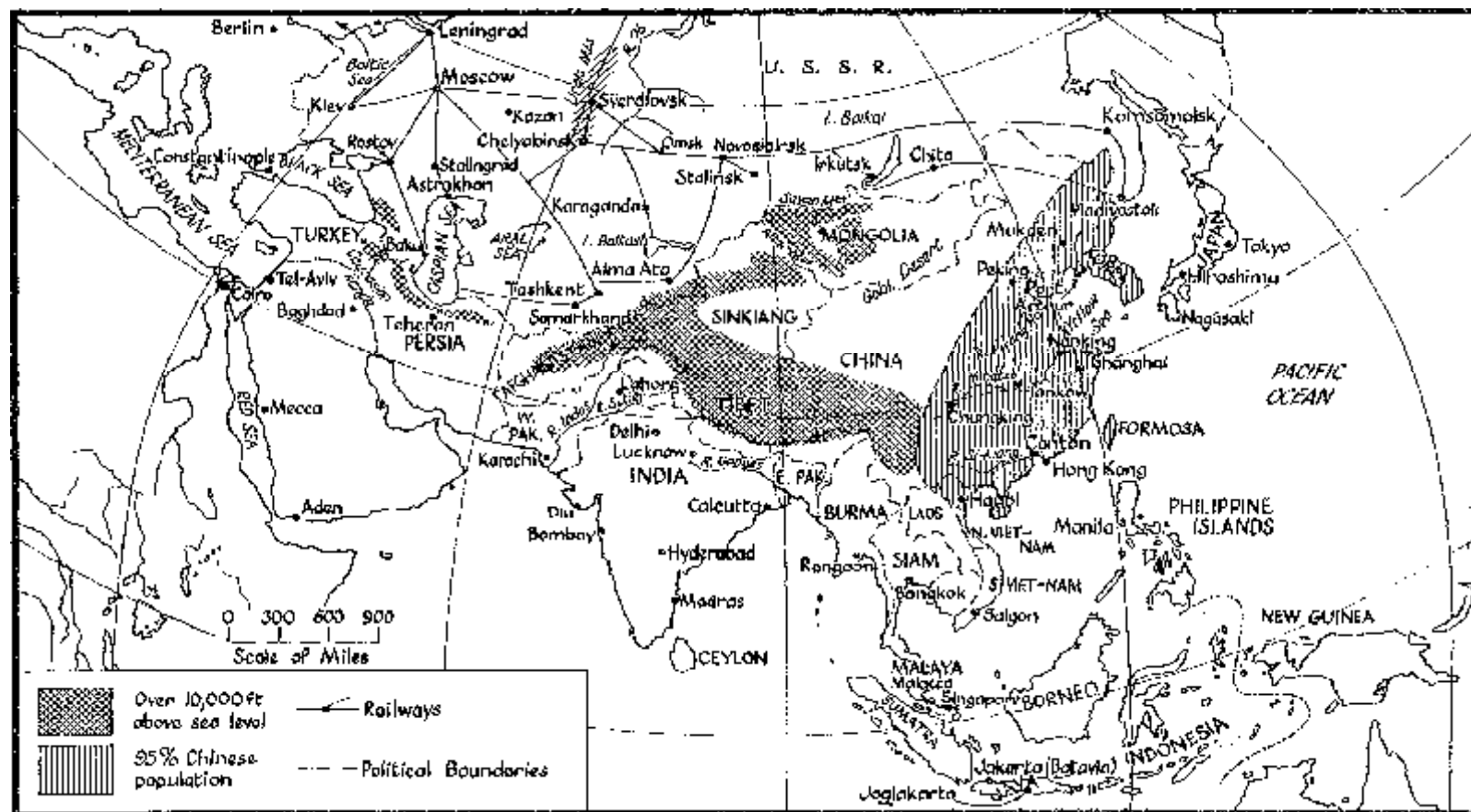


Fig. 3. Principal cities of Asia (and the U.S.S.R.).

