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*LIFE AND PROGRESS
HISTORIES: BOOK VI*

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY
1815-1939

THE FASHODA CRISIS



QUIT!—PRO QUO?

J. B. "GO AWAY! GO AWAY!!"

FRENCH ORGAN GRINDER. "EH? WHAT YOU GIVE ME IF I GO?"

J. B. "I'LL GIVE YOU SOMETHING IF YOU DON'T!!"

(Reproduced by permission of the Proprietors from "Punch", October 22, 1898.)

LIFE AND PROGRESS HISTORIES: BOOK VI

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY 1815—1939

BY

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FORMERLY SENIOR HISTORY MASTER, ALLEYN'S SCHOOL

*With 15 illustrations, 19 maps and
10 charts and tables*

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MODERN EUROPE, 1914-1939

BRITISH HISTORY, 1485-1815

BRITISH HISTORY, 1688-1936

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PREFACE

IN the previous books of this series an attempt has been made to show how the social, economic and scientific structure of modern Britain has come into existence. Throughout the series the history of this country has been related to the great movements beyond its shores, for some knowledge of the history of Europe is necessary to the understanding of our own history at any period; but, owing to closer contact and the urgency of common problems as we near the present day, there is need for a fuller treatment of European history than can be given when the primary concern is with British affairs. This volume is designed to meet that need.

In addition to the account of international relations and the domestic history of the larger states, separate chapters on Mid-Century Europe, the Scientific Age, the Expansion of Europe, and the League of Nations deal with more general economic and political issues, and the period 1914 to 1939 receives much more attention than is usual. These subjects have special value in that training for citizenship to which attention is frequently directed, and it has been found possible to give adequate space to them by the elimination of unimportant military and diplomatic detail. The volume, however, contains all the material necessary for the first school certificate examination, and the concluding chapters will be found useful for reading and discussion when that examination is over, for "current affairs" work, and for preparation for such public examinations as include general knowledge papers.¹ Particular attention has been given to the numerous maps, which will supplement the historical atlas and illustrate the main subjects dealt with in the text.

The Authors have been helped in their choice of extracts from contemporary documents by H. Butterfield's *Select Documents of European History* (1715-1920) while King-Hall's *Our Own Times* has provided some statistics and many helpful suggestions, for the final chapters. Our thanks are due to Messrs. Stanley Gibbons, Ltd., for their valuable help in preparing the pages of postage stamps for use as illustrations.

D.G.P.

R.M.S.P.

¹ The last seven chapters are available separately, under the title, *Modern Europe: 1914-1939*.

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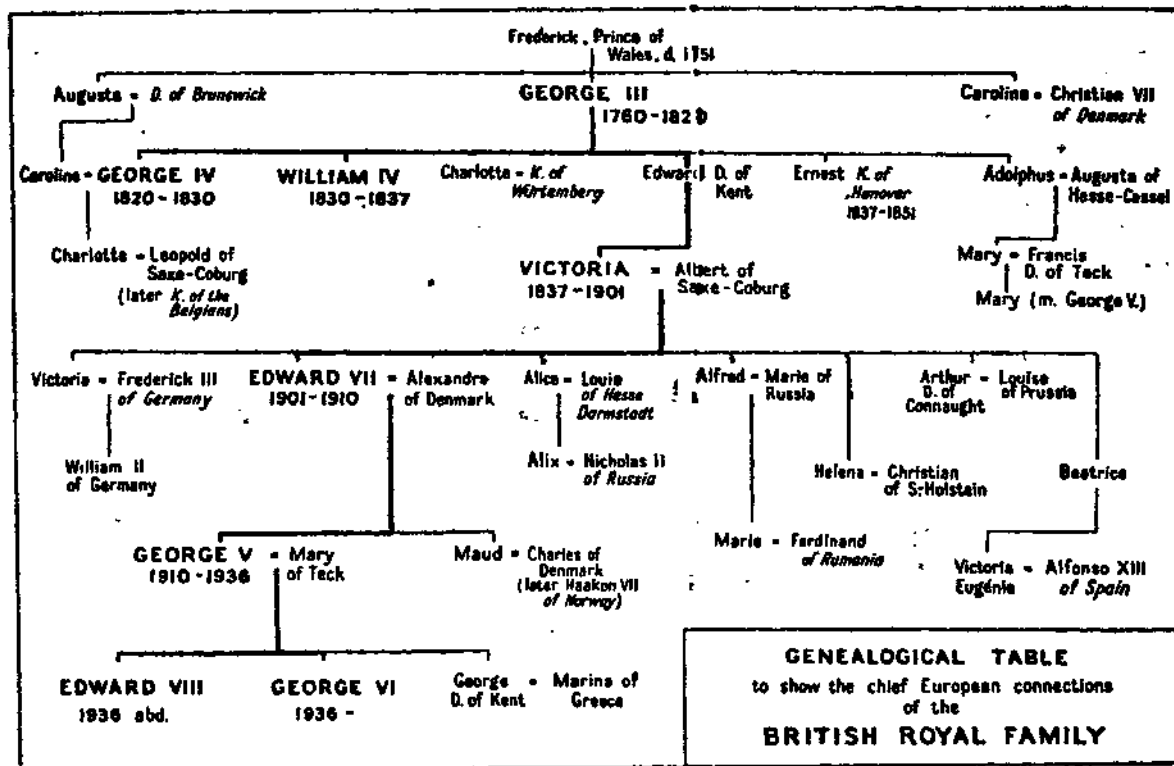
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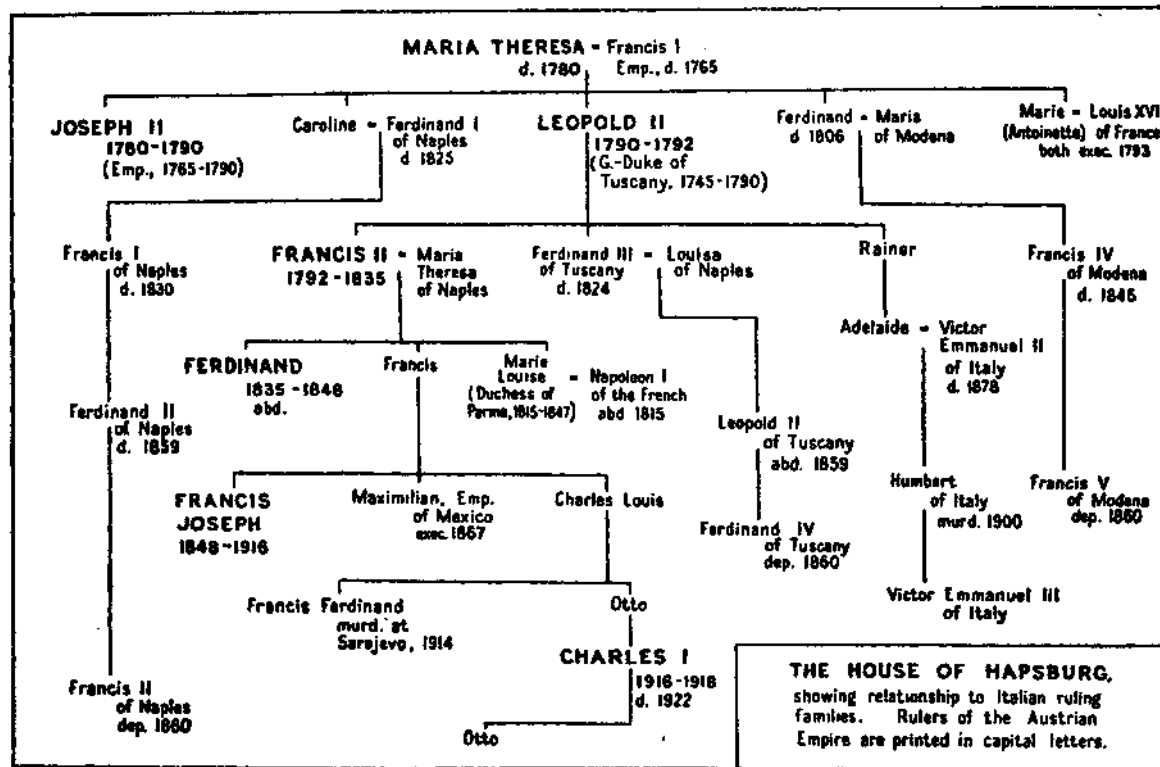
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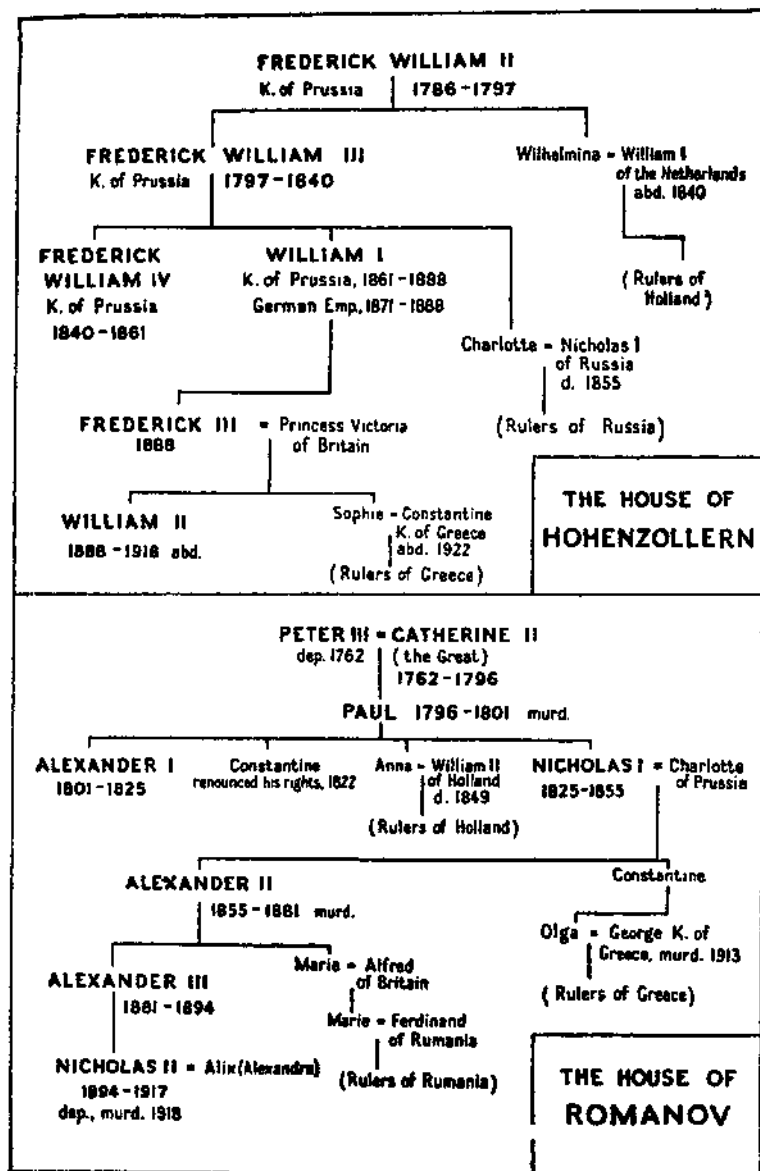
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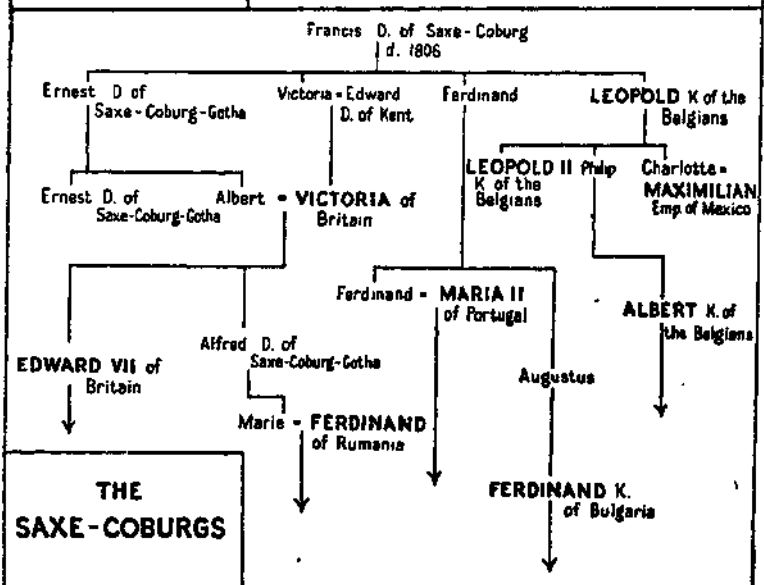
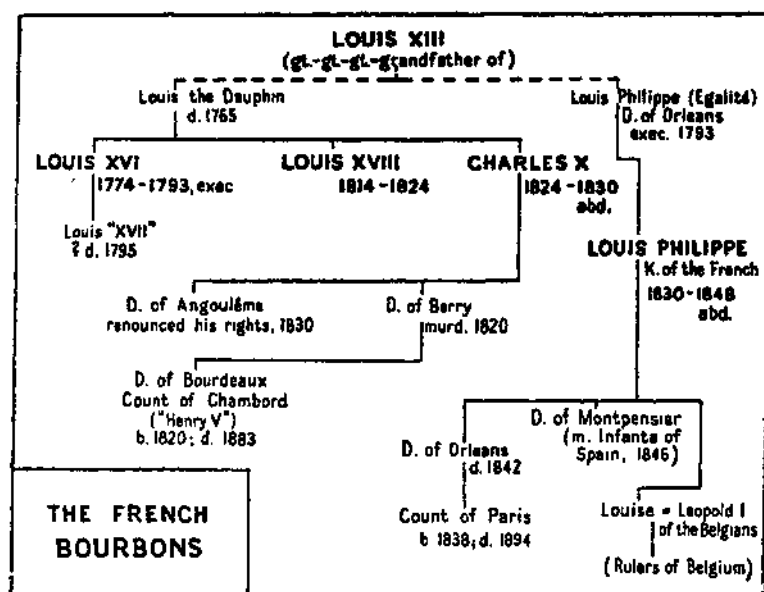
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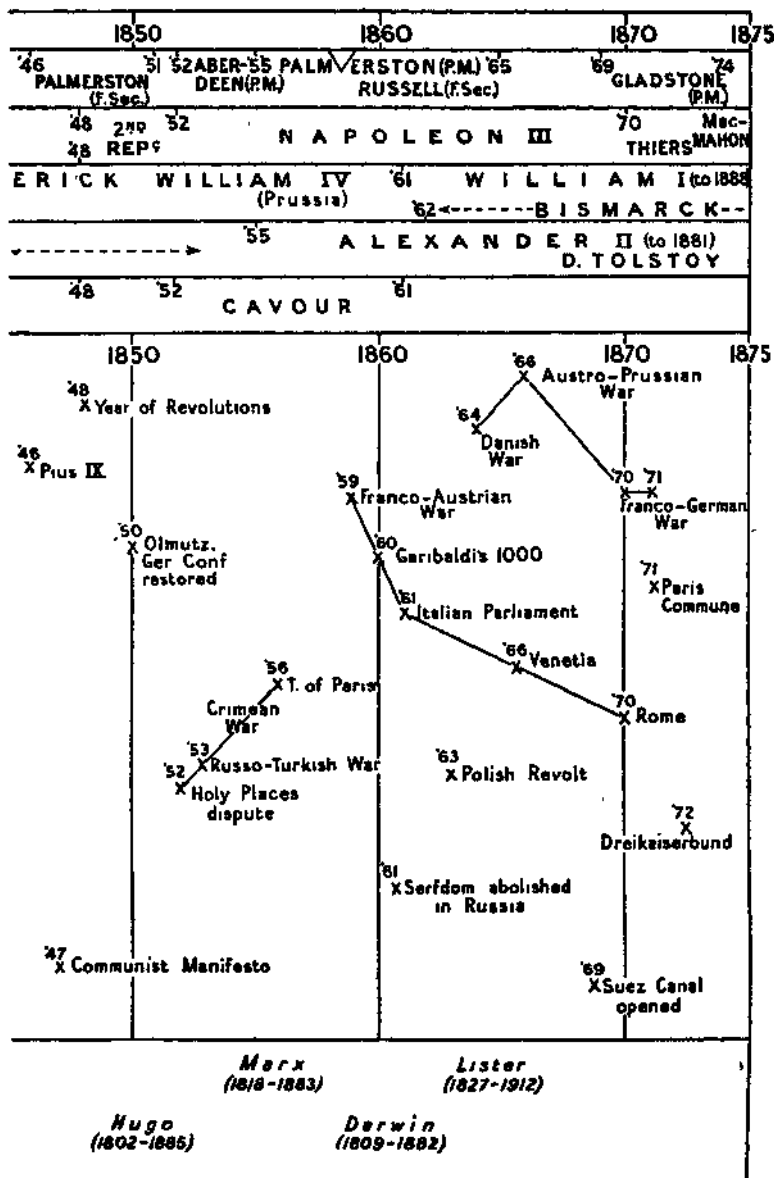




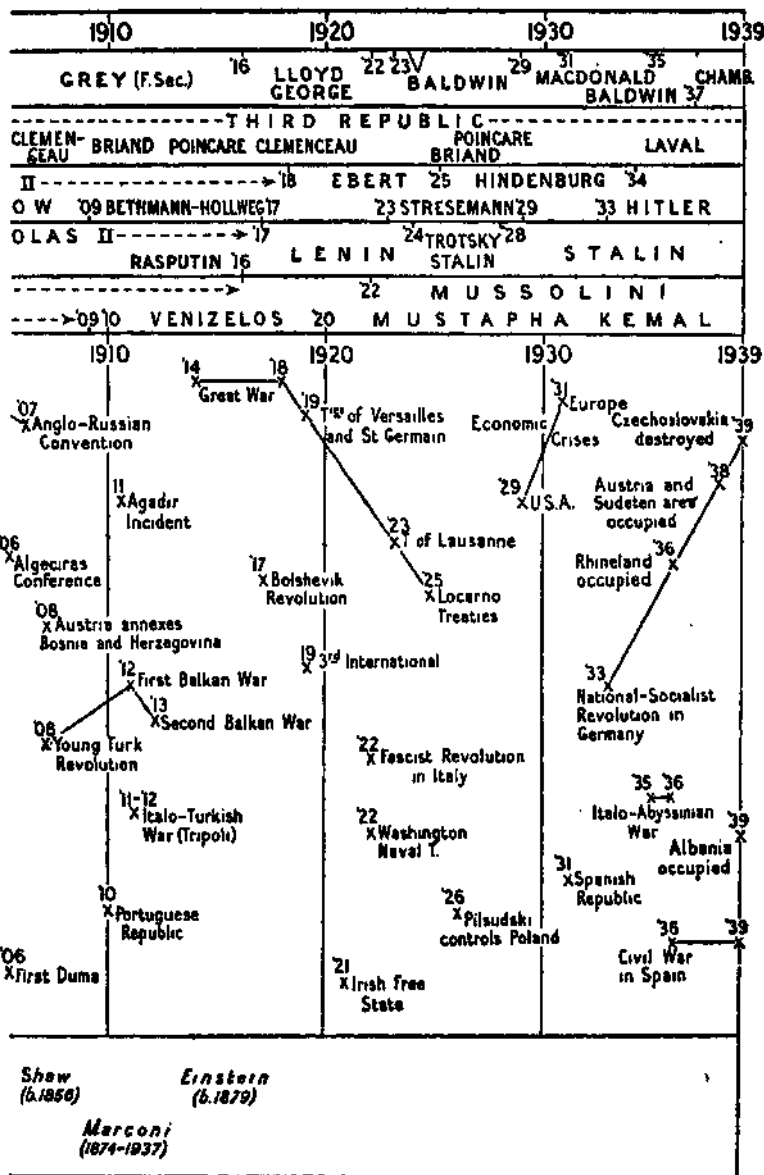




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CHAPTER I

THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1815.—On June 9, 1815, the representatives of Austria, France, Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia and Sweden, signed the Treaty of Vienna, which reconstituted Europe after the upheavals that followed the French Revolution. Nine days later Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo. June, 1815, therefore marks the beginning of a new period in the history of Europe.

Napoleon's military genius had given France a position in Europe without parallel in modern times, but in April, 1814, the armies of a strong coalition had forced him to abdicate. The Bourbon Louis XVIII. was restored to France, Napoleon was given the little island of Elba, and by the First Treaty of Paris (May, 1814) the French boundaries were to be roughly those of 1792.¹ To remake the map of Europe, whose frontiers had been obliterated by French conquests, the Congress of Vienna had met in September, 1814.

All the belligerents, including France, were represented; but from the first a small committee made the important decisions. This was composed of Metternich, the very able foreign minister of Francis I. of Austria; Castlereagh of Britain; Alexander I. of Russia; and Hardenberg, who represented Frederick William III. of Prussia and generally followed Alexander's lead. During a round of gaiety and military parades, slow progress was made in the bargains of the great powers, and on one issue the Congress nearly broke down. An arrangement between Russia and Prussia would have handed all Poland to the former, Prussia being compensated for her former Polish territory by the acquisi-

¹ In March, 1815, Napoleon returned from Elba for his brief Hundred Days. After Waterloo, France lost some territory in Savoy and on her north-eastern frontier, suffered a war indemnity of 700 million francs, and had to support an army of occupation until payment was made (Second Treaty of Paris: November, 1815).

tion of Saxony, whose ruler had supported Napoleon too loyally. Metternich, fearing this increase of Prussian territory on the Austrian border, opposed the bargain and was supported by Britain and France in a secret military alliance. Russia and Prussia therefore gave way and a compromise was accepted. By taking advantage of these differences Talleyrand, representing Louis XVIII., secured admission to the inner circle of the Congress (January, 1815).

THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT.—Suspicion of France is obvious in the settlement. The Belgian provinces (French since 1793) were added to Holland to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands, as a strong barrier against France. Luxembourg, which had great strategic importance, was given to the King of the Netherlands as a Grand Duchy, with a permanent Prussian garrison. This formed an outpost of the new Prussian provinces, composed of the small Rhineland states and cities that had been absorbed by Napoleon. South of the mountainous Alsace frontier, Switzerland was neutralised under the guarantee of the allies and France, and the Italian territory of the King of Sardinia was strengthened by the addition of Genoa, formerly a republic. Here Austrian provinces made a second line of defence, for Lombardy was restored to Austria, and the former republic of Venice became the Austrian province of Venetia. Indeed, the influence of Austria was supreme in the peninsula. Hapsburg princes ruled Tuscany and Modena, and Ferdinand IV. of Naples and Sicily (later called the Two Sicilies) was the widower of a Hapsburg princess and completely subservient to Austria. The duchy of Parma was handed over to Napoleon's Austrian wife, Marie Louise,¹ and Pius VII. recovered the Papal States.

In Germany, too, Austria was paramount. The Holy Roman Empire was not revived, but its place was taken by a loose German Confederation of thirty-four sovereign states and four free cities, with an assembly (the Diet) over which the Austrian representative was always to preside. Prussia, the only other German state of considerable strength, gained much territory at Vienna, Though she recovered less than her original share of

¹ The Duke of Parma was removed to Lucca, a little state in the same neighbourhood that had previously been a republic. On the death of Marie Louise in 1847, Parma reverted to the ducal family, and Lucca was added to Tuscany.

the ancient Polish Kingdom, she gained the Rhenish provinces, Swedish Pomerania, and about two-fifths of Saxony.¹ But her territories were scattered, and she could not yet dispute the primacy of Austria. The greater part of Poland was to be given autonomy under the Czar as king; he also received Finland from Sweden, and some increase of territory in the Near East. Sweden received Norway, the price of her intervention in the war; and Denmark was shabbily compensated for the loss of Norway by the little territory of Lauenburg, on the borders of Holstein.

Agreements on two subjects of general importance were annexed to the Treaty of Vienna. It was laid down that there should be freedom of navigation and uniformity of customs duties on international rivers, and Castlereagh obtained a general declaration condemning the slave trade. The abolition of the trade had already been the subject of an agreement between Britain and France.

Britain was not directly concerned in this bargaining. By the First Treaty of Paris and subsequent agreements she received in Europe, Malta, Heligoland and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands; of the captured Dutch and French colonies she retained the Gape of Good Hope and Demerara (British Guiana), St. Lucia and Tobago, Mauritius and the Seychelles Islands. These were of great value as naval strategic points.

The period 1815-1871 saw alterations in the boundaries and internal organisation of many European states, and it is therefore said that the statesmen of 1815 should not have disregarded, as they did, the principles of democracy and nationality that were to become such powerful forces. There is a danger here of reading history backwards. Democracy did not then exist in any large European state, and the experience of France during the Revolution period was not encouraging. As for nationality, it was disregarded not only by the statesmen but by a large majority among the peoples—illiterate peasants whose interests were bounded by their villages. Napoleon, indeed, had encouraged national ideas in northern Italy, and had provoked national resistance in Spain and Germany; but the story of the unity movements in Italy and Germany does not suggest that

¹ Estimated to contain about "800,000 souls". In these transfers of territory the number of inhabitants was of importance, owing to their value for revenue and military purposes.

they were ready in 1815 to form nation-states. The settlement was largely based on selfish aims; but it was also planned to maintain peace, and after it Europe enjoyed nearly forty years without major war.

EUROPE IN 1815.—Europe was still an agricultural continent, and self-sufficient in a way that can hardly be comprehended to-day. Everywhere (even in Britain) most of the people were engaged in farming to supply their own needs or those of their immediate neighbours. Trade with other continents, in luxuries and tropical products, was small and mainly in the hands of Britain; the Far East was still almost closed to Europeans; and though industrial development, based on mechanical invention and steam power, had begun in the west, it had been checked on the continent by long wars.

In agricultural communities the size of estates, the law and custom of inheritance and the status of the peasants are matters of very great social importance. There was much variety. In Britain the practice of passing estates to the eldest son ensured the preponderance of the land-owning aristocracy, and in Europe generally before the French revolution primogeniture and large estates were the rule also. But the French revolutionaries, whose ideas in this matter were later embodied in the *Code Napoleon*, established the principle of equal division of inheritance. The Code was spread far beyond the boundaries of France by Napoleon and survived the restoration of 1815 in Holland, Belgium, Italy, the Prussian provinces on the Rhine and parts of southern Germany.¹

The large estates of Europe before the Revolution were mainly cultivated by serf labour, though in Britain serfdom had long disappeared, and in France herself it was exceptional. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period serfdom was suppressed wherever French laws were introduced. Moreover, the serfs of Prussia were freed during the national revival that followed her defeat by Napoleon. In 1815, therefore, serfdom only remained in the Austrian Empire, where very large estates existed in the east, in Russia and in the Balkans. In Russia nearly all the land was owned by the crown and the noble?, and the serfs, who formed perhaps 90 per cent, of the population,

¹ It has been estimated that in 1900 17 per cent, of the citizens of the German Empire still lived under French law.

could be bought and sold and employed in domestic service. Some improvement had been attempted: Czar Paul (1796-1801) had limited serflabour on the lord's estate to three days a week, and Alexander (1801-1825) made arrangements whereby landowners could sell freedom and land to their serfs. In "Congress Poland" (see map, p. 42) serfdom had already been abolished.

This Europe was so different from our own that only by an effort of imagination can we understand it. Communications were primitive; Napoleon's military roads had improved them in the west, but travel was still confined to the very few and was still an adventure. Despatches between governments went slowly. Thus Castlereagh wrote to Vienna:

FOREIGN OFFICE,
July 29th, 1822.

MY DEAR PRINCE METTERNICH,

Your several communications of the 8th inst. reached us with great rapidity; the messenger was only seven days in making the journey. . . .

The political ideas of Europe's rulers were derived from the eighteenth century, and at the Congress of Vienna there was much talk of the principle of "legitimacy", which is known in English history as divine right. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic period was generally regarded as a long nightmare, and left behind a strong prejudice not only against revolutionary principles but against the freedom of thought out of which they had grown. The autocrats of the second half of the eighteenth century (the "enlightened despots") had tried to improve the condition of the people and encouraged a spirit of enquiry: the autocrats of the Vienna settlement were suspicious of intellectual activity, and rigorously checked the free expression of opinion. In this they were supported by the Catholic Church, whose influence had waned in the eighteenth century and whose teaching had been questioned by scholars and revolutionaries alike. Clerical control of education and thought was restored, particularly in Austria, Italy and Spain.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.—Two efforts were made in 1815 to guard against war and revolution. Projects for a European association of states to preserve peace

date from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and had been discussed during the Napoleonic War. In September, 1815, the rulers of Russia, Austria and Prussia invited other European monarchs to join them in a "Holy Alliance". This was not an alliance in the ordinary sense, for it did not bind the signatories to take specified action in defined circumstances: it was rather a statement of common aims and ideals. Thus in the preamble,

"Their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia ... solemnly declare that the present Act has no other object than to publish in the face of the whole world their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States and in their political relations with every other Government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion [Christianity], namely the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity and Peace, which far from being applicable only to private concerns must have an immediate influence on the Councils of Princes and guide all their steps as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections."

The articles that follow contain a vague undertaking that the monarchs will "on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance", but there is little else in them except an expansion of the preamble.

This strange document was the work of Alexander of Russia, an unstable blend of military autocrat and liberal, who was easily influenced by theories that could be based on religion, and whose father had been insane. Most European rulers acceded to the Alliance, though the Prince Regent in Britain contented himself with an expression, in suitably exalted language, of his personal support. Castlereagh was suspicious of the whole project, and Alexander alone treated it seriously.

The Quadruple Alliance of November, 1815, was of far greater importance. Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia undertook to uphold, by common action clearly defined, the Second Treaty of Paris; in fact, the alliance was designed to extend, for twenty years, the war-time collaboration between the four principal enemies of France. Moreover, meetings were to be held at intervals to discuss general policy:

"In order to consolidate the connexions which at the present moment so closely unite the four sovereigns, the High Contracting

Parties have agreed to renew at fixed intervals, either under their own auspices or by their representative ministers, meetings consecrated to great common objects and the examination of such measures as at each one of these epochs shall be judged most salutary for the peace and prosperity of the nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe." (Article VI.)

THE PERIOD OF CONGRESSES.—The first meeting of the Quadruple: Allies was at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, where they agreed, since arrangements for payment of reparations had been made, to withdraw the army of occupation and invite France to join in future meetings. But the Congress was regarded as having wider functions: petitions were entertained from rulers and subjects of smaller states on their foreign and domestic difficulties, and Alexander even suggested that a general right of intervention, in the interests of the status quo, should be recognized by the powers. This was supported by Austria and Prussia, but Castlereagh objected to any extension of the original purpose of the alliance, and the proposal was therefore dropped.

Before the next congress, much had happened to strengthen the opinion of the conservatives that olution was a dangerous epidemic. In January, 1820, a serious military revolt broke-out in Spain. In February, the Duke of Berry, nephew of Louis XVIII., was murdered in France, where revolutionary plots produced the natural reaction and gave the Ultra-royalists control of French policy. In the same month the Cato Street Conspiracy for the murder of the Cabinet was discovered, in Britain. In July, king Ferdinand of Naples was compelled by a military rising to grant a constitution, and appealed to Austria for help. Castlereagh did not object to Austrian intervention, for her influence in Italy was certainly endangered; but Metternich wished to establish the general principle that the larger powers should suppress revolution wherever it appeared. In this he was supported by Alexander, whose intrigues with liberals abroad stopped after the murder (1819) of Kotzebue, a Russian agent in Germany, and a mutiny of his own Imperial Guards.

The situation in Italy was discussed at the Congresses of Troppau and Laibach (October, 1820-May, 1821). Austria, Russia and Prussia drew up a protocol, asserting that if a state undergoes "a change of government due to revolution, the results of

which threaten other states", the powers should be ready to use force "to bring back the guilty state into the bosom of the Great Alliance!!". In reply, Castlereagh re-affirmed the British policy of non-intervention, which he had already defined in a state paper circulated to the powers (May, 1820). In it he had pointed out that the alliance was never "intended as a union for the government of the world or for the superintendence of the internal affairs of other states", and that owing to the need for considering public opinion, "no country having a representative system of government" could accept a general principle of intervention. During these meetings Austrian troops restored the king of Naples to absolute power, and occupied Piedmont after a rising (March, 1821) in favour of a constitution. Thus at Troppau and Laibach Austria, Russia and Prussia acted together and were opposed by Britain. The policy of France was vacillating, and it was not until later that she began to co-operate with the other great constitutional power of the west in opposition to the eastern autocracies.

The liberals in Italy had been checked by Austria, but in Spain the King was still controlled by his insurgent subjects, and the Greeks revolted in March, 1821, against the Turks (see p. 34). The Congress of Verona (1822) was principally concerned with Spain. An epidemic of yellow fever had given France cause or excuse for establishing a military cordon sanitaire on the frontier, and when the epidemic died down the Ultras continued-it as a defence against revolutionary infection. They planned intervention in Spain to restore the King to power, believing that a vigorous foreign policy would increase the prestige of the monarchy in France, and at Verona received the blessing of Austria, Russia and Prussia; but Wellington, the British representative, protested and left the Congress. Castlereagh had committed suicide before the Congress met, and had been succeeded by Canning, who disliked the congress system; but the line followed at Verona was prepared by Castlereagh.

Britain could not prevent French intervention in Spain, and Ferdinand VII. was successfully restored to power (1823); the British navy could, however (and did), stop any interference with the Spanish colonies in America, which had revolted during the Napoleonic War and developed important trade with

Britain. President Monroe of the U.S.A. reinforced British warnings.

"Our policy, in regard to Europe . . . is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its Powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every Power—submitting to injuries from none.... It is impossible that the Allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent [North and South America] without endangering our peace and happiness.... It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference." (The "Monroe Doctrine": December, 1823.)

The experiment of co-operation between the great states thus broke down under the strain of the Italian and Spanish rebellions, owing to the increasingly divergent views of Britain and the eastern powers. Verona was the last of the great congresses, for Canning would not join in a conference proposed by Alexander to discuss the Greek situation, and it came to nothing. Nevertheless, the idea of a European "concert" did not disappear. Conferences were occasionally called throughout the century to deal with problems as they arose, and a valuable tradition of meeting common difficulties by common action had been established.

CHAPTER II

WESTERN EUROPE, 1815-1848

THE period 1815-1848 is often known as the "age of Metternich" because a policy of resistance to change was dominant throughout Europe. Reformers and revolutionists scored partial or temporary successes here and there, but it was not until 1848 that the forces of liberalism and nationalism caused a general upheaval. This chapter deals with western Europe, in which the affairs of France have the chief importance: the next with central Europe, where the influence of Metternich was strongest; and Chapter IV. with Russia, Poland and the Balkans.

THE RESTORATION IN FRANCE.—After an exile lasting from 1791 to 1814, spent in Italy, Germany, Russia and England, Louis XVIII. returned to France as king at the age of fifty-nine. His position was comparable with that of Charles I. when he returned to London in 1660, and Louis faced his problems in much the same spirit.¹ There were, of course, important differences in the situation of the restored monarchs: Charles I. had been invited to return and was received with acclamation, Louis returned "in the baggage of the Allies". Charles was to find, with little apparent modification, a system of government that had operated in the past; Louis was obliged to grant a Charter, hastily put together, which established constitutional government and preserved the legacies of the Revolution and Napoleon. The civil equality of Frenchmen, the Concordat which subordinated the Church to the State, and the new legal codes all survived the Restoration, and the purchasers of confiscated property were not disturbed. The king, assisted by ministers, was to govern and to have the sole right of initiating laws in the Chambers.² The essential point—the relationship

¹ The parallel between Charles X. (see p. 13) and James I. is still closer.

² There were two Chambers—the Chamber of Peers (nominated by the king either for life or as hereditary peers) and the Chamber of Deputies (elected for five years, one-fifth retiring annually). The king had the power

between the Government and the Chambers—was left undefined: there was no "cabinet system".

RICHELIEU AND DECAZES, 1815-1820.—The elections of July, 1815 (Waterloo was fought in June), gave a majority in the Chamber of Deputies to the Ultras, who supported what remained of the old regime and included the returned *émigrés* and many adherents of divine-right theories. The opposition was formed of Liberals and Bonapartists.

The leading minister from 1815 to 1818 was the Duke of Richelieu, an *émigré* of moderate views. He could not prevent a "white terror" against republicans and Bonapartists: generals who had gone over to Napoleon during the Hundred Days were court-martialled and shot, the best known being Marshal Ney. The King was embarrassed by this excessive loyalty of the Ultras, among whom his brother Charles, Count of Artois, and the latter's second son, the Duke of Berry, were particularly violent; and a dissolution (1816) gave a majority to the moderate royalists, whose policy was that of the King himself. The number of Liberal deputies was increased by the partial elections of 1817-8-9, and it seemed that moderate counsels would prevail.

Meanwhile, Richelieu's influence was eclipsed by that of Decazes, and he resigned after his successful negotiations at Aix-la-Chapelle (see p. 8). Decazes, a favourite of the old King, was unpopular with the Ultras, and when the Duke of Berry was murdered by a lunatic in February, 1820, he was accused of complicity and had to resign.

THE ULTRAS IN POWER.—The murder of the Duke of Berry gave the Ultras their opportunity, and their policy during the next ten years endangered those results of the Revolution that the Charter had been designed to secure, and provoked the rebellion that displaced the legitimate Bourbon dynasty. A new electoral law (1820) added 172 members to the Chamber of Deputies, to be chosen by the electors of each department paying the heaviest taxes (about a quarter of the general body of electors), who thus had a double vote.

The change at home had its effect on French policy at the of dissolution. The franchise was given to men over thirty who paid 300 francs in direct taxes—i.e., to not more than 100,000 in a population of nearly 30 million. The other arrangements for electing the 258 deputies were left for further consideration.

Troppau-Laibach Congress and at Verona. Events abroad favoured the Ultras, for reaction was successful everywhere except in Spain, and there in 1823 French intervention restored despotic rule. Moreover, Louis XVIII. abandoned his wise opposition to extreme measures, and Charles X., who came to the throne in 1824, really took control soon after the fall of Decazes.

Charles aimed to maintain the influence of the large land-owners in the Chamber, to satisfy the army by the expedition to Spain, to compensate the *imigris* for the loss of their lands, and above all to restore the influence of the Church. For some years he was successful. Villele, chief minister from 1821 to 1828, improved the country's finances, and a dissolution in 1824 produced an overwhelming Ultra majority. The Charter was then amended by a law extending the duration of the Chamber to seven years, and doing away with the yearly retirement of members. It was agreed that thirty million francs annually should be paid to the dispossessed *imigris*—a measure particularly objectionable to the richer *bourgeois* since the money was provided by reducing the interest on the existing debt from 5 per cent, to 3 per cent. Another law imposed savage penalties for sacrilege (thefts from churches), and a priest was put in control of education. These measures led to a demonstration against the ministers by the National Guard, the citizen militia of Paris, and it was disbanded. Opposition grew even in the Chamber, until in 1827 Villele, who disagreed with French policy in the Near East (see p. 37), advised a dissolution. The opposition won the elections, and Villele was succeeded by a moderate liberal named Martignac. But Charles quickly replaced him by Polignac, a reactionary who claimed to be guided by the Virgin, thus bringing to the forefront the constitutional issue left open in the Charter—must the king appoint ministers having the confidence of the Chamber?¹

THE JULY REVOLUTION, 1830.—Early in 1830 the deputies demanded the dismissal of Polignac, stating that it was

"necessary for the political views of the Government always to be in harmony with the will of the people, to ensure the smooth working of public affairs."

¹ Charles held extreme views on his position and said that he would rather chop wood than reign after the fashion of the King of England. He is said to have touched for the "King's evil".

In reply the King dissolved parliament (May), only to find that the opposition deputies returned in triumph. Encouraged by news of the capture of Algiers,¹ and hoping that this success would restore his popularity, Charles issued ordinances on July 25 suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the newly elected Chamber, and summoning another by a new system of election. These were answered by street-fighting in Paris (July 27 and 28). Republicans bore the brunt, but the Liberal deputies, led by Thiers, feared foreign intervention if a republic were set up, and put forward the name of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans as a candidate for the throne. Lafayette¹ was won over; Louis Philippe adopted the tricolour flag and was kissed by Lafayette, amid applause, on a balcony at the Hotel de Ville. Charles abdicated and fled to England, while "the people" (*i.e.*, the Liberal deputies) invited Louis Philippe to become King of the French. He accepted, swearing to observe a revised Charter from which all trace of divine right was removed, and turned his attention to a crisis in foreign affairs.

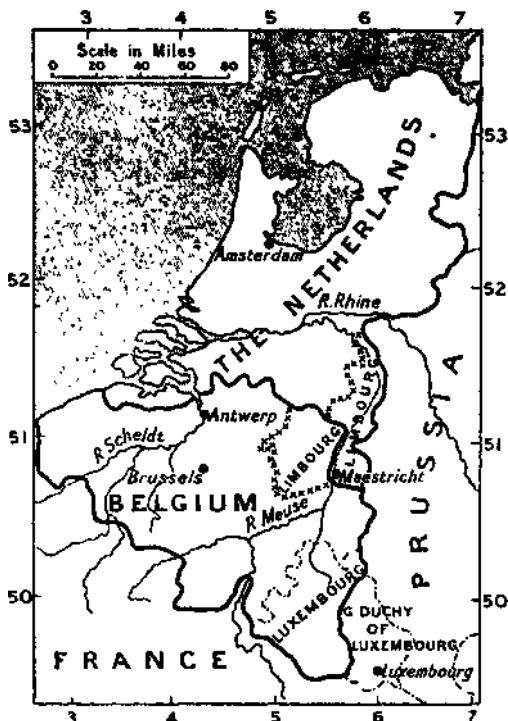
THE BELGIAN REVOLUTION.—The events of 1830 supported Metternich's view that revolution was highly infectious. Insurrections occurred in Germany and Italy; in Britain there was agitation for a wider franchise, and discontent among the peasants; the Poles attempted a national revolt that failed, and the Belgians one that succeeded.

The Belgians had no history as an independent people. For over 350 years they had been subjects of a great power,⁸ and in 1815, to suit the convenience of the victor states, they had been handed over to William I. of the United Netherlands. The union did not run smoothly. The Belgian territories gained material advantages, for free trade with the Dutch colonial empire stimulated industrial development; but the inhabitants also had legitimate grievances. They greatly outnumbered the Dutch, but had

¹ The French had long had settlements on the coast of Algeria, for which they paid rent to the Bey. During a dispute about these payments (1827) the Bey struck the French consul with a fly-flap. Hence the dispatch of a strong French expedition (1830).

² He had fought for American independence more than fifty years earlier, and been prominent in the Revolution in 1789. In spite of his age and vanity, his was still a name to conjure with.