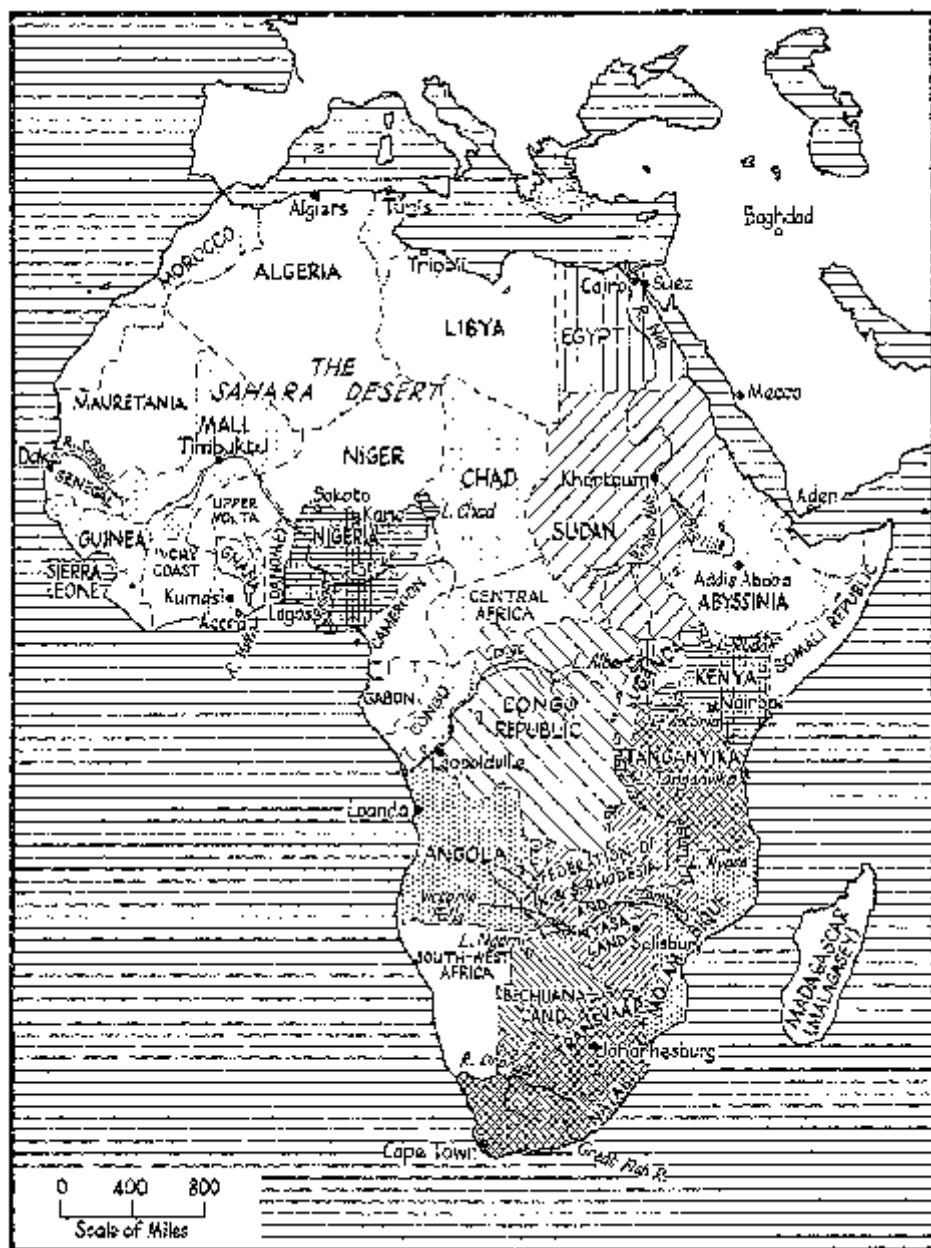


Fig. 4. The main divisions of Africa in December 1960.