³ 1477-1556, Austria; 1556-1713, Spain; 1713-1792, Austria; 1792-1814, France.



THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM, 1839

[NOTE.—In 1815 both parts of Luxembourg formed the Grand Duchy, under the King of the Netherlands. It was part of the German Confederation. In 1839 Belgian Luxembourg was detached from the Confederation, but Dutch Limbourg was added to it.]

only half the representatives in the States-General, and nearly all the government and service posts were given to the Dutch. Moreover, the Dutch brought to the new state a large national debt, which meant high taxes for the Belgians; the Catholic priests of the south resented the Government's educational policy; and an attempt to make Dutch the official language increased the friction.

An insurrection began in Brussels, where the reformers were in close touch with French liberals, and soon became general (August—September, 1830); a National Congress then declared that Belgium was an independent monarchy, from whose throne

the House of Orange was excluded. William sought help the powers, but Austria and Russia were embarrassed by events in Italy and Poland, and Louis Philippe threatened to resist by force any intervention against the Belgians. The representatives of the five powers then recognised Belgian independence (December, 1830). The new British Foreign Secretary, Palmerston, was willing to support national and liberal principles abroad, but feared French influence in Belgium. Britain and France, however, were able to co-operate in support of Belgium because Talleyrand, the French ambassador in London, realised the importance of British friendship, and Louis Philippe wisely refused the crown of the new state for his younger son. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg then accepted the throne.¹

William refused to transfer Luxembourg to the Belgians, and the Dutch army was only withdrawn from Belgium after French military intervention. The powers then made a treaty with Belgium (November, 1831) by which William was to retain the eastern part of Luxembourg, and when he rejected this settlement, Antwerp, which was still in Dutch hands, was captured by the French, and the coast of Holland was blockaded by British and French ships (1832). Hostilities between Belgium and Holland were at last suspended, but William did not recognise the new state until 1839, when the settlement of 1831 was confirmed. An article in the annex to the treaties of 1839, under the guarantee of the five powers, declared that Belgium

"shall form an Independent and perpetually Neutral State. It shall be bound to observe such Neutrality towards all other States."

This was maintained until August, 1914.

Louis PHILIPPE.—Louis Philippe was fifty-seven in 1830. Experience had given a hatred of republicanism to this former secretary of the Jacobin Club, who in later exile had earned his living as a drawing-master. He was simple in his tastes, hard-working, and determined to play his part as a "citizen-king". Therefore he sought popularity with the middle class; he would be a *bourgeois* monarch and walk in Paris like a plain citizen with his umbrella. Nevertheless, as he was not content to reign without ruling, his early popularity did not last; and repeated

¹ He was the widower of Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV. of England, and therefore an acceptable candidate from a British point of view. He later married a daughter of Louis Philippe.

attempts were made on his life, which he met with the greatest courage.

PARTIES AND POLITICS.—The modified Charter was supplemented in 1831 by laws reducing the franchise qualification from 300 to 200 francs paid in taxes, and reconstituting the National Guard. The hereditary peers were replaced by nominees of the Crown. In the Chambers the middle class was supreme, for the electors still numbered less than 200,000 out of 30 million, and though the National Guard nominally consisted of all Frenchmen between twenty and sixty, only the middle class could afford the equipment.

The new regime had to face attacks from both Right and Left, particularly in the first two years; for instance in June, 1832, a large part of Paris was in the hands of republican rebels, and in the same year the Duchess of Berry tried to raise *La Vendue* in support of her son.¹ Moreover, the Bonapartists remained a force: Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I., twice attempted to start a military rebellion, and in 1840 his uncle's bones were brought from St. Helena to Paris amid great enthusiasm.

The deputies in the Chambers divided roughly into conservatives and moderate reformers, the former, supported by the King, being generally in office. Casimir-Périer, chief minister from March, 1831, until his death in May, 1832, dominated the Chamber of Deputies and suppressed revolt in the critical early days. Then the King's view of his constitutional rights caused frequent resignations and changes of ministry. Some reforms were made, such as the law which required every commune to maintain a school where free education was given (1833), but the unpopularity of the King increased, and he was violently attacked in the press.² Guizot, during his long ministry from 1840 to 1848, carried out the King's policy of order at home (i.e., resistance to reform) and peace abroad. The support of the Chambers was secured by corruption, while the Liberals

¹ See table, p. xi. Charles X., then living in exile at Holyrood, had appointed her Regent.

² He was called *La Poire* (the Pear, or the Fool), and this emblem was scribbled on Paris walls and freely used by cartoonists. In 1835 it became a legal offence to express contempt for the King or to publish uncensored drawings.

clamoured that the franchise limit should be lowered so as to double the electorate, and that the place-holders, who formed a large proportion of the deputies, should be excluded.

FOREIGN POLICY.—The King maintained peace, but in doing so he lost prestige at home. He disappointed the hot-heads in the excitement of 1830-1831, and in 1840 France was ignored in the settlement of a Near-Eastern crisis (see p. 38). Nicholas I. of Russia was steadily hostile to the "usurper"; Prussia feared French designs on Luxembourg and the Rhine; Austria and France were rivals for influence over the Papacy. The constitutional monarchies of the west, indeed, had much in common, and in 1843 Queen Victoria visited France and friendly relations were established. But three years later the two governments were at loggerheads over Spain.

When Ferdinand V I I . of Spain died in 1833, he left a three-year-old daughter Isabella, and civil war broke out between Don Carlos, his brother, and Maria Christina, his widow. Carlos, already leader of a reactionary opposition, claimed the throne on the ground that under Spanish law Isabella could not succeed, and this "Carlist" war soon became a struggle between clerical reactionaries and those who wanted a constitutional government and supported the regent, Maria Christina. Britain and France both favoured this party, and in 1834 a Quadruple Alliance was formed between Britain, France, the Spanish Regency and the Government of Maria I I . of Portugal—where also, by a curious coincidence, a young Queen was in conflict with an absolutist uncle. Maria I I . was soon established and married to a Saxe-Cobourg, but in Spain Franco-British intervention was ineffective owing to their mutual jealousy, and the Carlists were not defeated until 1840.

The competition of Britain and France for influence at Madrid culminated in 1846. The British party wished that the young Queen should marry another Saxe-Coburg; the French, a son of Louis Philippe. As a compromise it was agreed that the Queen should marry a Spanish Bourbon, and that after an heir was born (which would reduce the danger of union between France and Spain) her younger sister should marry Louis Philippe's son. In 1846, however, it was announced that the two marriages had taken place simultaneously. This cost Louis Philippe the friendship of Britain.

Meanwhile the French conquest of Algiers had proceeded slowly. Abd-el-Kader, a magnificent guerrilla leader, united the Arabs in a holy war against the invaders, and did not surrender until December, 1847. This dearly won success, like that of Charles X. in 1830, came too late to restore the popularity of the French Government.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.—Thus by the end of 1847 Louis Philippe faced the discontent of the liberal reformers and the Bonapartists, and of those who wanted the friendship of England and feared French isolation. There was also social and economic unrest, for the hardship due to industrial development in the big cities received little attention. Socialist theories gained ground (see p. 51), particularly when bad harvests and a trade slump caused great distress in Paris in the winter of 1847. Moreover, Louis Philippe was now old, and the monarchy had been weakened by the death in 1842 of his heir, the popular Duke of Orleans, while in 1847 Lamartine's panegyric history of the republican Girondins had appeared, and been widely read by those who felt that they were living in unheroic times, and that, in Lamartine's own phrase: "France was bored."

In the summer of 1847 the liberal leaders started a campaign of reform "banquets", for which the English equivalent would be public meetings. One of these (for February 22, 1848, in Paris) was banned by the Government, and in the consequent disorder the National Guard, on whose loyalty the King relied, showed its hostility to Guizot. He was dismissed, but demonstrations continued. Fatal shots were fired, paving stones were torn up for barricades, republican and socialist leaders pushed the liberal monarchists aside, and on February 24 the King abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris. It was too late to save the monarchy. The next day a mob invaded the Chamber; a provisional government, including Lamartine, was hurriedly set up, and the royal family fled to England, where Louis Philippe died two years later. Meanwhile the socialists had occupied the city offices and two of their leaders (Louis Blanc and Albert) were added to the Provisional Government, which promised work for all and set up "national workshops" for the unemployed.

The revolution in Paris had been followed by the temporary collapse of authority in central Europe (see p. 28), and there was

danger of a revolutionary crusade by France. Lamartine, however, issued in March a manifesto to Europe in which he contrived to satisfy his followers and reassure foreign governments.

The Constituent Assembly, elected by manhood suffrage to frame a constitution, contained a very large majority of moderates and appointed a new provisional government, all anti-socialists, headed by Lamartine (May, 1848). The liberals had from the first been opposed to the socialists of Paris, and when the experiment of national workshops broke down the Assembly closed them and tried to drive the unemployed from Paris. * The socialists resisted, but were defeated in savage street fighting by General Cavaignac (June 23-26). Ten thousand were killed and wounded and as many taken prisoner and deported.

The new constitution provided a single-chamber legislature of 750 members, elected by manhood suffrage for three years; the executive government was entrusted to a President elected (also by manhood suffrage) for four years. The first elections showed the conservatism of the provinces: in December, 1848, Louis Napoleon obtained nearly three times the votes of all the other candidates for the presidency, though these included Cavaignac and Lamartine; and about 500 monarchists, either Legitimists or Orleanists, were returned to the new Legislative Assembly (May, 1849). Thus with a Bonaparte as President and a monarchical Assembly, the new republic had little chance of survival.

¹ The workshops had been controlled by an anti-socialist and were relief works, very different from those contemplated by Louis Blanc (see p. 51).

CHAPTER III

CENTRAL EUROPE, 1815-1850

THE AGE OF METTERNICH.—Metternich was well fitted by temperament and experience to lead the conservative, cause in Europe. He was brought up in the diplomatic tradition of the eighteenth century, and was a student in the Rhineland during the French Revolution, which gave him a lasting distrust of democratic theories. After some experience in diplomatic posts he became Foreign Minister in 1809, and held that position until his fall in 1848. He devoted his great ability to the cause of monarchical and aristocratic government, though he realised that he had been born out of time.¹ Above all, he was a faithful servant of the Hapsburgs, and his policy was based on the needs of their "ramshackle" empire.

THE HAPSBURG EMPIRE.—The Austrian Empire included peoples differing in race, culture and language, some of whom preserved memories of earlier independence (see map, p. 23). This was its special weakness: it had no natural cohesion, and could be held together only by the autocratic power of a monarch. Francis I. and Metternich therefore opposed nationalism and liberalism, for, though there is no necessary connection between these ideas, representative institutions give to nationalist leaders an opportunity to voice their complaints and to win adherents.

The period 1815-1848 was one of stagnation in the empire. There was no cabinet; the ministers were responsible for their own departments to the Emperor, whose policy was "govern and change nothing". Agriculture was the main occupation of the people, and the state, largely self-sufficient and relatively prosperous, was still undisturbed by industrial problems. But this appearance of stability was an illusion. The nobles were

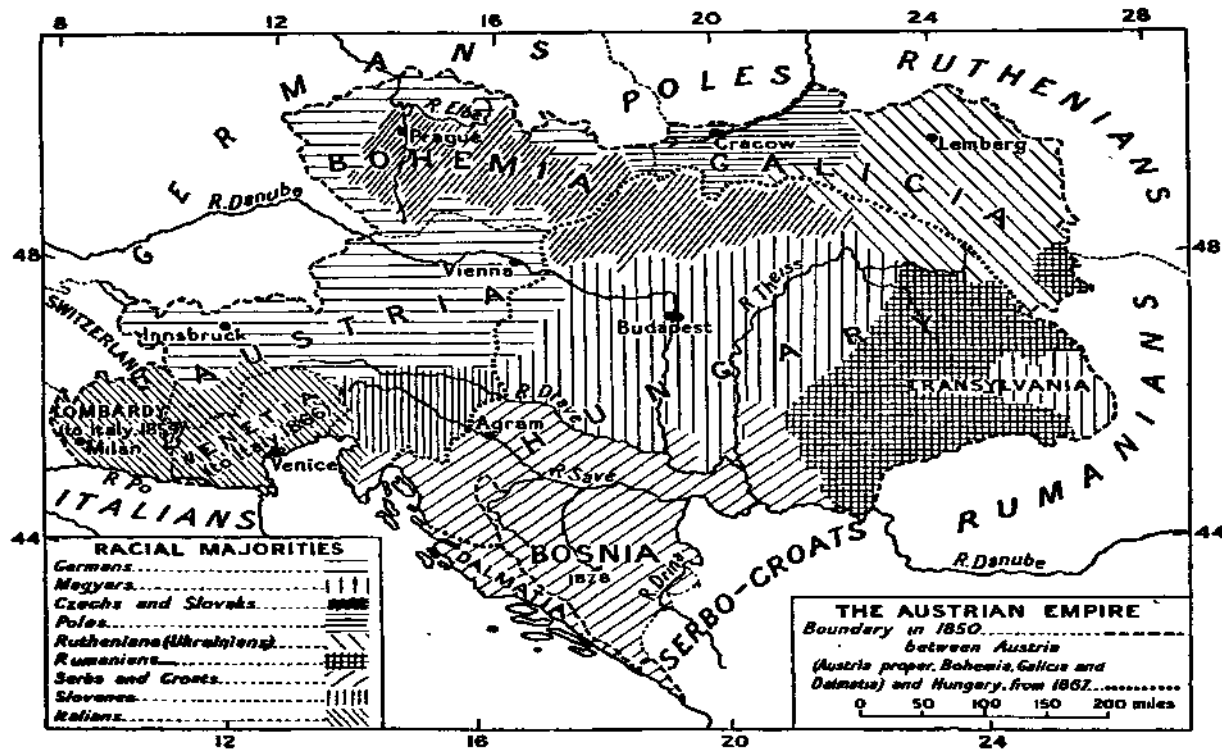
¹ "Earlier I should have enjoyed the age; later I should have helped to reconstruct it; to-day I have to give my life to propping up the mouldering edifice."

privileged in legal and financial matters, while serfdom, which had disappeared from western Europe, remained the basis of cultivation, but not even the strict censorship, the exclusion of foreign books and the supervision of the universities could altogether shut out progressive thought. Nationalist and liberal ideas grew, particularly in Hungary, in spite of the spying of the police.

The Magyars of Hungary had a long tradition of self-government, through their nobles, in provincial assemblies and in a central Diet. The latter, in 1791, had obtained a promise that it should meet regularly and control taxation. Nevertheless, from 1812 to 1825 no Diet was summoned. In the Diet of 1825 the claim was made that Magyar should replace Latin as the official language, and when at last this was conceded (1840-1844) the nationalists tried to force the Magyar language on the Slovaks of the north and the Serbs and Croats of the south, where similar linguistic revivals were taking place. The Magyars also agitated for liberal reforms, and in 1847 their leaders adopted a programme which included responsible government in the place of control by Austrian officials, civil and religious liberty and the abolition of serfdom. The next year gave them their opportunity.

HAPSBURG INTERESTS IN GERMANY AND ITALY.—Francis I. had been Francis I I. of the Holy Roman Empire, the headship of which had for centuries given much prestige, if little real power, to the Hapsburg house. As the ideas of German nationalists must inevitably raise the problem of Austria's German population, Metternich's object was to maintain, through the German Confederation, the autocratic rule of the petty princes. In Italy, to protect Austrian interests in her rich possessions of Lombardy and Venetia, he was able to establish decisive influence in Parma, Modena, Tuscany and the Two Sicilies (see p. 2), and the Popes looked to Austria as the champion of Catholicism in Europe.

THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION.—Metternich's diplomacy was successful in the Confederation. The states needed a long period for readjustment after recent wars and territorial changes, and the princes, remembering the Holy Roman Empire, tended to look to Austria for leadership. In the Diet, under the permanent presidency of Austria, every state had a vote, while the larger



THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

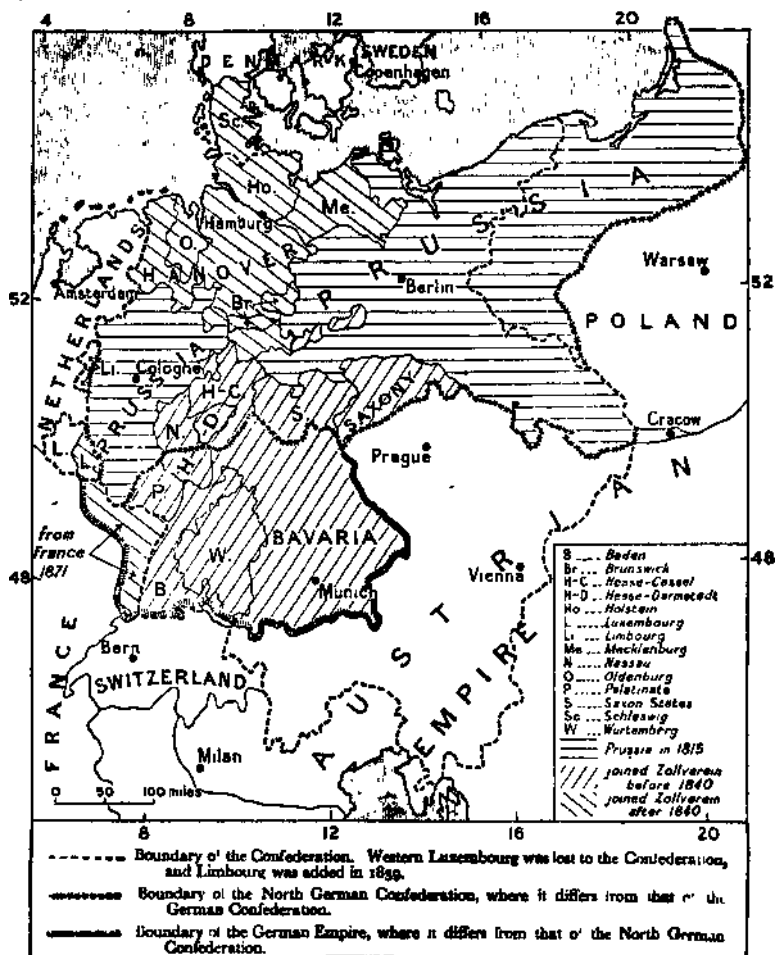
states had more than one, to a maximum of four. Members of the Diet were not elected by popular vote, but came as delegates from the princes, and for all important matters a unanimous vote was required. This meant that the Diet could not be an instrument for change, and it met seldom after 1828.

According to the Act of Confederation every prince was to establish representative institutions,¹ but no attempt was made to enforce this. The rulers of Weimar, Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria granted constitutions, during the period when progressive ideas (outside Russia) still had the support of Alexander I. These did not work smoothly and Metternich soon had an opportunity to check further experiments.

The universities were not so closely controlled as those of Austria, and in them the influence of the French Revolution and the enthusiasm of the War of Liberation were still felt. In 1817 a "rag" by members of Jena University culminated in a bonfire of reactionary books at Wartburg, and two years later a conservative journalist and Russian agent named Kotzebue was murdered by a student. Metternich acted promptly. The Carlsbad Decrees (1819), rushed through the Diet by Austrian influence, laid down that a severe press censorship should be established and the universities controlled by government officials. A court was set up at Mainz to enquire into the (non-existent) revolutionary plot. Moreover, when in 1820 the Act of Confederation was further defined in the Vienna Final Act, it was stated that a constitution would not be valid unless freely granted by the prince, who must retain complete authority in his state. These measures gave Metternich sufficient excuse for interference, and Germany remained passive for many years. In 1830 there were insurrections in Saxony and some smaller states, but no important changes were effected.

PRUSSIA AND THE ZOLLVEREIN.—Prussia, with her large though scattered territories and her predominantly German population, was the only state in the Confederation whose influence could compare with that of Austria. In the excitement of 1813-1814 some had hoped that she would form the nucleus of a

¹ "Representative", not "responsible". Representative government implies only the election of some sort of parliament with limited functions, whereas responsible government implies that the representatives have real control, through ministers responsible to them.



THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION

united German state, but Austria was able to prevent this for fifty years. The poverty of Prussia's soil made her much weaker than Austria in resources, and a heavy debt imposed a peaceful policy for a generation after 1815. She lacked also a prosperous middle class, for in her main territories there were few cities, and no large body of landowning peasants stood between the junkers of the large estates and the mass of day-labourers. She

was weak also in leadership. Frederick William III. (1797-1840) was feeble and vacillating, and his son Frederick William IV. (1840-1861), who held legitimist views, was content with the expression of popular sentiments but failed when action was required of him. No representative constitution was granted until 1847, when a United Diet was formed from the provincial assemblies but failed to satisfy the reformers.

On one weakness of the Prussian state the foundations of future strength were laid. The division of her territory greatly hindered trade: in 1815 she had sixty-seven tariff systems. Three years later internal free trade and a uniform low-tariff system were established in Prussia,¹ and in 1819 the first non-Prussian state joined the Zollverein or Customs Union. Members of the Zollverein received a proportion of customs duties on a *per capita* basis—a great advantage to little states bordering on Prussian territory where the yield from customs was small in comparison with the cost of collection; moreover, Prussia, lying across the principal trade routes, could press her neighbours to join by imposing high transit dues. The larger and middle-sized states began to fear the spread of Prussian control: in 1828 Bavaria and Württemberg formed a customs union of their own, and shortly afterwards Hanover formed a third with Saxony and other mid-German states. But Prussia's position was so strong that these unions broke down and their members joined her system. By 1836 all the South German states were included, and the Zollverein was effective throughout the greater part of Germany, though some states (*e.g.*, Brunswick and Hanover) did not accede till later. Austria was not included: thus Prussia assumed the economic leadership of Germany.

THE ITALIAN STATES, 1815-1848.—The Italians who were restored to their "legitimate" princes in 1815 had enjoyed enlightened rule during the Napoleonic period. Moreover, national sentiment had been stimulated by the Kingdom of Italy in the north and centre, and in the south by Murat's plans for a united Italy. The restored rulers were therefore unpopular both for their autocratic methods and foolish reversal of French

¹ Raw materials, duty free; 10 per cent, on manufactures; 20 per cent, on colonial goods. This tariff was modified as the Zollverein grew, but until after the formation of the German Empire the Zollverein was a low-tariff area, whereas Austria maintained high tariffs.

reforms, and for their subservience to Austria, whose secret police and troops were at their disposal against their own subjects. As open opposition was impossible, secret societies sprang up, that of the *Carbonari* (charcoal-burners) being very strong in Naples. Here, in imitation of the Spanish revolt of 1820, rebels forced Ferdinand I. to grant a constitution in the same year, but he was soon restored to authority by Austrian troops. In Piedmont, an equally short-lived insurrection caused the abdication of Victor Emmanuel I. of Sardinia, in favour of his brother Charles Felix (d. 1831), but effected little else.

In 1830 risings in Parma, Modena and the Papal States, inspired by events in Paris, were put down by Austria, and it was clear to Italian patriots that the Austrians must be driven out. There agreement ended. Some hoped for a united Italian republic; others, such as Gioberti, for a federation under the leadership of the Pope; others again for union under the royal house of Savoy. Chief among the republicans was Mazzini (1805-1872), who in 1831 founded at Marseilles the society known as Young Italy.

"Young Italy is a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of *Progress and Duty*, and are convinced that Italy is destined to become one nation. . . . They join this association in the firm intent of consecrating thought and action to the great aim of re-constituting Italy as one independent sovereign nation of free men and equals. . . .

"Young Italy is *Republican and Unitarian* . . . because all true sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, the sole progressive and continuous interpreter of the supreme moral law . . . ; because federalism, by reducing her to the political impotence of Switzerland, would necessarily place her under the influence of one of the neighbouring nations. . . .

"Insurrection—by means of guerrilla bands—is the true method of warfare for all nations desirous of emancipating themselves from a foreign yoke."

Mazzini's policy of insurrection produced little direct effect, though it gave publicity to the demands of Italian patriots, but his inspiration and ideals had great influence.¹

For those who looked forward to a monarchical Italy, the Kingdom of Sardinia offered the only hope, both because it

¹ He was not only a nationalist: he dreamed too of a world association of republics that would bring peace to mankind.

stood somewhat outside the Austrian orbit, and because Charles Albert (1831 -1849) was himself an Italian patriot. But it was the federal scheme that first gave hope of success. The reforms (1846-1847) of Pius IX. (Pio Nono), a newly elected liberal Pope who had studied Gioberti's proposals, caused enthusiasm throughout Italy; Sicily rose, and Ferdinand I I. was compelled by an insurrection in Naples (January, 1848) to grant a constitution. Italy was thus ready for her part in the *annus mirabilis* of revolution.

THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS, 1848.—News of the February Revolution in Paris fanned into a blaze the discontent already smouldering in the Austrian Empire, Germany and Italy. The liberals in the Hungarian Diet had already put forward sweeping demands; Frederick William IV. was at odds with his Assembly; and the Two Sicilies were in open revolt. The wish to overthrow the "Metternich system" was common to all the revolutions in central Europe; but the further aims of the revolutionaries differed and clashed. A useful if over-simplified classification of these aims shows that the driving force in Germany, Italy and Hungary was both national and liberal (*i.e.*, constitutional); in Vienna, liberal; in other parts of the Austrian Empire, mainly national. In the Austrian Empire, as in Paris, there was also a social or economic undercurrent—in this case, the grievances of peasants under a feudal system. This confusion of aims accounts for the failure of the risings.

REVOLUTION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.—On March 13, less than three weeks after the fall of Louis Philippe, liberals and students took charge in Vienna, and Metternich fled, smuggled out of Austria to exile in a primitive railway train. At the same time, under the inspiration of Louis Kossuth, who from 1840 had agitated for Magyar rights, the Hungarian Diet passed the "March Laws", widening the franchise, freeing the press, abolishing serfdom and establishing responsible government. The Emperor, his Italian provinces being now in revolt, accepted these changes and agreed (March 31) to govern Hungary through a Hungarian cabinet. In April he granted a constitution to the rest of the Empire, which would have established limited monarchy; but this did not satisfy the revolutionary committee in Vienna, or the Czechs and Poles who wanted self-government in Bohemia and Galicia. The Emperor fled to Inns-

JAN.	NAPLES.	JAN.
FEB.	PARIS.	FEB.
MAR.	VIENNA. BERLIN. MILAN.	MAR.
APRIL	"March Laws" in Hungary.	APRIL
MAY	Constitution for Austria	MAY
JUNE	Frankfurt Parliament	JUNE
JULY	"June Days" in Paris.	JULY
AUG.	Prague recaptured.	AUG.
SEPT.	✕ Custozza.	SEPT.
OCT.	Truce in N. Italy.	OCT.
NOV.	Serfdom abolished in Austria.	NOV.
DEC.	Creations v. Magyars.	DEC.
	Vienna recaptured.	
	Schwarzenberg.	
	Reaction in Prussia.	
	Francis Joseph I.	
JAN.	Budapest occupied.	JAN.
FEB.	Roman Republic.	FEB.
MAR.	2 nd Piedmontese War.	MAR.
APRIL	✕ Novara.	APRIL
MAY	Magyar Victories	MAY
JUNE	F. William refused German Crown.	JUNE
JULY	Russian Intervention in Hungary.	JULY
AUG.	Frankfurt Parliament dispersed.	AUG.
	Defeat of Magyars.	
	Capture of Rome.	

bruck and arrangements were made in Vienna for the election, by manhood suffrage, of a combined Diet for Austria proper, Bohemia and Galicia.

Differences between the Czech nationalists and the German democrats of Vienna, some of whom hoped for the incorporation of Austria in a German national state, played into the hands of the Emperor. Prague, where the Czechs had set up a provisional government, was recaptured in June; but the Slavs outnumbered the Germans in the combined Diet which met in July and agreement could only be reached on the abolition of serfdom (September). The Emperor returned to Vienna, and was now in a stronger position owing to Austrian success in north Italy; but when he ordered his troops against the Magyars, whose aggressive nationalism had provoked a rising of the southern Slavs of Croatia, Vienna again rose against him and he fled a second time (October). An imperial army, supported by the southern Slavs, then captured Vienna and a conservative ministry under Schwarzenberg was established. The Emperor Ferdinand abdicated (December, 1848), and his nephew Francis Joseph, who was uncompromised by previous pledges to the Hungarians, began his long reign that was to last until 1916.

Imperial and Croatian troops invaded Hungary and occupied Budapest. Unexpected Magyar victories then encouraged Kossuth to proclaim a republic and issue a declaration of independence (April), but a Russian army came to the help of the Emperor. By August the Magyar rebellion had been suppressed, and Kossuth had fled to Turkey. Hungary was handed over to the military rule and vengeance of General Haynau, who executed thirteen generals and the moderate statesman Batthyany, though the latter had opposed the war.

REVOLUTION IN ITALY.—After the Paris revolution constitutions were granted in Sardinia and Tuscany, and the revolution in Vienna coincided with the promulgation of a constitution in Rome. Within a fortnight Lombardy and Venetia had risen; General Radetzky with his 15,000 Austrian troops had been driven from Milan to take refuge in the fortresses of the Quadrilateral;¹ a republic had been proclaimed in Venice and provisional governments set up in Parma and Modena; and Charles

¹ Mantua, Verona, Peschiera and Legnago.

Albert of Sardinia had declared war on Austria (March 23). In spite of the hesitancy or opposition of the nominal rulers, all Italian states sent troops to take part in the campaign, and in Italy, as in Austria, it seemed that the overthrow of the old regime was accomplished, and that the time had come for reconstruction. Charles Albert, however, was slow when speed was essential. Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese army at Custoza in July, and in August forced Charles Albert to make an armistice by which he evacuated Lombardy.

Thus peace was restored in northern Italy, but in November the Pope, who had not supported the war with Austria, was forced to flee from Rome. There a republic was proclaimed under the leadership of Mazzini (February, 1849); a republic was also set up in Tuscany and revolt broke out again in Naples. Encouraged by the temporary success of the Magyars, Charles Albert denounced the truce with Austria, but in less than a fortnight he was completely beaten at Novara, and abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel I I. (March, 1849). After this reaction quickly followed. Ferdinand of Naples resumed autocratic rule; Leopold of Tuscany was re-established by Austrian troops; and in August 35,000 French troops captured Rome for the Pope, in spite of a gallant defence by Garibaldi.^x Venice, which under Manin had held out since March, 1848, did not surrender until October, 1849.

REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.—News of the French revolution, closely followed by that of the fall of Metternich, reached Germany at a time when liberal leaders in the states were demanding a German parliament. Insurrections followed in Prussia and elsewhere; and the liberal leaders organised a National Assembly which met at Frankfurt in May, and included representatives from German Austria. Its chief difficulties were the extent and the form of the proposed German state. As a compromise between the extremes of excluding Austria altogether, and including the entire Hapsburg dominions, it was eventually determined that German Austria only should be included. This solution was rejected by Schwarzenberg (December, 1848); the Assembly then decided to exclude Austria altogether, and the Austrian delegates were withdrawn

In March, 1849, the imperial crown of the new Germany was

¹ See p. 69-70.

offered to Frederick William IV. of Prussia, and refused. He had been forced by the insurrection of March, 1848, to grant wide powers to the Prussian Assembly, but in November he had dismissed his ministers and the Assembly and restored his own authority. Moreover, his divine-right ideas prejudiced him against an offer from an elected assembly. In May the Prussian representatives withdrew from Frankfurt, and the completed constitution was approved only by minor states. Having missed his opportunity, Frederick William produced another plan for a federal Germany from which Austria was excluded, and a new National Assembly met at Erfurt (March, 1850). Austria and the southern states, however, were prepared to oppose this plan by force, and in November, by the "humiliation of Olmutz", Prussia abandoned her proposals. The Confederation, and with it Austrian influence, was restored.

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CHAPTER IV

THE NEAR EAST AND RUSSIA, 1815-1856

THE Eastern Question—*i.e.*, the problems created by the slow dissolution of the Turkish Empire—had begun to attract attention before the end of the eighteenth century. Russia had already occupied the northern coast of the Black Sea west of the Sea of Azov, and in 1812 had gained the important province of Bessarabia, lying north of the Danube between the Black Sea and the Pruth. Austria and Russia were Turkey's traditional enemies. France, on the other hand, had long had great influence at Constantinople, and had developed an important trade in the Levant, though Napoleon's eastern policy interrupted both; and Britain, also with trading interests in the Levant, had already adopted the policy of maintaining the Turkish Empire in order to prevent Russia from gaining Constantinople and an outlet to the Mediterranean.

THE TURKISH EMPIRE.—The Empire in 1815 included the Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Arabia, Egypt and the entire southern shore of the Mediterranean. But over large parts of this area the Sultan's control was weak or nominal. In the western Mediterranean piratical chiefs held sway; in Egypt Mehemet Ali¹ was consolidating the power that he was later to use impartially for and against his suzerain; the Wahhabis² were in control in Arabia. In Europe Turkish rule was weakest in the districts farthest from Constantinople. Thus Russia had treaty

¹ An Albanian born in 1769, the same year as Wellington and Napoleon, he was a tobacco merchant who became a general, and controlled Egypt after the failure of Napoleon's invasion. He extended his power over the Sudan and established order by an iron despotism in Egypt, where he controlled the land and its produce. He maintained a powerful fleet, organized by French experts, and a conscript army trained in western methods, and cut a canal between Alexandria and the Nile by forced labour at a cost of thousands of lives. In fact, he was the father of modern Egypt, **and** founded the present dynasty.

² A puritan Moslem sect formed in the eighteenth century.

rights of supervision over the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, where the Rumanians suffered the exactions of Greek hospodars (governors) who bought from the Sultan the privilege of oppressing them; the Serbs were fighting to regain self-government;¹ Montenegro maintained its independence, and Albania had long enjoyed chronic insurrection. The Greek villages of the mainland had much self-government, and the Greek islands, though tributary, were practically autonomous.

The Balkans probably contained about fourteen million Christians (mostly of the Orthodox Greek Church) and about two million Moslems, many of whom were not of Turkish blood but descended from renegade Christians. The Turks, though excellent fighters, were lazy in peace and left business and local administration very largely to Christians. Apart from Moldavia and Wallachia, European Turkey was divided into nine pashaliks, and (since the whole administration was corrupt) the pashas bought from the Sultan their appointment for one year, often by borrowing from Greek or Armenian bankers. They then used their power to enrich themselves and repay these debts. Christians, though exempt from military service and enjoying some religious toleration, had to do forced labour and were regarded as an inferior caste. There was little systematic oppression from Constantinople: it was the exactions of the provincial governors and the garrisons of Janissaries (a privileged military order) that caused the greatest discontent.

THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE.—After the Serbs, the Greeks were the first to revolt. Nationalist propaganda had been carried on since 1814 by the *Philike Hetairia*, a secret patriotic society similar to the Italian *Carbonari*. In March, 1821, Prince Alexander Hypsilanti (Hypselantes), a Greek who had become a senior officer in the Russian army, started a rising in the Principalities, where his father had been a hospodar. This failed, for the Greeks were not supported by the Rumanians, who regarded their Greek hospodars as foreign tyrants and now ob-

¹ After a revolt in 1804, led by Kara (Black) George, formerly a swineherd, the Serbs established their independence, but were reconquered in 1813 by the Sultan. In 1815 Milosh Obrenovitch led another revolt, and secured local autonomy under the Sultan. Kara George was murdered with the connivance of the new Serb leader and a long feud between their families began.



THE BALKANS, 1815-1878

tained from the Sultan a promise that future hospodars should be Rumanian nobles.

Meanwhile, in April, 1821, the Greeks of the Morea began a genuinely national insurrection with the massacre of the Moslem inhabitants. The Turks retaliated by massacres of Christians elsewhere in the Empire, among them being the Patriarch of the Orthodox Greek Church, who was hanged in Constantinople. United by religion, and inspired by memories of a great past, the Greeks had good reason to expect success. They had men capable of leadership, trained in the administrative work of the Turkish Empire; their island communities were wealthy, and there was no lack of ships and hardy sailors. The moment also was well chosen, since the Sultan was engaged in suppressing a revolt by Ali Pasha of Janina in Albania.

The details of this savage war are unimportant: it is enough to say that the Greeks quickly captured the Turkish forts in the Morea, and in spite of civil war between rival factions held their own until 1825. Early in that year, however, the Sultan received efficient troops and a fleet from Mehemet Ali of Egypt, whose son, Ibrahim, quelled the revolt in the Morea with great severity; and in June, 1827, when Athens was recaptured, it seemed that the Greeks must be beaten. They were saved only by the intervention of foreign powers.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE POWERS.—At first the Greeks received no official help, though there was much sympathy for them in Britain, France and Russia, and many volunteers supported them. Among these was Byron, whose poetry had an international reputation, and whose death at Missolonghi in 1824 very effectively advertised the Greek cause. But Alexander of Russia was under the influence of Metternich, who regarded the affair as merely another instance of revolt against legitimate rule; and neither the British nor the French Government wished to see Turkey weakened. Popular sympathy with the Greeks increased when it was reported that Ibrahim, to whom the Morea had been promised as a pashalik, intended to send the Greek inhabitants to slavery and introduce African colonists. It seemed likely that Nicholas I. (Czar since December, 1825) would interfere, and Canning, anxious to prevent any isolated intervention from which Russia might reap advantage, made an agreement with the Czar to press the Sultan to grant autonomy.

The matter was complicated by other disputes between Russia and Turkey, and by the fact that Sultan Mahmud II., in attempting to reorganize the Turkish army, had caused the rebellion and subsequent massacre of the Janissaries. He therefore agreed (1826) to the Convention of Akerman, which increased Russian influence over Moldavia and Wallachia.

Meanwhile devastation was continued in the Morea, and the fleets of Britain, France and Russia, trying to enforce an armistice, destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet at Navarino (October, 1827).¹ The Sultan then repudiated the Convention of Akerman, and Russian troops advanced after hard fighting to Adrianople, while France and Britain secured the withdrawal of Ibrahim's troops to Egypt.

By the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) between Russia and Turkey, Moldavia and Wallachia, though still tributary, were completely freed from Turkish control,² and the autonomy of Servia (re-established in fact in 1817) was recognised, though Turkish garrisons were to remain in Belgrade and other forts. In territory Nicholas contented himself with the Danube delta and some gains in the Caucasus region, for Russia now aimed at influence over Turkey rather than her dismemberment. This important change of policy was not understood in Britain, and explains much that follows in the next twelve years. The Greeks, no longer content with autonomy, received complete independence under the guarantee of Britain, France and Russia, and Prince Otto of Bavaria became the first king of the Greek state (1832). He ruled for thirty years, at first autocratically and then, after a bloodless revolution (1843), as a constitutional monarch.

EGYPT AND TURKEY.—The Greek War had an important sequel. Mehemet Ali, dissatisfied with Crete as a reward for services rendered, attacked Syria in 1831, and by the end of 1832 no Turkish force barred his way to Constantinople. As France favoured Mehemet and Britain was preoccupied with the Re-

¹ The long war had interrupted British trade with the Levant, and early in the war the Greeks had raised a loan in London. British business men therefore favoured action to end the war.

² The Russians remained in occupation until 1834, and continued to meddle in Rumanian affairs until they provoked a national rising in 1848. It was suppressed by Russian troops. The Rumanians, who claimed a Latin rather than a Slav descent and culture, looked to France rather than to Russia as their "benefactress" (see p. 59).

form Bill, the Sultan turned to Russia for help. Russian ships and troops were sent for the defence of Constantinople, to the dismay of Britain and France, who now urged the Sultan to come to terms. He did so, granting Syria to Mehemet, and the Russian troops withdrew. But a military alliance had been made between Russia and Turkey (the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, 1833) by a secret clause of which Turkey agreed to close the Dardanelles to warships on the demand of Russia. It was a striking success for Russia's new Balkan policy.

In 1839 the Sultan tried to regain Syria. But Ibrahim routed the Turkish armies at Nessib and the Turkish fleet deserted to the Egyptians. Palmerston now resumed for Britain the rôle of protector of Turkey, blockaded Alexandria, and drew up terms for a settlement in conjunction with Russia, Austria and Prussia. France, whose Government still supported Mehemet, was not a party to these negotiations and resented them bitterly; nevertheless, a British and Austrian fleet forced Mehemet to withdraw his troops from Syria and to make peace, retaining only the hereditary rule of Egypt. To this settlement France also agreed (Treaty of London, 1841). At the same time, by the Straits Convention, it was laid down that no warship should pass the Dardanelles while the Porte was at peace.*

PRESSURE ON THE "SICK MAN".—Ten years later a petty religious dispute reopened the Eastern Question. French Catholic monks had obtained special privileges in Palestine in the sixteenth century, but the monks of the Orthodox Greek Church, of which the Czar was the temporal head, had also gained special rights at times when French influence was weak at Constantinople. In spite of Russian opposition, Louis Napoleon obtained for the Catholics the exclusive custody of the keys of a church at Bethlehem and the grotto of the Holy Manger, and the right to put a silver star bearing the French arms in the shrine of the Nativity. Russian troops were then mobilised in Bessarabia, and Prince Menschikov was sent (March, 1853) to demand a settlement of the Holy Places dispute, and secretly to obtain, in

¹ This is generally said to have "torn up the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi". But so crooked was diplomacy that it appears that Russia believed that her privileged position remained, and that the Sultan was deceiving the other powers. What really matters more than any treaty is that British influence replaced that of Russia at Constantinople.

return for promises of military assistance, a protectorate over the Orthodox Christians in Turkey.¹

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador at Constantinople, who as Stratford Canning had already gained great influence there, got wind of Menschikov's intentions and advised the Turks to end the Palestine dispute quickly and reject the proposal for the protectorate. The former was settled by an elaborate compromise (April), but the moving of the French fleet to Salamis had stiffened the Czar's attitude, and he was now openly demanding a protectorate. This went far beyond the limited rights of earlier treaties, and was hardly compatible with Turkey's independence, since a large majority of her European subjects was Christian. It was rejected by the Sultan on British advice, and Menschikov withdrew from Constantinople (May).

The attitudes of the four powers chiefly interested were as follows. Napoleon wished to assert himself in Europe and to satisfy his military supporters.² Austria was not willing to allow the Czar, in return for services rendered in 1845,⁸ to extend Russian influence in the Balkans, but she did not want war. In Britain Lord Aberdeen, head of a coalition government, was friendly to the Czar, but some members of the Cabinet, including Palmerston, were Russophobe, and the ambassador at Constantinople (owing to lack of telegraphic communication) had very great influence on policy. The Czar himself seems to have been convinced by the events of 1831-1832 and 1839 that the dissolution of Turkey was inevitable. In 1844 and in 1853 he suggested that Britain and Russia should agree on a partition of the "Sick Man's" territory, and though this was refused he was confident that Aberdeen would not intervene if he took independent action.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.—In July, 1853, Russian troops occupied the Principalities to support the Czar's claims. A vaguely

¹ Compare with the policy preceding the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.

² He had also a personal difference with Nicholas I., who refused to address him as "My Brother" (as was customary between monarchs), and wrote to him as "My dear friend". Privately he called him "the nephew of the Devil". Lord Stratford also had a personal feud with the Czar, who had once refused to receive him as ambassador at St. Petersburg.

² Schwarzenberg had said that Austria would astonish the world by her ingratitude.

worded settlement, which would have given the Czar excuse for subsequent intervention, was suggested by Britain, France, Austria and Prussia; but the Sultan rejected this "Vienna Note" and in October declared war on Russia. Britain and France, fearing Russian success, sent fleets to Constantinople; in March, 1854, they joined Turkey, and in May, by occupying Athens, they prevented the Greek Government from supporting a rising of the Sultan's Greek subjects in Thessaly.

Owing to strong Turkish resistance and a threat of Austrian intervention, the Russians quickly withdrew from the Principalities, and Austrian troops, prepared to resist any Russian attack, occupied them for the rest of the war. The British and French force that reached Varna (see map, p. 35) in June had not been required, and it was decided in London and Paris, without proper consideration, to use it for an attack on Sebastopol, the Russian naval base in the Crimea. The allied expedition landed at Eupatoria in September, 1854, and defeated the Russian Crimean army under Menschikov; but instead of attacking Sebastopol from the north invested it from the south, thus giving time for defence works to be prepared. For a year the allies remained outside Sebastopol, still open for supplies and reinforcements on the north side, making occasional frontal attacks whenever the weather, cholera and the attentions of the Russian army of the interior gave opportunity. At Balaclava, famous for the charge of the Light Brigade, and Inkerman Russian counter-attacks failed (October and November, 854), and at last in September, 1855, Sebastopol was captured. Nicholas I. had died in March, and both sides had suffered terribly from the cold and the inadequacy of transport and medical services. Indeed, the war was fought mainly with the weapons and methods of the beginning of the century, resembling the Moscow campaign of 1812 rather than the wars of 1866 and 1870. After the capture of Kars, a Turkish fortress in the Caucasus, Alexander II. was glad to sign an armistice.

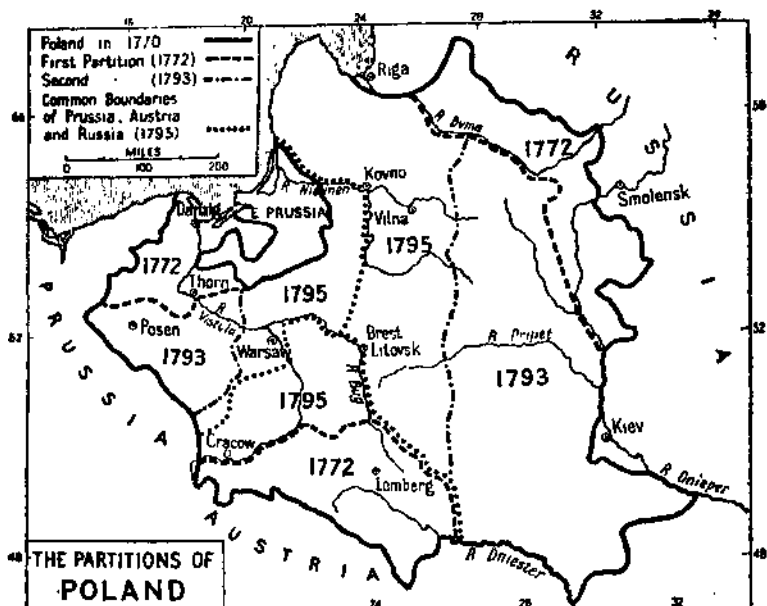
At the Congress of Paris (1856) the general Russian claim to protect Balkan Christians was abandoned, and her self-imposed interest in the autonomy of the Principalities and Servia was transferred to the powers collectively. The Sultan promised reforms, was admitted to equality¹ by the monarchs of Europe,

¹ The equality was nominal, because of the capitulations (see p. 180).

and received a guarantee of the integrity of his empire. The Russian frontier was withdrawn from the Danube delta by the cession of a part of Bessarabia to Moldavia, Kars was restored to Turkey, and the Black Sea was neutralised. This last clause removed all danger of Russian naval activity in the Mediterranean—until Russia denounced it in 1870. The Congress issued a declaration abolishing privateering, affirming that an effective force must patrol outside blockaded harbours, and restating the continental view (now first accepted by Britain) that enemy goods other than contraband could not be seized in neutral vessels. The powers also heard the complaints of Cavour, who had gained his place at the Congress by sending 15,000 Sardinian troops to the Crimea in 1855, about the misgovernment of Italy under Austrian control and influence (see p. 66).

RUSSIA AND POLAND.—Nothing has yet been said of Russia's internal affairs. Alexander I. (1801-1825) was influenced by liberal ideas, and attempted to improve the condition of the crown serfs, promote foreign trade, check the prevalent corruption, and reform the prisons. In the Baltic provinces serfs were freed, but without any grant of land. Nevertheless, in Russia his rule remained autocratic, and was backed by a large and rigidly disciplined army. In "Congress Poland", however, he made a serious attempt to introduce national and representative institutions for the Poles. He became King of Poland, but the union was purely personal. There was a Polish Diet or parliament, in which the large landowners had a preponderant influence; Polish was the only official language; the Catholic religion was fully recognised and the privileges of the priests were maintained; there was a Polish army, with a uniform distinct from the Russian; government appointments were confined to Poles. A university was set up in Warsaw, and education was encouraged by Polish ministers. But the Polish nobles were not satisfied, and agitated for the inclusion of Lithuania in Poland; hence even before Alexander died their Diet had been suspended for five years and the constitution modified. M

Nicholas I. (1825-1855) had none of his brother's vacillating idealism. He was a military autocrat, intensely suspicious of western ideas; he enforced strict censorship of the press, of speech, and of university teaching, excluded foreign literature and made travel between Russia and the West very difficult. To



carry out this policy, the secret police (the "Third Section") were given unlimited powers of arrest and punishment; and tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands were exiled to Siberia.¹

The French and Belgian revolutions of 1830 gave the signal for revolution in Poland also (November, 1830), and a Diet declared the Romanov dynasty deposed and the union of Lithuania with Poland. The rebels had the support of the Polish army, and the machinery of government was already in Polish hands, but they frittered away their opportunities, and Warsaw capitulated to Russian troops in September, 1831. They had hoped for help from abroad, but Austria and Prussia had reason to fear Polish nationalism, and neither France nor Britain was prepared to support their sympathy by military force. The Congress Kingdom was now incorporated in Russia: the constitution was abolished, Russian officials replaced the Polish, and confiscated lands were given to Russians. Nicholas adopted a policy of stern Russification, and Russian took the place of Polish as the official language. Henceforward the centres of Polish nationalism were Paris, to which many of the rebel nobles fled, and Galicia, where Polish magnates enjoyed great influence.

¹ Insurrections in favour of the Czar's elder brother Constantine, who had renounced his rights, had showed the existence of secret revolutionary societies (December, 1825).

CHAPTER V

MID-CENTURY EUROPE

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION.—The map of Europe in 1850 was little different from that of 1815 except for the addition of two new states (Belgium and Greece) and the extinction of such independence as Congress Poland had enjoyed. But by 1871, apart from modifications of frontier, the German Empire had replaced the German Confederation and the kingdom of Italy included the seven states of the Vienna Settlement, while recognition of Hungarian equality had converted the Hapsburg Empire into a dual monarchy, and Rumania had appeared in the Balkans. Europe, however, had really changed far more than the map would suggest, for the whole life of the people, particularly in the north and west, was being modified by the industrial revolution. Mechanical invention and scientific discovery were greatly increasing man's power over nature, and were accompanied by a marked rise in the population of the continent.

No reliable figures are available for Europe before 1800, and even the census figures of the early nineteenth century are inaccurate. It seems, however, that the population began to rise in the eighteenth century and grew rapidly after 1800. The increase was considerably greater even than that indicated by the diagram on p. 46, on account of the very large emigration from Europe to the U.S.A. (see p. 119), and was mainly due to a reduction in the death-rate, particularly in the second half of last century.¹ It might be thought that the industrial revolution

¹ Death-rate per thousand:

			1861-1870	1895-1904
Sweden	..	..	20	16
Denmark	..	..	20	16
Holland	..	..	25	17
England	..	..	24	17
Belgium	..	..	24	18

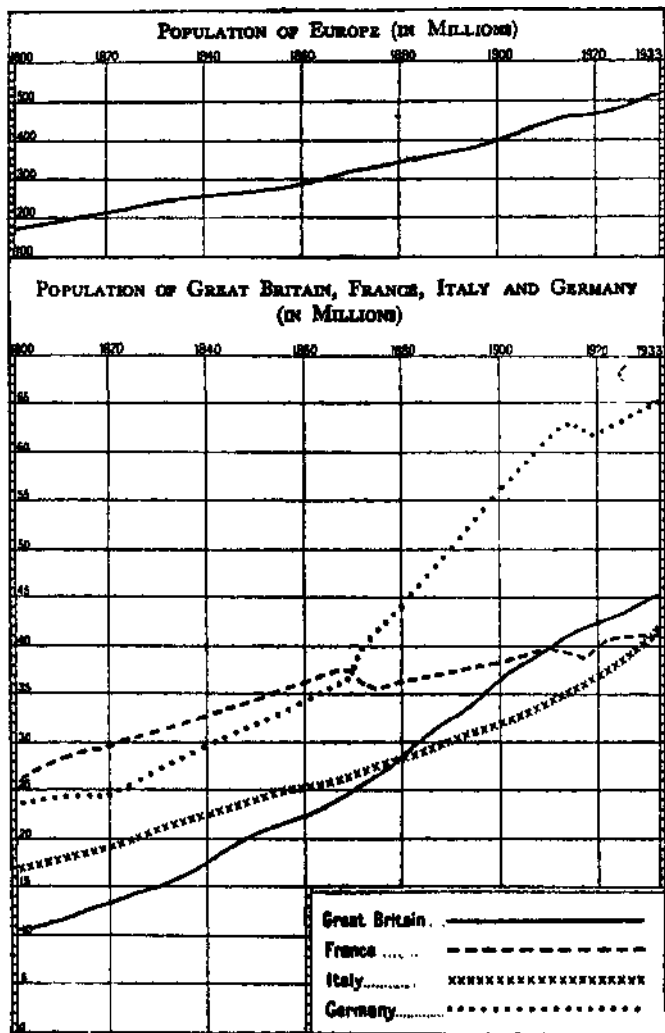
in its early stages would have increased mortality, for though countries which were industrialised later did not suffer from slums and badly planned towns as much as Britain, conditions in the worst towns of France, Belgium and Germany were very bad. Indeed, epidemics of typhus and typhoid, smallpox and cholera were not uncommon; but improved food and clothing, better housing and sanitation, and above all a great advance in medical science (see pp. 109-110), outweighed the evil effects overcrowding.

AGRICULTURE.—This increasing population needed agricultural products as well as those of mechanical industry, at a time when a smaller proportion of the total population was engaged in agriculture. Moreover, this greater demand had to be met, at least until the seventies (see p. 120), almost wholly from Europe. The changes in agriculture that accompanied or preceded the industrial revolution were therefore of great importance.

In 1815 enclosures had almost eliminated the open field system in England, but over much of the Continent strip cultivation still prevailed. The number of peasant owners had been greatly increased in France during the Revolution, but the French law of inheritance led to the creation of many very small farms, which hindered the adoption of improved methods. In eastern Europe large estates were the rule (see p. 5), and even where the status of serfdom had been abolished, as in Prussia and Congress Poland, the former serfs were so poor that there was little change in their condition before the middle of the century.

It was not until the industrial revolution caused an increase in demand from the towns that wasteful conditions of farming were abandoned. Improvements in communications also encouraged intensive farming for more distant markets. The rapid development of the textile industry led to an increased demand

			1861-1870	1895-1904
France	..	..	24	20
Germany	..	..	27	21
Italy	•	..	31	23
Austria	..	..	29	24
Spain	..	..	31	28
Russia in Europe	..	..	37	31



GROWTH OF POPULATION

NOTE.—Owing to lack of trustworthy statistics the population figures for Europe are an estimate, and the earlier figures for individual countries are not very reliable. Only one census was taken in Russia before 1914, and that (1897) showed 129 millions for Russia (European and Asiatic) exclusive of Finland. The census of 1939 showed the population of the U.S.S.R. to be 170 millions. Estimates suggest that the rate of increase for Russia in Europe during the nineteenth century may have been about 10 per cent, in 50 years.

for wool; sheep-breeding was stimulated, and German wool was much used in England before the Australian trade grew. By 1870 sugar beet was being extensively grown in France and Germany,¹ and the field cultivation of potatoes was well established. The serious application of chemistry to agriculture began in this period. The scientific field research of Boussingault on his farm in Alsace provided data that were used by Liebig, the great German agricultural chemist in his *Chemistry in its Application to Agriculture and Physiology* (1840). The value of manuring was now better understood, and farmers began to use artificial fertilisers. In Germany modern methods of agriculture were being adopted by the middle of the century.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.—The changes known as the industrial revolution cannot be accurately dated. Broadly speaking, they spread eastward throughout the nineteenth century from their home in Britain, where they were already far advanced by 1815. In France, Belgium, Scandinavia and Switzerland the change was most marked from 1830-1860; in Germany, Italy and Russia the most rapid development occurred after 1870 (see p. 112).

The invention of spinning machines in the eighteenth century, and the use of steam to drive them, were the first steps in the capture of industry by power-driven machinery. Subsidiary to them, and stimulating them, was an increasing application of science to industrial methods. Hardly any steam power was used on the Continent in 1815; it spread in the Belgian and French cotton industries in the twenties and thirties, but there was little in Germany before 1850. Weaving power-looms were much more slowly adopted in Britain and abroad, and everywhere, both in spinning and weaving, the cotton industry was the first to introduce steam, which was then gradually extended to worsted and wool. In the middle of the century, woollen goods were still mainly hand-woven in Britain, and the use of steam in wool-weaving was exceptional in France, where steam

¹ During the Napoleonic wars, when West Indian sugar was difficult to obtain, beet-sugar factories were established in France and Germany, but for some years after 1815 Europe still relied almost entirely on honey and imported cane sugar. Beet sugar rose from 4 per cent, of the world sugar trade in 1840 to 34 per cent in 1870. The abolition of slavery in the West Indies contributed to the decline of the cane-sugar trade.

power increased five-fold from 1847 to 1867.¹ In Russia there was some extension of the cotton industry in large factories owned by the state or by nobles and largely worked by serf labour.

This development depended on supplies of coal for driving the engines and for smelting, and iron and steel for the machinery. A rapid expansion took place in the Belgian coal and iron industries; France, however, was slow to adopt modern methods of smelting and Germany slower still. Swedish exports of iron to Britain rose steadily, and her domestic manufactures were trebled between 1840 and 1860; but the greatest development of iron and coal was in Britain, which produced only 150,000 tons of iron in 1800 and as much as 1,400,000 tons in 1840. Mechanical engineering on a large scale was practised in Britain in the first half of the century; and though a machine-making industry (in addition to watch-making) was early established in Switzerland, the continental demand for machine tools, as for rails, rolling-stock and railway engineers, was mainly supplied by Britain.

This helped to make Britain the financial as well as the industrial centre of Europe. Development on the Continent was checked by lack of capital, and joint-stock companies became usual later than in Britain, though they were gaining ground in France and Belgium in the thirties. Europe was far behind Britain, too, in her banking system and the use of credit facilities. The Darmstädter Bank in Germany (1853) financed large enterprises, and banking and credit were encouraged in France under the Second Empire (see p. 58), but foreign borrowing was mainly from Britain after 1815, through great international banking organisations such as the Rothschilds' or the Barings', as it had once been mainly from Holland. By 1871 £1,400 millions of British capital was invested abroad, particularly in India, America, France and Spain and mainly in railways, docks and other public works.

COMMUNICATIONS.—The spread of the industrial revolution was also checked by the difficulty of transport. France and Holland had inherited good canals and roads from the eighteenth

¹ Small factories and the "domestic system" lasted much longer in France than in Britain. The French were supreme in the artistic production of high-grade textiles, and the most delicate silk and woollen fabrics were made, even in the twentieth century, on hand looms.

century, and there were some good roads in Austria and northern Italy. Napoleon improved the French canal system and made thousands of miles of main road; and in Belgium, Holland and the Rhine Provinces road and water communications were steadily improved after 1815. In general, however, exchange of goods was restricted: in eastern Europe and many parts of Germany trade was local and was conducted in weekly markets and annual fairs, such as those of Leipzig and Novgorod, and there was very little retail business outside the big towns before the middle of the century.

The introduction of railways revolutionised inland communications. There was little railway building in Europe before 1840, though Britain had over 1,000 miles of line in that year, and by 1844 the main lines of the Belgian system had been finished. The Belgian railways were planned as a unified national scheme, and Italy and Switzerland followed that example. But in Britain, the pioneer of rail construction, lines were built by private companies without co-ordinated planning and because of this and the high cost of land British railway charges became the highest in Europe. The absence of political unity in Germany led to haphazard development there also,¹ and in France disputes about control delayed construction. In 1850, Britain had over 6,000 miles of line, Germany about 3,000, France over 2,000 and Spain only 20. The period between 1850 and 1870 saw great activity; France was divided into six areas, and one private company was given the monopoly in each, with the result that mileage had risen to 10,000 by 1858. By 1870 western Europe was supplied with a good railway system, 53,000 miles in all.

The effects of distance were also being reduced by other means: steamships, that had been used for river transport even before 1815, had shortened the duration of overseas voyages, but were not economical for carrying goods before the middle of the century; postal services had improved;¹ telegraphy had linked up the continent for the rapid transmission of messages, and progress had been made with submarine cables.

¹ Even after 1870 Bismarck was unable to obtain centralised control of the railways in the German Empire. Control was retained by the states.

² The first adhesive postage stamps were used in Britain in 1840. By 1850 most European countries had adopted them.

ECONOMIC THOUGHT.—The spread of the industrial revolution could not fail to influence men's thought and their relationships both as individuals and as members of organised communities. The most obvious effect was in economic theory. There was a slow but general tendency to remove the barriers that checked the exchange of goods between the states. In this Britain took the lead, because her great advantage in industrial production was a sufficient safeguard against the competition of foreign manufactures, and her increasing dependence on foreign corn gave her a special interest in overseas trade. By 1850 the adoption of free trade by Britain was nearly completed, and her industrial supremacy won for British economists the attention of Europe.

The arguments of the economists did not produce as much effect as they had hoped, for countries less dependent on foreign food supplies than Britain and less able, owing to their later industrialisation, to compete in open markets with all comers, were not inclined to expose their infant industries to the competition of British goods. Moreover, the powerful voice of Frederick List was raised in Germany in favour of economic nationalism.¹ The doctrine of free trade was admittedly cosmopolitan: free traders hoped that interdependence would put an end to national exclusiveness and war. List, on the other hand, regarded national power as the object of economic activity, and held that tariffs might be necessary to promote it. Thus a battle was joined that was to outlast the century. Nevertheless, it seemed in 1870 as if the future was with free trade. A commercial treaty between Britain and France in 1860 (see p. 58) was followed by a general reduction of European tariffs, and in 1865 the German Zollverein repealed the duties on agricultural produce.

The counterpart of free trade as between states is *laissez-faire* as between individuals—the abolition of such restrictions as guilds and internal customs dues, and the reduction to a minimum of government interference in the relations between employers and employees. This was more widely adopted, partly because improved communications made local restrictions an

¹ In his *National System of Political Economy* (1841). In much the same way the German philosopher Hegel opposed to the matter-of-fact utilitarian idea of the state the doctrine that the interests of the state were supreme, the "march of God upon earth".

anachronism. The growth of the Zollverein is a good example of this tendency.

The liberal doctrine of *laissez-faire* suited the manufacturers, but it was by no means obvious that low wages in the hope of low prices suited the workers equally well. Hence there was a slow growth of trade unions, and a development of socialist ideas. Saint-Simon (1760-1825), who has been called the founder of French socialism, and Robert Owen (1771-1858) in England, hoped that industrialists might voluntarily improve the condition of their employees; and Owen later advocated schemes for socialist reorganisation of industry. Similarly Louis Blanc in France, in his *Organization of Labour* (1839), recommended that communal workshops directed by the state should take the place of capitalist enterprises (see p. 19). The Chartist movement in Britain (1838-1848) and the socialism of Paris in 1848 revealed the doubts of working-men about *laissez-faire*; and the difficulty of securing improvement in conditions through parliaments dominated by landlords and employers led to the growth of revolutionary socialism, aiming at the overthrow of parliamentary government and the establishment of a working-class dictatorship. But the communism of Marx, though his *Manifesto* was published in 1847, belongs to a rather later period (see p. 114).

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.—The effect of industrialism on political thought is less obvious; but the fact that the new rich were pushing their way to the front was probably at least as influential in the development of parliamentary institutions as theories of the rights of man. In 1815 autocratic rule prevailed throughout Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, Britain, the United Netherlands, France and Sweden, and in the four last-named states the monarch still possessed considerable power. By 1870, however, representative government had been established also in Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Prussia and other German states, Denmark, Austria, Hungary, Servia and Rumania, and the parliamentary system of Sardinia had been extended over all Italy. The existence of parliaments did not necessarily imply either a democratic franchise or a real control of policy by the ministers. In Spain and Portugal political development was far from smooth; in Prussia effective control remained with the king; and in Austria and the Balkans

conditions were unfavourable to parliamentarism. Nevertheless, constitutional government had become the rule in Europe, Turkey and Russia being the only exceptions, and it seemed probable that this would lead to democratic control; it is significant also that modern parliaments were first established in the north and west of Europe—that is, in the area earliest affected by industrial change.

The principles of democracy and nationality, the dominant political forces of the century, were at this time held to be almost complementary: both inspired men to a struggle for "freedom". Nationalists were generally disappointed before 1850, though Belgium and Greece had been created, but by 1871 striking successes had been won in Italy, Germany, Hungary and Rumania. The Poles, indeed, and the subject races of the central Balkans still had unsatisfied national aspirations, but a definite advance had been made towards the reconstruction of Europe on a national basis.^x

EDUCATION.—The attitude of governments to education after 1815 was much influenced by the fear of revolution, the strength of the Churches, and later by the spread of industrialism. Suspicion of any stimulus to thought was most obvious in Austria and Russia. Metternich imposed very strict control on the universities and higher education in Austria; in Russia both elementary and higher education remained very backward, though some improvement was made under Alexander I I. Governments generally had the support of the priesthood, particularly in Catholic countries, in their efforts to check revolution and to teach resignation and obedience. In Spain and Italy the Church controlled education; and in France clerical influence over the schools was increased in times of reaction such as the reign of Charles X. and the years following 1848. Even in Prussia elementary education came under ecclesiastical control for some time after 1850. The effect of industrialism was two-fold. At first the use of child labour in factories tended to check education, but later the national advantages of increasing the number of literate workmen and skilled technicians became apparent. In technical education France led the way, and Prussia improved upon her example; in the comprehensive planning

¹ The extension of democratic control and the increase of nation-states were greatly stimulated by the European war of 1914-1918 (see p. 181).

of state-controlled education Prussia was in the lead from the first. She had arrangements for state examination of teachers before 1815, primary education was early made compulsory, and after 1834 candidates for the professions and civil service had to possess secondary-school leaving certificates. The high standard of education in Prussia undoubtedly contributed to her triumphs under Bismarck (see Chapter VIII.) and other countries were then quick to follow her example.¹ Switzerland, where education was made compulsory in the thirties, and the other countries of north-western Europe were far in advance of Britain in educational development.

THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION.—The distrust of secular and scientific education felt by the Catholic Church was much increased by the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859).^{*} Darwin, building on the work of earlier French scientists, explained the idea of biological evolution in terms that the ordinary man could understand. Living things, he argued, developed by natural selection working on variations, owing to which the fittest in each generation survived, and his general theory was accepted by scientists though it was later modified on points of detail. The doctrine of evolution was applied to the human race, as well as to the lower animals[^] and completely upset ideas of the separate creation of species and man's early state of perfection that were based on the opening chapters of the Bible. The Churches, therefore, joined battle with Darwin, and at first it seemed to the man in the street that he must choose between "science" and "religion".

The theory of evolution was of great importance not only because of its scientific implications. It encouraged the adoption of a historical point of view in the study of man and his problems, and seemed to give to the supporters of *laissez-faire* a scientific basis for their doctrine of free competition. The theory of the "survival of the fittest" was also applied to organised communities by those who held that the state should aim above all at "power".^v

¹ The first Act establishing a national system of primary education in Britain was passed in 1870, the year of the Franco-German War.

² The Pope's *Syllabus of Errors* (see p. 72) was issued in 1864.

³ Darwin developed this in *The Descent of Man* (1871), pointing out that apes and human beings had a common ancestor (not, as ignorant opponent! said, that men were descended from monkeys).

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE: FROM THE SECOND REPUBLIC TO THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

THE SECOND REPUBLIC.—The republican constitution of 1848 (see p. 20) was modelled on that of the U.S.A., and a president was to govern through ministers appointed by and responsible to himself. During his four-year tenure of office he had actually more power than an American president; he controlled a large army and made government appointments throughout the highly centralised state, whereas in America the president's power was limited by the Senate and by the rights of the component states of the union. On the other hand, an attempt was made to provide against the risk of autocratic rule by the regulation that a French president should not be eligible for re-election, and he had no right to dissolve the Assembly before the end of its three-year term. The constitution could be altered by a vote of three-quarters of the Assembly; apart from such alteration, disagreement between a popularly-elected president and the popularly-elected Assembly could only be ended by force—which was controlled by the president.

Louis NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.—The first president, elected in December, 1848, was a shortish man of forty who spoke French with a German accent and had had a curious career. Louis Napoleon was the second son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon I. and once King of Holland. After Waterloo his mother (separated from her husband and elder son) took young Louis to Switzerland. He had a desultory education, including some time at a school in Augsburg, but his mother encouraged him to regard himself as the man of destiny who would restore the fortunes of the Bonapartes. With his brother he joined the Italian rebels in an abortive rising in the Papal States (1831), and escaped by being smuggled out of Italy as his mother's coachman. During the rebellion his brother died of fever, and the death in 1832 of Napoleon I.'s only son, the Duke of Reich-

stadt, gave Louis Napoleon some title to be considered the last hope of his family. He made two attempts at a *coup d'état*. The first, a futile effort to cause a military insurrection at Strasbourg (1836), led to his exile from France; the second, a comic-opera descent from England on the French coast at Boulogne (1840), won him the sentence of imprisonment for life. He then spent six years under observation, reading, writing and seeing his friends (for the Government did not take him very seriously), and in 1846 walked out of his fortress-prison disguised as a labourer and returned to London society.

THE NAPOLEONIC LEGEND.—Since Waterloo a new generation had been brought up on reports of imperial triumphs, but many Frenchmen were more interested in political liberty (which the July Monarchy denied them) than in military glory, and it was to win their support that the Napoleonic legend was spread. Napoleon himself had started it from St. Helena. He complained that he had been misunderstood; it was his object, if he had not been constantly forced into war by other states, to have established political liberty in France. In the *Idées Napoléoniennes*, a pamphlet of 1839 which had a large circulation, his nephew used his great imaginative powers to suggest what Napoleon would have done if he had had the opportunity.

"And if in the heavenly resting-place where his great soul now abides in peace, Napoleon could still care about the agitations and judgments which cause conflict here below, would not his indignant spirit have the right to reply to his accusers: 'All that I did for the internal prosperity of France, I could only accomplish in the intervals between battles. And you who blame me—what have you done in the twenty years of profound peace that have since passed by?

" 'Have you appeased the discords, and united all parties around the altar of the fatherland? ... Have you given your House of Peers the democratic organization that my Senate had? ... Have you given your electoral system the democratic basis of my cantonal assemblies? Have you made access to the representative chamber easy by assuring remuneration to the deputies? ... Have you opened new outlets for commerce? Have you improved the lot of the poorer classes? ... Have you kept the army in that consideration and popularity which it so deservedly acquired? ... Have you given the survivors of Waterloo the little bread which was due to them in return for the blood which they shed for France? Have the tricolour flag and the name of Frenchmen kept that prestige and influence which

made the whole universe respect them? ... Finally, have you weakened that administrative centralisation which I only established in order to organise the interior and resist the foreigner?

" 'No, you have kept all that was merely transitory in my reign, the things I was obliged to do for the moment, and you have rejected all the advantages which made up for the faults of these. The benefits of peace you have not been able to gain; and all the inconveniences of war you have kept, without its immense compensations, the honour and glory of the fatherland.' " (*Des Idées Napoléoniennes.*)

The growth of the Napoleonic legend does not wholly account for Louis Napoleon's success in 1848. Illiterate peasants, unaccustomed to the franchise, naturally voted for a name that they knew, and the *bourgeois* property-owners, scared by the doctrines of the Paris socialists, felt that a Bonaparte would give them "order".

EMPEROR NAPOLEON III.—The President had a very small following in the Legislative Assembly that was elected in May, 1849, but he hoped to gain support from zealous Catholics by helping the Pope to recover Rome (see p. 31). The Assembly, obsessed by fear of socialism, passed a law restoring the influence of the Church over education as an insurance against the spread of left-wing doctrines, and altered the electoral law by making three years' residence in one district a necessary qualification for the vote (1850). This disfranchised about three million citizens, mostly of the changing urban population.

Meanwhile Louis Napoleon had been strengthening his control over the army and the administration, for he had no intention of retiring to obscurity when his presidency expired. He tried first to get the constitution revised, so that he would be eligible for re-election, but could not obtain the necessary three-fourths majority, and resolved therefore to use force.¹ To discredit the Assembly he proposed the repeal of the recent electoral law, and when this was (as he had hoped) refused, he was able to pose as the champion of the people.

On December 2, 1851 (the anniversary of Napoleon I.'s coronation and the battle of Austerlitz), the *coup d'état* was carried out. Cavaignac, Thiers and other prominent deputies were

¹ On taking the oath as President in December, 1848, he had said: "I shall regard as enemies of the fatherland all those who attempt by illegal means to change what France has established."

arrested, and a proclamation was issued inviting the people to accept a new constitution by which Louis Napoleon was to be president for ten years. A committee, including Victor Hugo,¹ called for resistance to the treason of the President, and barricades appeared in eastern Paris. But the revolt was quickly suppressed; thirty-two departments were placed under martial law and thousands of suspects were arrested and deported. It is probable that official pressure in the plebiscite merely increased the majority by which the President's action was approved, and a year later an even larger majority voted that he should be Emperor.¹

REPRESSION.—The new constitution greatly increased the power of the head of the state. A Senate nominated by him was to "safeguard" the constitution: it was this body that later proposed the establishment of a hereditary empire. A Council of State also nominated by Napoleon was to prepare the laws which the Legislative Assembly, during its limited yearly session of three months, could accept or reject but not amend. The Assembly had no right to initiate laws, and the budget was to be voted as a whole. In effect, the government of France from 1852 to 1860 was a centralised autocracy. The Assembly, indeed, was elected by manhood suffrage; but Napoleon had the right to put forward official candidates, and, as all prefects and mayors were appointed by the government, local pressure could easily be brought to bear upon the voters. Moreover, the constituencies were rearranged so as to swamp the progressive vote of urban populations by the conservative vote of the neighbouring country districts, and opponents of the government were struck off the voters' lists. Opposition was stifled in other ways—by careful control of education, by strict supervision of the press (which could only publish the official version of proceedings in the Chamber), and by limitation of the right of public meeting. It must not, however, be assumed that this policy was unpopular, except in Paris and the larger towns, or that Napoleon was not acting from patriotic motives. He intended, of course, to maintain his own power, holding that France needed discipline

¹ Who from exile later used his pen to pour contempt on "Napoleon the Little".

² December, 1851: Yes, 7,439,000; No, 640,000. December, 185a: Yet, 7,824,000; No, 253,000.

before she could enjoy freedom; but it was his professed intention (as it had been the legendary intention of Napoleon) to advance from "order to liberty".

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.—Industry and commerce progressed very rapidly under the Second Empire: capital was made available through institutions that advanced credit in the form of mortgages and financed enterprises; railway building was encouraged (see p. 49), drainage and afforestation schemes and public works were put in hand, and Paris was largely rebuilt, wide *boulevards* taking the place of narrow streets.¹ Napoleon knew the importance of display, and after his marriage (1853) with Eugenie, a beautiful Spaniard of noble but not royal birth, he established a brilliant court to lead Paris society.

Manufactures increased, and production was doubled in twenty years. But Napoleon was not concerned only with the prosperity of the *bourgeoisie*; he had a real interest in the conditions of working men. Apart from the employment provided by public works, something was done to improve housing and encourage benefit societies. To stimulate trade and reduce the cost of living Napoleon entered into a treaty with Britain by which French customs duties were not to exceed 30 per cent, of the value of the imports, and British duties on French wines and spirits were reduced (1860). This step in the direction of freer trade was unpopular with the manufacturers, but the foreign trade of France rose from three million to eight million francs in the ten years that followed.

FOREIGN POLICY.—Napoleon could fairly claim that he had fulfilled his early promises of economic conquests; he had also said, "*L'empire, c'est la paix*" Yet during less than eighteen years France was at war with three of the great powers of Europe, and the Second Empire fell, like the first, as a result of military defeat.

The Emperor's foreign policy suffered from vacillation and confusion of aim. Whereas Russia, Sardinia, Prussia and even Austria had clear and intelligible objectives, France (like Britain) had little to gain by an adventurous foreign policy and needed a period of peace. But Napoleon thought that military success was required of him, and felt the need of strengthening his position by satisfying powerful sections of opinion—the army, on whose support he relied; the clericals, who might favour a legiti-

¹ They were healthier and less easy to barricade.

mate Bourbon monarchy; and the liberal idealists, who regarded the freeing of subject peoples as a part of France's historic mission. With the sentiment of nationality, indeed, Napoleon had genuine sympathy: unfortunately this principle was destined to establish strong and potentially hostile nation-states on the borders of France.

The Near East gave an early and favourable opportunity for adventure. After championing the Catholics in the Holy Places dispute, Napoleon joined in the Crimean War, thus establishing good relations with Britain (an aim he constantly pursued) and satisfying the army. The enemy, Nicholas of Russia, was hated by all liberals for his part in the suppression of the Hungarian revolution and had offended Napoleon personally.* No important French interests were involved, but Napoleon was justified in thinking that Paris, where the peace conference was held, had become once more the political centre of Europe. One of the sequels of the Crimean War was the formation of a united Rumania, to which Napoleon gave valuable diplomatic support.

Three years after the Peace of Paris, France was at war with Austria in support of the Italians (1859). The Emperor's part in the creation of Italian unity is described elsewhere (see Ch. VII.); here it is only necessary to point out that support of Italian nationalism and support of the temporal power of the Pope were irreconcilable. In the event Napoleon offended both clericals and liberals, the former blaming him because the Pope lost territory, the latter because French troops saved Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter from the nationalists. He had, however, the satisfaction of adding Savoy and Nice to France as the price of his intervention, thus improving the strategic frontier on the south-east.

The Emperor's prestige stood at its highest in 1859 and 1860. The next ten years showed a steady decline, largely because in Bismarck, who came to power in Prussia in 1862, he had a rival of genius with a clear national policy that could only be fully achieved at the expense of France. In 1863 diplomatic intervention on behalf of the Poles (see p. 132) was disregarded by the Czar to the disgust of the French liberals. More serious was the failure to establish an empire in Mexico in the interests of French financiers and the clericals.

¹ See note, p. 39,

In 1861, after a civil war, an American Indian named Juarez established himself as President of the Mexican Republic, suspended payment on foreign debts, and disestablished the Catholic Church. The Governments of Britain, Spain and France sent a combined expedition to enforce debt payment, from which the British and Spanish soon withdrew (1862). Napoleon, however, had long entertained schemes for French influence in Central America and a canal joining the Atlantic and Pacific, and French troops occupied Mexico City in 1863. A puppet Mexican Government then offered the throne, at Napoleon's wish, to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of Francis Joseph. He accepted and became "Emperor of Mexico", but could only maintain himself against Juarez with the help of French troops. These were withdrawn when the end of the American Civil War enabled the United States Government to assert the Monroe doctrine, and Maximilian was captured by the republicans and shot.¹

Meanwhile the Austro-Prussian War (1866, see p. 79) had greatly increased the power of Prussia. Napoleon, who had expected a long war and hoped to gain something for France in the settlement, therefore made desperate efforts to secure compensation. He first suggested that France should have the Rhine frontier, then that France should annex Belgium with Prussian approval,¹ and finally attempted to buy Luxembourg from the King of the Netherlands.¹ Prussian opposition prevented this also. It had, indeed, become clear that a war between France, now isolated, and Prussia might break out at any moment, and from 1868 onwards Napoleon tried to form an Austro-Italo-French alliance against this danger. But Bismarck

¹ The withdrawal of French troops at the dictation of the U.S.A., admiration for the fine character of Maximilian, who refused to desert his Mexican supporters, and the fate of his wife Charlotte, daughter of Leopold I. of the Belgians, who lost her reason during this tragedy, all increased the severity of the blow to Napoleon's reputation.

¹ This proposal was foolishly made in writing and was published by Bismarck when the Franco-German war broke out. British sympathy was at once alienated from France.

² The Grand Duchy (see pp. 2 and 15) was until 1866 a member of the German Confederation, and had a Prussian garrison. As a result of the French proposal Luxembourg was made a neutral state, and the Prussian garrison was withdrawn (Treaty of London, 1867).

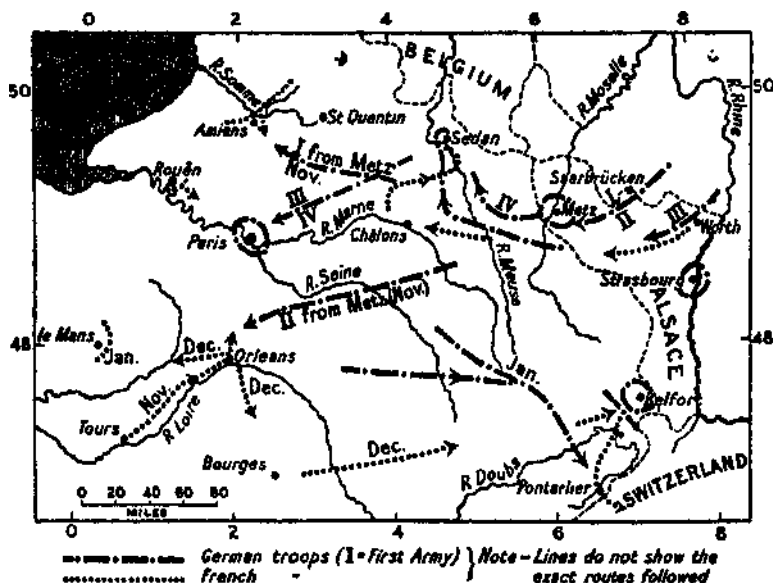
had wisely given lenient terms to Austria in 1866, and French troops were still in Rome: Napoleon's effort therefore failed.

THE LIBERAL EMPIRE.—In 1860, when the clericals were alienated by his Italian policy, and the business men by his commercial treaty with Britain, Napoleon began to conciliate the liberals and republicans. The first steps (1860-1861) were to permit the Senate and Assembly, once a year, to criticise government policy, to allow full reports of debates in the Assembly, and to make it possible for items of the budget to be voted separately. Nevertheless, the elections of 1863, in spite of official pressure, increased the opposition from five to thirty-five, including all the deputies from Paris. Further concessions were made in 1867 and 1868; members of the Assembly could question ministers, and restrictions on the press and the right of public meeting were removed. Yet the opposition polled nearly half the votes in the 1869 elections. The Emperor then introduced a parliamentary system similar to that of Britain, and Emile Ollivier, a liberal, became head of a new ministry that was to work in co-operation with the Chamber (January, 1870).

The change was approved by plebiscite, but Napoleon's position was still insecure. He had for some years been seriously ill, and pain weakened his will and increased his fault of indecision. His pose as a man of mystery was no longer impressive, and he was now ridiculed in the newly-freed press as Louis Philippe had been. There was some reason to think that only a striking success would secure the succession to his son, the Prince Imperial (born 1856).

THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.—When in 1869 a military revolution drove Queen Isabella from Spain, the Provisional Government sought in vain for a successor. On July 2, 1870, however, it was announced that the throne had been accepted by Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, elder brother of the Prince of Rumania. The French were justifiably annoyed, for his candidature had previously been dropped owing to their opposition, and the Foreign Minister, de Gramont, made it clear that France would resist this increase of Prussian influence. Leopold was then induced to withdraw his candidature, and France seemed to have won a diplomatic triumph. But Napoleon was not content. Under the influence of de Gramont, he instructed the French ambassador to ask the King of Prussia (then staying at

Ems) for an undertaking that he would not authorise any renewal of the candidature. This was a false step, for William I. could not be expected to give such a guarantee at the dictation



THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

[When Bazaine had been surrounded in Metz, MacMahon was ordered to march from Châlons to relieve him. The Germans then formed a Fourth Army from the troops round Metz, and the Third Army was deflected northwards from its march on Paris. After the surrender at Sedan, these German troops invested the capital. The First and Second Armies, released from Metz by Bazaine's capitulation in October, relieved the besiegers from danger of attack from north and south. North of Orléans the Second Army defeated the main French force and divided it: part retired west to le Mans, and part under Bourbaki south to Bourges. Bourbaki moved east to relieve Belfort late in December; he failed to break through, and was forced into Switzerland by troops sent from the Paris and Orleans areas.]

of a foreign power. News of the request and the King's refusal was communicated to Bismarck in Berlin, and the next morning the press published an abbreviated version of the "Ems telegram", in which Bismarck let it appear that the French ambas-

sador **had** been snubbed. In the existing tension this was **enough** to provoke a declaration of war from France (July 15).

After some confused skirmishing the Germans defeated MacMahon at Worth (August 6), whence the French fell back hurriedly towards Paris. Shortly afterwards Bazaine, to whom Napoleon had handed over the northern army, was encircled in Metz (August 19). MacMahon then marched north-east, under orders from Paris and against his better judgment, to effect a junction with Bazaine; but he was intercepted and his worn-out and disorganised troops were surrounded at Sedan and capitulated on September 2. Thus in less than seven weeks from mobilisation one of the French field armies had been encircled and the other had surrendered. French mobilisation had been slow and the railways were soon congested, whereas better organisation gave the Germans great superiority of numbers in the early weeks of the campaign. The Prussians were assisted by the troops of the North German Confederation (see p. 81) and the South German states, so that it was from the outset a national war; and the armies were directed by the great strategist Moltke in accordance with plans long prepared. On the French side Napoleon, in nominal command, was a liability rather than an asset, and strategical considerations were overborne by orders from Paris, where the Empress thought that an early victory was necessary to save the dynasty. Napoleon himself surrendered with the army at Sedan, and when the news reached Paris a provisional Government of National Defence was 'set up and the Empress fled to England. Jules Favre became Foreign Minister and Gambetta Minister of the Interior, while Thiers undertook a tour of European capitals in the vain hope of getting aid for France.