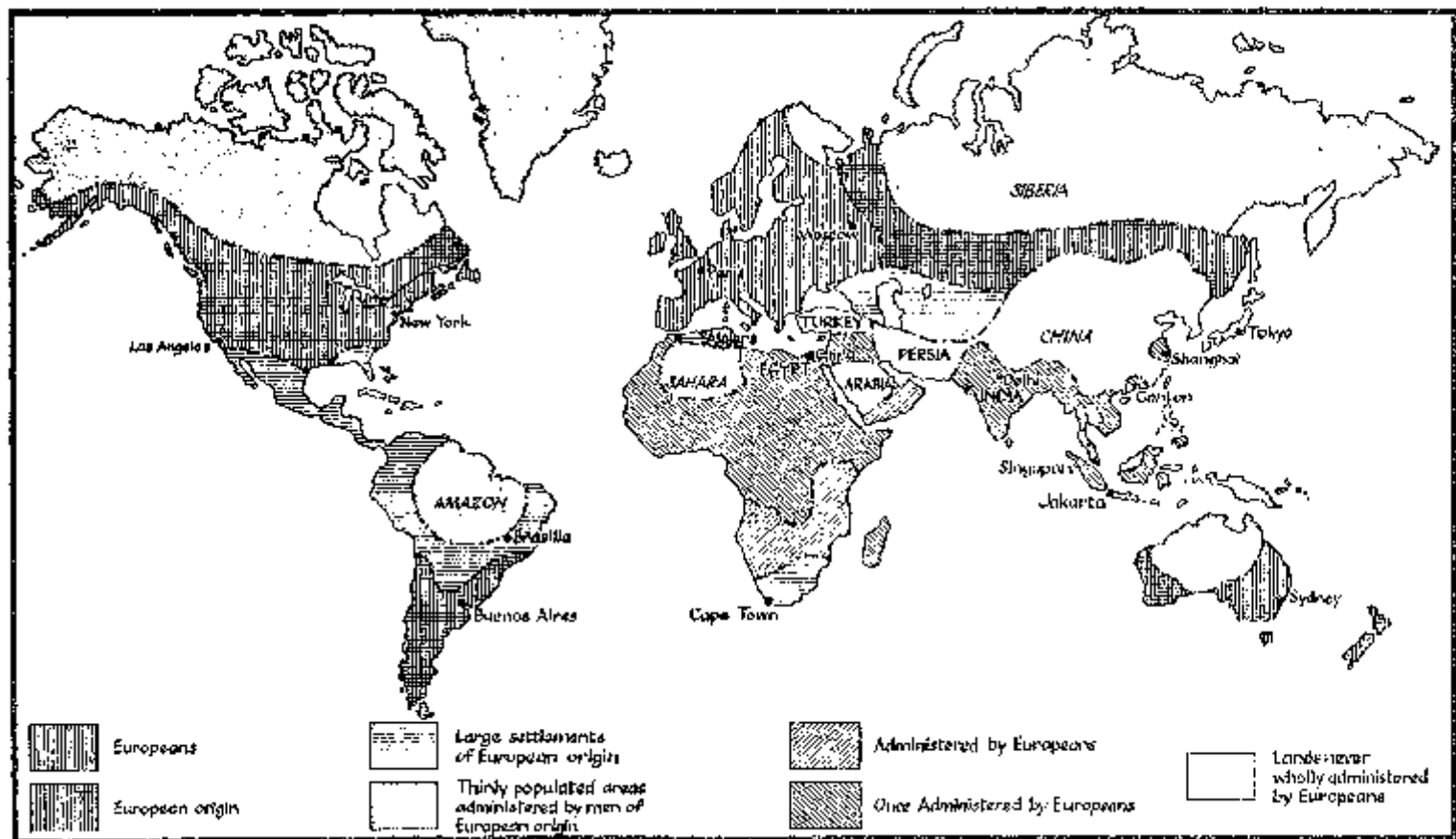


Fig. 5. European influence and settlement in the world (1500-1960).