Paris was quickly invested. The new Government remained in the capital, and the control of France was left to a delegation at Tours, to which Gambetta escaped in a balloon (October 7) to organise the resistance of the provinces. The position of the Germans surrounding the capital was precarious until after the capitulation of Metz (October 27), when fresh German forces removed the danger of a break-through to Paris. The **final** French effort, a thrust from the Loire towards Alsace and **the** German communications, failed shortly before the armistice and surrender of Paris (January 28, 1871). **Ten days earlier**

William of Prussia had been proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles and in the Treaty of Frankfurt (May, 1871, see p. 82) France surrendered Alsace and Lorraine. Napoleon, who had been kept prisoner since his surrender, was allowed to join his family in England, where he died at Chislehurst, Kent, in 1873.

CHAPTER VII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 1850-1870

VICTOR EMMANUEL II. AND CAVOUR.—After the abdication of Charles Albert and the succession of Victor Emmanuel I I. (see p. 31), the peace negotiations between Austria and Sardinia dragged on till August, 1849, and the treaty was not ratified till the following January. Everywhere in Italy the old conditions were restored. Austria, once more dominant in the north, supported the rulers of Parma, Tuscany and Modena; the Pope regained control of his possessions in the centre; the King of Naples repudiated his promise of constitutional government and began a period of repression.

It was clear that only in Sardinia was there a ruler to whom the leaders of the movement for nationality and liberalism could look for assistance, for there the new King commanded the respect of his people, and in spite of Austrian protests and threats maintained the constitution granted by his father in 1848. In November, 1852, he appointed as Prime Minister Count Cavour, who had been Minister of Agriculture and Commerce from October, 1850, to May, 1851, and who for the latter part of that time had been in fact the head of the Cabinet. A nationalist and a student of English liberalism, he had a keen appreciation of the difficulties to be overcome if Sardinia was to lead Italy to unity. His first aim was the expulsion of Austria from Italy and the expansion of Sardinia into a north Italian kingdom. Cavour had faith in his king, who in his turn had faith in him.

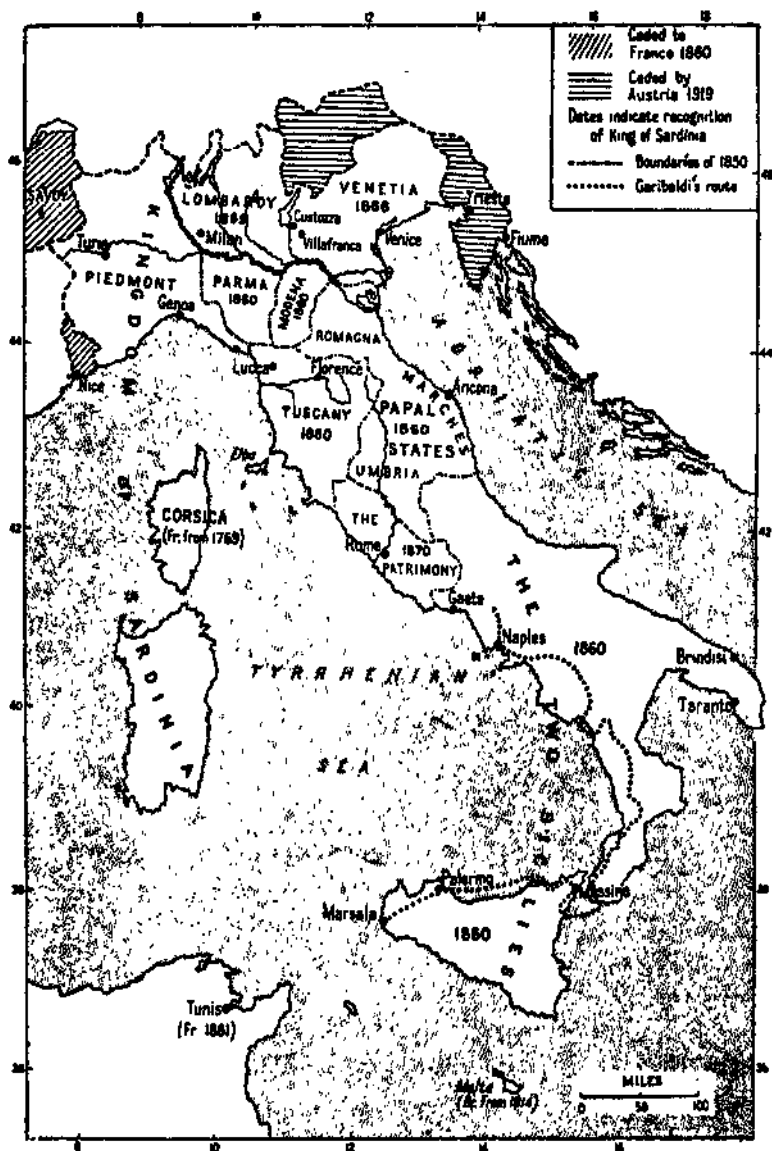
Cavour's foresight led him to realise that it was not possible for Sardinia of herself to drive Austria from Italy, and so he sought an ally from among the powers of Europe. Meanwhile, he endeavoured to promote the welfare of his country by developing industries, encouraging agriculture and constructing railways. He fostered parliamentary government on British lines, for he was a great admirer of her political system; he modernised the financial administration of the state, adopted

free trade, reorganised the army and encouraged education. Soon the people of the other states of Italy realised that the best hope of obtaining the unity, freedom and progress which they desired lay in supporting Sardinia.

REPRESSION IN ITALY.—Cavour's opportunity to obtain foreign support came with the Crimean War. Though Sardinia had no direct interest in the Eastern Question he joined France and Britain and sent a force of 15,000 men to the Crimea. His policy succeeded to the full. At the end of the war he represented his government at the Congress of Paris in 1856, and in spite of Austrian opposition was permitted to call attention to the oppression of the Italian people by Austria. The representatives of Britain and France were impressed, but would do nothing; indeed, a few days after the Treaty of Paris had been signed a secret Triple Treaty of Guarantee was agreed upon between Britain, France and Austria, the main purposes of which were to ensure the integrity of Turkey and to secure Austrian adhesion to an anti-Russian policy. An attack by Russia on any one of the powers would be a *casus belli* for the others.

Austria now began, but too late, a more conciliatory policy towards her Italian subjects. The petty despots of the peninsula, on the other hand, had embarked on a policy of reaction after the suppression of the risings of 1848-1849. Summary military executions, floggings and imprisonments were innumerable. The inevitable result was a revival of conspiracies, encouraged by Mazzini from his exile in London. Their failure, which was followed by savage punishments, merely increased the hatred of the people towards their rulers and Austria. In Tuscany there was an Austrian army in occupation from 1849 to 1855; Parma and Modena, though nominally independent, were mere provinces of Austria. The tyranny of Ferdinand I I . in Naples led Gladstone to describe the Neapolitan government as the "negation of God", and drew official protests from the British and French Governments.

THE PACT OF PLOMBIERES.—Cavour was in a difficult position; he had to hold in check Mazzini and the wilder revolutionaries, as well as the impatient Garibaldi, who with others formed in 1857 the National Society. Cavour set himself to isolate Austria, and to convert the vague sympathies of Napoleon I I I , to a more definite friendship. But support of the cause



ITALY, 1815-1919

of Italian unity would be contrary to the avowed French policy of encouraging disunion among the German and Italian states on her borders. Moreover, the French clericals were opposed to any intervention which might weaken the power of the Pope. The Orsini affair¹ at first appeared likely to be fatal to Cavour's plans, as identifying for many minds in France and elsewhere the cause of Italian unity with a policy of assassination.

For a time Napoleon hesitated. Then in July, 1858, he invited Cavour to meet him secretly at Plombières in the Vosges Mountains. There they agreed on an alliance against Austria; but Napoleon insisted that Austria should be made to appear the aggressor. France was to supply 200,000 men and Sardinia 100,000. Northern Italy was to be formed into one state under Victor Emmanuel; the duchies of central Italy were to form a second state, perhaps under the rule of a nephew of Napoleon who should marry Victor Emmanuel's daughter; and Naples a third. The price of French assistance should be the cession to her of Savoy and Nice, which were French in population and by geographical proximity. Early in 1859 both France and Sardinia made their intentions clear, and began warlike preparations. Napoleon endeavoured to obtain a promise of benevolent neutrality from Russia, but when she and Britain urged a conference on the differences between Austria and Sardinia he agreed.

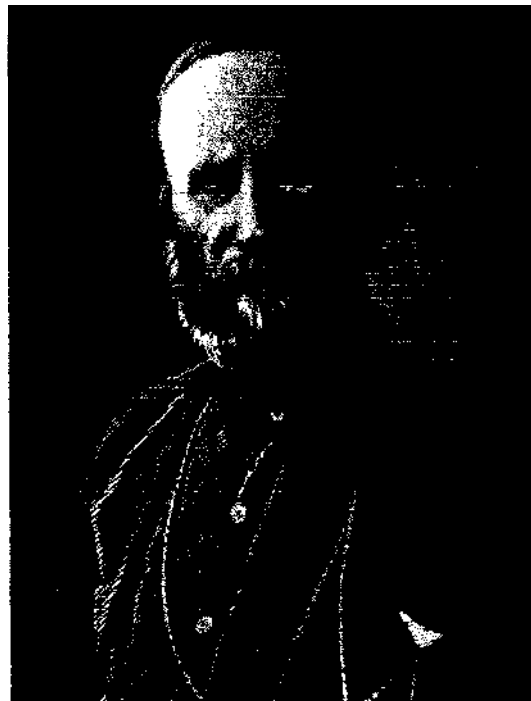
WAR AND ANNEXATIONS.—Cavour was in despair; Victor Emmanuel threatened to abdicate. Then Austria made a remarkable blunder by demanding that Sardinia should disarm within three days, and following this by an invasion (April). Cavour was delighted, for Austria had made herself the aggressor, and France declared war on Austria the next day. The armies of the allies defeated the Austrians at Magenta (June 4) and Solferino (June 24). Lombardy was freed by the withdrawal of the Austrians to Venetia. Meanwhile spontaneous

¹ An attempt on the life of Napoleon III. was made at the Paris Opera by an Italian terrorist, Orsini, in January, 1858. It was proved that the plot was made in London and the bombs manufactured in Birmingham. At this time and later many political exiles from Europe found refuge in Britain; among them were Victor Hugo, Mazzini, Kossuth and Marx. French opinion was bitter towards Britain, where the French demand that such exiles should be expelled was resented, and led to the fall of Palmerston's Government in 1858.



CAVOUR (1810-1861)

(From the painting by Carnevali in the Uffizi Gallery, Florene)



GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI (1807-1882)



NAPLES

SARDINIA

TUSCANY



PARMA

MODENA

1860-1



1866

1870



AUSTRIAN ITALY

ROMAN STATES



ITALY

(Victor Emmanuel II)

ITALY
(Humbert I)

ITALY
(Victor Emmanuel III)

ITALIAN UNITY

risings had occurred all over Italy; the duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany expelled their rulers and set up provisional governments, which demanded to be allowed to join Sardinia. The people of the Romagna drove out the Papal troops.

Napoleon was now alarmed and called a halt in the campaign, for he was opposed to the creation of a too-powerful Italian state on the borders of France, and realised also that the war was not popular in France, where the clericals blamed him for the rebellion in the Papal States. Prussia's action in mobilising her army and in proposing that Britain and Russia should join her in intervention was the decisive factor. The Emperor therefore arranged an armistice at Villafranca without consulting Sardinia. Cavour begged his king not to consent and to go on with the fight alone, but Victor Emmanuel was in this instance the wiser of the two and signed preliminaries of peace with the two Emperors. These were ratified at Zurich in November, when Lombardy was ceded to Sardinia, but Venetia remained in the hands of Austria. Italy, excluding the enlarged Sardinian kingdom, but including Venetia, was to become a confederation presided over by the Pope. The central duchies were to receive back the rulers they had expelled. Napoleon returned to France; Cavour resigned in bitterness of soul.

In January, 1860, he returned to office, and again took up with Napoleon the question of the duchies, where the people refused to consider any settlement except annexation by Sardinia. After plebiscites, Tuscany, Parma, Modena and the Romagna were incorporated in Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. At Villafranca Napoleon had agreed to waive his claim to Savoy and Nice, as he was not fulfilling his share of the bargain, but now in return for his consent to the incorporation of the duchies in the new Italian kingdom Savoy and Nice were united to France, also after plebiscites. Garibaldi, who was born at Nice, never forgot or forgave this transaction.¹

¹ Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82) plotted with Mazzini to seize the arsenal at Genoa (1834), fled to South America, and was condemned to death in his absence. He served as a free lance in the army of Uruguay, and returned to Italy in 1848, when he formed a volunteer army in the service of Sardinia and defended Rome against the French, retreating through central Italy pursued by the forces of France, Austria, Spain and Naples. He escaped to America, returned to Italy in 1854 and again commanded an Alpine force against the Austrians in 1859.

GARIBALDI AND "THE THOUSAND".—All northern Italy was now united under Victor Emmanuel with the exception of Venetia, but the Pope's territories of the Marches, Umbria and the Patrimony of St. Peter, together with Naples, remained outside the enlarged kingdom. Ferdinand of Naples had died in May, 1859, and had been succeeded by his son, Francis I I . , who refused to grant a constitution and showed no intention of modifying his father's reactionary policy. In April, 1860, the discontent in his country broke into open rebellion, but Cavour, who was asked to assist the rebels, declined to do so, and while showing his sympathy in secret was careful to preserve an appearance of neutrality. Garibaldi, when invited to lead the insurrection which was planned to begin in Sicily, promised to do so if the Sicilians would themselves start it. In May he set sail from Genoa with a thousand volunteers who wore the famous red shirts. Within a fortnight of landing on the island he had defeated a Neapolitan force and entered Palermo, where he proclaimed himself dictator in the name of Victor Emmanuel. By the end of July he was master of the whole island, on August 20 he successfully crossed the Straits of Messina, and on September 7 entered Naples, from which the King had fled the day before. His success was due to the concealed support afforded by Cavour, together with the benevolent neutrality of Britain, who refused to agree to a suggestion by Napoleon that the British and French fleets should combine to prevent him from crossing to the mainland.

Cavour, however, now saw that Garibaldi's success might lead to the republicans' taking command of the situation in central and southern Italy, and feared also that either Austria or France would intervene to save Rome and the Pope, for Garibaldi made no secret of his intention to march on the capital. On the pretext, therefore, that Sardinia must save the people of Umbria from attack by a force of foreign mercenaries which had been collected for the defence of Rome, the Sardinian army invaded the Papal States. Within a fortnight the Papal troops had been defeated and the States overrun. The Sardinian Parliament then annexed the eastern Papal States, leaving Rome itself and the Patrimony of St. Peter in the hands of the Pope. After a plebiscite had resulted in an overwhelming majority for union, the Two Sicilies was annexed to Sardinia.

Garibaldi acquiesced in the annexation and with Victor Emmanuel drove into Naples in triumph. He then withdrew into retirement.

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.—The Parliament which met at Turin, the capital of Sardinia, in February, 1861, included deputies from Naples, Sicily and Umbria. In the next month Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy, but it was clear that political union must be completed by the extinction of the temporal power of the Pope and that Rome must be the capital of Italy. At the same time Cavour was anxious not to lose the support of Napoleon or to antagonise Catholics all over Europe. He proclaimed that his ideal was "a free Church in a free state", but died before he could make much progress in the negotiations with the Papacy (June, 1861). His work was practically accomplished, though the Austrians were still in Venetia and a French garrison in Rome. "By a skilful mixture of audacity and caution, of war and diplomacy, of action and reserve" he had brought about the union of his country.

The new kingdom was soon recognised by the powers—France, Britain, Russia and Prussia—though Napoleon refused to withdraw the French garrison from Rome as he had promised. But internal difficulties remained, and the brigandage and general lawlessness in Naples and its provinces at first prevented the government from functioning there. For a few years the Italian question ceased to agitate Europe, for interest had shifted to Schleswig and Holstein (see p. 77). At the same time economic matters began to take the attention of the Italian Government. Industrial and social developments began in the newly-acquired provinces; railways, canals, mines and banks were projected, and the provision of roads and schools was begun.

VENETIA AND ROME.—In 1865 the Italian Government offered to buy Venetia from Austria, but the offer was refused. It therefore turned to Prussia, which was preparing for the struggle with Austria for the leadership of Germany and was anxious both to gain Italy's aid against Austria and also to ensure the neutrality of Napoleon III. Almost immediately afterwards Austria offered, through Napoleon, to give Venetia to Italy if she would remain neutral in the coming struggle, but La Marmora, Cavour's successor as Prime Minister, refused the offer, and in **April, 1866**,

made an offensive and defensive alliance whereby, in the event of war breaking out within three months, Italy should assist Prussia, and not conclude peace until she obtained Venetia and Prussia an equivalent in Germany. The war of 1866 (see p. 79) was the result. Though the Austrians defeated the Italians on the southern front at Custoza, the overwhelming victory of the Prussians at Sadowa more than counterbalanced this. At the peace which followed Italy duly obtained Venetia.

Rome alone remained. Pius IX. (1846-1878), amidst the difficulties of the political situation, was also extremely active in Church affairs. He replied to the vigorous attacks of the liberals and nationalists in his encyclical letter of 1864, the *Syllabus Errorum*, which condemned eighty theses. Among the beliefs which, it stated, it was an error to assume were:

"That the Church has not the power to resort to force, nor has she any temporal power, direct or indirect.

"That the Church ought to be separated from the State and the State from the Church.

"That the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilisation."

Six years later, at a General Council of the Catholic Church, the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope in decisions on doctrine was reasserted (July, 1870).

Pius IX. was firm in refusing to give up his territory on the demand of the Italian nationalists. Garibaldi and his followers twice attempted to seize it (in 1862 and 1867). On the first occasion they were repulsed by the forces of the Italian Government; on the second they were defeated by French troops who had been withdrawn in 1866 but returned in haste. Garibaldi was deported to Caprera. On the outbreak of the Franco-German War the French garrison was again withdrawn, and less than three weeks after Sedan an Italian army occupied Rome, which became the capital of the country. The Government granted the Pope the privileges of a sovereign, the possession of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, a large income and complete freedom to govern the Catholic Church. Pius IX. and his successors refused to recognise the position and took up voluntary imprisonment in the Vatican, from which no Pope came out for fifty years.

The unification of Italy, though for some years it appeared precarious, was eventually successful. Deprived of the support of the Church, with little economic stability and with the difficult task of bringing the people of the north and south together, the statesmen of the new nation worked hard to achieve this success. They had gained not quite all the territory they had hoped for; there remained *Italia Irredenta*—Trieste and Istria, the Alpine frontier and the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic.

CHAPTER VIII

PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA, 1850-1871

REACTION IN AUSTRIA.—The failure of the attempt (1848-1849) to unite the German people and the suppression of the Hungarian revolution were followed by a period of reaction in the Austrian Empire, in Prussia and in the German Confederation as a whole. Francis Joseph's minister, Schwarzenberg (d. 1852), tried to create a united Hapsburg empire by subjecting the provinces to the bureaucratic control of Vienna. German alone was to be the official language of this centralised autocracy, and the Magyars of Hungary lost not only the self-government that had been granted them in 1848, but also their earlier national privileges and ancient Diet. Hungary, from which Croatia, Transylvania and Southern Hungary were now separated, was divided into five administrative districts and controlled by Austrian officials. Thus local autonomy was stamped out. The imperial Government, however, encouraged economic development that was badly needed, and made no attempt to reduce the peasants to serfdom again.

The policy inaugurated by Schwarzenberg and carried out by Bach (Minister of Interior, 1849-1859), which had already been tried and had failed in the eighteenth century, had little chance of success, and was modified after the loss of Lombardy to the Italians. In October, 1860, Hungary recovered the control of local government that she had possessed before 1848, the Hungarian Diet was revived, and in other provinces parliaments were to control local affairs. A representative parliament for the whole empire was announced in 1861, to which all provinces were to send deputies. But these concessions were far from satisfying the Magyars, who, under the leadership of Francis Deák, demanded the restoration of the constitution of 1848 (the "March Laws**), and refused to send representatives to Vienna. The Hungarian Diet was therefore dissolved.

REACTION IN PRUSSIA.—In one respect the Austrian Govern-

ment had apparently been successful: owing to the vacillations of Frederick William IV. the influence of Austria had been reasserted in Germany. The future, however, was with Prussia, for the Zollverein remained and was extended to include Hanover and Oldenburg (1851-1852); she only needed determined leadership in order to assume the political as well as the economic primacy in Germany.

Reaction followed revolution in Prussia as in Austria: the press was strictly controlled, the jury system limited, and the manorial courts of the junkers were restored. The constitution of 1850 imposed no effective check on autocracy, though it was too liberal for Frederick William, who recommended his successors to revoke it. The King was the head of the executive, controlled the army, and appointed the ministers without regard to the views of Parliament. This was constituted in two houses—an upper house comparable to the British House of Lords, and an Assembly chosen by indirect election on a three-class system.¹ Laws and the granting of taxes needed the assent of Parliament, but as there was no cabinet system a deadlock would arise if consent were withheld from the proposals of the Government. This constitution continued with some modifications until the Great War.

In 1858 Frederick William became insane, and died in 1861. He was succeeded by his brother William, first as regent and then as king. William I. also held divine-right views, but was far more reasonable and practical than his predecessor. He was a soldier whose chief interest was the army, and during his regency he made two appointments that affected the history of Europe—Moltke became Chief of Staff and Roon was put in charge of the Ministry of War. William was determined to reorganise and enlarge the army, but was opposed by the Assembly, which wished to reduce the period of compulsory service from three to two years. A recently elected Assembly was therefore dissolved (1862), but its successor was still more hostile to the Government's proposals and refused to grant supplies. The

¹ In each electoral district voters were divided into three groups, according to the amount paid in taxes, the total amount paid by each group being the same. The richest groups would therefore contain a small number of voters, the poorest a very large number, but both would send the same number of "electors" to choose the representatives for the Assembly.

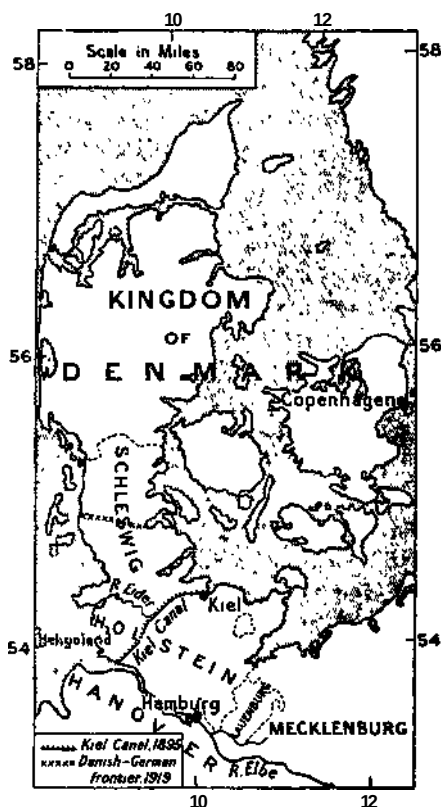
King was prepared to abdicate rather than give way, but Roon persuaded him first to interview a fiery conservative junker named Otto von Bismarck.

BISMARCK.—Bismarck was born in 1815, in a Prussian land-owning family of the lesser nobility. He was a man of great vitality and inflexible will, a brilliant diplomat devoted to the interests of Prussia, and a Lutheran of sincere religious conviction. After a short time in the Prussian civil service and some years on the family estates he became a member of the United Diet of 1847, and was elected to the Prussian National Assembly of 1848. During the revolution he stood out as a champion of the royal prerogative, and in 1851 was appointed Prussian envoy to the Diet of the restored German Confederation at Frankfurt. There he had an opportunity of studying the methods by which Austria maintained her ascendancy, and the political conditions in other German states; and his eight years at Frankfurt strengthened his conviction that Prussia must expel Austria from Germany. Bismarck was moved to St. Petersburg as ambassador in 1859, and thence to Paris three years later. It was in Paris, in September, 1862, that he had an urgent telegram from Roon, summoning him to Berlin. He came, and at once took office as Minister President and Foreign Minister to support the King in his struggle with the Assembly. He remained in office for twenty-seven years.

For five years taxes were collected without parliamentary sanction, and the army reforms were carried out in spite of the protests of the liberals. Bismarck's attitude was simple, and he explained it to a committee of the Assembly a few days after taking office. "The great questions of the time^{9*}, he said, "will be decided not by speeches and resolutions of majorities—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron." It was four years before the success of his foreign policy silenced his critics. As late as February, 1866, he replied to an overwhelming vote of censure by dismissing the Assembly; but soon afterwards, when Austria had been beaten, he obtained from the Assembly an indemnity for his unconstitutional actions.

From the first Bismarck prepared for war with Austria. When in 1863 Francis Joseph proposed that a Council of Princes should discuss the formation of a German federal union, Bismarck persuaded the King of Prussia to refuse the invitation. In the same

year his prompt action during the Polish rebellion won him the support of Russia (see p. 132). Bismarck had realised during his embassy at St. Petersburg that the friendship of Russia was necessary to his plans.



DENMARK AND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

[NOTE.—In 1815 the King of Denmark controlled the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg, the last two being members of the German Confederation. All these were added to Prussia in 1866.]

THE DANISH DUCHIES.—The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had for many years had as their dukes the Kings of Denmark. Holstein was a member of the German Confederation, but Schleswig was not; the two duchies, however, had been

governed by a common ministry and were united by sentimental ties. In the confusion of 1848 an attempt had been made, at the instance of German nationalists, to separate both duchies from Denmark; but the Danes had repelled an invasion of Prussian troops. The matter was complicated by a succession dispute, for Frederick VII. of Denmark was childless; but by the Treaty of London, 1852, all the great powers recognized as the heir to all his dominions Prince Christian of Glucksburg. Disputes about the form of government in the duchies continued, and in 1863 Frederick prepared a constitution which granted home rule to Holstein and incorporated Schleswig with Denmark. He died in the same year and his successor, Christian IX., ratified the new constitution; but the Diet of the German Confederation complained that promises with regard to the common treatment of the duchies had been broken. When the Danes, who were encouraged to hope for British support,¹ refused to withdraw the constitution, the Diet asserted the claims of their own nominee to the throne of Denmark and declared war.¹

At this point Bismarck intervened. He persuaded Austria to join in a combined expedition, nominally to uphold the union of the duchies, and secured the withdrawal of the federal army. The Danes were quickly defeated and by the Treaty of Vienna (October, 1864) Christian ceded Schleswig, Holstein and the small duchy of Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria jointly. As Bismarck would not hand over the duchies to the Duke of Augustenburg unless he would agree to their military control by Prussia (which neither he nor Austria would accept), the duchies were controlled by the conquerors jointly until, in August, 1865, it was arranged that Austria should administer Holstein and Prussia Schleswig (Treaty of Gastein). Lauenburg was added to Prussia. This was not, and was not intended by Bismarck to be, a final solution. "We have", he said, "papered over the cracks."

¹ Prince Edward (later Edward VII.) had just married Princess Alexandra, daughter of Christian IX., and Palmerston's sympathies were with the Danes. Queen Victoria supported the German view.

² The Diet's nominee was Frederick, Duke of Augustenburg. His father (also Frederick) had been the German party's candidate in 1848, and had renounced his claim in return for a money payment in 1852. The German Diet was not a party to the Treaty of London, though Austria and Prussia had signed it.

THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR,—The situation in the duchies was one that would offer at any time a pretext for war with Austria, for the Austrians still favoured the claims of Augustenburg; Bismarck therefore now turned his attention to preparations on a wider field. He could count on the friendly neutrality of Russia. At a meeting at Biarritz (October, 1865) he correctly judged the indecision and greed of Napoleon I I I., and believed that he had secured French neutrality by the undertaking that Italy should have Venetia and by the hint of compensation for France. But Italy was not to have Venetia for nothing: as has been explained in Chapter VII., an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded whereby she was to assist Prussia. Meanwhile, as Bismarck's intentions had become obvious, Austria had begun to prepare for war. Bismarck's policy was unpopular in Prussia, and neither the people nor the King at first wanted war with Austria. At the eleventh hour proposals for a congress, put forward by Napoleon H I. and accepted by Britain, Russia and (very reluctantly) by Bismarck, broke down owing to the conditions made by Austria. The events leading to hostilities are very complicated, and illustrate the difficulty of defining aggression; but there is no doubt that Bismarck had planned the crisis and was the real author of the war. It broke out after a meeting of the federal Diet on June 14, at which Austria proposed the mobilisation of the federal army owing to Prussia's policy in the duchies, and Prussia (hoping to gain popular support) put forward a scheme for a new German federal union, with a chamber elected by manhood suffrage, from which Austria was to be excluded. By nine votes to six the Diet upheld the Austrian proposal, and Prussia withdrew from the Confederation.

Austria was supported by Hanover, Saxony and the South German states, but the Hanoverian army was quickly defeated and, though Saxon troops joined the Austrians, the South Germans played no effective part. Within three weeks the Austrians had been defeated at Sadowa (Königgratz)* in Bohemia by

¹ The numbers engaged were larger than in any battle since Waterloo. This was the first of "modern" wars. Moltke directed operations by telegraph from Berlin. Accurate maps and strategic railways facilitated the movement of large Prussian armies, which were equipped with the new breech-loading rifle,

Prussian forces converging from Saxony and Silesia. It was of no importance that the Italians were subsequently defeated, for the Italian alliance had done its work by dividing the Austrian army.

After Sadowa Bismarck very wisely determined to make peace quickly, for there was a danger of European intervention if the war were prolonged. His task now was to restrain the King, who wanted to march to Vienna and impose harsher terms on Austria. As usual, Bismarck had his way, and in August, 1866, the Treaty of Prague was signed. Austria agreed to the dissolution of the German Confederation, and the formation by Prussia of a North German Confederation which was to include Saxony, but not the states lying south of the Main (Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg). Venetia was ceded to Italy, and Austria gave up any claim to the Danish duchies; apart from this Austria lost no territory and had to pay only a small war indemnity. The South German states, with whom separate treaties were made, received very lenient treatment, and soon made military alliances with the North German Confederation.¹ Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover and some smaller states in the north were annexed outright by Prussia.

THE DUAL MONARCHY.—The military defeat of Austria and her expulsion from the German Confederation inevitably had important effects on her foreign and domestic policy. She began to look to the Balkans for compensation for her loss of power in the west (see Chapter I X.). But the most urgent problem was to settle the long dispute with Hungary that had distracted the empire ever since 1815.

As friction with Prussia increased the Emperor had realised the need of conciliating Hungary. The constitution of 1861, which the Magyars had not accepted, had been suspended in the autumn of 1865 and the Hungarian Diet summoned. Negotiations had been interrupted by the war, which greedily strengthened the hands of Dedk and the Magyar liberals whom he led. Dedk was loyal to the Hapsburg connection and resisted the suggestion that the chance should be taken to dissolve it: his demands remained what they had always been, the restoration of the old Hungarian constitution as modernised by the "March

¹ Bismarck was able to play upon the fears of the South Germans by publishing Napoleon's demand for compensation on the Rhine.

Laws" of 1848. This was achieved by the *Augsleich*, or Compromise, which established the Dual Monarchy in 1867 and lasted for fifty years. Austria and Hungary became separate states; a responsible ministry was appointed in Hungary under Count Andrassy; and Francis Joseph was crowned King of Hungary at Budapest in accordance with ancient ceremony. But Deák and Beust, the Austrian minister, saw that a purely personal union would weaken both Austria and Hungary; it was therefore decided that foreign affairs, war and finance should be jointly controlled. The common ministers for these matters were to be responsible to Delegations, elected by the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments in equal numbers. A customs union was made, the proceeds of which were to be used for common expenses, and Hungary became responsible for rather less than a third of the interest on the national debt.

The Dual Monarchy was based on the dominance of the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary; the Slav peoples would have preferred a federal solution, but it is doubtful whether that would have been practicable. The Austrians, however, granted a constitution to the Poles of Galicia, making them autonomous under their own Diet and recognising the Polish language as official. Similar concessions were made by the Magyars to Croatia, and Deak (who had none of the aggressive nationalism of Kossuth) attempted by the Law of Nationalities (1868) to secure for the subject peoples of Hungary the use of their own languages in local assemblies, schools and law-courts.

THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION.—The reconstitution of northern Germany, foreshadowed in the Treaty of Prague, was completed in the same year as the *Augsleich*. Bismarck was determined that Prussia should have effective control of the Confederation and that policy should not be dependent on any popular assembly. In June, 1867, therefore, the King of Prussia became hereditary President of the Confederation, with control of foreign affairs and the army, and the right of appointing the Chancellor and the subordinate ministers. There was a Council (Bundesrath) consisting of forty-three delegates appointed by state governments: of these Prussia sent seventeen, Saxony four, Mecklenburg and Brunswick two, and the other states one

each.¹ There was also a Diet elected by manhood suffrage, but in practice its powers were small. The constitution could easily be expanded to include other states, and that of the German Empire was closely based upon it (see p. 93).

The first Chancellor of the Confederation was inevitably Bismarck. His position was already secure in Prussia, where success had made him popular, and he now proposed to complete his work by bringing the southern German states into the Confederation. Baden, Bavaria and Württemberg had long been suspicious of the growth of Prussian power in Germany, and were states with long histories and proud traditions. Their reluctance to join a Confederation in which Prussia would necessarily take the lead could, in Bismarck's judgment, best be overcome in the enthusiasm of war against a common enemy. The enemy must be France, for France would certainly fight to prevent the absorption of these states, whose friendship she had traditionally cultivated as a buffer against attacks from the east.

The occasion for the Franco-German War and the decisive success of the Germans have already been described. In victory Bismarck did not show towards France the same moderation as he had shown to Austria. He demanded an indemnity of £200,000,000 and the cession of Alsace with Strasbourg and eastern Lorraine with Metz. It is said that Bismarck would have been content with Strasbourg and Alsace, which was predominantly German, and that he annexed Lorraine owing to pressure from military advisers and advice from industrialists. The French retained the fortress of Belfort, in return for allowing a triumphal entry into Paris (Treaty of Frankfurt, 1871). On January 18, 1871, William I. became German Emperor. The southern states had agreed to join the Empire, and the King of Bavaria, whose hesitation had been overcome by the promise of special privileges in military and local matters, had himself invited the King of Prussia to take the imperial title.

¹ Considering her size and wealth, the Prussian representation was very moderate. In this, as in his rejection of the policy of annexing all north Germany to Prussia, Bismarck showed wisdom. He looked forward to the addition of the southern states to the Confederation, and had no wish to emphasise the dominance of Prussia.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEAR EAST, 1856-1900

TURKEY failed completely to take the opportunities of reform afforded her after the Crimean War. The promises of Sultan Abdul Mejid (died of drink, 1861), and Abdul Aziz, his half-crazy successor, were not carried out; and the dissolution of their empire continued. Corruption and inefficiency were rife and national bankruptcy appeared imminent. Soon after the Crimean War the Montenegrins defeated an army sent to reassert the Sultan's lapsed authority; in 1867 Servia secured the withdrawal of Turkish garrisons, advancing another step towards complete independence; and the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia defied both Turkey and the protecting powers by forming a united Rumanian state under Prince Alexander I. (recognised, 1861). Alexander abdicated in 1866, and Prince Charles of Hohenzollern accepted the throne.

The rivalries, religious quarrels and conflicting ambitions of the Christian peoples of the Balkan peninsula assisted the Turks to retain longer than they would otherwise have done their hold on Thrace, Macedonia, Albania and Epirus. The separation at this time of the Bulgarian Christians—condemned as schismatics—from the main body of the Orthodox Church served to accentuate these divisions, which became as serious an obstacle to the solution of the Eastern Question as the rivalries of the great powers. Abdul Aziz successfully played off one section of the Christians against another, favouring always that which was weakest at the moment.

The Franco-German war provided Russia with an opportunity for denouncing the Treaty of Paris of 1856. By a new agreement, the Convention of London (1871), the principle of the neutrality of the Black Sea was abandoned, and both Russia and Turkey were permitted to build fleets. At first Russia was unable to take advantage of this, because of her preoccupation with internal affairs (see p. 133), and soon a new trouble called for her attention and absorbed her energies,

THE BOSNIAN RISING.—In April, 1875, the Eastern Question was reopened. Bosnia and Herzegovina formed a little isolated community of Slavs, of whom some were Mohammedans but most were Orthodox Christian Serbs and Catholic Croats. No Christians were employed in the administration. The despairing peasants, suffering from misrule and oppressive taxation extorted by Mohammedan tax-farmers, had long been seething with unrest, and a bad harvest in 1874 led to arising in Herzegovina, aimed at first against the local administrators. It soon spread to Bosnia and became a revolt against Turkish misrule. The rebels looked for help to their Slav kinsmen in Serbia and Montenegro, who responded with sympathy to their projects of a union of the four districts in one Slav state.

At first little notice was taken by the powers of the revolt. In Russia public opinion was stirred by the sufferings of the Slavs, but the Government was not to be moved at a time when the national finances were in disorder and the army in the midst of reorganisation. By the end of the year Austria was alarmed at the situation which had developed close to her southern frontier, and Count Andrassy sent a note to the powers urging collective pressure on the Turkish Government to grant reforms in the two rebellious provinces. Bismarck fully approved of the note and Russia concurred, but the hostile attitude of Britain towards the proposals encouraged Turkey to make no concessions, though she was quite unable to suppress the rising. A revolution occurred in Turkey itself (May-June, 1876), when Abdul Aziz was deposed and his nephew was proclaimed Sultan as Murad IV. Within three months Murad became insane and was also deposed.¹ His brother, Abdul Hamid II., took his place. As these events appeared to have brought Turkey to the verge of dissolution, Serbia and Montenegro declared war. The news of horrible massacres in Bulgaria (May), where a rising was suppressed with terrible cruelty by Turkish *Bashi-bazouks*, or military police, transformed the situation. At Batak, a small town of 7,000 inhabitants, 5,000 were massacred without distinction of age or sex. Public opinion throughout Europe was deeply stirred. In Britain Disraeli had endeavoured to ridicule the reports; but the campaign of Gladstone, who emerged from his

¹ Four days after his deposition Abdul Aziz was "found dead". Murad "disappeared*" in his turn.

retirement to demand the expulsion of the Turks from the Christian provinces "bag and baggage"⁵, reflected more truly the feeling of the people.

The Serbs, who were then poor fighting material, suffered a series of defeats and the Bulgarians, cowed by the massacres, failed to assist them, but the Montenegrins won a number of battles. Russia, in her traditional rôle as protector of the Slavs, intervened to prevent the Turkish occupation of Belgrade, and despatched an ultimatum calling upon Turkey to agree to an armistice. Turkey yielded (November, 1876), but at a conference held at Constantinople in December and January refused to give any guarantee, though she promised reforms; she refused also the grant of autonomy to Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the meeting broke up in failure. Britain, to whose efforts this conference had been due, continued her attempts to preserve peace and called another meeting in London. Again the Turkish Government rejected proposals for reforms, and war was inevitable.

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR, 1877-1878.—Russia came to a secret agreement with Austria by which the latter, in return for the promise of neutrality, was assured of Russia's goodwill whenever she should wish to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Czar also endeavoured to secure the goodwill of Britain by promising not to interfere with the Suez Canal or Egypt, or the route to India, and not to occupy Constantinople permanently.

The Russian armies waited only for the melting of the snows on the Balkan mountains. In April they invaded Turkey through Rumania, and shortly afterwards Montenegro, Servia and Rumania joined in the attack on the Turks. The Danube was crossed in June, but the Russian forces were held up by the genius of Osman Pasha at the fortress of Plevna for five months. After it had fallen (December), Sofia and Adrianople were soon occupied, while in the Caucasus Kars was taken. Meanwhile the Montenegrins were winning victories in the west and reaching the Adriatic, and the Serbs occupied Nish.

Though opinion in Britain and in the Cabinet itself was divided, Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield from 1876) was so alarmed by the Russian menace that he sent the fleet to the Dardanelles (January, 1878). But Turkey was so much at the mercy of

Russia that a fortnight later she signed an armistice, and with a Russian army occupying the mountains near Constantinople agreed to the Treaty of San Stefano (March).

By the terms of this treaty Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania were to be recognised as independent, the first being more than trebled in size and Serbia also receiving additional territory, while Rumania was to restore south Bessarabia to Russia and receive in exchange the Dobruja. Russia was also to take a large part of Armenia, including the important towns of Kars and Batum. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to become autonomous and the remaining parts of European Turkey (*e.g.*, Crete, Epirus and Thessaly) were to receive constitutions. The sensational part of the treaty was the creation of the new autonomous principality of Bulgaria, extending from the Danube south to the iEgean Sea, and including most of Macedonia (see map, p. 35). The constitution of this new state was to be for two years under the supervision of a Russian commissioner.

The treaty was a great triumph for Russia. Turkey in Europe would almost disappear and what remained would be in two parts; the Crimean War was avenged, and the new Bulgaria would be dominated by Russian influence. In consequence, nobody was satisfied except these two states, for all the other Balkan states resented the creation of such a large Bulgaria at their doors. Rumania was justly angry at losing south Bessarabia, and Greece protested against the grant of Macedonia and Thrace to Bulgaria. Austria viewed the new Slav state with anger, for it stood across the line of her own ambitions. In Britain there was an outburst of "jingoistic" hatred,* of which Beaconsfield at once took advantage. He and Austria demanded that the treaty should be brought before a congress of the powers, which duly opened at Berlin in June and completed its work in a month. This meeting, which was attended by all the leading statesmen of the time, was the most important gathering between 1856 and 1919. Bismarck, who had offered to act as "honest broker",

¹ The refrain of the most popular music-hall song of the day ran:

*We don't want to fight, but by jingo, if we do
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
We've got the money too,*

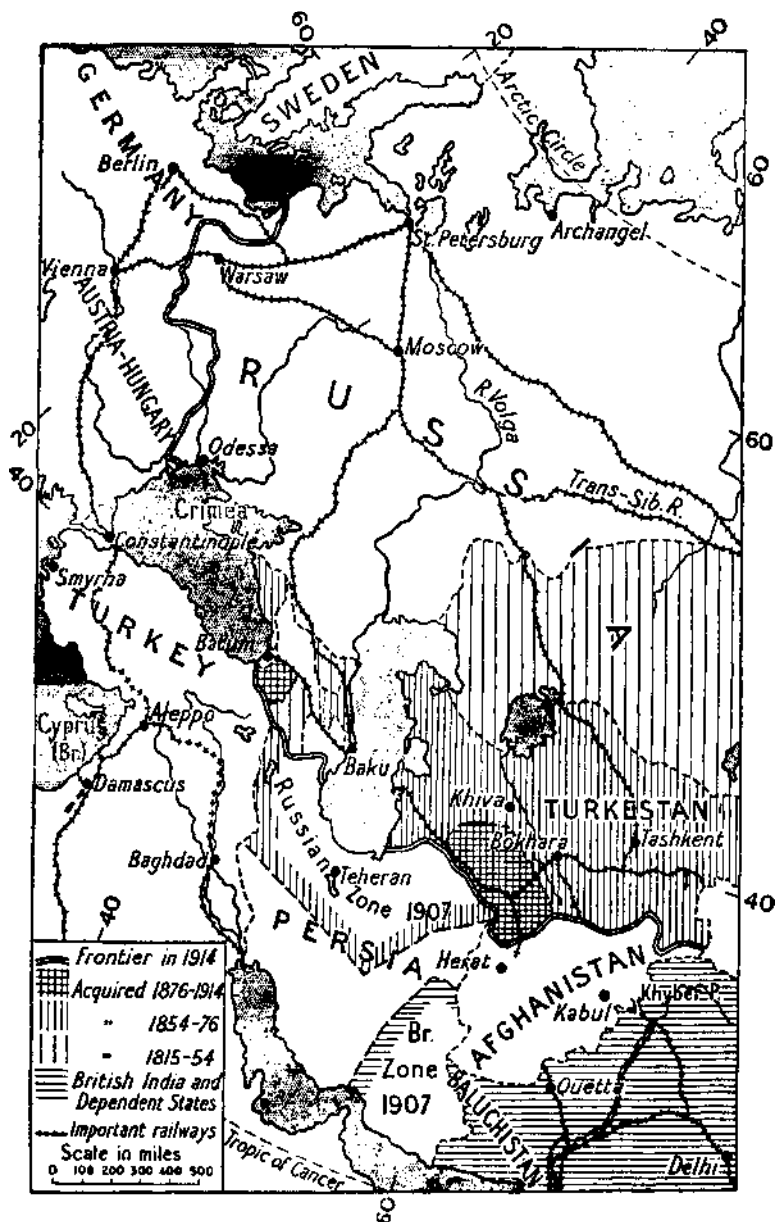
and ended:

The Russians shall not have Constantinople.

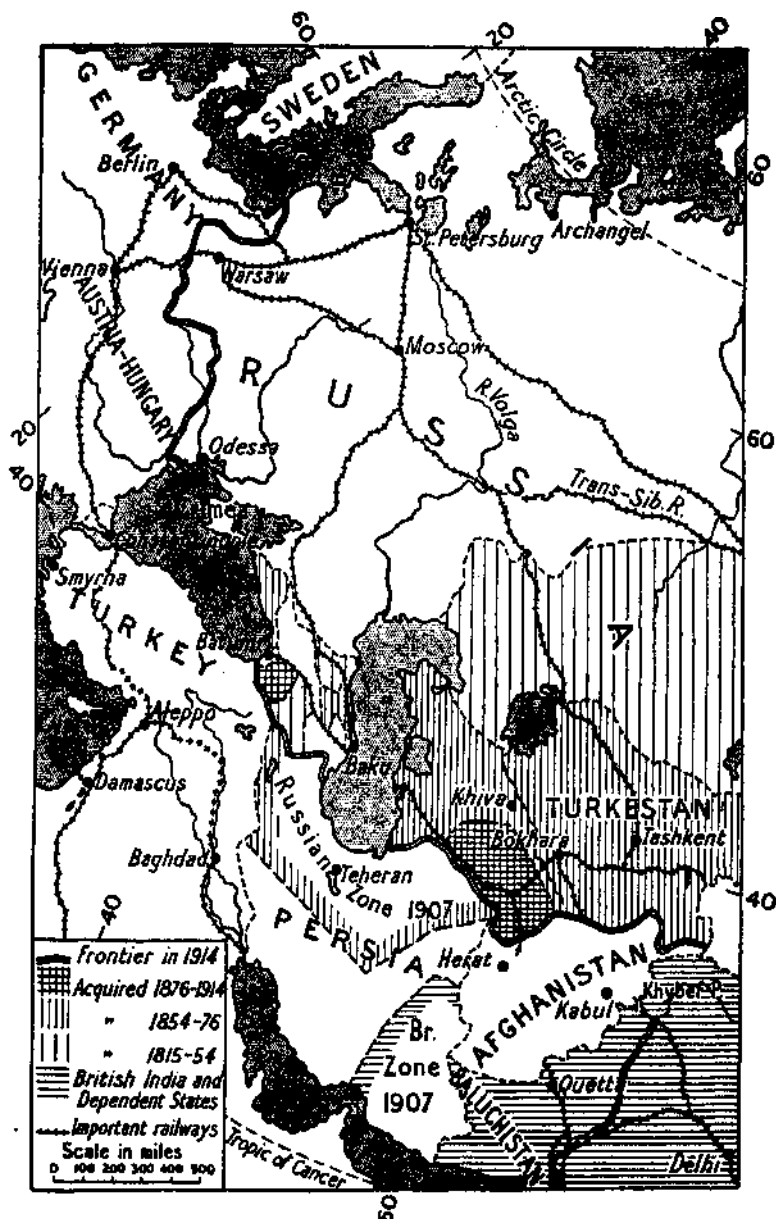
presided over it. Beaconsfield and Salisbury (Foreign Secretary) represented Britain, Andrassy Austria, Waddington France, and Gorchakov and Shuvalov Russia. An understanding had previously been reached by Britain and Russia, for the latter was alarmed at the hostility aroused by her terms and was anxious to avoid a general war, so that agreement did not prove difficult to obtain.

The Treaty of San Stefano was almost completely nullified by the Treaty of Berlin. The most important change was the reduction of Bulgaria to less than half of the area assigned to her (p. 35). A part of the area thus taken away, to be named Eastern Rumelia, became a self-governing province under Turkey. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be occupied and administered by Austria, which thus became a Balkan power. Serbia and Montenegro, though their independence was confirmed, obtained less territory than they were to have had under the previous arrangement. Self-government was to be granted to all the Balkan districts remaining under Turkish rule, but unfortunately these clauses were never carried into effect. The same is true of the Turks' promise to carry out reforms in Armenia, and indeed conditions in all these provinces went gradually from bad to worse during the tyranny of Abdul Hamid, which lasted till 1908. Britain agreed to Russia's acquisitions in Europe and Asia, and in return for guaranteeing Turkish lands in Asia against further Russian encroachment, received the administration of the island of Cyprus, paying an annual tribute to Turkey. This had been agreed upon in a secret convention between Britain and Turkey before the Congress began, and was justified by Beaconsfield as necessary to the security of the route to India. The British Prime Minister, returning with "peace with honour", was applauded by the public and received a vote of confidence from Parliament.

The results of the Congress were far-reaching. Russia, isolated and thwarted at Berlin, did not entirely give up hope of further gains in the Balkans. But she lost faith in Austria and Germany as allies—and so was led eventually to an alliance with France. The settlement did not provide a lasting settlement of the Eastern Question, for it secured neither peace in the Balkans nor just treatment for the Christians remaining under Turkish rule.



RUSSIAN EXPANSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1815-1914



RUSSIAN EXPANSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1815-1914

gratitude felt by the Bulgarians for Russian assistance in 1877 and 1878.

The Bulgars of Eastern Rumelia revolted against their Turkish governor in 1885, expelled him without bloodshed, invited Prince Alexander to be their ruler and were incorporated in Bulgaria. The new Czar of Russia (Alexander III.) resented this, but more serious was the opposition raised by Greece and Serbia, who were alarmed lest the aggrandisement of Bulgaria should upset the balance of power in the Balkans. King Milan of Serbia (he had taken the title in 1882) declared war, but was repulsed at the Battle of Slivnitsa. Austria, however, barred the way to a Bulgarian advance on the Servian capital and the war came to an end within a fortnight. Greece had been prevented from declaring war by the ships of the powers, which blockaded the Greek coasts. The opposition of the Czar and the intrigues of his agents, however, made the position of Prince Alexander untenable. He was kidnapped, forced to sign an abdication, and rushed out of the country. Though national feeling was strong in his support and he was recalled from his enforced exile, he then voluntarily resigned the throne (1886).

After an interval of some months Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg was chosen as his successor. The government was in the able hands of Stephen Stambulov, "the greatest statesman the Balkans had yet known", who was called "the Bulgarian Bismarck". The son of an innkeeper, he became President of the Parliament in 1884 and by his patriotism and firmness of will raised the prestige of Bulgaria in the eyes of Europe. He remained in control until 1894, when he was dismissed and died a year later.

OTHER BALKAN STATES, 1878-1890.—The first years following the Treaty of Berlin were occupied with the delimitation of new frontiers and establishment of new forms of government. In Bosnia, Montenegro and Greece this proved more difficult than had been expected. Austria had difficulties at first with the Moslem inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and had to put down fierce insurrections. The Serbs resented the Austrian occupation of the Sandjak of Novi-bazar, which drove a wedge into the Servian districts and disappointed the patriots who had hoped for a united Servian people under one ruler. Montenegro was, after some delay, helped to a settlement by Gladstone, who had returned to power in England in 1880.

Greece had long hoped to incorporate within her boundaries those territories of the Turkish Empire where the inhabitants were mainly Greeks—namely, Thessaly, Epirus, parts of Macedonia, and Crete. Already on the accession to the Greek throne of Prince George of Denmark in 1863, Britain had ceded the Ionian Islands, which had been under British protection since 1815 (see map, p. 35). Under a constitutional government the country had made steady progress, and during the Russo-Turkish War hoped to take advantage of Turkey's difficulties, but was prevented by the powers, and eventually—and then with Gladstone's assistance—in 1881 received only most of Thessaly and parts of Epirus (see p. 92).

It remains only to be said that Rumania, which became a kingdom in 1881, enjoyed considerable prosperity for a number of years.

ARMENIA.—During the years after the Congress of Berlin the interest of the powers in the Armenians waned. Turkish inertia triumphed, and as hope of reform died away a revolutionary agitation was begun by the Armenians in the course of which acts of violence were committed. These brought terrible punishment, when in 1894, regular Turkish troops burned villages and slaughtered men, women and children. Britain had a special responsibility for the Armenians, as in return for the British guarantee of his Asiatic territories the Sultan had promised to introduce reforms there (see p. 87). Now, in spite of British protests, the Turkish Government rejected all proposals, knowing that neither Germany nor Russia would support the coercion which Britain suggested. In October, 1895, a carefully organised series of massacres of Christians took place at many places, including Constantinople, Trebizond, Erzerum and Urfa, where 3,000 were burnt in the cathedral. In all, at least 25,000 Armenians were killed on the pretext that they had revolted and that the Turkish Government was restoring order. Again Britain stood alone in protesting, but could do nothing in face of the indifference of Germany, France and Italy. Russia considered that the Sultan "was doing his best", and that "it was therefore desirable to assist him". In August, 1896, a terrible massacre in Constantinople itself ceased immediately when the British said they would land sailors. Gladstone, aged eighty-seven, emerged from his retirement to denounce "the great

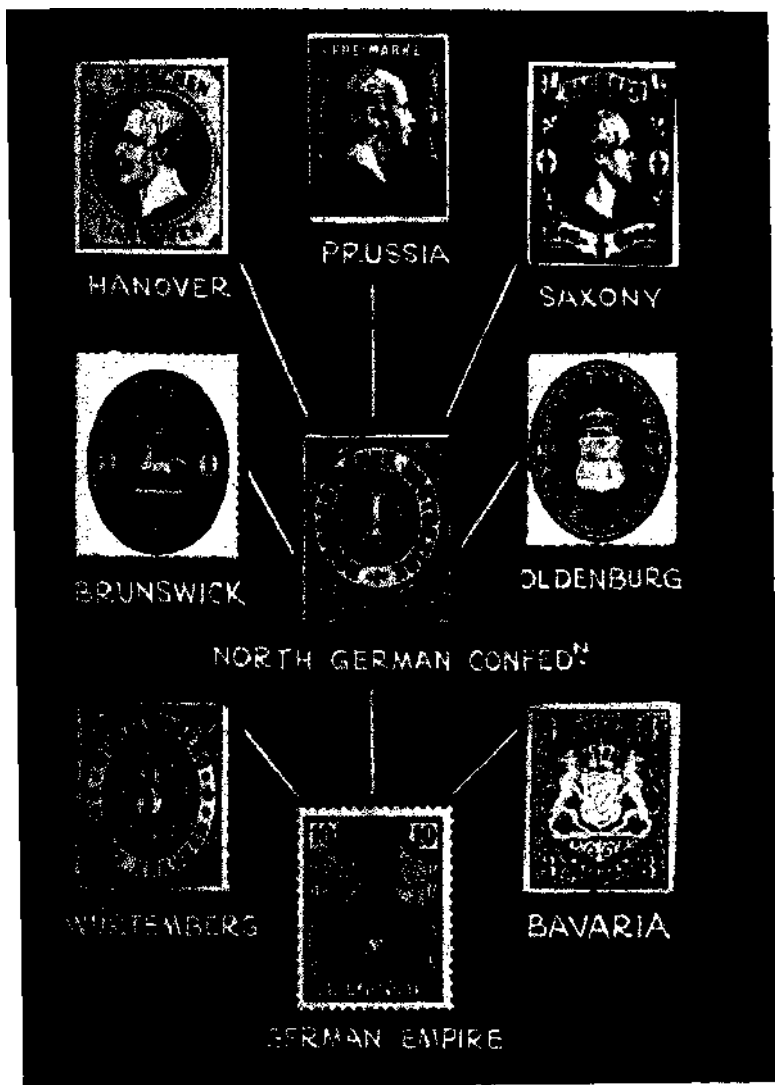
assassin", but Salisbury refused to be precipitated into a European war,¹ so that the only result was that Britain lost the last remnant of her influence with Turkey. Most Englishmen believed with Salisbury that Britain throughout the century had "put her money on the wrong horse** in supporting Turkey against Russia.

CRETE.—For more than ten years after 1878 Crete was quiet under Greek governors, but from 1889-1897 there were sporadic outbreaks of insurrection, having as their aim union with Greece. These brought repressive measures and the appointment of Mohammedan governors and officials. At length Greece intervened and sent a small armed force to occupy the island (1897), whereupon the powers sent a Note to the Sultan demanding autonomy for Crete. The Sultan accepted, but the Greeks refused to evacuate the island, which the ships of the powers then blockaded. The Greeks also raided Thessaly, but within a month suffered several defeats at the hands of the Turkish army, newly reorganised by German officers. The powers intervened and made peace, the Greeks having to pay a large indemnity and to cede a narrow strip of Thessaly to Turkey. Crete was granted autonomy under Prince George of Greece as governor (1898).

¹ "I believe there is a fixed and resolute agreement on the part of all or nearly all the Great Powers to resist by force any single-handed intervention by England." Salisbury was Prime Minister from 1895 to 1902, and his own Foreign Secretary from 1895 to 1900.



THE BREAK-UP OF TURKEY-IN-EUROPE



GERMAN UNITY

NOTE.—Six other states with separate postal systems joined the North German Confederation in 1867. Baden joined the Empire in 1871. Württemberg and Bavaria, though joining the Empire, had distinctive stamps until 1902 and 1920 respectively.

CHAPTER X

GERMANY, 1871-1890

THE new German Empire which emerged from the Franco-German War was no mere revival of the Holy Roman Empire, with its meaningless and empty claims of universal rule, but a new national state, brought about by successful wars. The next step was to give this state a corporate life, for obstacles to unity were numerous. Among them were the non-German elements in the population—for example, the Poles in East Prussia, the Danes of Schleswig and the French of Alsace and Lorraine; the religious animosities of Catholics and Protestants; the jealousy between the landowning class and the middle class of industrialists who had for some time been pushing themselves to the front; and the rise of the working-class to political consciousness.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE "KULTURKAMPF".—For nearly twenty years Germany was to be ruled by the two men who had brought her into existence. Though William I. was a fine character, and had a strong sense of duty, he was seventy-four years of age in 1871 and was content to give the Chancellor a free hand. The real ruler of the country, the director of home and foreign policy alike, was Bismarck. Nobody could have been more fitted than he was to complete the work which he had begun so well. His prestige was enormous, his understanding of the obstacles to unity and the real weaknesses of the federal empire was very great. He had to build up the political, legal and financial institutions necessary in a new state, and to conciliate the prejudices of some—Bavaria and Württemberg in particular—who were only lukewarm in the cause of unity.

Under the constitution (1873) the King of Prussia became hereditary German Emperor. All executive power was concentrated in him and an imperial Chancellor. The upper house, the Bundesrath, was to be an assembly in which the separate governments of the federal states met, for each retained its own

assembly.¹ The lower house, **the** Reichstag, was to consist of 397 representatives elected by an absolutely democratic suffrage. There were at first no great political parties, but of those existing the National Liberal group was the strongest. It was anxious for national unity rather than federalism, and wished to prove that a democratic parliament could successfully govern. The Centre party, the political organisation of the Catholics (who comprised about 36 per cent, of the population of Germany), became stronger in the first few years of the new empire. It resented the displacement of a Catholic ruling family, the Hapsburgs, by the Protestant Hohenzollerns of Prussia; it hoped for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope, and thus endangered friendly relations between the new states of Germany and Italy; it supported subversive activity among the 3 J million Catholics of German Poland. Bismarck, therefore, was determined to break up the party, and shaped his home policy to that end. In doing so he sought the assistance of the Liberals.

The struggle between Church and State, the *Kulturkampf* or struggle of civilisation, began with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany in 1871 and the passing of a law which forbade priests to deal with political matters from the pulpits. The dogma of Papal Infallibility (decreed by the Vatican Council in 1870) divided the German Catholics, for one section protested against the doctrine, and these "Old Catholics" were supported by the state when the bishops sought to punish them by excommunication or by expulsion from their teaching posts in the universities and schools. Between 1873 and 1876 Bismarck passed the "May Laws", the purpose of which was to bring the Catholic Church completely under state control. Public excommunication was declared illegal, and civil marriage made compulsory; candidates for the ministry were required to study at a German university and to pass a government examination; schools were to be inspected by state officials instead of by the clergy as formerly, and all religious orders were dissolved.

The Pope retaliated by declaring the laws void, and few of

¹ In theory, Prussia could be outvoted by the other states, but in practice her lead was always followed; and as only fourteen votes were needed to prevent changes in the constitution itself, while Prussia had seventeen votes, she could impose a veto.

the German clergy took notice of them. The struggle continued till 1878, when Bismarck's position was weakened by his break with the Liberals on the abandonment of free trade, and the rise of the Social-Democratic party. At the same time the accession of a more conciliatory Pope (Leo XIII., 1878-1903) led to a better feeling. Bismarck therefore allowed the laws to lapse one by one, and thus gradually withdrew from his position. The result was a victory for the Catholics, who regained most of their power.

BISMARCK'S ECONOMIC POLICY.—In the sixties it had appeared that free trade would be generally adopted in Europe (see p. 50), but the agricultural depression in the seventies afflicted Germany in common with other countries, and increased her general financial embarrassment. This was caused by the receipt of the vast war indemnity—mainly in the form of cheap goods—from France, by a fever of speculation, the importation of large quantities of American and Russian corn, by over-production and the inflation of the currency. As a result Bismarck recanted his view that "a war of cannon-balls" was not so great an evil as "a war of tariffs". In May, 1879, he imposed a tariff on foreign corn, which, though at first light, was afterwards greatly increased when it was seen to be inadequate to protect agriculture. A general tariff on other foreign commodities resulted in increased activity in industry, but the tax on corn alienated the working-classes of the towns and stimulated the growth of the socialist movement.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.—During the years when Bismarck was laying the foundations of the German Empire a new and revolutionary force was arising. In Germany the socialist movement was the creation of Karl Marx (see p. 114) and Ferdinand Lassalle, the founder of "The Universal German Working Men's Association", and the social-democratic movement was predominantly Marxian in character. In 1877 the party had nearly half a million members, and Bismarck decided that he must suppress this new foe, and carried through the Reichstag a series of acts which prohibited all societies, meetings and publications for the propagation of socialist ideas, and authorised the deportation of any suspect.¹ The party's funds were confiscated and trade unions forbidden. During the next twelve years 1,400 pub-

¹ "Now for the pig-sticking," Bismarck is reported to have said.

lications were suppressed and 900 persons deported, but without effect, for in 1890 the Social-Democratic party polled 1½ million votes. After Bismarck's fall the acts were allowed to lapse.

STATE SOCIALISM.—But Bismarck did not rely solely on repression to stamp out socialism, for he realised the grave economic burdens which had contributed to its rise. He therefore embarked on a policy of remedial legislation which was called State Socialism, and thus asserted the duty of the state "to promote in positive ways the well-being of all its members and more especially of the weak". Laws were passed for the insurance of workmen against sickness (1883), accident in employment (1884) and old age and incapacity (1889). They proved of immense benefit to the workers, and in principle have been widely adopted in other countries, but in their purpose of allaying discontent and stopping the progress of socialism in Germany they failed. There were no laws to prevent sweated labour in industry, or to ensure decent and healthy conditions of work, and compulsory insurance could not destroy a movement which had as its aim the seizure of political and economic power.

BISMARCK'S FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 1870.—After the Franco-German War the international situation was completely changed. The centre of gravity shifted from Paris to Berlin, and Bismarck dominated the position as Metternich had done after 1815. Yet the situation of Germany was at first precarious. France was a bitter enemy, who refused to accept the loss of Alsace and Lorraine as final, and looked forward to revenge; Austria resented her expulsion from the Germanic Confederation; Italy looked to France with gratitude; Russia was apprehensive of the new power.

Germany needed peace; she was, as Bismarck said, a "satiated" country and wished only to ensure the maintenance of the conditions which she had achieved through war. The unexpected rapidity with which France recovered from the disasters of 1870 and the swift reorganisation of her army added to Bismarck's fears. He knew that any other power which desired a clash with Germany could rely on French support, and therefore aimed to isolate France, and in particular to prevent an alliance between her and Austria or Russia. To do this he endeavoured to attach

these two countries to Germany, and his success is the measure of his consummate ability as a statesman and a diplomatist. There was to be no parade of force, for Bismarck now abandoned the aggressive policy which had served its purpose.¹

He began with Austria and Russia. His own moderation and foresight in 1866 were now of great assistance, as was the personal friendship of the Emperor William I. for Francis Joseph and the Czar Alexander I. The three Emperors met at Berlin, 1872, and reached the informal understanding known as the *Dreikaiserbund*, though the term is misleading as there was no actual treaty or league. The Emperors agreed to work together for the maintenance of the boundaries recently agreed upon, the settlement of the Eastern Question and the suppression of revolutionary movements. Further meetings followed in each year to 1875. The visit of the King of Italy to Berlin in 1873^{was} evidence that the isolation of France was complete, though Gladstone refused to lend the support of Britain. There was a new "Holy Alliance".

In 1874 and 1875 there were "war scares" caused by Bismarck's desire to provoke a "preventive" war with France before she should ally with Russia, but the latter, supported by Britain, made it clear that she would not stand by and see France attacked. Faced by such a coalition Bismarck withdrew from his bullying position.

The reopening of the Eastern Question in 1875 made it impossible for Bismarck to continue his policy of a close understanding between Russia, Austria and Germany. In 1876 he refused to give the Czar a guarantee that Germany would remain neutral in the event of war between Russia and Austria, because he did not wish to desert Austria and leave Russia the dominant power in the Balkans. Throughout the Russo-Turkish War he exerted all his influence to prevent Austria or Britain from entering the struggle, and at the Congress of Berlin was able, largely owing to his good understanding with these two powers, to bring about a settlement.

THE DUAL ALLIANCE.—Russia attributed her failure to obtain the fruits of her victories to Bismarck's support of Austria? and the Czar withdrew from the *Dreikaiserbund*. A regrouping of the

¹ Moltke, however, warned the German people: "What we have gained by force of arms in six months we shall have to defend by arms for fifty years."

powers followed. Bismarck made overtures to Andrassy and concluded with him in 1879 a defensive alliance against attack from Russia. Great care was taken to keep it secret, and its terms were not known till 1888, but the statesmen of all Europe knew that a fundamental change had occurred. Austria refused to extend the alliance to include an attack from France, going only so far as to promise support if another power attacking Germany were supported by Russia.

Bismarck was anxious not to break with Russia altogether, for she must at all costs be prevented from seeking alliance with France. In this he had with him the Emperor William I, who did not wish for an anti-Russian policy and had very unwillingly consented to the Austrian alliance. To ease the tension between Russia and Austria and to prevent a Franco-Russian coalition Bismarck brought about a restoration of the *Dreikaiserbund* in 1881 and its renewal in 1884 for three years.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.—In May, 1882, the Dual Alliance became a Triple Alliance by the accession of Italy. This was a remarkable achievement on the part of Bismarck, for it seemed that Italy could have little in common with either of the Germanic nations; on the contrary, her hostility to Austria arising from memories of former oppression and her hopes of gaining *Italia Irredenta* was obvious. How then is her adhesion to the alliance to be accounted for? There was in the first place a fear that France, where the clerical party was at the moment in revival, would support the Pope, who was not reconciled to the loss of his temporal power. More important was the intense anger at the seizure by France of Tunis (1881), which blocked the way to Italian expansion in North Africa. Italy therefore entered into a defensive alliance by which she agreed to support Germany in the event of her being attacked by France, in return for the promise of support from Germany and Austria if she were attacked by France. Should a fifth power (*i.e.*, Russia) attack one of the signatories the others would remain neutral, but if the attack were made by two powers, the other signatories would go to her aid. Italy, whose position in the Mediterranean made it essential for her to maintain friendly relations with Britain, espoused that in no case must the alliance be regarded as directed against her. *

This alliance, which was secret, was to be for five years in the

first instance; it was renewed at intervals, the last time being in 1912. It did not supersede or modify the Dual Alliance, but guaranteed Italy against attack by France (or, for that matter, by Austria), while it freed Austria from the dread of "a stab in the back" in the event of war with Russia. Servia and Rumania, by separate treaties, joined the powers of the Triple Alliance in forming a formidable Central European *bloc*, designed by Bismarck to maintain the *status quo*, for all the alliances were defensive in their purpose.

THE "REINSURANCE" TREATY.—Bismarck's system was strained almost to breaking point in 1885, when Austria resented Russia's intervention in Bulgarian affairs, and the "Three Emperors" League lapsed in 1887. But with rise of Boulanger to influence in France (see p. 106), war between France and Germany once more seemed very near. Thus, though Bismarck reiterated that Germany had no interests in the Balkans,¹ he was anxious to maintain friendly relations with Russia and concluded the "Reinsurance" Treaty, by which Russia promised to remain neutral if France should attack Germany, while Germany would remain neutral if Austria should attack Russia, and recognised Bulgaria as being within the Russian sphere of influence, promising also diplomatic support should Russia find it necessary to occupy Constantinople temporarily. No permanent change of territory in the Balkans was to take place without Germany being consulted.

In coming to this secret arrangement with Russia Bismarck was not being disloyal to Austria. He had not concealed his opinion that Balkan affairs should be a matter of agreement between Austria and Russia, the former taking Servia as her sphere of influence, the latter Bulgaria. Nor did he object to agreements between Austria, Italy and Britain for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean and the Balkans (see p. 100). Indeed, as France and Russia were suspicious of both Germany and Britain, these two latter countries were drawn closer together. Bismarck sent definite assurances to Salisbury that Germany would remain neutral as long as her interests were not involved, but that she would fight if Britain were in danger of being overrun by French armies.

¹ He said in 1876 that the Eastern Question was not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier.

THE MEDITERRANEAN AGREEMENTS.—Germany and Austria had agreed to differ on the Bulgarian question, and the latter looked around for assistance in checking Russia's ambitions in the Balkans. At the same time Italy was perturbed at the growing influence of Boulanger in France, so that when in 1887 the Triple Alliance came to be renewed additional agreements were added. Austria and Italy agreed that the existing position in the Near East should be maintained, or, if that proved impossible, that a gain by one of them should be accompanied by "compensation" for the other. Another agreement between Germany and Italy stipulated that if France should move to extend her North African territories Germany would assist Italy in any war that might follow. A few days earlier Italy had further strengthened her position by coming to an understanding with Britain to maintain the *status quo* in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and in return for British support of her ambitions in Tripoli supported Britain's occupation of Egypt. This understanding was supplemented and strengthened by a pact between Spain and Italy (to which Austria assented) for the maintenance of the existing situation in the Mediterranean.

Every detail of Bismarck's policy conformed to his general plan, to dominate the general European position and prevent a coalition of powers hostile to Germany. To what extent was he successful? He avoided war, maintained the position that Germany had won, and isolated France—a great sum of achievement. Yet there were inherent weaknesses, the chief of which was the dependence of the whole system on the diplomatic skill of Bismarck himself. Others were the weakness of the links between Russia and Germany compared with the strength of the animosities separating Austria and Russia; the weakness of the Austro-Italian link; and leaving Britain as an unattached state outside any of the alliances—mainly, it must be said, because there was no wish on the part of Britain herself for any "entanglements"; she preferred "splendid—if risky—isolation". But the time was at hand when the groupings of the powers which have already been mentioned would make it impossible for one state to stand aside.

BISMARCK'S COLONIAL POLICY.—Soon after the formation of the empire there arose within Germany a demand for colonies. Bismarck opposed it for a long time on the ground that it would

complicate his continental diplomacy, but soon after 1880 the importance of overseas territories as markets and as sources of raw materials led him to change his views.

To distract the attention of the powers from European questions and to gain Italy's accession to the Triple Alliance, Bismarck had given benevolent approval to the seizure of Tunis by France in 1881, to the extension of British control in Egypt and to the Russian advance in Asia. He realised, however, that Germany should not stand by and see the partition of Africa completed by the other powers, and the acquisition of the first German colonies there in 1884^{was} largely his work (see p. 124).

WILLIAM II. AND BISMARCK.—Bismarck's authority depended on the confidence of the sovereign whom he had served so long. When William I. died in March, 1888, at the age of 91, his successor, Frederick III., was already a dying man and lived only three months more. Yet there was at first no divergence of views between the old Chancellor and the new Emperor, William I.,¹ who were agreed on the necessity for maintaining friendship with Russia and Britain. In January, 1889, Bismarck asked Salisbury for a definite treaty pledging the two countries to mutual support against an attack by France, but Salisbury was afraid of public opinion, and, though he did not decline, said the suggestion must be left "on the table for the present".

The fall of Bismarck in March, 1890, was due to personal rather than to political reasons. The Emperor believed in his right and capacity to rule, while Bismarck in his own eyes—as in the eyes of Europe—was "the uncrowned King of Germany". The two men parted in a spirit of bitter hatred * Dismaick died in 1898, aged eighty-three, and had a village funeral.

¹ Then twenty-nine, and a man of strong will, "with a tendency to bragging and conceit", as his own father had said.

¹ William I. was supremely confident. "There is only one master in this country, and I am he. I shall suffer no other beside me."

CHAPTER XI

FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC, 1870-1914

THE defeat and capture of Napoleon III. at Sedan brought about the immediate fall of the Second Empire. A republic was proclaimed, first in some provincial towns and then in Paris. This sudden collapse of the Empire was due to the fact that Napoleon's rule was not "broad based upon a people's will" but rather depended principally on the support of the army, and so fell when the force which sustained it was destroyed.

After the surrender of Paris (January, 1871) an armistice was agreed upon, during which a National Assembly could be elected. This met at Bordeaux in February, nominated Thiers as the "chief of the executive power of the French Republic" and empowered him to make peace with Germany. The heavy terms imposed were accepted and the Treaty of Frankfurt was ratified (May). At once the party feuds reappeared; the Government was only a provisional one, and legitimists, republicans and Bonapartists all began to plot and intrigue, and strove to make good their position during this period of uncertainty.

THE COMMUNE.—From the beginning of the war there had been much criticism in Paris of the mismanagement of affairs, and as disaster followed disaster this discontent found violent expression. There was no single creed common to the whole movement. It was not the first outbreak of the Marxian theory in practical affairs, but a combination of criticism of the imperial regime, and a revival of the socialism of Louis Blanc, coloured by Marxian communism and an appeal to the revolutionary enthusiasm of 1793. The triumphal entry into the city by the German forces and the occupation of nearly half of France had exasperated public feeling, and there was a fear—not unjustified—that monarchy might be restored. The Assembly which had concluded the humiliating peace was denounced, and, because it contained a majority of monarchists, was accused by the advanced republicans of betraying France. In

addition the Assembly, ignoring the economic stagnation which continued in Paris after the siege, refused to prolong the *moratorium* suspending the payment of rent and other financial dues. When the Assembly ordered the strongly republican National Guard in Paris to give up its cannon and attempted to seize them, revolution broke out. The city fell into the hands of the Communards, who drew up a scheme for completely self-governing municipalities or communes throughout France, which should unite in a federation. *

The Parisian communes were set up on March 18, and appealed to the other municipalities for support, but found none. The army, 130,000 troops in all under General MacMahon, besieged Paris with orders to suppress the communes, and there followed a desperate struggle lasting six weeks in which there was much cruelty on both sides. At least 20,000 Communards were killed, 7,500 were transported to the penal colony of New Caledonia, and many others were imprisoned. In fact the socialist party was exterminated. There remained a dread of its advanced doctrines, and a bitterness which distinguished French party politics for many years.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF FRANCE.—The Assembly, as has been said, contained a small majority of monarchists over republicans,¹ owing to the fear that the republicans wished to continue the war at all costs. But the monarchists saw that a premature attempt to proclaim a monarchy would involve the country in a prolonged and bitter strife. It was therefore decided to postpone "the decision of France as to the definite form which her government should take", and all parties agreed to a political truce, the Compact of Bordeaux.

It was fortunate for France that Thiers, the most popular man in the country, was a statesman of great ability and wise moderation. He appealed for support to pay off the heavy indemnity and thus secure the withdrawal of the German army of occupation. In two and a half years it was paid, mainly owing to the industry and thrift of the peasant farmers. Next the army was reorganised and a system of general conscription similar to that of Germany was introduced, by which it was calculated

¹ The scheme possessed many features later incorporated in the constitution of the U.S.S.R.

* 400 out of 750 deputies.

that six and a half million men could be put into the field. Fortresses were built; roads, railways and bridges were constructed. Local government was reformed, and industry was encouraged to re-establish itself. Within five years France was prosperous again.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.—The definitive form of the constitution remained to be settled. For a longtime it was doubtful whether the monarchists or republicans would prevail in the Assembly. As national reorganisation progressed, the monarchists felt that they could dispense with Thiers and overthrew him, putting the clerical and monarchist Marshal Mac-Mahon in his place (1873). Still they found they were no further towards their goal, for there were three claimants to the throne: the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, the Count de Chambord ("Henri V."), representative of the Bourbon line (see table, p. xi), and the Prince Imperial,¹ son of Napoleon III. Attempts at a reconciliation between the legitimists (supporters of the Bourbons) and the Orleanists failed, and Thiers reminded his opponents that three people could not sit on one throne at the same time. Some of the monarchists therefore reluctantly decided that a republic must be accepted; and when the republicans forced the issue in January, 1875, it was decided by one vote that the head of the executive should be recognised as President of the Republic.

The constitution in its final shape, as decided upon by a series of "constitutional laws" (1875), ^{was} essentially a compromise, the work of men of all parties. At the head was a president, elected for seven years by the two houses. He probably had less power than any other head of a state. The prime minister, who with the other ministers was responsible to the two houses, had control of the executive. The Senate of rather more than 300 members was elected by an indirect method for nine years, and the Chamber of Deputies consisted of nearly 600 members elected for four years by manhood suffrage which the French had enjoyed since 1848. The centralised administrative institutions inherited from the Empire were retained, and the liberty of the press, the right of public meeting, and trial by jury preserved. With few amendments the constitution stood until the war of 1939-1945.

¹ He died serving in the British army against the Zulus, 1879.

In France there were not a few large parties as in Britain, but many small groups and many independent deputies, and any ministry was obliged to depend on some combination of these groups, which were continually changing their allegiance. Moreover, a minister had not the power to obtain a dissolution of the Chamber before the end of its legal term in order to secure a majority, except with the approval of the president and Senate. Thus cabinets in France were short-lived, and there was a lack of that continuity of policy which was obtained in Britain, where a strong cabinet controlled its majority in the Commons by firm party discipline.

In the elections held early in 1876 the republicans gained a large majority in the lower house, but there remained a small monarchist majority in the Senate. Difficulties at once arose, for MacMahon tried to rule with a monarchist ministry, and with the support of the ultramontane clergy and the Senate, with whose consent he dissolved the lower house in 1877. A trial of strength at the polls followed, in which the republicans were led by Gambetta.

Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), after his escape from Paris, had shown great energy in organising resistance to the victorious advance of the Germany army after Sedan. He had tried to prevent the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and with his broad views and great gift of oratory had become a very popular figure. He cleverly exploited the increasing prejudice against clericalism, with the result that at the elections the republicans, now closely linked with all the other parties of the Left, gained a majority and soon compelled MacMahon to resign. From that time republican control of president, Senate and the Chamber of Deputies was assured. The monarchists became an ever-dwindling minority, and after 1893 were a negligible force in politics.

ANTI-CLERICALISM.—The anti-clerical movement in France was inspired by the necessity to protect the rights of the state against a Catholicism which was political in its aims, and condemned freedom of speech and of the press, religious toleration and secular education, as Pope Pius IX. had done in 1864 (see p. 72). It was also a revenge for the support given by the clergy to the monarchists since 1871. A bitter struggle followed, in the course of which "unauthorised" religious orders were ordered

to disperse, and on their refusal to do so were expelled, the Jesuits first (1882).

With the safety of the republic assured, serious divisions appeared among the republicans both in home and foreign policy. One party wished to come to an understanding with Germany, to seek in colonial expansion fresh economic resources and to avoid offending conservative opinion. The other, more radical, believed that the danger of invasion from Germany as revealed in the war scare of 1875 still existed, and wished to seek allies against her;^x in home affairs they were anxious for a forward policy.

The outstanding personality in French politics from 1879 to 1885 was Jules Ferry, who during that time was first Minister for Education, then for Foreign Affairs and twice premier. He was responsible for the law of 1882 by which education in France was made free, compulsory, and free from clerical control, and for that which legalised trade unions (1884). Above all he was responsible for the forward colonial movement (see Chapter XIII.), not for purposes of colonisation, for the French birth-rate was falling and there was little unemployment, but for the sake of economic exploitation and military strength. Thus he directed the establishment of a protectorate in Tunis (1881), the occupation of Madagascar, the exploration of the Congo and the Niger basin and the conquest of Indo-China. This policy aroused bitter opposition from those who, like Clemenceau, "the Tiger", desired to concentrate on a policy of revenge against Germany, and indeed, their criticism was well-founded, for Ferry's plans led to strained relations with Italy, Britain and Spain.

These warring policies dominated internal affairs from 1880 to 1885. When an amnesty was granted to the surviving leaders of the Commune, they formed the Socialist party. Gambetta lost all his influence and with his premature death in 1882 the republicans were left without an outstanding leader.

BOULANGER.—From 1885 a series of coalition ministries were more concerned with maintaining their own power than with

¹ There was little possibility of friendly relations while Frenchmen longed for the return of Alsace and Lorraine. The statue representing Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde was veiled in crape (till 1918). Of the return of the lost provinces Gambetta said: "*N'y parlez jamais, y pensez toujours*"

reform, so that an opportunity was afforded to a new danger to the republic. General Boulanger, who had gained much popularity among the many monarchist officers in the army by advocating a war of revenge against Germany, gained support also from clerical and radical opponents of the Government. In 1886 he was appointed Minister of War, and in the next year brought the country very close to war with Germany. A new Government sought to push him into the background by placing him on the retired list, but he emerged as an opponent of corrupt government and in January, 1889, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. As he aspired to a dictatorship, the republican parties of the Left reunited against him; he was impeached and fled to Brussels, where he committed suicide in 1891. His failure was due partly to his lack of boldness and decision and partly to the hostility of the peasantry who feared a war. The result of the movement was to strengthen the republic, for without their leader his followers could not work together, and to discredit still further the monarchists and clerical party.

THE DREYFUS CASE.—In 1894 a Captain Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew accused of having sold military secrets to Germany, was found guilty and transported for life to Devil's Island. Two years later the chief of the Intelligence Staff accused a Major Esterhazy of having forged the essential document in the case, and there was a great outcry for a retrial.¹ The army tried to hush up the case, and France was divided into two camps; it was a political "civil war" between Right (as represented by the army and the clericals) and Left (the republicans, including the revived Socialist party). In 1899 the innocence of Dreyfus was proved and he was released; the forger confessed and committed suicide. It was a triumph for the Left and led to a period of settled and firm government.

The coalition of the Left, the *Bloc* as it was called, was composed mainly of radicals and socialists, the latter under the leadership of Millerand (the first French socialist to become a minister, 1899) and Briand. The Dreyfus case had shown the danger to the republic of a strong clerical party, and as a result the Association Law of 1901 was passed, by which the dissolu-

¹ An open letter, "*J'accuse*", by Emile Zola, the foremost writer in France, created a sensation. Jaures, the socialist leader, and Clemenceau also supported Dreyfus.

tion of Catholic Orders was continued (see p. 105) and their property was confiscated by the state. In 1904 diplomatic relations between France and the Pope were broken off, and in the next year the denunciation of the Concordat of 1801 completed the separation of Church and State and disestablished the Church. All ecclesiastical buildings except the churches were taken over by the state, which was no longer to pay the salaries of the clergy.

THE PRE-WAR YEARS, 1905-1914.—During these years when the relations between Church and State caused much unsettlement in the minds of Frenchmen, Delcassé, Foreign Minister from 1898 to 1905, was working with great success to improve French relations with Italy and Britain. French democracy had thus far been pacific, whereas the rise of syndicalism (see p. 115), which dates from the establishment of the Confederation Generale de Travail (C.G.T.) in 1905, meant the adoption of a militant socialist policy. From 1906 to 1912 there were many strikes, of which that of the railway workers in 1910 was broken by Briand with the aid of troops. Between 1910 and 1914 there were eight unstable ministries, and it appeared that internal dissensions had so weakened the French state that collapse was imminent.