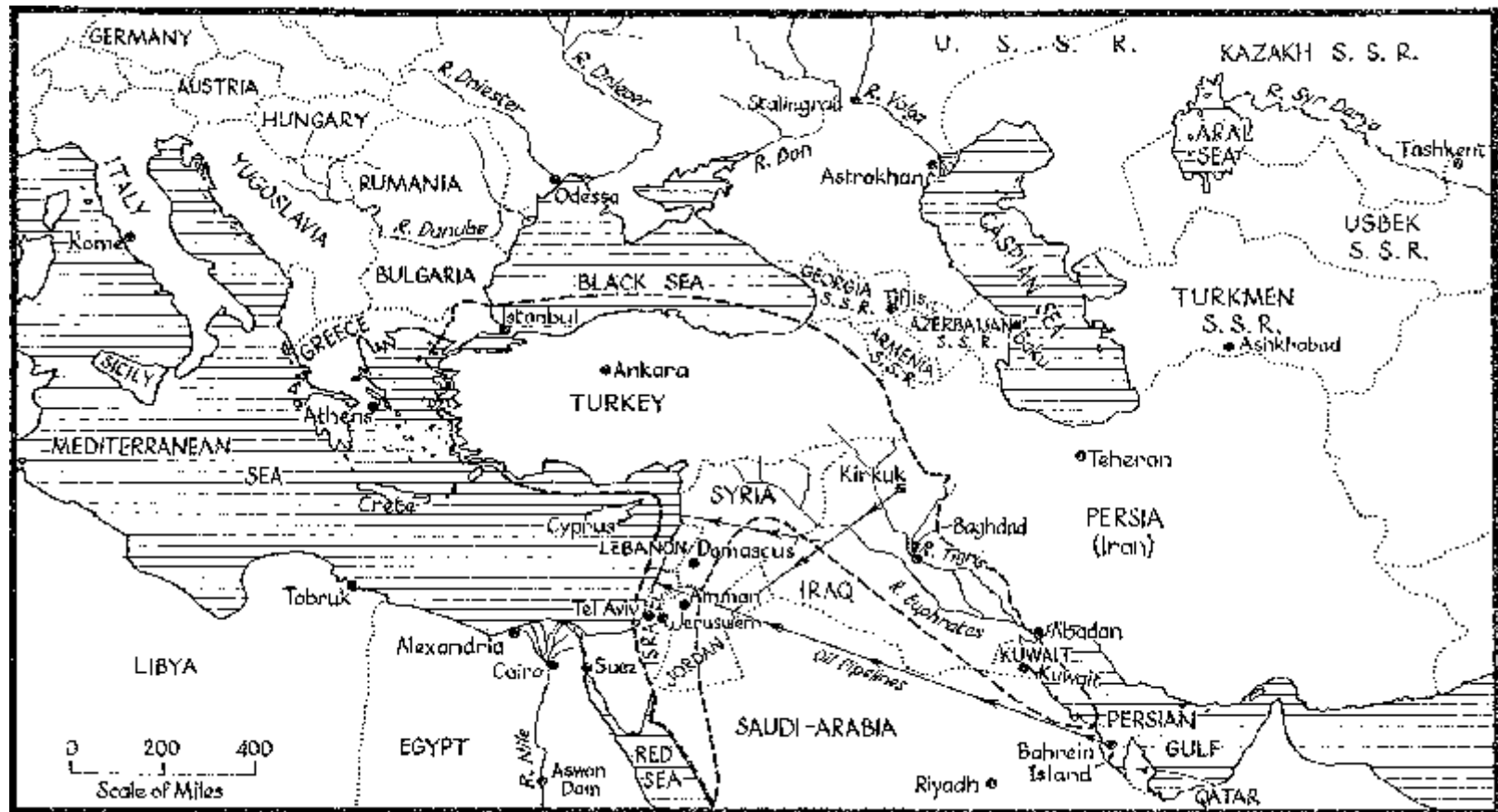


Fig. 6. South-west Asia (the 'Middle East').

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