CHAPTER XII

THE SCIENTIFIC AGE

THE nineteenth century witnessed a great increase in man's knowledge of nature and the world around him. Whereas in previous ages inventions were due to the needs of practical life stimulating the activities of craftsmen, now scientific investigation in laboratories preceded and suggested invention and the practical application of discoveries, each invention in its turn suggesting a new field of investigation. Thus the researches of Mendel (1822-1884), abbot of Brunn, were of the greatest importance in biology in showing how characteristics are transmitted from one generation to another, and were used by Biffen and others to breed new varieties of wheat with greater yield, and by others in considering problems of heredity in human beings. The study of archaeology and of the development of Christianity, of the texts of the Bible and of other religions, helped to bring about a reconciliation of the supporters of Darwin's hypothesis and the theologians.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.—Developments in these fields brought immediate benefit to the people. The general adoption of Jenner's discovery of vaccination reduced the death-rate from smallpox alone from 3 per thousand to '054 per thousand during the century. In pathology Louis Pasteur (1822-1895) showed in 1855 that putrefaction was caused by bacteria, the growth of which was due in all cases to the entrance of germs from outside. By growing cultures of the germs of a disease and inoculating with a weakened virus, he was able to immunise human beings or animals against the disease. His work was of immense value to industry also, for he saved the silk industry, revolutionised brewing, and saved chicken from chicken cholera and cattle from anthrax.¹

¹ Huxley computed the value of Pasteur's work to France to be at least equal to the £200 millions war indemnity paid by France to Germany after the war of 1870. Pasteur himself chose to remain poor,

Lister applied Pasteur's results to surgery. The use of anaesthetics (chloroform was discovered in 1831 and came into general use soon after 1850) had already extended the field of surgery, but septic poisoning took a heavy toll of those operated on. By the use first of antiseptic methods and later of the more effective aseptic sterilisation Lister quickly reduced the mortality in amputations.¹ A fuller knowledge of hygiene and preventive medicine led to a fall in the death-rate and a greater increase of the population (see p. 44). The prevention of malaria was due to the researches between 1880 and 1897 of French, Italian and British scientists. Scientific methods were employed to improve the ventilation of buildings, and by governmental action to safeguard the purity of water supplies and of food.

THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY AND PETROL.—Electricity was being put to practical use before the middle of the century (the telegraph came into general use from 1845), but the great age of electricity did not begin until much later. The first successful Atlantic cable was laid in 1865. Ten years later Bell, a Scotsman who had emigrated to the United States, invented the telephone. He was assisted by Edison, who also invented the phonograph, the first form of the gramophone. Just before 1880 the first practical arc-lamp and the incandescent filament lamp were invented. Thereafter the use of electricity as an illuminant and a power rapidly increased. Electric trams were first used in Germany and widespread electrification of the railways took place after 1905.

Engineers had long realised that the steam engine was relatively inefficient, wasting much energy. In 1884, de Laval in Sweden and Parsons in England invented the turbine, in which steam was applied directly to turn the shaft. The internal-combustion engine was the invention (1885) of Daimler, a German, **and** together with that of the pneumatic tyre (1888) by Dunlop, an Irishman, revolutionised land transport. But until after the war of 1914-1918 cars remained costly, though the first motor-buses were in use in 1905, and were soon followed by "taxis" **and** lorries. In 1900, Diesel, a German, invented an engine working on heavy, crude and therefore cheap oil, but again this only came into general use after the war.

This ever-extending use of power led to a great demand for

¹ From 43 per cent, to 15 per cent.

self-acting machines with standardised sets of parts which should make both the original cost and repairs cheaper. Many "labour-saving" machines were invented, such as lifts, cranes and conveyors. Industry was no longer dependent on trial and error, but became a matter of research, calculation and experiment* It turned to the universities for the chemists, mathematicians, biologists and geologists it needed.

In 1865, Clerk Maxwell, developing an idea of Faraday, proved that the velocity of electro-magnetic waves was the same as that of light. Hertz in 1888 produced such waves and measured the wave-lengths, and improvements in producing and detecting them were made by Lodge (1894) and Marconi (1896). The latter's system of wireless telegraphy was of great value to shipping, and with the invention of the thermionic valve by Fleming (1905) made wireless telephony and broadcasting possible.

The first permanent photographs were produced by a Frenchman, Daguerre, about 1830. Photography later revealed the existence of "ultra-violet" and "infra-red" light rays. In 1896, Röntgen, a German, discovered X-rays, which were soon adapted for use in medicine and surgery, and a development of their study was the discovery by M. and Mme. Curie of a new element, radium, which proved to be of great value in the treatment of malignant diseases. The cinematograph was invented in 1893, the first public cinema was opened twelve years later and "talking" pictures were successfully produced in 1928.

FLIGHT.—In 1898, Count von Zeppelin, a retired German army officer, began to construct dirigible airships with a rigid framework maintaining an envelope filled with hydrogen. These "lighter-than-air" machines at first proved expensive, difficult to handle and unreliable. Greater success attended the experiments with heavier-than-air machines driven by internal-combustion engines. In 1903 the brothers Wright began their flights in the United States. Blériot, a Frenchman, crossed the English Channel in 1909, and from that date to the outbreak of war in 1914 progress was rapid.

AGRICULTURE.—Until 1870 the increase of population caused a steady demand for foodstuffs and prices consequently were well maintained, but the importation of large quantities of wheat from the United States, which began about 1875, caused

a fall in prices which was disastrous to the fanners of western Europe. This led Bismarck to initiate in 1878 an upward movement of tariffs, and within a few years he was followed by France, Russia, Italy and Austria-Hungary. As prices fell still further so the tariffs were increased, until only Belgium and Britain clung to free trade. In France, Germany and Denmark, co-operative societies enabled peasant farmers to purchase machinery and seeds with cheap credit, educated them in new methods of cultivation and assisted them in the distribution and sale of their produce. But in Russia the redistribution of land (see p. 131) had little economic effect in face of the ignorance and traditional conservatism of the peasant. -

THE RISE OF THE BOURGEOISIE.—The period from 1871 to 1914 was one of feverish enterprise in economic development. Natural science was for the first time applied on a large scale to industrial production. The middle-class trader and factory owner gradually displaced the old feudal land-owning aristocracy from the leading place in the conduct of national affairs. They believed, as a class, in hard work, perseverance and thrift, and if their attitude was too materialistic, measuring everything in terms of money, it was at least marked by integrity. The great increase in the number of joint-stock companies, and the new protection given to shareholders by the law, encouraged the investment of money in great industrial undertakings.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.—Before 1848 the industrialisation of Europe proceeded but slowly, for economic progress was hampered by revolution and the threat of revolution or, as in Italy and Germany, by political disunity. Belgium, the earliest industrialised of all the continental nations, owed much to British capital and engineers in building her railways, her metal-works and her gas industry from the thirties onwards. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the industrialisation of three great states which had been purely agricultural—the United States (in New England from 1840 onwards), Germany (from 1860) and Russia (from 1890).¹

¹A few figures will indicate the great advances made. In England, between 1871 and 1914 the value of textile products rose from £50 millions to £170 millions, and the amount of coal raised increased from 127 million tons in 1873 to 280 millions in 1913. The increase in overseas trade is shown by an increase from £500 millions in 1873 to £13,500 millions in 1912. The horse-

A feature of German industrial organisation before the war was the growth of *Kartells* representing a number of different businesses to arrange prices, sales and output, and so eliminate waste and competition. They enjoyed the support of the Government and were closely supported by the banks. In the eighties trusts began to develop in the United States, mainly in railways, iron and steel, oil and sugar. The trust differs from a *Kartell* in that it is composed of many companies interlocked and under one control. Trusts had the same objects as the *Kartells*, but were condemned by statesmen and organised labour because they exploited consumers and workers and used their wealth to influence politics and corrupt the law. Many attempts were made to break the power of the trusts, but with little success.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.—The growth of trusts was to a certain extent balanced by associations of consumers. This co-operative movement assumed various forms at different periods in different countries. In Britain, starting from the "Rochdale Pioneers" in 1844, there were by 1908 2½ million members, representing about one-fifth of the families in the state, with £55 millions of capital and doing trade to the value of £130 millions in a year. A movement such as this was bound to have far-reaching social influence, not only in the financial saving which it encouraged, but also in, its intellectual, moral and educational effects on the characters of its members, and by the training it gave in methods of public administration. The co-operative movement produced goods in addition to distributing them, but in general it was more successful in distribution. In Germany co-operative banks (established about 1850) were very successful.

STATE ACTION.—The German system of state insurance for workers against sickness and accident, and the provision of old-age pensions, was imitated, in part or as a whole, early in the present century in France, Switzerland, Belgium, Norway and Britain. Schemes for unemployment benefit were also introduced in these countries. Similarly the regulation of conditions

power of machinery used in France in 1914 was nearly ten times that of 1871. The iron smelted in Germany in 1885 was 4 million tons; in 1913 it was 15 million tons. Even in Russia the production of iron during this period was more than quadrupled, and in 1914 exceeded that of France.

of employment, first established by Britain in a comprehensive series of Mines, Factory, Merchant Shipping, Truck and Shop Hours Acts, was later widely adopted.¹ By the close of the century the labour movement was demanding stronger labour laws, enforced by government inspection.

THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.;—In legislation affecting women and children some countries had by 1914 gone further than Britain, while in others, notably Austria-Hungary and Russia, little had been done. The emancipation of women proceeded apace after 1870. The universities of Switzerland, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Italy, Norway, Spain, Rumania, Belgium, Greece, Scotland, Dublin and London all granted degrees to women by 1892. England (1876) followed Holland (1870) in permitting women doctors to practise. The rights of married women to their own property and earnings were gradually admitted in most countries. In Sweden, Norway and Finland women were admitted to the franchise on equal terms with men, and in 1907 nineteen women were elected to the Finnish Diet.

SOCIALISM.—The new industrialism had made the lot of the manual worker who hired his labour to an employer harder than before. As a protest against the inequality in the distribution of wealth there arose a new movement, socialism. The early socialists, such as Robert Owen (1771-1858) in Britain and St. Simon (1760-1825) in France, aimed at the establishment of small self-sufficing communities, whose members would live in common and share work and profits. These schemes failed, as did the "national workshops" of Louis Blanc (see p. 19).

Far more revolutionary were the views of Kari Marx (1818-1883), a Prussian middle-class Jew who aimed at the reorganisation of society as a whole. With Engels, another German Jew, Marx published in 1847 the *Communist Manifesto*, the theme of which was fully developed in *Das Kapital*.² Briefly stated, the views of Marx were that all private property in the means of production should be abolished, and that this should be done by (a) confiscation of land rent, (b) high direct taxes, (c) abolition

¹ The *semaine anglaise* was started by the Factory Act of 1850, which ordered the stoppage of work by 2 p.m. on Saturdays.

² The first volume of which was published in 1867, when Marx was living in exile in London.

of inheritance, (d) public ownership of all means of transportation, (e) national factories and farms and (/) free public education for all. Marx regarded capital as the root of all evil and proposed to overthrow it by a "class war". In the last words of the *Manifesto* he said:

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"

Communists and socialists were broadly agreed in demanding far more public control of the production and distribution "of wealth; but whereas most socialists thought that the changes could be made gradually and by democratic methods, communists argued that a revolution was necessary before the transition to communism could begin.

As a challenge to the domination of the *bourgeoisie* and to the nationalist glorification of the state, Marxism was international and was a restatement in economic terms of the political struggle which had begun with Rousseau and the French Revolution. But the First Socialist International, founded by Marx in 1864, with members from France, Britain and Belgium, collapsed after the Franco-German War, torn by internal dissensions.

TRADE UNIONS.—Britain was the pioneer of trade unionism, but almost everywhere else during the era of *laissez-faire* combinations of workers were held to be criminal and were severely punished. The modern type of union, a defensive and offensive organisation safeguarding and always trying to improve the conditions of labour for its members, dates from the formation of the Amalgamated Engineers' Union in Britain in 1851, but French trade unions were legalised only as late as 1884.

The ideas of Marx, in spite of the failure of the First International, made headway and were adopted by the socialists and trade unionists of France and Germany, where from 1891 socialists were the largest single group in the Reichstag. A second Socialist International was founded in 1889, but collapsed when the nationalist spirit triumphed in 1914. At the end of the nineteenth century labour or socialist political parties existed in all the countries of western Europe, and in most there was a conflict between a "right-wing" or constitutional group and a "left-wing" or Marxian group, more definitely socialist and class-conscious. During this period syndicalism—that is, the

organisation of all trades to make possible a general strike with the object of paralysing the government—became the dominating influence in French trade unions. Strikes and sabotage were to be used as often as possible as preparation for the general strike which should bring social revolution. Then industrial life would be organised in small local self-sufficing groups of industries. The vast majority of French industrial workers were not trade unionists, but the syndicalists by their energy and definite policy exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.^x

At this time syndicalism was also influencing the trade union movement in Britain. In the United States trade unions made little headway, partly because the workers were mainly unskilled labourers drawn from many European countries and with few mutual sympathies, partly because the workers were not opposed to the capitalist system as they hoped either to become employers themselves or to migrate to the west and take up land. In France the chief result of the growth of syndicalism was to stiffen the resistance of the middle class to necessary reforms.

SOCIALISM IN PRACTICE.—During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the proportion of town-dwellers in western Europe continued to increase, so that in 1914 three-quarters of all the people were to be found in urban communities. These communities were compelled to take upon themselves many functions hitherto carried out by self-sufficing households, such as paving, lighting, cleansing and sewerage, police protection, supply and distribution of water, gas and electricity; the care of orphans, the sick, the blind, deaf, dumb, crippled and insane; the provision of education, libraries, museums and art galleries, of music and other means of recreation and amusement. This collective activity grew in volume and in range. The local administration which carried out these duties varied in form and powers in various states; in France and Germany it was much more under the control of the central legislature than in Britain, for example. The development of social services led also to the growth of state control, and to increased taxation.²

¹ In 1912 only 400,000 of 11 millions of industrial workers were members of syndicalist unions.

² The cost of increasing armaments (see p. 128) made it difficult for governments to devote to social services as much money as was necessary.

THE REVOLUTION IN TRANSPORT.—By 1870 the railway system of western Europe was more or less complete, and from that date the great feature was the construction of transcontinental lines such as those of the United States, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Trans-Siberian Railway.¹ Thus between 1880 and 1890 nearly 150,000 miles of line were added to the world's railways. Transport by road was almost eliminated, while canals carried only bulky goods for which swift delivery was not essential.

The success of the first steamships at the beginning of the century led to the construction of many others. By 1820 there were regular cross-Channel services, and the Atlantic was crossed wholly under steam in 1838 (in fifteen days). Two years later the Cunard line was founded. Up to this time all steamships were of wood construction and had paddles, but the use of iron and the invention of the screw propeller permitted an increase in the proportion of cargo to weight and gave greater speed. Even so, sailing ships were for some time able to maintain competition, and as late as 1870 steamships formed only 40 per cent, of the world's tonnage. In 1900 they were 92 per cent.

RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION IN TRANSPORT.—The railway and steamship provided a great stimulus to industry and trade. Lower freight charges assisted machine production in reducing costs; lower costs meant a much greater demand for goods and the opening up of new markets among peoples who previously could not afford to buy. Swift and certain transport meant that goods could be brought to Europe which could not be imported in sailing ships, while their regular arrival made it possible to plan ahead with greater accuracy. The mobility of people was greatly increased, so that migration on a large scale took place (see p. 119), while travel for pleasure became widespread for the first time. Britain's supremacy in world trade was increased by the coming of the steamship, and even more by the introduction of iron and steel construction (general after 1880), because American competition, which had been very keen in the days of the wooden clippers, collapsed owing to shortage of iron. The importance of railways was perhaps greater on the continent of

¹ Completed in 1905 at a cost of £100 millions. Length, 3,800 miles. It opened new regions to trade and settlement.

Europe than in Britain because of the greater distances, and the plains of Russia and Germany, with small sea outlets, were now developed. Improved communications centralised and stimulated government action and control, and railways were often constructed by government finance, which also subsidised steamship lines.

THE EXPANSION OF WORLD TRADE.—In both the internal trade of the countries of Europe and their trade with each other and the rest of the world there was vast expansion. Between 1865 and 1870 the problem of deep-sea long-distance cables was solved, and the completion of cable lines and the development of telephones linked up practically all places of commercial importance before the end of the century. The business man now had the world for his market; the luxuries of life became cheaper, and modern comforts due to inventions and technical progress were more widely distributed.

By 1870, Britain had obtained what appeared an invincible supremacy,¹ and the trade of the other European countries was expanding, if on a smaller scale.¹ But the expansion of production and the revolution in transport destroyed the stability of the old economic system. Industries enjoyed "booms" at one period, but a disturbance—*e.g.*, the Crimean War—would stop the supply of foodstuffs or of an essential raw material, or close a market, and so cause a "slump". Over-production could cause a disastrous fall in prices and much unemployment. Thus there were a number of well-marked alternations—trade cycles—throughout the latter half of the century. The Franco-German War ushered in a period of depression which lasted for over twenty years, then from 1895 to 1914 there was a period of general prosperity.

¹ For her the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) was of the greatest importance; in 1879 seven-ninths of the shipping passing through was British.

² Her foreign trade of France was £331 millions in 1831, but £228 millions in 1869. The wheat export of Prussia doubled between 1860 and 1870.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

AFTER 1878 the relations of the European powers were increasingly complicated by territorial and commercial rivalries outside Europe. Earlier in the century Britain had been the first to profit by the industrial revolution; she had consolidated also her vast empire and controlled the world's shipping. But now Germany and other continental countries began to pour out vast quantities of manufactured goods. Those who had previously bought British goods began to consume their own, and soon Europe could not absorb its own products and had to find new markets. It was necessary also to have raw materials to feed the machines. Thus came about a rush to those areas inhabited by coloured people, which soon became colonies or dependencies of the European powers.

There were other reasons for action besides the profit motive. The Christian peoples considered it their sacred duty to extend to heathen races the benefits of Christianity, and the general public were deeply interested in the work of the missionary-explorers of whom they heard much in their churches and newspapers.¹ Pride in the possession of a vast empire was added to this sense of duty ("the white man's burden"), and was especially strong in Britain. It explains in part her unpopularity with the continental nations, particularly Germany.

AMERICA.—The unparalleled development of the continent of America during the nineteenth century had important effects on the economic life of Europe. At its beginning the United States had a population of 5*3 millions, at the end 77 millions. This increase was due mainly to the emigration from Europe which set in after 1840, and was caused by want and

¹ The disappearance of Livingstone, for example, and the search for him by Stanley received much publicity.

distress.¹ Many of the English emigrants were skilled artisans, engineers, and miners who did not go westward to the unpeopled prairies, tyit helped to build up the industry of the east. The settlement of the west was carried out by Americans—the second or third generation of settlers—who left the east in times of depression, with Germans, Russians and Scandinavians. This progress was hindered by the Civil War (1861-1865), fought between northern and southern states on the issues of slavery and secession. The success of the North was followed by bankruptcy and distress in the South, but after a period of reconstruction the South recovered its position as the world's chief cotton-producing area, supplying more than 80 per cent, of the world's crop.

Farther north the opening-up of the middle west was made possible by the construction of the great trans-continental railway lines (1870-1880). Immigrants were encouraged by the grant of free land, which was virgin soil and needed no fertilisers. Machinery was available—the reaper and binder had been perfected between 1850 and 1860, and later the steam thresher and steam plough. By the end of the century the United States were producing one-quarter of the world's wheat and sending much of it to Europe. Even after the continental countries erected tariff walls against food imports, Britain provided a great market.

BRITISH COLONIES OF SETTLEMENT.—Emigration from Britain was not solely or even mainly to the United States. Many thousands went to the British colonies in temperate lands, so that by 1881 Canada had a population of 4½ millions, Australia of 2 millions, and New Zealand of half a million. This colonisation, the settlement of a surplus population in a new land, is quite distinct from the "scramble" for economic and political control of areas inhabited by native races. The main areas in which this second type of expansion took place were Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and the Pacific. Of the Middle East and the conflict there between Russia and Britain mention has been made in Chapter IX.

¹ Average annual immigration into U.S.A. (thousands):

From:	U.K.	Germany.	Russia.	Austria.	Italy.	Scandinavia.
1845-54 ..	168	95				2
1865-74 ..	134	113	2	3	3	**
1885-94 ..	119	98	38	48	47	56
1905-14 ..	96	34	199	235	220	41

EUROPE AND SLAVERY.—At the Congress of Vienna Britain obtained a declaration from the powers condemning the slave trade. France (1831) and Spain (1835) imposed heavy penalties on it, and much was done by maritime patrols to prevent it, although until Abraham Lincoln's decree of 1862 abolishing slavery in the United States many slave traders secured immunity from search by flying the Stars and Stripes. The prevention of slave-raiding by Arabs in the interior of Africa was a difficult problem. The exposure of the evils by Livingstone after his journey across Africa (1853-1856) led to renewed efforts. Eventually the great slave market of Zanzibar was closed (1873) and at the Brussels Conference (1889) representatives of seventeen states pledged themselves to stamp out the evil. Until the latter half of the nineteenth century the interior of Africa was almost unexplored, though the coastline had been known from the time of the Portuguese explorers. In West Africa the European powers had long held slaving stations, while farther south the Portuguese held Angola and Mozambique, from which slaves were sent to Brazil. The stopping of the slave trade greatly diminished the value of these possessions, some of which became almost derelict, so that in the sixties their abandonment was seriously considered, but was decided against mainly because the missionary societies were reluctant to give up their stations.

FRANCE AND TUNIS.—When Britain took control of Cyprus in 1878 it was suggested that France should find compensation in Tunis, so close to Algeria which was already hers. Bismarck encouraged the idea, with the double motive of distracting France from thoughts of revenge and of creating bad feeling between her and Italy. Tunis was in theory still a part of the Turkish Empire, but since 1869 had been under the joint financial control of France, Italy and Britain. In April, 1881, a French military force marched in on the plea of the necessity for restoring order, and the Bey (the ruling prince) was forced to agree to a French protectorate. Italy was indignant, and obtaining no sympathy from Britain, turned to the Central Powers. The Triple Alliance was the result,

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—The accession in 1863 of Ismail to the throne of Egypt was followed by the construction of railways, telegraphs, harbours, and, above all, the Suez Canal, which was

opened to traffic in 1869.¹ At the same time large sums were spent on wars in the Sudan and on the ruler's personal pleasures. Much of this expenditure was financed by loans from abroad, and when he could borrow no more he sold his shares in the canal to Britain (1875). Even so national bankruptcy was inevitable, and the Caisse de la Dette was instituted, by which Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Italy were given control of much of the revenue. Shortly afterwards a Dual Control by French and British officials was set up. In 1879, after all efforts to keep Ismail's extravagance in check had failed, he was deposed by the Sultan and Tewfik, his son, was appointed in his place. The Dual Control was reimposed, the British chief official being Major Evelyn Baring. Two years of quiet progress followed, but in September, 1881, resentment of alien rule led to a rebellion headed by Arabi Pasha. A joint note from the two powers expressing their determination to ensure good government was resented both by the Egyptians and the Sultan. Riots began in Alexandria in June, 1882, but both France and Italy then refused to co-operate with Britain in restoring order. Arabi's force was crushed by Britain (September) and the Khedive's authority restored. France and Turkey were angry at British intervention, but a permanent "occupation" was not intended at the time, though in fact Baring remained to govern the country till 1906. When he retired he was hailed as "the maker of modern Egypt". Britain was still in control when the Great War broke out in 1914.

A Mohammedan fanatic, the Mahdi, overran the Sudan in 1883, and after General Gordon had been killed at Khartum (1885) was left in possession of the country for ten years. It was re-occupied by a force under Kitchener (1896-1898), and a joint Anglo-Egyptian government was set up. The slave trade was abolished, irrigation introduced and agriculture encouraged.

TROPICAL AFRICA.—A new economic factor appeared in the sixties in the suddenly increased demand for tin-plate, in the manufacture of which tallow was used. But this was expensive, and palm oil proved an excellent substitute. This oil was later used for soaps, glycerine and cattle-foods, and from the begin-

¹ A concession to construct the canal was obtained from the Khedive by de Lessepe, a Frenchman. The capital required was raised mainly in France. The final cost was about £20,000,000.

ning of the twentieth century for margarine. The main source of supply was West Africa, and soon French and German merchants began to compete there with British interests. As a result, after Britain had acquired Lagos (1861), she bought out the Dutch and Danish colonies and consolidated them as the Gold Coast Colony (1871) and granted concessions to a chartered company in the Niger basin (1879).

Soon afterwards Britain was concerned at the activities of France in West Africa and of France and Italy in East Africa, where they assumed control over districts near the mouth of the Red Sea. As it was possible that these might threaten her communications with India, Britain proclaimed a protectorate over the coast of Somaliland, opposite to Aden, which had been under British control since 1839. Portugal, too, was alarmed at the actions of the French on the lower Congo and the activities of King Leopold's Congo Association,¹ and appealed to Britain for support. Germany, whose traders had been active in Africa for some years, saw her opportunity to obtain colonies without British interference. Bismarck had taken no interest in colonies up to this time,² but a German Colonial Society was founded in 1882, and in the same year a German trader obtained a promise of support from the Chancellor when he proposed to acquire territory in what soon became German South-West Africa. Bismarck expected support from Britain in return for his approval of her occupation of Egypt, but friction arose in 1884 when Germany took Togoland and the Cameroons, and Britain hastened to acquire Zululand, Bechuanaland and British East Africa before Germany could step in, though recognising Germany's rights over Uganda.³ With Britain and Portugal ranged against France and Belgium Bismarck saw an excellent opportunity to intervene, and called the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), to discuss the relations of the powers in Africa generally, and the Congo Basin in particular. The Congo Free State was

¹ The Congo Free State was established by Stanley in 1879, under the direction of Leopold I I . of the Belgians.

² He said that Germany had no fleet to protect them, and was satisfied to see France following a colonial policy which would divert her from thoughts of revenge.

³ In 1890 Britain gave up Heligoland in exchange for Uganda and the recognition of a British protectorate over Zanzibar (see p. 140).

accepted as an independent state under Leopold II.'s rule, and the annexations of the various powers were confirmed. By a general act (1885) the powers pledged themselves to suppress slavery and to maintain free trade for all nations in their African territories. A later conference at Brussels (1889-1890) prohibited the traffic with the natives in arms and liquor.

The extension of British power throughout South Africa, the result of the work of Cecil Rhodes and of the discovery of diamonds (1871) and gold (1885), had important repercussions on international relations, particularly between Germany and Britain (see p. 143). Between 1889 and 1891 the tribes of Matabeleland were conquered by Rhodes's British South Africa Company and Portugal was forced (1890) to give up her claims to the land around the Zambesi. When control was established in the new colony, called Rhodesia, the railway from Cape Town was quickly extended in accordance with the plan for a "Cape to Cairo" line. The stumbling-blocks in the way of fulfilment of British ambitions were the Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The former had been annexed by Britain in 1877 but had had its independence restored in 1881. There the influx of thousands of British fortune-hunters and miners, following the discovery of diamonds and gold, had led to new problems and a clash between the two white peoples. As a result of the second Boer War (1899-1902) the two republics were annexed by Britain, and later (1910) became with Cape Colony and Natal the Union of South Africa.

THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC.—From the beginning of the century missionaries were at work among the savage tribes of the scores of groups of islands in the Pacific, and were followed by whalers, traders and merchants eager to exploit the copra, coconuts, pearls and other commodities which the islands produced. The French took possession of Tahiti (1842) and New Caledonia (1853); the British annexed the Fiji group in 1874. The western half of New Guinea belonged to Holland, but when Germany proceeded to occupy the north-east portion protests were made. A division of the area was agreed upon by which Germany secured the northern portion and a nearby group of islands, to which the name of Bismarck Archipelago was given (1884), and Britain took the south-east section. Soon afterwards (1887) Britain and France agreed to share the administration of

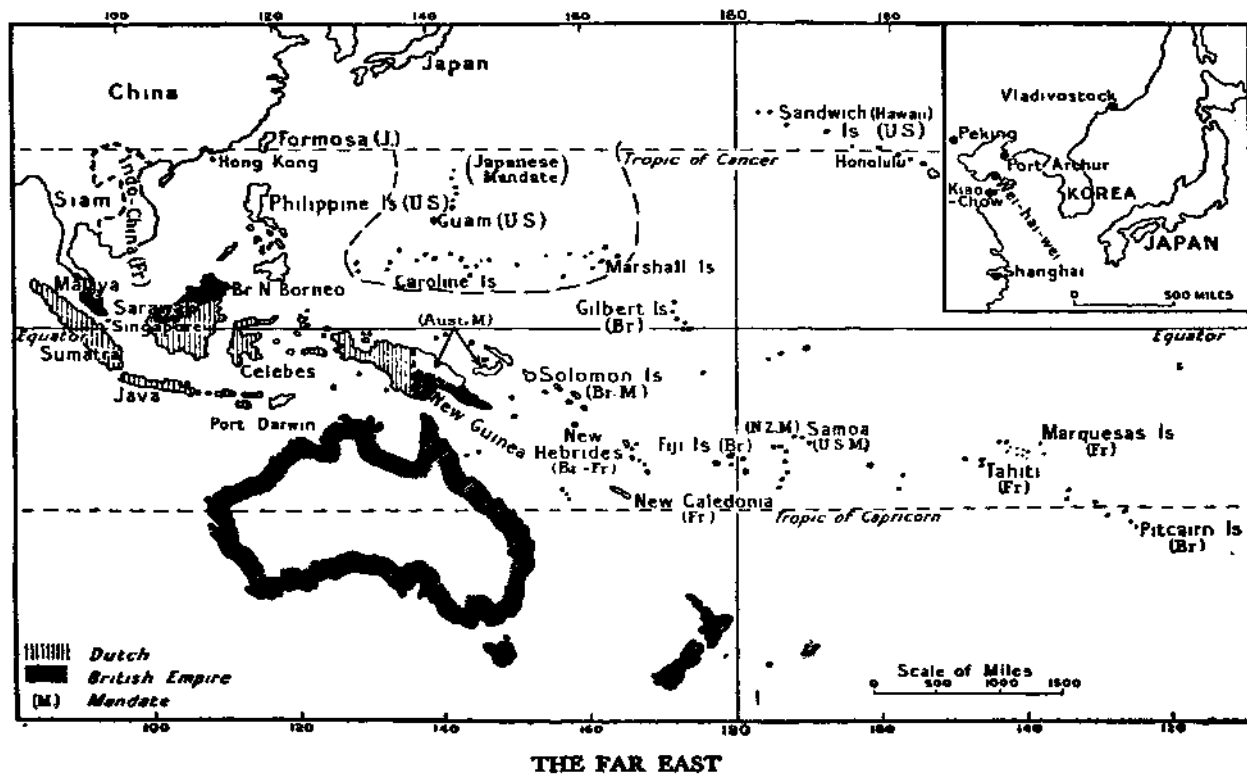
the New Hebrides group. At the end of the century the United States annexed the Sandwich Islands, and took Guam (later an important cable and wireless station) and the Philippine Islands from Spain on her victory in the Spanish-American War (1898).^{*} In 1899 the Samoa group was shared between Germany and the United States, while Britain took the Tonga group. Though the colonies thus obtained by Germany were widely separated from the fatherland and were unsuited to white settlement, their possession increased the pride of the German people in their empire, helped to turn their eyes to *weltpolitik* and stimulated the demand for a powerful navy.

THE FAR EAST.—China had effectively prevented any western penetration, until in 1840 Britain made war on her, obtained the cession of Hong Kong (1843) and forced her to open a number of her ports, of which Shanghai was the most important, to foreign trade. About 1860 Russia, having previously occupied the Amur Province, reached the Pacific and established a port at Vladivostock. Napoleon III., following his policy of adventurous expansion, in 1862 annexed what is now known as Cochin-China and, in 1867, part of Cambodia. Later Annam became a French protectorate.

Russia's expansion in Siberia was of a similar type to British colonisation overseas. The country was peopled first by peasant immigrants, convicts and political exiles. From 1885 Russia turned her face from India, where the geographical difficulties of the great mountain areas were almost insuperable, to the Far East and decided on the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway (see p. 135). This decision led away from conflict with Britain and thus paved the way to the Entente of 1907, but brought her face to face with Japan.

Meanwhile a revolution in Japan had broken the power of the nobles and brought to an end the feudal organisation which had remained intact to the middle of the century. Within a few years a modern army was organised on the German pattern and a navy built on British lines. Japan began to copy European industrialism and became an exporter of manufactured goods.

¹ A revolution in Cuba against Spanish oppression had begun in 1895. After a war of extermination, the U.S. intervened, and within ten weeks had wrested from Spain the remnants of her empire. The fundamental cause was the economic importance of the Caribbean to the U.S.



From 1871 she consolidated her position in the East China Sea by annexing various groups of islands. In 1894 war broke out between China and Japan over Korea, which stood in the same kind of relation to them as Belgium does to the western powers. Japan's victory was startlingly swift, but France, Russia and Germany forbade her to annex Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula. From this date the rivalries of the powers in China form an integral part of their diplomatic relations and are dealt with in Chapters XV. and XVI.

THE GROWTH OF ARMAMENTS.—The need for supporting colonial demands by armed force and the development of continental alliances led to the general introduction of conscription laws, under which all males of eighteen or nineteen had to undergo a short period of intensive military training, passing afterwards into the reserve. Conscription was first used in France in 1792, but the modern system was initiated by Scharnhorst, the brilliant Prussian organiser, early in the nineteenth century. Its general effect was to render war more likely by cultivating the military spirit while ensuring a large reserve of trained man-power.¹

The "war spirit" was not due to conscription alone. Napoleon I's victories had brought conquest and plunder. War came to be studied scientifically, especially by Clausewitz, a Prussian general (his book was published in 1832). He taught that war must be short, sharp and decisive, and therefore methods must be ruthless and ruthlessly applied to the whole civilian population of the enemy: secret preparation, surprise efforts and sudden blows were necessary to ensure victory.

For nearly half a century after Waterloo none of the countries of western Europe was militaristic. First the fear of Russia, next the ambitions of Napoleon III., and then the policy of Bismarck led to a complete change. Three successful wars paid Prussia handsome dividends, and the teaching of Clausewitz was vindicated. Practically all countries, except Britain, adopted complete conscription soon after 1870, and but for the pacific policy of Bismarck, who needed time to consoli-

¹ It may be noted that among the terms imposed on the defeated Central Powers (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria) in 1919 was the abolition of conscription and the adoption of the British system of a small professional long-service army.

date Germany's gains, other great wars might have followed quickly.

After his fall (1890) Germany began to increase her armaments. Fear fell upon Russia, France and Britain; with what results is shown in Chapter X V I. In 1910 the armies of the five great continental powers numbered two million men and the annual expenditure on armaments was very great. If war came they could, by mobilising trained reservists, put 20 million men into the field. This greatly increased military and naval competition could hardly end in anything but war.

INTERDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL ACTION.—Between 1871 and 1914 there was no war in western Europe—probably the longest period of peace there since the break-up of the Roman Empire. During this time capital was invested by the wealthier nations with other countries, and inter-communication became more frequent and more rapid. As a consequence there were international conferences, exhibitions, and a widespread desire for good relations between the peoples. In 1864 the Geneva Convention was able to secure agreement on the "neutrality" of the wounded in war, and was followed by the establishment of the International Red Cross. The Postal Union of 1874 and the Telegraph Union were also of very great importance. Socialism was international, and labour in various countries showed signs of solidarity. There was little corresponding feeling among the governments, though on secondary issues they were willing to go to arbitration. Britain led the way when Gladstone consented to it in the *Alabama* case after the American Civil War. But no government would submit to arbitration "upon issues in which the national honour or integrity was involved".

THE HAGUE CONFERENCES.—In 1898 the Czar issued a general invitation to the nations to consider "a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations" by "putting a limit to the progressive development of the present armaments". But at the conference which met at the Hague in the next year, and was attended by representatives of every European state, the United States and Japan, the German delegate made it clear at the outset that his Government refused to discuss the reduction of armaments. Britain stated that her army was already so small that she could not reduce it, and resisted a

proposal made by the United States and Germany to recognise the immunity of private property from seizure at sea. Thus, though an attempt was made to draw up "humane" rules for the conduct of war, nothing was done to make it less probable. A second conference in 1907 was another disappointment and did nothing.¹

Of great importance, however, was the decision to establish a permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague for use whenever two or more states should desire to settle a dispute by a judicial decision. A convention provided for enquiry by commissions into disputed matters of fact, for the constitution of the Court and rules of procedure. Recourse to the Court was to be voluntary.

¹ "We recognise that our attitude at the Hague Conferences in these two fundamental questions [limitation of armaments and arbitration] was an historical wrong for which our people have now to pay the price." (The German Foreign Minister in a speech to the National Assembly, February 14, 1919.)

CHAPTER XIV

RUSSIA AND THE FAR EAST, 1856-1914

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.—Russia was unaffected by the widespread revolutions of 1848, and Nicholas was able to use his army to suppress the Magyar rebellion. It was the Crimean War, during which Alexander I I. succeeded his father, that showed up the essential weakness of Russia, and the new Czar determined upon reforms. His reign (1855-1881) is comparable with that of his uncle—liberal ideas, disillusionment, repression.

Serfdom was the most pressing problem. From a purely economic view, it had proved unsatisfactory both in agriculture and industry.¹ Moreover, the serfs themselves were becoming restive. Rumours of the Austrian emancipation of 1848 had spread; there had been revolts, and as Alexander I I. put it to his nobles, "it were better that the emancipation came from above than from below". The crown peasants (about half the total) were already paying money dues instead of giving labour service; these were relieved of their dues and granted legal freedom. Those belonging to the nobles, by the famous Emancipation Edict of 1861, received legal freedom and a portion of the land so that they could become proprietors, while the state compensated the landlords, recovering the outlay from the peasants by payments spread over forty-nine years. Except in the west, the villages were communally responsible for these payments. The peasants remained dissatisfied, for their share of land was often small and the payments were heavy.

Alexander's other reforms must be dismissed shortly. In 1864 one decree arranged for the election of district and provincial *Zemstvos*, to do local administrative work (*e.g.*, in the sphere of health and education); another reformed the judicial system on western lines by the introduction of public trials, the independence of judges and the jury system. The Czar also removed the restrictions on foreign travel and relaxed the censorship.

¹ Some nobles employed serf labour in factories that they owned, but found that they could not compete with middle-class employers using free labour.

In Poland, a policy of conciliation was tried, and the exiles of 1831 were allowed to return. But nothing short of the restoration of the constitution of 1815 would have satisfied any large section of the Poles, and a strong revolutionary party aimed at independence. Stimulated by the success of the Italian national movement, the Polish nobles began a hopeless insurrection in January, 1863, again hoping for foreign help. They fought a guerrilla war, unsupported by the serf population, for more than a year with great bravery. Bismarck mobilised large forces in Prussian Poland, and assured the Czar that no help for the rebels would be permitted. Encouraged by this, Alexander abandoned all thought of conciliation, and stamped out the rebellion with a determination that was not checked by the protests of France, Britain and Austria. The peasants were rewarded and the nobles punished by the law of 1864, by which the land occupied by the peasants was transferred to them, though they kept their rights in the nobles' forests and pastures, and the compensation to the nobles was to come from a land-tax on all land. A blow was also struck at the Catholic Church by the dissolution of many monasteries, and the policy of Russification was intensified. The revolt was an important factor in Alexander's disillusionment.

REACTION FOLLOWS REFORM.—The reforms of Alexander were so successful in stimulating public opinion that the officials, the court and the landowners became alarmed. The Emperor was not a strong man, and sank back into his surroundings so that a nation-wide reaction followed. The chief leader of this reaction was Count Dmitry Tolstoy, Minister for Public Instruction from 1866-1880, who soon became the most unpopular man in Russia. He enforced a rigid system of classical education in the schools with the intention of closing admission to the public service to all except the children of the nobility, and supervised very strictly all education from the elementary schools to the universities, keeping a sharp eye on the political views expressed by the teachers or in the textbooks. The powers of the *Zemstvos* were cut down, so that enthusiastic reformers lost all interest in the work. A rigid censorship was imposed on the press, and the import was forbidden of books by foreign authors whose opinions were suspect.

INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.—Russian industry and com-

merce entered on a new era with the development of railways in the late sixties. There was much financial speculation, followed as usual by periods of crisis, and Russia shared in the general depression of the eighties. After the emancipation of the serfs many streamed into the towns to work in the new factories. In the grain-growing areas three bad harvests in succession led to a famine in 1873, when the Government was forced to remit the land taxes recently imposed.

The economic and social revolution involved in the emancipation of the serfs brought with it immense problems which the Government proved incapable of handling. The serfs were now peasant cultivators who had been allotted land through the *mir* or village community; but the burden of their redemption payments at a time when grain prices were falling was too much for cultivators, who because of their primitive methods were able to raise only poor crops.

ANARCHISM AND ALEXANDER III.—The humiliation of Russia at the Berlin Congress was followed by a new outbreak of revolt in which the most prominent spirits were students,¹ both men and women, who had been greatly influenced by the anarchist thinker Bakunin, who from exile in Geneva preached a revolution of peasants. Plots became rife, provincial governors, heads of police and police spies were murdered. Demonstrations were followed by wholesale arrests, strikes and conflicts in the streets (1879). The Government, under Loris-Melikov, who was given dictatorial powers, attempted conciliation and considered proposals for some form of representative government; but the assassination of the Czar on March 13, 1881, brought about an immediate change.

From the outset his successor, Alexander III. (1881-1894), pursued a policy of reaction. A manifesto sounded the keynote:

"The Voice of God orders us to stand firm at the helm of government . . . with faith in the strength and truth of the autocratic power, which we are called to strengthen and preserve . . . from every kind of encroachment."

¹ They were called Anarchists or Nihilists, because, though they desired the end of the existing order, they had no constructive policy, nothing to put in its place.

The influence behind the throne was Pobedonostev, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, to whom was entrusted the education of Nicholas, the Czar's son. He ruled through the *Ochrana*, a secret police, and condemned all western institutions in general and constitutional government ("the great political lie") in particular. The press was rigorously supervised, many newspapers being suppressed; restrictions were placed on the admission of students to the universities; many schoolmasters were dismissed from their posts.

Most serious of all these reactionary movements was the return to a "bastard feudalism", by degrading the peasants once more to a condition of servitude. In 1886 the breach of contract by a hired labourer was made a criminal offence, and three years later the justices of the peace, who had been elected by the *Zemstvos*, were replaced by land captains, chosen by governors of provinces from among the local squires. They were given both judicial and administrative powers; as judges they were incompetent because they were untrained, as administrators they wielded a dictatorship with the widest powers. They could imprison without trial and did not fear to abuse their authority. No class of officials was more widely hated. At the same time the excellent work being done by the *Zemstvos* was thwarted in every way, and the progressive elements were excluded from them.

This reactionary system lasted until the death of Alexander III. in 1894, and the accession of Nicholas II. brought little change. He avowed his belief in and his intention to maintain autocracy, and characterised as "senseless dreams" the desire of the reformers to share in the government. The reform movement made little progress, for it had only leaders and no followers. But the spread of the industrial revolution to Russia began to bring about a change. The ministry of M. Witte (1892-1903) encouraged the economic penetration of Russia by foreign capitalists as the only way of developing her natural resources. Russia thus passed into the stage of capitalism, which made her autocratic form of government, however suitable or unsuitable it might be for a peasant state, an anachronism in the midst of modern industrialism. The chief political party, the Social Revolutionaries, founded in 1889, was imbued with the principles of Marx **and** believed that all schemes of social reconstruc-

tion must fail unless preceded by a political revolution. **But** they found that agitation on behalf of socialistic ideas was almost impossible under an autocratic government. They therefore abandoned as hopeless their dream of an abrupt transition to socialism and hoped for a constitutional regime. The Russo-Japanese War was the turning-point.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (1904-1905).—From 1875, when Japan was forced to cede half the island of Saghalien to Russia, she had watched the expansion of Russia eastward with growing suspicion, which was increased by Russia's action in 1895 after the Sino-Japanese War. Germany suggested to Russia that her mission was in Asia rather than in Europe, and the Trans-Siberian Railway provided facilities for penetration. A treaty between Russia and China in 1896 permitted its extension by the Chinese Eastern Railway through Manchuria. In 1897, after the murder of two German missionaries, a German fleet occupied Kiao-Chow in the Chinese province of Shantung. Germany then demanded and obtained a lease of the harbour. A few months later Russia obtained a similar lease of Port Arthur, the key to the position in North China, while Britain leased Wei-Hai-Wei. China then granted permission to Russia for the construction of a branch of the Chinese Eastern Railway through Mukden to Port Arthur, together with a concession for the industrial exploitation of the land on the banks of the Yalu river. Japan protested time after time against this, but in vain. In 1902 she entered into an alliance with Britain (see p. 146).

Immediately her protests against the consolidation of Russian influence over Manchuria and its extension into Korea became stronger. By this time she had built up a powerful navy and army, whereas Russia was torn by internal dissensions **and** her armed forces were unprepared. Early in February, 1904, the Japanese fleet began a blockade of the Russian squadron **in Port Arthur**. **On May 1** began the Battle of the Yalu, in which, to the astonishment of the world, the Russians were beaten. The remainder of the war on land was a test of endurance, in which Russia could not bring her vast forces from Europe into use because of the inadequacy "of the single-line railway. **In March) 1905**, the Japanese won the Battle **of Mukden**, while in **May the Japanese fleet**, which had already destroyed **both the Russian**

Pacific squadrons, captured and sank almost all of the ships of the Baltic fleet¹ at the Battle of Tsushima. .

Internal disorders now forced the Czar's Government to negotiate for peace. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (September) Russia agreed to give up Port Arthur, evacuate Manchuria and cede her half of Saghalien to Japan, and to recognise Japan's sphere of influence in Korea. She had suffered great losses in men, but more important than her loss of territory was the blow to her prestige and her inability during the next few years to resist the aggressive policies of Germany and Austria.

THE DUMA.—The war was unpopular with the people, and the gross incapacity of the Government was so manifest that it was utterly discredited. In July, 1904, Plehve, the reactionary Minister of the Interior, was assassinated.² His successor, Prince Mirsky, was more enlightened, and invited the reformers to state their grievances. A conference of representatives of the *Zemstvos* meeting in Petrograd in November drew up "Eleven Points". Among their demands were the following:

(a) No police visitation without a warrant from a magistrate and no imprisonment until after a regular trial.

(b) "Freedom of conscience, of speech, and of the press," with the right to hold public meetings and to form associations.

(c) "An assembly of freely elected representatives," who should have power to legislate and to control the administration.

(d) A "Constituent Assembly" to be called immediately to draft a constitution on these lines.

These proposals received enthusiastic support from the professional classes, to which the reform movement had hitherto been mainly confined. The growing socialist movement, which was rapidly becoming more important, had recently split into two sections—the moderate minority (*Mensheviks*), who advocated peaceful methods of agitation and were willing to co-operate with other organisations working for the overthrow of the reactionary regime, and the extremist majority (*Bolsheviks*), who urged immediate revolution and wanted no moderate re-

¹ It had left the Baltic in October, 1904. During its passage through the North Sea some Hull trawlers were fired on, causing much indignation in Britain. Eventually the incident was referred to arbitration.

² In the previous years 4,867 persons are said to have been imprisoned or exiled without a regular trial.

forms which might bolster up the capitalist system, A new leader, Lenin,¹ an exile whose brother had been hanged for complicity in a plot against the Czar's life, directed propaganda from London and Paris. This side of the movement made much headway, particularly among the factory workers.

Demonstrations in support of the "Eleven Points" whipped the interest of the people to a frenzy of excitement. Only a spark was needed to cause a blaze. It was supplied on January 22, 1905 ("Red Sunday"), when a great procession of strikers, with their wives and children, marching to the Czar's palace to present a petition, was fired upon by the troops and about a thousand people were killed. Widespread disorders broke out during the next few weeks; great strikes dislocated the industrial life and communications of the country; government officials, nobles and the Czar's brother were assassinated, and an attempt was made on the life of the Czar.¹ On March 3 the Czar yielded to the demand for a national assembly, and invited proposals for "the improvement of the state organisation and the amelioration of the national welfare". The end of the war allowed the Russian Government to concentrate on the internal situation. In August, 1905, the "Bulyghin" constitution was announced, and was received with deep dissatisfaction, for instead of a parliament with free legislative powers there was to be a Duma elected under a narrow franchise and with consultative powers only. The autocratic power of the Czar and his ministers was preserved intact. The result was a general strike in October which paralysed the social services of the empire. The Government was compelled to give way and issued on the 30th the "October Manifesto" in which it was stated:

"The time has now come ... to summon elected representatives from the whole of Russia to take a constant and active part in the elaboration of laws. ... It is for this reason that, while preserving the fundamental law regarding autocratic power, we have deemed it well to form a Duma, and to approve regulations for election to this Duma."

In December an extension of the franchise gave the vote to the professional and working classes. The Duma, which met in

¹ Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (1870-1924).

¹ During this revolution the first Soviet, or council of working men's delegates, met in St. Petersburg. Trotsky was president of the Soviet.

May, 1906, consisted of over 400 members, of whom about 150 were liberals, 107 were labour members and 63 represented the minor nationalities, including the Poles, who wanted self-government. Just before it met the Government had issued another manifesto declaring that the army, navy, foreign policy and the budget remained the sole province of the Czar. In brief, the promises of the October Manifesto were rendered void. A struggle began between the Duma and the Government, which ended in the dissolution of the former after little more than two months. A period of intense reaction followed, which the dis-united reformers were powerless to resist. Punishments were merciless; in a single year 35,000 were banished without trial for alleged complicity in disturbances.

The elections for a new Duma were marked by the most strenuous efforts of the reactionaries to see that only "satisfactory" candidates were elected. Various classes of voters were disfranchised. Jews were threatened with banishment if they voted, some candidates were exiled and parties of the reformers were forbidden to urge their views. In spite of this, the opposition parties were strengthened, the Social Revolutionaries, who had taken no part in the first election, obtaining over 50 seats. The second Duma was short-lived also; it met early in March, 1907, and was dissolved in June.

The electoral laws were now revised; more voters were disfranchised, constituencies were redistributed so as to take members away from those districts which had voted for the opposition, and as a result the third Duma (November, 1907, to 1912) contained a majority favourable to the Government. It was therefore allowed to live for the appointed five years, and did much useful work. A huge loan, obtained chiefly from France, but in part from Britain, enabled the Government to surmount the financial crisis arising from the Russo-Japanese War and thus to override demands from the reformers. A number of laws were passed for the benefit of the peasants. For the first time they were permitted to buy and sell land freehold. Loans were made to them to carry out improvements or purchase more land.

The reform movement had collapsed for the time being beneath the system of vigorous repression based on espionage, but hatred remained. The Czar became increasingly a puppet of the court party, dominated by his wife, who was herself controlled

by a sinister favourite, Rasputin, the son of a Siberian fisherman. He was reputed to have hypnotic power over her by reason of his ability to work miracles! A new movement for political liberty was beginning when the Great War drew Russia into a struggle in which political antagonisms were forgotten by all save the Bolsheviks.

CHAPTER XV

THE END OF FRENCH ISOLATION, 1890-1904

THE fall of Bismarck was a disaster for Germany (and was so regarded by the nation), especially in the sphere of foreign affairs, for from 1890 until 1914 German foreign policy was never again controlled by a single will, but represented a compromise between the wishes of the Emperor and the views of his successive ministers. The power of the crown was greatest during the chancellorship of Count Caprivi (1890-1894). Economic treaties were made with Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy and Rumania in the face of opposition from the agriculturists, by which the duties on corn from these countries were lowered in return for favourable treatment of German exports.

The treaty between Britain and Germany, by which the former ceded to Germany the island of Heligoland in return for recognition of British claims in East Africa (see p. 124), was received with disappointment in Germany, where the strategic importance of the island, in view of the construction of the Kiel Canal (begun in 1887 and completed in 1895), was not yet realised.¹ But the Kaiser was delighted, for he was already thinking of the construction of a powerful fleet to replace the few insignificant ships Germany possessed. At the time the treaty appeared to signify a continuation of the good relations existing between Britain and Germany. William I. paid regular visits to Windsor and Cowes and never tired of expressing his goodwill.

THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ENTENTE.—The Panjdeh affair and the war scare of 1885 marked the end of Russia's advance in southern Asia. The extravagance of the court and the incompetent administration of successive Governments had led her to the point of bankruptcy. When Germany refused to lend her money she turned to France, who in 1888 granted the first of many

¹ Stanley, the explorer, said that Britain had obtained a new suit in exchange for a trouser button.

loans. France began to supply rifles and munitions to Russia, whose staff officers studied military problems under French guidance.

Within a few days of Bismarck's fall the Kaiser took the momentous decision not to renew the secret "reinsurance" treaty with Russia. Later, German ministers defended the decision, pointing out that they might have been faced with the problem of having to give support to Austria or to show benevolent neutrality towards Russia, and would have had to decide which was the aggressor. Bismarck condemned it on the ground that it drove Russia into the arms of France.

The Czar and his ministers were not surprised at Germany's refusal to renew the treaty, for Germany's abandonment of her anti-Polish policy in 1886 had been regarded by Russia with suspicion. The two nations which had been separately isolated by German policy were now clearly drawing together. The relations between France and Italy were at this time very strained, Britain leaned towards Germany, and in 1891 the Triple Alliance was renewed for a further period of six years. In July of the same year a French fleet visited Cronstadt and was received with enthusiasm. * A month later statesmen of the two countries signed a vague agreement

"to confer on every question of a nature to threaten peace," and "if peace is in danger, and especially if one of the two is menaced by aggression, they agree to concert measures."

The Czar refused to go further at the time. Soon afterwards France lent Russia £16 millions, part of which was used for the construction, begun in 1892, of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

After long delay a more definite alliance was agreed upon in January, 1894, and announced by the French premier a year later, though the terms were not published until 1918. Among them were:

1. If France is attacked by Germany, or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia will employ all her forces to attack Germany. If Russia is attacked by Germany, or by Austria supported by Germany, France will employ all her forces to combat Germany.

¹ The Czar, head of Europe's most autocratic and reactionary state, stood at the salute while a Russian naval band played "the battle-hymn [*La Marseillaise*] of a democratic and infidel republic".

3. . . . These forces will engage with all their might and with all speed, so that Germany may have to fight on both East and West.

4. The staffs of the armies will co-operate at all times. . . .

6. The present convention will have the same duration as the Triple Alliance.

7. All the clauses will be kept rigorously secret.

This alliance was an event of the utmost importance for the whole of Europe. What Bismarck had feared and had worked for so many years to prevent, had happened. For France it ended a long period of isolation during which she had smarted under the sting of defeat, and restored her self-respect. For Russia it was an insurance against attack and in addition a good piece of business, for it ensured the continuance of a supply of money very necessary for public works and railway construction. For Europe it was "the writing on the wall". Henceforth there were two armed camps. The attitude of Britain, at this time still sympathetic towards the Triple Alliance, would be of supreme importance. She had refused to consider tentative proposals made in 1891 to draw her into the German-Austro-Italian alliance and to undertake definite military commitments. On the other hand, the limits of action in foreign affairs imposed on the ministers of a fully democratic country were not understood in Germany.

It might be supposed that in the circumstances both France and Germany would seek the favour of Britain. Nothing of the kind happened. Trouble arose between her and Germany in 1894 over the delimitation of boundaries in Africa, while both France and Russia were still hostile to her, the former because of Egypt and the latter because of differing attitudes towards the Eastern Question and rivalry in Persia.

Weltpolitik.—When Hohenlohe succeeded Caprivi as Chancellor (1894), the Kaiser became to all intents his own foreign minister and adopted a new and dangerous "forward" policy outside Europe. This was not merely due to the personal ambition of a sovereign envisaging world-conquest, but was the outcome of the constant increase in population and the consequent problem of food supplies. Emigration to North America had begun to decline, while the new colonies in Africa and the Pacific were unsuitable as homes for large numbers of German settlers. At the same time Germany was becoming increasingly

a manufacturing country (see p. 112), dependent on the export of manufactured goods. It was necessary therefore to secure more colonies, more "spheres of influence" and coaling stations, and at the same time to maintain friendly relations with other powers to secure the "open door" for her products. Moreover, the increasing importance of her overseas markets necessitated their protection by a large fleet.

Among the moves in the new German policy may be cited the penetration of Turkey and the Balkans (see p. 149), the acquisition on lease of Kiao-Chow, one of the best harbours in China (1897) ^{an<^} the purchase of the Caroline Islands from Spain (1899). The need for expansion was clear, and though critics condemned the Kaiser's flamboyant, boastful and often indiscreet speeches, he was bringing this need home to his people.

BRITISH ISOLATION.—When Salisbury became British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary in 1895 he had first to deal with the situation created by the Armenian massacres (see p. 91). He warned the Sultan and consulted the Kaiser on the possible partition of Turkey. But William I I. condoned the massacres, and encouraged Russia to support the Sultan. In the end the Kaiser obtained the profit from his support of Turkey, both then and in her war with Greece in 1898.

The estrangement between Britain and Germany became complete when in January, 1896, a telegram was sent in the Kaiser's name to Kruger, President of the Transvaal Republic, congratulating him on "preserving the independence" of his country by crushing the Jameson Raid "without appealing to the aid of friendly powers".¹ Germans believed Britain to be plotting to seize a small republic; the British were furious at "German interference". The press and people on both sides were jingoistic, and though the tumult gradually declined permanent harm had been done.

FRANCO-BRITISH RIVALRY.—Growing tension between Britain and Germany did not at first lead to a better feeling between Britain and France. The entry of Germany to the colonial field

¹ Responsibility for the wording is not clear. William I I. said it was altered without his knowledge; some of his ministers say he altered it and made it "stiffer". On January 4 the German Foreign Minister told *The Times* correspondent that "it was a state action and that it was necessary to give England a lesson".

prompted these countries to add to their possessions, so that causes of conflict were numerous. From 1893 to 1895 there was friction concerning Siam, the buffer-state between Burma and French Indo-China, which was eventually settled by a declaration fixing the boundaries of the state and maintaining its independence. But the main source of potential trouble was Africa. Here Italy was alarmed lest France should follow her annexation of Tunis by the occupation of Tripoli, which she herself hoped to obtain at some future date. France and Britain entered into negotiations in 1894 concerning outstanding questions in central Africa, particularly the district of the upper Nile including the Sudan, but could reach no agreement. In 1896 the Italians tried to get control of Abyssinia,¹ but their troops were defeated at Adowa; this caused Britain to adopt a forward policy for the reconquest of the Sudan (see p. 122). This plan received approval from Germany, Austria and Italy but was opposed by France and Russia, who realised that it meant the indefinite prolongation of the British occupation of Egypt. Further causes of friction were the French annexation of Madagascar in the same year, British trade being virtually excluded by high tariffs, and the penetration of the lower Niger valley by French agents, which led to a settlement delimiting spheres of influence and securing the union of France's Senegal, Niger and Ivory Coast colonies.

In July, 1898, Captain Marchand, at the head of a French mission sent from West Africa to Abyssinia, arrived at Fashoda on the upper Nile and claimed the territory for France. General Kitchener, who had entered Khartum, capital of the Sudan, on September 2, met Marchand at Fashoda on the 19th, and ordered him to withdraw. He refused to do so without orders from Paris, but after long negotiations, during which public feeling on both sides became inflamed, the French yielded to the threat of war, for Delcassé, the Foreign Secretary, realised that to quarrel with Britain was to play into the hands of Germany. Moreover, France at the time was torn by dissensions over the Dreyfus case. The final settlement (1899) drew a line of partition, the watershed between Congo and Nile; France agreed not to acquire territory or influence east of the line, and Britain gave a similar promise with regard to the west.

¹ Ethiopia was the official name of this independent state.

PROPOSALS FOR AN ANGLO-GERMAN ALLIANCE.—The tension between Britain and the Dual Entente turned the thoughts of some British statesmen to friendship with Germany, who with her partners of the Triple Alliance had supported her action in the Sudan. Early in 1898 Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, suggested an alliance to the German ambassador in London, but the idea met with no response from the German Government, which was anxious not to lose the goodwill of Russia. But the way was opened for co-operation on some points of policy. Rhodes visited the Kaiser in Berlin to seek help in carrying his proposed telegraph line and railway from the Cape to Cairo through German East Africa.

The reaction on European politics of events in the second Boer War (1899-1902) was of great importance. Britain was suspected by almost all the countries of Europe of the desire to annex the two republics and had no friends. Continental sympathy with the Boer farmers turned to jubilation at the news of early British defeats. Though public opinion in Germany was strongly anti-British, relations between the two Governments were for a time more friendly and Chamberlain renewed his suggestion of an alliance.

GERMANY AND SEA POWER.—In 1897 Admiral von Tirpitz, who had advised the selection of Tsingtau as a Far Eastern naval base, was appointed head of the German Admiralty, and in a number of speeches the Kaiser emphasised the need for a navy. He was determined to have one "raised to the same standard as that of my army". A first Navy Bill, providing a programme of construction to be completed within seven years, was carried in 1898.¹ In 1900 a second Navy Bill increased the size of the German navy still further. At the same time Germany and Britain co-operated amicably in dealing with the Boxer rising in China, and when Russia suggested that Germany should join her and France in putting pressure on Britain to save the Boer republics, Germany refused. Salisbury made it clear that Britain would not accept intervention and no more was heard of the project. In 1901 the German ambassador in London proposed that Britain and Japan should join the powers of the Triple Alliance in a greater combination, but this scheme came to nothing, though British ministers were ready for an

¹ William I I. said: "Our future lies on the water."

alliance with Germany alone. The people of the two nations knew nothing of these negotiations.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.—When Germany took Kiao-Chow and received concessions in China for her assistance in 1895 (see p. 135), Japan was bitterly angry, and correspondingly grateful for Britain's refusal to join the other powers. When the proposals for an Anglo-German alliance came to nothing and Russia rejected the idea of an alliance with Japan, the two isolated powers quickly came to an understanding. A defensive alliance was signed in January, 1902—the first between a European power and an eastern state on a basis of equality. It provided for neutrality by one power if the other were involved in war, but that if one were attacked by two or more states the other would come to its aid. The alliance was clearly aimed against Russia's forward policy in the Far East, for a British minister stated that the intention was to preserve the *status quo* in China.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE.—After the death of Queen Victoria relations between Britain and Germany became steadily worse, and those between France and Britain slowly but steadily became better. France freed herself from possible trouble in the Mediterranean by concluding a secret agreement with Italy by which the former should have a free hand in Morocco and the latter in Tripoli. Long negotiations took place between Lord Lansdowne, British Foreign Secretary from 1900 to 1905, and M. Cambon, French ambassador to Britain, and were followed by a visit of Edward VII. to Paris, where he received an unexpectedly warm welcome from the people (1903). During a return visit by the French President to London, Delcassé, the chief architect of the alliance which was to come, had long and full discussions with Lansdowne. Negotiations were continued throughout the winter and in April, 1904, the Anglo-French Convention was signed.

The agreement cleared up all outstanding differences between the two countries. Minor causes of friction eliminated were those relating to Siam, Madagascar and the New Hebrides. The Newfoundland fisheries dispute, which dated from the Treaty of Utrecht, was settled by France abandoning her claims to landing rights on the island in return for modifications of the frontiers in West Africa, which added 14,000 square miles to

THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY



THE NEW HAROUN AL RASCHID

A DREAM OF BAGHDAD. MADE IN OEBMAHY

(Reproduced by permission of the Proprietors from "Punch", January 25, 1911.)

French territory, and gave access from her colonies on the Niger to those around Lake Chad.

But everything else was subordinate to the agreement concerning Egypt and Morocco. The latter, the last remaining independent state of North Africa, had long been a centre of interest to the powers of western Europe, and as far back as 1880 a conference held at Madrid had assured all of them of an "equality of opportunity" there. In addition to her economic interests, Britain was concerned at the prospect of the establishment of another power at the entrance to the Mediterranean. France, possessing the adjoining territories, and looking to North Africa as the source of man-power for her armies, wished to round off her territories by taking the whole or part of Morocco and thus to bring order to her frontiers. Britain promised not to obstruct French action there, while France agreed to act similarly with regard to the British occupation of Egypt. That each nation disclaimed any intention of altering the political status of these countries may be disregarded in view of what was known at the time of their intentions and of what happened later. France was to come to an understanding with Spain as to the share of Morocco to be allotted to the latter country, and no fortifications were to be permitted on the Moroccan coast opposite Gibraltar. There was to be freedom of trade in both Egypt and Morocco for at least thirty years.

The Entente is of vital importance as marking the abandonment by Britain of her policy of isolation in world affairs and her realisation of the seriousness of Germany's challenge to her sea-power, though few people at the time realised the effects it might have on Anglo-German relations.¹ The agreement was in no sense an alliance, defensive or offensive, but removed possible causes of friction and gave to France a feeling of confidence greater than she had known for many years. Moreover, it led in a short time to an improvement of Anglo-Russian relations and prepared the way for the Triple Entente of 1907. The main criticism that can be directed against it is that it ignored the rights of Germany and the other powers in Morocco. At first Germany raised no objections, but a change in her attitude came when France began to implement her forward policy there.

¹ Lord Rosebery, however, said that the Entente would eventually lead Britain into a German war.

A NEW "EASTERN QUESTION".—Germany's influence in Turkey was strengthened and proclaimed to the world by a visit made by William I to the Sultan in 1898. After visiting Constantinople, Jerusalem and Bethlehem the Kaiser stated at Damascus his desire that "the Sultan and the three hundred million Mohammedans who reverence him as Caliph" should regard him as their friend. For twelve years past the Turkish army had been trained by German officers; German financiers and traders had in the same period obtained many concessions throughout the Turkish Empire. In 1903, after preliminary agreements in the previous four years, the Baghdad Railway Company received a detailed concession to build a line from Konia to the Persian Gulf via Adana, Mosul and Baghdad, with branches to Aleppo and other towns, to construct ports, to navigate the rivers and to work minerals within 20 kilometres of each side of the railway. French financiers took shares in the railway, but the British Government refused an invitation from Germany to co-operate—a refusal which was regretted by many who considered the invitation as opening the way to more friendly relations between the two powers. This scheme for a great artery which would provide the shortest route to India was bound to be of vital importance to Britain and Russia, who already had great economic and political interests in the Near East. An attempt to build upon it the domination of Germany would be certain to bring her into conflict with the other two powers.

CHAPTER XVI

GROWING TENSION IN EUROPE, 1905-1914

IN the early years of the new century few "ordinary"⁵ people realised the suppressed national feeling and political friction which existed throughout Europe, for public opinion always lags behind diplomatic events. They did not see that the financial and economic system was strained almost to breaking point; and although some were alarmed at the growing expenditure on armaments, even they did not realise that the political system based on two rival groups of powers must inevitably drive the nations to war. But during the ten years following the Entente between Britain and France a series of incidents occurred, any one of which might have caused an outbreak.

THE FIRST MOROCCAN CRISIS, 1905.—Armed with the approval of Britain, Delcass[^] began the "peaceful penetration" of Morocco by sending (February, 1905) a mission to the capital, Fez, asking for the restoration of order and suggesting reforms. This was the signal for a change of front by Germany, who demanded that the independence of the Sultan of Morocco should be respected and that commercial equality be granted to German nationals. The German position was greatly strengthened by the victories of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War and by the consequent revolution in Russia, which minimised the value to France of the Russian alliance.¹

At the end of March the Kaiser, acting on the advice of his ministers, landed at Tangier while on a Mediterranean cruise, and in speeches emphasised Germany's intention to safeguard the independence of the Sultan and to protect Germany's "great and growing interests in Morocco". The German Chancellor, Von Btlow, complained that France had not consulted his

¹ It was now that a Colonel Schlieffen, the German Chief of Staff 1891-1906, and author of the plan for the invasion of Belgium carried out in 1914, proposed that the most favourable moment had arrived to force a war on France,

country and suggested a conference of the powers. In May, after a German envoy had visited his court, the Sultan rejected the French proposals, and invited the powers to a conference at Tangier. The French were furious and were supported by popular feeling in Britain; war appeared imminent when Delcassé advised the rejection of the proposal for a conference, but the remainder of the ministry would not support him and he resigned (June). At the conference, held at Algeciras (January-April, 1906), France and Spain were granted limited powers of control and the integrity of Morocco was reaffirmed.

THE BJÖRKÖ PACT.—Germany had felt the need for support. Even Russia, broken by the defeats of the Russo-Japanese War, was not to be despised at this juncture. At Björkö in the Baltic in June, 1905, the Kaiser obtained the personal pledge of the Czar to a draft treaty guaranteeing mutual support if either were attacked by a European power. The Kaiser was delighted, feeling that he had formed a new *bloc* (Russia, Germany, France, Austria and Italy) which would, to use his own words, "cool down English self-assertion and impertinence", but Russian statesmen realised that France would never consent to such an arrangement and forced the Czar to repudiate the pact. The interview between the Emperors and its implications, suspected though unknown, alarmed British statesmen, who immediately renewed the Anglo-Japanese alliance¹ and then began discussions with Russia concerning the questions at issue between the two countries.

The Moroccan crisis strengthened the bonds of union between Britain and France,⁸ whereas at the conference Germany had received little support from Austria and none from Italy, whose hands were tied by a secret treaty with France. The result was generally looked upon as a German defeat, and Germans began to speak of the "encirclement" of their country.

FURTHER INCREASE OF ARMAMENTS.—Alarm in Britain at Germany's naval expansion led to two important decisions, fol-

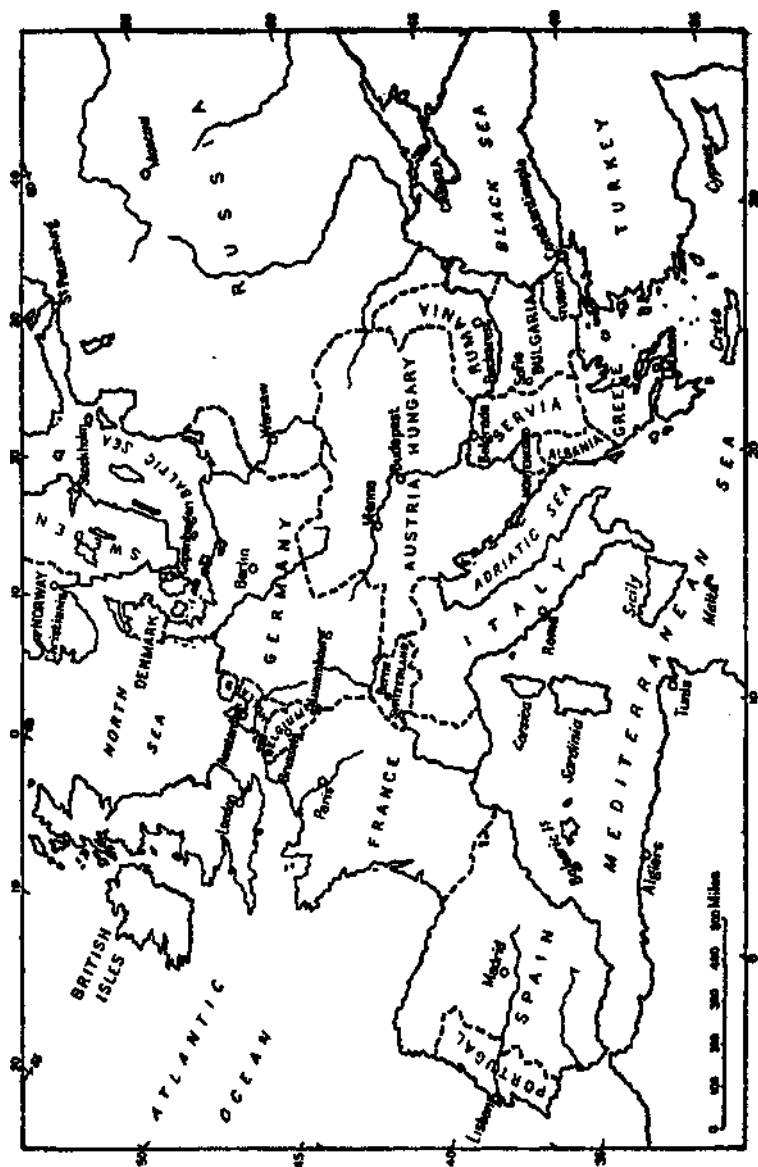
¹ The terms were extended. It was agreed that Japan should have a free hand in Korea. Each power agreed to come to the assistance of the other if attacked by a single power. Thus Britain might possibly be involved in war against Russia or the United States.

⁸ Sir Edward Grey (Foreign Secretary in the new Liberal Government, December, 1905) authorised consultations between the General Staffs of Britain and France as to co-operation in war in northern France.

Following on the appointment of Sir John Fisher as First Sea Lord. These were the concentration of the Home Fleet in the North Sea with the construction of a naval base at Rosyth, and the construction of the first of a new type of capital ship, the *Dreadnought* (1905). Germany, believing herself to be in danger of attack, passed a new Navy Bill (1906) authorising more and larger ships with heavier guns, and began to widen the Kiel Canal so that they would be able to use it. Henceforth naval rivalry between the two countries was the dominant factor in the European situation, each accusing the other of aggressive designs. After vainly attempting to persuade Germany to agree to a limitation of armaments and after the failure of the second Hague Conference (1907), the Liberal Government in Britain entered on a new programme of construction. At the same time Haldane, Secretary for War, began the reorganisation of the army. An Expeditionary Force was to be immediately available in the event of war on the Continent, and the Territorial Army was created for home defence (1908).

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN ENTENTE (1907).—German policy from 1890 was based on the assumptions that the Triple Alliance was firm and indissoluble, and that the enmity between Britain and Russia caused by their rivalry in the East would continue. This rivalry was most noticeable in three directions—in Persia, where the weakness of the Shah's government afforded both powers opportunities of exerting political and economic pressure; in the Persian Gulf; and in Tibet. In 1903 a British mission to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, resulted in a treaty in which the Buddhist priests who governed the country promised that no other power should be permitted to intervene in Tibetan affairs, to send agents there or to receive concessions. Despite the Anglo-French Entente relations between Britain and Russia remained strained, and during the Russo-Japanese War British public opinion openly favoured Japan. .

After the war overtures were made from both sides and France naturally used all her influence to bring Britain and Russia together. The adoption of a form of democratic parliamentary government in Russia (1905-1906) helped to create a better feeling in Britain, and in August, 1907, a convention was signed removing the causes of antagonism. Spheres of influence in Persia **were agreed upon** (see map, p. 89), and **the two powers**



EUROPE, 1914

engaged to preserve the integrity of both Afghanistan and Tibet, Russia recognising that Afghanistan was outside her sphere of influence. In the meantime agreements had been signed between France and Japan and Russia and Japan to respect the independence and integrity of China.

Thus a new grouping of the powers came into existence which would have seemed impossible twenty years before—the Triple Entente faced the Triple Alliance. Germany's policy had created its own opposition. New features were the definite re-entry of Britain into the European state-system and the freedom of Russia from danger of attack in the Middle and Far East which permitted her statesmen to turn all their attention to European politics. Henceforward, till 1914, Europe was divided into two armed camps, which proceeded feverishly to increase their armaments. In each the nations were linked by a maze of treaties, conventions, agreements and "understandings", most of them secret, guessed at by the statesmen of other powers, but dimly comprehended or quite unknown to the "man in the street", who little realised how ever-present was the danger of war.

THE "YOUNG TURK" REVOLUTION (1908).—The decline of Turkey continued through the early years of the new century, but the country was not entirely unaffected by its contacts with the culture of the west. The "Young Turks", a party of patriotic nationalist reformers, gained ground rapidly among the professional classes and the soldiers. In 1908, fearing that a meeting between the Czar and Edward VII. at Reval¹ was the prelude to a policy of intervention, they raised a revolt at Salonika, demanding a democratic parliamentary constitution, with freedom of thought, of religion and of the press, a new economic policy and the introduction of western education. The Sultan gave way, but in the following year attempted a counter-revolution which failed. The Young Turks then marched on Constantinople, deposed Abdul Hamid and put his brother Mohammed V. in his place. It appeared to Europe that a new period of enlightened and liberal rule under Enver Bey was beginning, but in truth it was the commencement of a methodical and efficient Moslem tyranny, and soon the subject Christian peoples were

¹ Later renamed Tallinn. It was the first visit ever made by a British sovereign to Russia.

treated more harshly than ever before. Such treatment healed their feuds and united them in a military league.

In October, 1908, Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria took advantage of Turkey's internal strife to throw off the nominal suzerainty which had been imposed on him, declared his country's independence and assumed the title of King. Turkey appealed to the powers and was awarded a financial compensation which Bulgaria declared she was unable to pay. War was threatened, but Russia granted the necessary financial assistance and in April, 1909, independence was recognised by Turkey.

THE BOSNIAN CRISIS (1908).—In the League of the Three Emperors of 1881 Austria had received the "right" to annex the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which she had occupied and administered since the Congress of Berlin, whenever she thought fit, but the later hostility of Russia had warned her to go no further. After obtaining the approval of Germany and of Italy's Foreign Minister, and informing Izvolsky, Foreign Minister of Russia, of her intention, Austria sent a note to the powers (October, 1908) informing them of the annexation of the provinces. France was not disturbed, but it was resented by England, Russia, Montenegro and Serbia. Public opinion in Italy was against the action of her ally. Germany made her support of Austria very clear, and Russia, still weak from the defeats in the Far East, was not prepared to go to war without allies, even to protect the Slavs of Bosnia, of whom there were two millions. When Germany presented what was practically an ultimatum, she gave way and recognised the annexation.

The Bosnian crisis had intensified the bitterness existing between Austria and Serbia. In 1903 Peter I.¹ had succeeded to the throne of Serbia after the murder of King Alexander and Queen Drajga, and began with Russian encouragement to follow an anti-Austrian policy. He had looked forward to the formation, by a union with Bosnia and Herzegovina, of one large Slav state, but the annexation of the provinces blocked Serbia's access to the Adriatic, strengthened Austria's hold on the Slavs, and facilitated her penetration of the Balkans. Hence-

¹ Peter Kara-Georgievic. His father lost the throne in 1858 and went into exile. Peter lived at Geneva and married the daughter of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro. His election to the throne marks the return of the old royal family.

forward Servia was the centre of a "pan-Slav" agitation directed towards the break-up of the Dual Monarchy.

THE SECOND MOROCCAN CRISIS (1911).—The Conference of Algeciras was not followed by improvement in the internal conditions of Morocco, where disorders and misgovernment continued. Early in 1911 the tribes in and around Fez rose in rebellion which the Sultan was unable to suppress. When French troops were sent to suppress it Germany protested against the occupation of the capital, while Spain also landed troops. At the end of June the German gunboat *Panther* was sent to Agadir at the request of German firms "for the protection of their lives and property", and Kiderlen, the Foreign Minister, stated that the Act of Algeciras was dead. After France had protested against Germany's action negotiations began which lasted for four months. Only when Britain let it be clearly known that in the event of war she would support France did Germany modify her demand, which was for compensation by the cession of the French Congo. Eventually the French protectorate over Morocco was recognised by Germany, and in return France ceded to Germany a large part of the Congo. Within a few months France was in control and had thus rounded off her North African empire and increased her prestige. As in 1905-1906, Germany, instead of breaking the Entente, had strengthened it.

THE TRIPOLITAN WAR (1911-1912).—Italy had been disappointed of territory in North Africa when the French seized Tunis, and afterwards turned her attention to the north-east corner of the continent and there secured Eritrea and part of Somaliland. Her attempt in 1896 at the conquest of Abyssinia had failed, but anticipating the imminent break-up of the Turkish dominions she obtained in advance the consent of France, Russia and Britain to her annexation of Tripoli. The Young Turk revolution and the activities of Germany in Turkey caused Italy to prepare to hasten the event, and the Agadir crisis presented the opportunity when the other powers were too preoccupied to raise any objection. At the end of September, 1911, she seized towns on the coast and declared war on Turkey. In October, 1912, the attack of the Balkan League on Turkey caused the latter to make peace hurriedly, and by the Treaty of Lausanne to cede Tripoli (later renamed Libya) to Italy. By

the terms of the treaty Italy was to evacuate the Dodecanese Islands which she had occupied during the war, but did not do so. The effects of the Tripolitan War were very far-reaching. Germany was indignant at Italy's action and Austria was mildly hostile, for neither had been consulted beforehand. It marked a stage on the road by which Italy went from the Triple Alliance to join the Entente, while Turkey came gradually to occupy the vacant position by the side of Germany and Austria.

THE HALDANE MISSION (1912).—War had been very near in 1911. Afterwards the British Government found itself in a dilemma. It could not return to isolation, giving up the understandings with Russia and France, for that would have left the country at the mercy of a hostile coalition. It could not, in face of a public opinion which would not realise the probability of war in the near future, introduce conscription and increase its armaments on the continental scale. The only remaining course was to try to reach a friendly understanding with Germany, similar to and not involving the abandonment of those in force with Japan, France and Russia. Grey had told the Cabinet that the naval question underlay Britain's European policy and that anxiety arose "entirely from the question of German naval expenditure". Germany stated that she would welcome an exchange of views and suggested that Grey and perhaps Churchill¹ should go to Berlin. However, Haldane, Secretary for War, was sent with instructions not to commit the Government to anything definite. But Germany refused to abandon her programme of naval expansion, and drafted a treaty of neutrality incompatible with Britain's existing agreements, so the negotiations failed. From this time onwards it was evident that Britain was morally bound to aid France if she were attacked by Germany.

THE BALKAN LEAGUE.—Venizelos, Prime Minister of Greece from 1910, achieved the seemingly impossible in persuading the Balkan States—Greece, Servia, Bulgaria and Montenegro—to lay aside their rivalries and to form an alliance directed primarily against Turkey, but also designed to prevent further in-

¹ Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty and one of the leading members of the Cabinet. On his appointment after the Agadir crisis he was given orders by Asquith to "put the fleet into a state of constant and instant readiness for war in case we were attacked by Germany". (Speech by Churchill, 1915.)



THE BALKANS, 1876-1914

access to the Ægean Sea. Turkey regained some of her losses, including Adrianople, but Servia, though gaining some territory, was still landlocked and dissatisfied. Greece gained Salonika, Janina, Epirus and much of Macedonia, with some islands in the iEgean. Montenegro nearly doubled her territory by the addition of the western half of Novi-Bazar.

All these changes greatly altered the balance of power in the Balkans to the detriment of Austria and Germany, who were now cut off from direct contact with Turkey by the enlargement of Greece and Servia. On the other hand, Russia as the "protector" of these two states was well satisfied. Bulgaria felt a deep resentment against the other Balkan states, while Servia was more bitter than ever towards Austria, who in her turn was determined to put an end to the Slav propaganda in Servia and to teach her a lesson.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918

SARAJEVO.—On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the throne, was murdered with his wife at Sarajevo in Bosnia: within six weeks five great powers were at war.

The assassination, inspired by Pan-Slav sentiment and planned in Belgrade, was an incident in the long feud between the Serbs and Austria-Hungary that had lasted since 1903. The Austrian Government ordered an investigation, and, though the report (July 13) contained no evidence of the Servian Government's complicity, decided to present an ultimatum. The German Government had promised support (July 6) if Russia should help Servia.

The Austrian ultimatum, to be accepted within forty-eight hours, was presented on July 23, and made war almost certain.¹ Servia must, among other things, remove from government service officers and officials to be named by Austria, and accept her collaboration in suppressing propaganda against the Dual Monarchy. Since Servia did not accept all the terms, the Austrian ambassador left Belgrade, and on July 28 Austria declared war.

THE WAR SPREADS.—Meanwhile Servia had appealed to Russia for support and the Czar had ordered "measures preliminary to mobilisation". Grey made a proposal for a conference, which was rejected by Germany. But the German Government, though anxious that Austria should get full satisfaction from Servia, did not want a general war, and pressed Austria to limit her military operations and to negotiate directly with Russia (July 28-30). It was too late: Berchtold, the Austrian Prime Minister, was unwilling to negotiate, and Russian

¹ Sir Edward Grey said that he "had never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character". The German Government had not seen the ultimatum before it was sent.

but Moltke seems to have lost control of his armies, which crossed the Marne to the east of Paris instead of encircling it (see map, p. 166). A French force improvised north of Paris threatened the German flank, and the French counter-attack (Battle of the Marne, September 6-8) drove the Germans back to a strong position behind the Aisne. From Compiègne to Belfort the front was now stabilised, and the lines were quickly extended north-west from the Aisne to the sea, each wing vainly trying to outflank the other. Heavy artillery forced the capitulation of Antwerp (October 9), but not until the Belgian field army had escaped to the west, where it defended throughout the war a strip of Belgian territory on the left of the allied line. Falkenhayn, who had replaced Moltke, now tried to break through to Calais (October-November); but the Belgians flooded the country, 50,000 British fell in the defence of Ypres, and the line was held. From November, 1914, to March, 1917, the trench line in France and Belgium never varied as much as ten miles in either direction.

In the east, Hindenburg and Ludendorff¹ checked a Russian offensive in East Prussia by a great victory near Tannenberg (August 26-30); but the Austrians could not prevent the invasion of Galicia. In September the Germans stood on the defensive in East Prussia, and formed a new army under Hindenburg in Silesia, which advanced towards Warsaw in November. After heavy fighting the Russians were able to hold an entrenched line about thirty-five miles west of Warsaw. Similarly the Austrians checked the Russians about thirty-five miles east of Cracow. The Austrian force against Serbia, weakened for this fighting in Galicia, was driven out at the end of August and a second Austrian invasion suffered the same fate. It had been hoped that success against Serbia would bring Bulgaria into the war, but at the end of 1914 King Ferdinand still hesitated. Turkey, bound by a secret agreement of August 1, joined the Central Powers on November 1.

In all the principal belligerents the war put an end for a time to internal dissensions. In Britain the operation of the Irish Home Rule Act was suspended, and the danger of civil war forgotten: in Germany all but a small group of socialists sup-

¹ Ludendorff was made Hindenburg's chief-of-staff in the east, and remained in that position throughout the war.

ported the war; even in Russia, where industrial unrest was very serious, the Government received general support. Everywhere a political and industrial truce was proclaimed.

STALEMATE IN THE WEST, 1915.—Trenches now ceased to be a temporary expedient and became a permanent characteristic of the war, particularly in western Europe. In France and Belgium they stretched from Switzerland to the sea, and further protection against shell-fire was obtained by making "dug-outs" leading down from them.¹ This trench system gave great power of defence, particularly when machine guns were plentiful and when belts of thick barbed wire had been erected. Thus offensives by both sides failed in 1915, the most important being the German attack in April and May (Second Battle of Ypres), in which poison gas* was first used in the west, and the Franco-British attack on the Noyon salient.

The French naturally thought that the western front was all-important, but some British leaders, notably Lloyd George, advocated an attempt to find a "way round" in the Near East, where the Balkan States might be encouraged to join against Austria and Turkey. Moreover, a route might be opened by which Russia could receive munitions from the west. These considerations led to an attempt to force the Dardanelles in 1915. After a Franco-British naval attack had failed (March), 70,000 British and Dominion troops landed in April, and their numbers were doubled in August. But they could not capture the high ground, in the defence of which Mustapha Kemal distinguished himself, and were removed in January, 1916, after very heavy losses from exposure and disease.

EASTERN CAMPAIGNS, 1915.—Elsewhere in the east 1915 was also a year of success for the Central Powers. A combined German-Austrian offensive, directed by the German general Mackensen, drove the Russians from Galicia (May-June). The Polish salient was then flattened out, and by September the Russians

¹ German "dug-outs" on the Somme (1916) were found thirty to forty feet below ground, with electric light and washing apparatus. Farther east, a tunnel one and a half miles long with a light railway passed in places only thirty yards behind the front line.

² This was "cloud-gas" (chlorine). Mustard-gas was first used by the Germans at Passchendaele in 1917, and by the French in July, 1918. The French, however, appear to have been the first to use liquid fire*

VERDUN AND THE SOMME, 1916.—Two exhausting battles in 1916 again showed the advantage of defence over attack. The German attack on Verdun (February-July) failed with the loss of about 350,000 men on either side; and in the Battle of the Somme (July-November) the French and British gained a strip of ground thirty miles long with a maximum depth of seven miles, at a cost of 600,000 casualties.*

Disappointment led to changes in command: already Sir Douglas Haig had replaced Sir John French (December, 1915); in August, 1916, Hindenburg and Ludendorff succeeded Falkenhayn; and in December Nivelle succeeded Joffre. Discontent with the results achieved also caused changes of government in Britain and France. Lloyd George² became head of a small "War Cabinet" in Britain (December, 1916). The Briand ministry was reconstituted in the same month, but France had to wait nearly another year before she found her man of destiny in Clemenceau. Bethmann-Hollweg remained Chancellor of Germany, though the real control of policy was passing into the hands of the military chiefs.

The Russians in 1916 took 450,000 prisoners in a great offensive against Austria (June-September) and caused the transfer of fifteen German (divisions' from the west. This brought Rumania into the Entente camp (August), but she was at once invaded from Bulgaria and Austria, and by December her army was defending the line of the Sereth, having lost three parts of the country. The Central Powers were still supreme in the Balkans, and Bulgarians occupied Greek Macedonia without resistance.⁴

with the Central Powers. The expedition remained at Salonika, for the king could not actively oppose Britain and France with their undisputed control of the sea.

¹ In this battle tanks were first used.

² When the Coalition Government of 1915 was formed Lloyd George left the Exchequer for the new Ministry of Munitions. In this office, and as War Secretary after the death of Kitchener (June, 1916), he showed his outstanding qualities.

³ A division was about 10,000 men.

⁴ The allies, however, then enforced by blockade their demands for greater control of Greece, and forced Constantine to abdicate (June, 1917). He was succeeded by his second son Alexander, Venizelos returned to office, and war was declared against the Central Powers.

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NAVAL OPERATIONS.—The control of the sea was from the first of vital importance to Britain and her allies. The "dreadnoughts" of both the larger navies were carefully nursed, the British in bases in the north of Scotland; a second British fleet of pre-dreadnoughts covered the transport of troops across the Channel. The British navy accounted for the eight German warships that were in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans,¹ and also established a virtual blockade of the North Sea approaches to Germany, during which a system of rationing was applied to neutral powers and German food supplies were interrupted. Apart from battle-cruiser raids on the English coast in the winter of 1914-1915, the German fleet stood on the defensive until Admiral Scheer took command in January, 1916. He hoped to cause a division of the British Grand Fleet by resuming battle-cruiser attacks, and to destroy a section of it. On May 31, 1916, an encounter between German battle-cruisers under Hipper and Beatty's squadron led to the Battle of Jutland between the main fleets. This was the only great naval engagement of the war, and in it the Germans inflicted heavier losses than they suffered before escaping to their mine-fields.

For the rest of the war the Germans concentrated on their submarine campaigns. In the first, which had begun in February, 1916, all supposed enemy merchant ships near the British Isles were to be sunk. Warning was not always given, and genuine neutrals were endangered since the ships of belligerents also flew neutral flags for protection. In January, 1917, the second or "unrestricted" campaign was begun: all vessels near the British or French coasts were to be sunk at sight. It was thought that Britain could be forced to make peace within six months, and German submarines, some with a cruising capacity of 10,000 miles and with 6-inch guns, sank ship after ship and caused many neutral carriers to avoid the danger-zone. In April there was only corn enough for six weeks in Britain, and the chance of a ship making a safe voyage out and home was one in four. But in the same month the U.S.A., exasperated by submarine attacks, joined the Entente powers, and counter-

¹ The exploits of Captain Müller of the *Emden*, when destroying merchant ships in the Indian Ocean, would do honour to any service; and Admiral von Spec's squadron behaved magnificently in their losing fight at the Falkland Islands (December, 1914).

measures gradually became effective. The Straits of Dover were blocked with nets and mines; 70,000 mines were laid between the Orkneys and Norway;¹ hydrophones detected the submarines, depth charges and decoy-ships destroyed them. Above all, merchant-ships were protected by sailing in convoys.

1917. In March the Czar's autocratic government collapsed, and though peace negotiations with Germany did not begin until December, Russia ceased to play an important military part.¹ On the other hand, the entry of the U.S.A. (April, 1917) enabled the Entente to blockade Germany more effectively and obtain invaluable financial help. The Germans, waiting for the effect of their submarine campaign, withdrew to the strong "Hindenburg Line", against which the allies exhausted their strength. Nivelle's failure to break through on the Aisne (April) led to serious disaffection in the French armies, after which a four-months' autumn offensive, known as Passchendaele or the Third Battle of Ypres, cost the British 400,000 casualties without gaining much ground. In November a temporary breach in the German line was made at Cambrai, where nearly 400 tanks showed their value in attack, but troops were not available to exploit this advantage.

The weakness of Russia and the subjection of the Balkans made possible an Austrian offensive on her south-western front. Italy, though a member of the Triple Alliance, had remained neutral in 1914; she could not expose her open coast-line to the naval power of France and Britain. She was then tempted into the war on the Entente side by promises of Austrian territory (May, 1915).² During 1915 and 1916 eleven indecisive battles had been fought near the river Isonzo, at the head of the Adriatic; but by the autumn of 1917 the Italian troops had become unreliable, and in November the Austrians, with German support, broke through at Caporetto. The defeat became a rout—yet within a month the Italians with great spirit rallied behind the Piave, a defensive position less than fifty miles in length.

¹ German crews that passed safely are said to have gone mad through the strain. About 50 per cent, of Germany's submarines were lost during the war.

² See p. 174.

³ By the secret Treaty of London (April, 1915) Italy was to have the Brenner frontier in Tyrol, Istria and most of the Dalmatian coast (see p. 179).

WAR-WEARINESS.—By 1917 the unity of purpose that had inspired belligerents in 1914 was giving way to internal dissensions. A decision still seemed far off, and men began to talk of a peace without victory, "peace by negotiation". The collapse of Russia and the demoralisation of the French and Italian armies showed this war-weariness. In this year also the Emperor Charles of Austria, who had succeeded Francis Joseph in November, 1916, entered into secret negotiations with France,¹ and warned the Kaiser that Austria could not fight much longer. In Germany herself, the Social-Democrats under Ebert and the Centre party carried in the Reichstag a plea for a peace without indemnities or annexations (July, 1917). Even the German Foreign Secretary made overtures; the Pope attempted mediation; and in Britain unofficial strikes became frequent. But the Germans were not yet prepared to give up Alsace and Lorraine, which the allies regarded as essential.

1918.—The situation at the beginning of 1918 was serious for the Entente, for the loss of Russian man-power was not yet made good by the arrival of American troops; but the case of the Central Powers, owing to lack of reserves, was even worse. Ludendorff therefore planned a final battle, and from March to July five great attacks were made. In four months the Germans won ten times the ground taken by their enemies in 1917, captured 225,000 prisoners and 2,500 guns, and came within forty miles of Paris. But difficulties of transport checked their advance; they could only make big salients, difficult to hold, and a quarter of a million Americans were now arriving every month.

In July Foch* began his counter-offensive, and succeeded in keeping up his pressure by a series of rapid local actions in which tanks played an important part. By mid-September the Germans were back to the Hindenburg Line; by the end of the month those positions were forced. On October 3 a new Government in Germany, under the liberal Prince Max of Baden, asked President Wilson to bring about peace negotiations. Fighting continued for more than a month, while Germany's allies were

¹ Austria was prepared to recognise the French claims to Alsace and Lorraine, but negotiations broke down over the extent of Austrian cessions to Italy.

¹ The German success in March had convinced Haig that unity of command was necessary, and Foch was now generalissimo.

being forced out of the war. Already Bulgaria, threatened by the composite force from Salonika, had signed an armistice (September 30); isolated from the Central Powers and defeated in Palestine, Turkey withdrew (October 31);¹ and on November 4 the Entente made an armistice with Austria-Hungary, whose armies were dissolving after a successful Italian offensive (Battle of Vittorio Veneto, October 24-30). Meanwhile the Germans had been pressed back to the frontier, when revolution, beginning with mutiny in the fleet, swept the country. The Kaiser abdicated on November 9. On the nth German envoys agreed to an armistice, and the war was over.

THE COST.—For four years the industrial and scientific discoveries of the previous century had been used for destruction, and men had shown amazing powers of adaptability and endurance.⁸ The direct loss, human and material, was enormous. Accurate figures do not exist, and estimates vary from eight to over ten millions killed. Indirect losses were greater still.⁸ And to these must be added the cost of hatreds and fears that the war left behind.

¹ It has not seemed advisable, in a short summary, to complicate the account of the war in Europe by descriptions of campaigns elsewhere. Two of the more important of these were the invasions of Turkish territory in Mesopotamia and Palestine. In Mesopotamia, Basra was occupied by the British early in the war, to safeguard the pipe-line of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. A foolish advance on Baghdad led to the surrender of a British force at Kut (April, 1916), but a year later the city was taken by General Maude. A British army in Egypt, after defending the Suez Canal against a Turkish attack (1915), advanced along the coast towards Palestine (winter 1916-1917). In November, 1917, General Allenby captured Gaza; and, helped by an Arab revolt under the inspiration of Colonel Lawrence, he broke through the Turkish defences in September, 1918, and had entered Damascus and Aleppo before Turkey sued for peace (see map, p. 163).

¹ Soldiers and civilians on both sides believed that the war was being waged from the highest motives. To foster this idea, governments made full use of propaganda.

² Apart from massacres in Asia Minor and Central Asia, comparatively few civilians were killed, for aerial bombardment was in its infancy. But probably 25 millions died as the result of starvation, influenza or other diseases attributable to the war. The German civilian death-rate was 9½ per cent, above normal in 1915 and 37 per cent, in 1918, when 80 per cent, of the school children were suffering from rickets. Servia is said to have lost half her male population. Norway, though neutral, lost over 3,000 sailors and 50 per cent, of her shipping.

Belligerents and neutrals felt its effect in innumerable ways. Governments increased their control, already growing with the complexity of industrialism; government indebtedness rose to unexampled heights, taxation rose with it, and prices were very high; minorities and subject peoples, particularly in the Austrian, Russian, Turkish and British Empires, demanded and often won independence; scientific research, feminism, aircraft,¹ the technique of propaganda, and many things beside were artificially stimulated. These changes, however, were little noticed at the time, for the immediate need was to render first aid to the starving and to frame a durable peace.

¹ The few aircraft available at the beginning of the war were used for observation work. Later fighting planes were built to prevent this. Aerial photography improved rapidly.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PEACE TREATIES

THE ARMISTICE.—In October, 1918, Germany asked President Wilson to arrange the immediate conclusion of an armistice, pending peace negotiations on the basis of his Fourteen Points. * The Germans recognised that the Points were to be interpreted by the Allies, and that the "destruction of arbitrary power" was essential. The Allies also informed Wilson that they accepted the principles of the Points, with reservations on the "freedom of the seas", and insistence that compensation must be made for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property. Thus, after a month of preparation, Wilson informed the German Government that they could apply for an armistice.

The terms, accepted by Germany on November 11, were designed to make it impossible for her to renew the war. She must evacuate Alsace-Lorraine, the left bank of the Rhine and a neutral zone on the right bank; restore all allied prisoners; and hand over large numbers of guns, aeroplanes, railway engines, trucks and lorries. She must surrender all her submarines and most of her surface fleet, but the blockade was to continue. The Treaties of Brest-Litovsk (see p. 175) and Bucharest¹ were to be denounced. Revolution in Germany, where Russian communism was being widely imitated, made

¹ The following incomplete summary will give an idea of the Points: No secret diplomacy; "freedom of the seas"; freer international trade; disarmament; impartial settlement of colonial claims with consideration given to the welfare of the governed; non-interference with Russia; occupied territory to be evacuated and restored; the peoples of Austria-Hungary and Turkey to be self-governing; the frontiers of Italy to be revised in accordance with nationality; the Polish nation to be independent; an association of nations to be formed to safeguard great and small alike.

² With Rumania, May, 1918: Germany gained economic control of Rumania.

acceptance of these severe terms imperative; and as fear of communism also profoundly influenced the statesmen at the Peace Conference, it is convenient to give an account of the Russian revolution before describing the final settlement.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.—Conditions in Russia at the beginning of 1917 were favourable to revolution. Industries, which had been developed very rapidly in the twentieth century, were on a large scale and conditions of labour were bad. The war had caused a breakdown of transport and administration; it is said that some troops were sent into battle armed only with clubs, and that by January, 1917, more than a million deserters were wandering behind the army. At the head of the government and army was a weak-willed Czar under the influence of his German wife; incompetence and corruption existed in the highest places, and it was not until December, 1916, that the vicious monk Rasputin, who had held chief influence at the court for six years, was murdered by Russian aristocrats.

That winter there was great privation in Russia. In the middle of February 90,000 workers were on strike in Petrograd; bread cards were introduced and rioting began. When the troops in the capital joined the strikers the regime collapsed and the Czar abdicated, whereupon Moscow and the provincial towns followed the lead of Petrograd. This was not a communist revolution and was indeed welcomed by Russia's democratic allies. The Duma set up a Provisional Government of moderate liberals under Prince Lvov, in which Kerensky was the only socialist, and a constituent assembly was promised. At the same time the soldiers and workers of Petrograd formed a "Soviet" of delegates, which watched and finally overthrew the Provisional Government.

For six months the Menshevik socialists controlled the Petrograd Soviet, though the Bolsheviks steadily increased their influence as their leaders returned from exile.*

In June, Kerensky, Minister of War, launched the last Russian offensive, but the army, as Lenin said, "voted for peace with its legs." The Government then attacked the Bolshevik leaders, who wanted immediate peace, alleging that they were

¹ Stalin came back in March from Siberia, Lenin in April from Switzerland, Trotsky in May from America.

in the pay of Germany. Lenin went into hiding, Trotsky to gaol, and the Government was reconstituted with Kerensky as Minister-President. But the Bolsheviks had only suffered a temporary set-back. Their influence increased among the troops and workmen, and even in the country districts where Bolshevism was weak the peasants were already seizing the land, without waiting for the long-promised assembly. A German offensive strengthened the demand for peace, and in September the Bolsheviks obtained control of the Petrograd Soviet for the first time. Trotsky, now released, openly prepared for insurrection, while Lenin, still in hiding, urged the party forward.

The insurrection took place on the eve of the meeting of an All-Russia Congress of Soviets. There was little opposition, and the Congress of Soviets, assuming power by proclamation on October 26, elected a Council of People's Commissars all of whom were Bolsheviks. Lenin was head of the Government; Trotsky, Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Stalin, Commissar for Nationalities. The Congress dispersed after it had decided that peace should be made immediately and decreed that the landlords had no further property in the land, and (as in February) the provinces followed the lead of Petrograd.

The new Government had to make peace before it could begin its ambitious programme of reorganisation, and negotiations were begun in December, 1917. But Trotsky delayed his acceptance of the German terms as long as possible, hoping that communism would spread westward, for the Bolsheviks then regarded the revolution in Russia as the first stage in an immediate world revolution. When the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk¹ was at last signed (March, 1918), the Bolsheviks still had to face counter-revolution at home. Their "White Russian" opponents (Koltchak from Siberia, Wrangel and Denikin from south Russia) were helped by the Entente powers with money and munitions, and an Allied expedition invaded Russia from Archangel. Trotsky organised and inspired a Red army that was able to repel these attacks, but it was not until the end of 1920 that the danger to the new regime was over.

THE PEACE SETTLEMENT.—When the statesmen of the victor

¹ Russia gave up her claims to the Baltic states (see p. 205), Poland and Ukraine, and ceded Batum and Kars to Turkey.

powers assembled in Paris (January 19, 1919) they were faced with two tasks of immense difficulty: the checking of famine and disease in central and eastern Europe, and the making of a durable peace. The first was urgent and could not wait for the political settlement; on the other hand, no permanent improvement in economic conditions could be made until the political map was redrawn. The Bolsheviks of Russia hoped that revolution would spread among the starving people of Europe, and a formidable communist rising had just been suppressed in Berlin (see p. 199); it was therefore necessary to take prompt measures for reasons of policy as well as of humanity. But food, and transport to carry it, were hard to find. The blockade of Germany was continued after the armistice, and aggravated the food shortage.¹ Moreover, the armistice between the Entente and Central Powers did not put an end to all fighting: apart from the civil war in Russia, more than twenty "little wars" were going on in Europe in the spring of 1919.

Something, but not enough, was done to mitigate suffering. In January, 1919, a committee of representatives of the U.S.A., Britain, France and Belgium (developing later into the Supreme Economic Council) was set up to co-ordinate relief. Its work, however, was hampered by the relaxation of state control over shipping in the main maritime states. Food, clothing, and hospital stores to the value of about £65,000,000 were distributed, mostly free, in central and eastern Europe, the U.S.A. voting \$100,000,000 and the British Government £12,000,000. Private organisations also contributed generously.

THE BIO FOUR.—The peacemakers therefore had to work against time, and in a capital where resentment against Germany was naturally strongest. They had to satisfy public opinion in their own countries, exasperated by the long war and inflamed by propaganda, and to reconcile the idealistic Fourteen Points with national ambitions and war-time promises, and with the changing facts of the European situation.

For two months the main work of the conference was done by a Council of Ten with their expert advisers. But the slow progress (except with the League Covenant) and leakage of information led to the "Big Four" becoming the effective committee.

¹700,000 deaths in Germany are attributed to under-nourishment in the year following the armistice.

These were Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France; President Wilson of the U.S.A.; Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister; and Orlando, the Foreign Minister of Italy. Clemenceau had a clear objective—to provide full security for France against Germany. Wilson was handicapped by ignorance of European conditions, and regarded the establishing of a League of Nations as being of chief importance. A general election (December, 1918) had recently confirmed Lloyd George and his Coalition Government in power; and during this promises had been made that Germany should pay the full cost of the war. The Italian representative had the least influence of the Big Four.

It was hard to secure agreement even among the Allies. Clemenceau eventually gave up his claim to the Rhine frontier in return for the guarantee of the French north-eastern frontier by the U.S.A. and Britain,¹ and the Italian claim to Fiume was only abandoned after their delegation had left Paris as a protest. In May the treaty was presented to a German delegation.

The Germans, who had not been represented at the conference, objected that the Fourteen Points had been disregarded, and made counter-proposals, asking for a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine and that the "right of self-determination should be respected in the case of the Germans of Austria and Bohemia". They also attacked particularly the eastern settlement and the loss of colonies. In the Allies' reply, only one important concession was made—there would be a plebiscite in Upper Silesia. The German Government therefore resigned, and the treaty was accepted by a new ministry in which Erzberger was the leading figure.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES.—The Treaty was signed on June 28, 1919, and came into force on January 10, 1920. In the west Germany forfeited Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar coal mines to France.² There were to be plebiscites in Eupen and Malmedy, on the Belgian frontier, and in northern Schleswig. In the east nearly 18,000 square miles were transferred to Poland, including a "corridor" to the sea dividing East Prussia from the rest of Germany, and plebiscites were to be held in the

¹ The guarantee treaty was ratified by the British Parliament, but rejected by the American Senate. It therefore lapsed altogether.

² See p. 188.

southern parts of East Prussia and in Upper Silesia.¹ Danzig was made a Free City, Poland having special rights and the control of foreign policy,² and Memel was to be controlled by the Allies, pending a decision about its destiny.³

The economic value of these lost districts was far greater than their area suggests, and Germany was also deprived of all her colonies and her trading privileges in Africa and the Far East. She was to pay compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property, a definition that was held to include war pensions; to surrender all merchant ships over 1,600 tons and build 200,000 tons of shipping a year (for five years) for the Allies; to supply large quantities of live-stock and coal to France and Belgium, and coal to Italy. A Reparations Commission was to fix, by 1921, the total sum payable by Germany, and to collect interim payments (see pp. 193-194)-

To this extent the Treaty followed precedent, though the colonial and reparations clauses were exceptionally severe; other important sections were novel and sprang from the feeling that war was a crime and could no longer be regarded as a legitimate incident in national policy. Thus,

"Germany accepts responsibility for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies." (Article 231-)

¹ The mixed population of northern Schleswig was divided into two zones for plebiscite, the northern zone voting for Denmark and the southern for Germany (1920). The plebiscite areas of East Prussia decided, by very large majorities, to remain German. In Eupen and Malm  y no plebiscite was held, but after the territories had been transferred the inhabitants were given an opportunity of signing "protest lists" in the two chief towns. Very few of the predominantly German population signed, and the League disregarded local and German official protests against the procedure (1920). The plebiscite in Upper Silesia was deferred until 1921. A majority of the population was Polish but 707,605 voted for the continuation of German rule and 479,359 for transfer to Poland. The Germans held that the whole area should have remained to them, but it was divided, the serious economic disadvantages involved in partition being partly removed by a German-Polish convention. '

²See p. 188.

³See p. 205.

The Germans asked that this question of responsibility should be decided by a neutral commission, considering that the article unjustly saddled them with "war-guilt". The Kaiser and other German "war-criminals" were to be tried,¹ and the German Rhineland was to be demilitarised and to have an army of occupation for fifteen years. "In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations," Germany was to have no air force, big guns, tanks, or battleships over 10,000 tons,¹ and to reduce her army to 100,000 long-service troops. The most significant novelty, however, was the Covenant of the League of Nations, which formed Part I. of the Treaty (see Chapter XIX.).

OTHER TREATIES.—Treaties, with disarmament clauses similar to those of Versailles, were signed with Austria at St. Germain (September, 1919), with Bulgaria at Neuilly (November, 1919), and with Hungary at Trianon (June, 1920). By the first Austria gave up Bukovina to Rumania, Galicia to Poland and Bohemia to the new state of Czechoslovakia; in the south-west the Italians gained a strong strategic frontier reaching the Brenner Pass, and Austria was cut off from the sea by the gains of Italy and Yugoslavia. She was forbidden to unite with Germany⁸ and lost more than three million German-speaking subjects to Czechoslovakia and a quarter of a million in Tyrol to Italy. Bulgaria's iEgean coastlands went to Greece, and Yugoslavia gained small districts, strategically important, in the south-west. The pre-war frontier between Rumania and Bulgaria was restored. Hungary's connection with Austria ceased on the collapse of the Dual Monarchy. Three million Magyars were among the thirteen million subjects that she lost to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania.

Peace was made with the Sultan at Sèvres in August, 1920. Thrace, Smyrna with its hinterland, and Imbros and Tenedos

¹ The Dutch Government properly refused to deliver up the Kaiser. The list of some 900 "criminals" (February, 1920) included Bethmann-Hollweg, Hindenburg, Ludendorff and Tirpitz. Owing to the protest of the German Government only twelve were tried, before a German tribunal at Leipzig, 1921, and six were convicted.

² The German crews scuttled their ships at Scapa Flow in June, to prevent their being transferred to the Allies.

³ Except with the unanimous consent of the Council of the League of Nations, on which France had a permanent seat.

at the entrance to the Dardanelles were ceded to Greece, and the Dodecanese to Italy. Cyprus (previously subject to tribute) was ceded outright to Britain, and the Sultan recognised the loss of Arabia, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and Mesopotamia. Constantinople and a very small territory round it remained Turkish, the Straits were placed under international control, and the "capitulations" which gave legal and economic privileges to foreigners were maintained*

The eastern frontier of Poland and the boundaries of the new Baltic states were determined by separate agreements with the U.S.S.R. (1920-1921); the Rumanian occupation of Bessarabia, confirmed by the Allies, was not recognised by the U.S.S.R., though she later undertook not to use force to recover the territory.

FIUME AND SMYRNA.—By the secret Treaty of London (1915) Italy had been promised northern Dalmatia. It was, however, assigned to Yugoslavia, and a dispute between Italy and the latter over Fiume was interrupted by the seizure of that port (September, 1920) by an Italian free-lance and poet named D'Annunzio. It was held by him until December, 1920, when Fiume was made a Free State; but after Fascist disorder Italian troops entered it in 1922. In the final settlement (Rapallo Agreements, 1924) Fiume was recognised as Italian, and the Yugoslavs were to control the suburban port of Sushak. Italy already held the islands of the bay, Zara on the coast of Dalmatia, and Lagosta Island farther south.

Before the Treaty of Sèvres was signed it was clear that Mustapha Kemal, head of a national and revolutionary government at Angora (Ankara) in Asia Minor, would not accept it. Greek troops, who had already occupied Smyrna, were therefore encouraged by the Allies to advance against him. But the death¹ of Alexander of Greece (October, 1920) and the fall of Venizelos (see p. 167) led to the return of ex-King Constantine and the loss of allied support. The King, however, decided to carry the war to Angora. The Greeks were defeated at Sakkaria, near Angora (1921), and next year they were routed and driven down to the sea. Mustapha Kemal was by then undisputed

¹ From the bite of a monkey, which may have changed the course of history. "It is perhaps no exaggeration to remark that a quarter of a million persons died of this monkey's bite*" (Winston Churchill: *The World Crisis*).

master of Turkey, and the Treaty of Sevres was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). In Europe Turkey recovered Eastern Thrace, demilitarised zones being established on the frontier and on both sides of the Straits. Imbros and Tenedos were restored to Turkey, Turkish control of all Asia Minor was recognised and the capitulations were abolished.

THE NEW EUROPE.—The post-war map of Europe (see p. 195) shows a marked increase in the number of states. Poland, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Czechoslovakia gained or regained independence, and the connection between Austria and Hungary was broken. Yugoslavia, it is true, contained the previously separate states of Servia and Montenegro; nevertheless, the number of sovereign states rose from twenty-one to twenty-seven.¹ The proportion of republics to monarchies had increased and (more important) democratic constitutions were almost universal.

A far greater measure of internal homogeneity and national independence had been attained, though substantial minorities still existed. Unfortunately the stress laid on the principle of self-determination (even though it was not consistently followed) tended to make these minorities suspect and discontented citizens, particularly as many of those in transferred districts had previously formed a dominant caste. Moreover, the increase in national unity was gained at the cost of economic disunion. In eastern Europe railway lines that led to former capitals or centres of industry no longer fitted the new political distribution, and the large free-trade area of the upper Danube, that had been economically united under the Dual Monarchy, was now broken up by new tariff walls.

¹ Excluding Andorra, Iceland (autonomous under Denmark since 1918), Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco and San Marino.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE.—The League of Nations was the first serious attempt to embody the very old idea of a "Parliament of Man". The Holy Alliance of 1815 had been merely an agreement on general principles, comparable to the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928 (see p. 197); the Quadruple Alliance of 1815 was a league of great powers with limited objectives, and the congresses that resulted from it were different in kind from meetings of the League Council or Assembly. No regular machinery for international co-operation, apart from the maintenance of diplomatic agents at foreign capitals, existed before 1919.¹

During the Great War it was thought that some international organization must be attempted, and that the shrinkage of the world by improved communications had made this both necessary and practicable. The Covenant of the League, which was its written constitution, was framed by a committee at the Peace Conference which included President Wilson as chairman, General Smuts of South Africa and Lord Robert Cecil (later Viscount Cecil). The main purpose of the states forming the League was set forth in the preamble:

"The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote co-operation and to achieve international peace and security; by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war; by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations; by the firm establishment of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.**

¹ Except the International Postal Union (1874), and other international offices with a limited purpose, such as the International Office of Public Health (1907) at Paris and the Court of International Arbitration at The Hague.

In spite of difference of opinion on the exact functions and powers of the League (the French, for example, wanted a League army) rapid progress was made, and in April, 1919, the Covenant was approved by the conference. It became effective (January, 1920) on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, of which it formed part, and the first meeting of the Council was held in the same month.¹

ITS CONSTITUTION.—The Assembly, corresponding roughly to the parliament of a democratic country, consisted of three delegates from each member state, casting a single vote. It was to meet once a year, or more often in emergency, and consider a report, submitted by the Secretary-General, on the year's work of the Council and its subordinate organisations. Its debates were to be public and it had power to make decisions, send recommendations to the Council, and elect new members.

The Council, forming the cabinet or executive committee of the League, was to meet more often.² Five great powers were to have permanent seats on the Council, and four others were to be elected by the Assembly to represent the smaller states, while any state could attend the Council if its affairs were being discussed. Thus powerful states, without whose support nothing could be accomplished, were given great influence in the Council, whereas in the Assembly they had no more voting strength than the weakest member states. The five were to have been the United States, Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The U.S.A., however, never joined the League; Germany became a permanent member of the Council when she joined in 1926, and the U.S.S.R. in 1934. Japan and Germany in 1933 gave two years' notice to leave the League and ceased to attend Council meetings. The number of other states elected to the Council, for a period of three years, was increased to six in 1922 and to nine in 1926. In practice certain states such as Poland were considered to have a right to re-election.

Ten technical organisations, subordinate to the Council,

¹ Later much criticism of "The League" was misdirected. As a piece of international machinery it could rightly be criticised if international action failed owing to faulty structure, but not if the failure was due to the cowardice or selfishness of the states members.

² Originally it met four times a year, and after 1929 normally three times a year.

were established: the Commission on Armaments, the Mandates Commission, the Health Organisation, the Economic Organisation, the Financial Organisation, the Transit Organisation, and Advisory Committees on Opium Traffic, Women and Children, Slavery, and Intellectual Co-operation. The names of these bodies indicate the work that it was hoped would be done through the League. Each of them was served by a section of the League Secretariat, collecting information and doing the day-to-day business of the organisation.

The Secretariat formed the civil service of the League. The first Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond,¹ was appointed when the Covenant was drawn up, and before January, 1920, he had formed the nucleus of a staff. Members of the Secretariat were chosen by the Secretary-General without regard to nationality and paid by the League. Whereas the Assembly, Council and technical bodies met only at intervals, the Secretariat was always at work at Geneva and gave cohesion to the whole organisation.

THE COVENANT.—The Covenant, a short document of twenty-six articles, dealt not only with the constitution of the League but with the obligations of member states designed to prevent war. The original members were the twenty-eight "allied and associated" states ratifying the Treaty of Versailles and thirteen neutrals invited by them. Germany, though a signatory of the treaty, was not invited to join; and the U.S.A., fearing entanglements in Europe, neither ratified the treaty nor accepted membership of the League. The British Dominions and India were original members and were thus internationally recognised as separate states. By September, 1939, every state except the U.S.A. and Saudi Arabia had joined the League, but Japan and Germany withdrew in 1935 and Italy gave notice of withdrawal in 1937.² The cost of the League was shared among states in accordance with their wealth: for example, the budget for 1936 was approximately 28,280,000 gold francs, Britain's share being £185,000 sterling, or rather more than one-thousandth of her expenditure on armaments in that year.

Article 10 of the Covenant stated that "Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external

¹ He resigned in 1933 and was succeeded by a Frenchman, M. Avenol.

² Ten South American states had also either withdrawn or given notice before September, 1939.

aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.* Any threat of war might be brought before the League, and the members agreed to submit any dispute between them to arbitration¹ or to the Council, not to go to war until three months after the decision of arbitrators or Council, and not to go to war with a party that accepted the award (Articles 12 and 13). In the case of disputes not recognised as suitable for arbitration, and therefore submitted to the Council,

"If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report." (Article 15.)

Any member going to war in breach of Articles 12, 13 or 15 shall "*ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League," and these undertook to prevent all economic intercourse between the offending state and any other country, including non-members of the League (Article 16). It was realised that this "sanctions" article might lead to war, and it was laid down that:

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League."

These provisions appeared to be sufficiently strong and clear: nevertheless successful wars were waged by member states in breach of their covenants (see pp. 219 and 223).

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.—Linked with, and financed by, the League were the International Labour Organisation and the Court of International Justice. The I.L.O. was set up by the Treaty of Versailles because

"conditions of labour exist involving such Injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled and the improvement of those conditions is urgently required." (Preamble to Part XIII. of the Treaty.)

¹ Or, by amendments of 1924, the Court of International Justice.

All members of the League were to belong to it, and other states might join.¹ Its constitution was similar, with some important exceptions, to that of the League. In place of the Assembly was the "General Conference"^{9*} composed of four delegates from each state; two of these represented the government, the other two were appointed by the government in agreement with representative organisations of employers and workpeople. Thus each state was to send one employer and one workman representative. In place of the Council was the "Governing Body" of twenty-four members, half chosen in equal numbers by the employers' and workmen's representatives and half representing the governments. The leading industrial states had permanent seats for their government representatives. The "International Labour Office", corresponding to the Secretariat, was controlled by a Director-General² whose position was like that of the Secretary-General. There were also expert committees, equivalent to the technical bodies of the League.

Governments pledged themselves to present the "conventions" adopted by the General Conference to the appropriate authority in their own countries for ratification, after which a convention constituted a treaty obligation. Some conventions remained inoperative for lack of ratification, but good results were obtained where labour conditions were least satisfactory. For example, child labour under twelve was prohibited in India and Japan, and by 1939 over sixty conventions had been adopted, dealing with such matters as workmen's compensation, a weekly rest-day, health insurance, employment of women in mines, and the working conditions of seamen.⁸

THE COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.—This began work at The Hague in 1922, under Article 14 of the Covenant, the judges (originally eleven and after 1930 fifteen) being chosen by simultaneous election in the Council and Assembly of the League. The Court was to deal with "justiciable" disputes, *i.e.*,

¹ Thus the U.S.A. joined, and Japan and Brazil remained members after resigning from the League.

² M. Albert Thomas, a Frenchman, 1919-1932. He died in 1932 and was replaced by Mr. Harold Butler, an Englishman. In 1938 Mr. John G. Winant (U.S.A.) became Director-General.

³ Nearly 900 ratifications had been reported, and even states which did not ratify often improved their laws nevertheless.

disputes suitable for judicial decision, such as the interpretation of treaties and questions of fact in alleged breaches of treaty or international law.¹ Only governments could use the Court and only if both parties agreed; many states, however, agreed in advance to submit justiciable disputes to the Court.²

THE LEAGUE AT WORK.—Though the I.L.O. and the Court of International Justice did useful work in their limited spheres, the main international machinery was the League itself. The results disappointed those who underrated the difficulties of the task: Chapters XXII. and XXIII. will describe the failure to use League machinery to secure disarmament or to defeat aggression by Japan, Germany and Italy. Effective action was not taken against powerful states. Some success, however, was achieved when smaller states were involved. In 1920 a dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Åland Islands was settled, the islands being assigned to Finland with guarantees for the Swedish population; in 1921 the Upper Silesian question was solved (see p. 178) and a Yugoslav invasion of Albania was checked. The best example of a successful use of the League was in 1925, in circumstances which would certainly in former times have led to war between Greece and Bulgaria.

At an isolated mountain post on the Greco-Bulgarian frontier fighting began between sentries, and a Greek officer, going forward to parley, was shot (Monday, October 19). The War Office at Athens received, early on Tuesday, a false report that Greece was being invaded by Bulgarians, and decided on a counter-invasion, which began on Thursday. The Bulgarian Government then telegraphed to the Secretary-General at Geneva asking for an immediate Council meeting. Sir Eric Drummond received the telegram on Friday, and after telephoning to Briand (then president of the Council) arranged to

¹ In 1926 a French mail-boat, ss. *Lotus*, ran into and sank a Turkish collier in the *Mgcan*. Lives were lost, and on arrival at Constantinople the French officer of the watch was arrested, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The French Government brought the case before the Court in 1927. The twelve judges (a Turk having been added for the occasion) were evenly divided, and the President gave his casting vote in favour of the Turkish view.

² By signing the "Optional Clause", whereby a state agreed to accept the Court's ruling if the other party had also signed the clause.

hold the meeting in Paris on Monday. Meanwhile Briand telegraphed to both Governments asking them to suspend operations, which was done (Saturday) shortly before a Greek attack on a Bulgarian town was timed to begin*. The Council met, with Greek and Bulgarian representatives present; insisted that Greek troops be withdrawn, and appointed a commission consisting of an Englishman, a Frenchman, an Italian, a Swede and a Dutchman, which went to Greece a week later. The commission reported that the Greek Government had violated the Covenant and should pay £45,000 damages. This was done.

THE SAAR, DANZIG, AND MINORITIES.—The League was also used to make it less likely that disputes would occur. The government of the Saar, a small but industrially important area on the borders of Lorraine, was handed over to League administration until a plebiscite should be held in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles. In January, 1935, while a small international force of British, Italian, Dutch and Swedish troops maintained order, the vote showed a large majority in favour of union with Germany, and the territory was peacefully restored. League supervision in Danzig was less direct and less successful. This German city with the neighbouring Polish territory was made a Free City in which Poland had special treaty rights. Its constitution was under the guarantee of the League of Nations, and a League High Commissioner was to stay in Danzig. The internal administration was left to the Senate, whose president was in fact the head of the state, and after the German Nazis gained control in 1933 the influence of the High Commissioner and the League steadily declined.

Racial minorities were likely to cause friction between neighbour states, and by "minority treaties" between the principal victor powers and various states¹ the League was used, without much success, to reduce this danger to peace. The Polish Minority Treaty (1919) will serve as an example. Poland undertook to give her minorities legal and political equality and re-

¹ Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Turkey, Albania, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia on joining the League made declarations similar to minority treaties, and in 192a the Polish minority in the German part of Upper Silesia had protection of the same kind. The Polish Minority Treaty was repudiated in 1934.

ligious freedom, and admitted that this was "an obligation of international concern". Complaints could be made through the League Secretariat; moreover, any member of the Council could take up the cause of a minority, and Germany after 1926 frequently did so. But while states insisted on unrestricted sovereignty not much could be done, and some important minorities (*e.g.* Jews in Germany, and Austrians in northern Italy) had not even the protection of minority treaties.

THE WORK OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.—The technical organisations were of great value in promoting international co-operation. For example, the Transit Organisation made recommendations with regard to the use of international rivers, railways, and ports; the Health Organisation collected and exchanged information, and gave expert advice to Persia, Albania, Turkey, Bolivia, Greece and China, at their request, on the development of public health services. The Advisory Committees on Opium, Slavery, and the Traffic in Women and Children enabled governments to take concerted action; the Economic and Financial Organisation organised two world conferences (Brussels, 1920, and Geneva, 1927) to study common problems of trade and finance, and planned the economic reconstruction of Austria and Hungary (see pp. 210-211). The Commission on Armaments prepared the ground for the Disarmament Conference (see p. 218).

The Mandates Commission was to supervise the interesting innovation whereby most of the colonies taken from the Central Powers were administered by colonial powers "until they are able to stand by themselves". In "A" mandates (for territories provisionally recognised as independent) the mandatory's task was to give "administrative advice and assistance". In "B" mandates the controlling power was to abolish slavery and forced labour, to regulate traffic in arms and liquor, to ensure freedom of conscience and worship, and to refrain from establishing naval or military bases or raising troops for use outside the territory.¹ Both "A" and "B" mandates provided for the "open door" for trade with all League members—there were to be no preferential duties.^{1f} "C" mandates, with safeguards similar to those of "B" mandates in the interests of

¹ Those were the conditions of the Tanganyika Mandate, a typical "B" mandate.

the governed, became an integral part of the mandatory's territory.¹

Annual reports on each mandate were submitted to the Mandates Commission, which forwarded them after consideration and enquiry to the League Council. Finally they went to the Assembly. Thus there was three-fold supervision, and controlling states were sometimes severely criticised: moreover, subjects could appeal to the League through the Mandates Commission. Mandates were given only to countries of the British Empire, France, Belgium and Japan, and the provision in the Covenant that "the wishes of these communities ("A" Mandates) must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory" was disregarded. Nevertheless, the system would seem to be an advance on the older practice of annexation, and colonial administration in general probably benefited by the restrictions in "B" and "C" mandates, since principles applied, for example, to Tanganyika could hardly be disregarded in the neighbouring colony of Kenya.

REFUGEES.—As a result of the war and the new frontiers established after it, hundreds of thousands of people fled from their homes, often without any property or means of support. Some had parent countries to which they flocked—after the Greek defeat in 1922 nearly a million refugees reached Greece from Asia Minor in a few months.² Others—for example, the Armenians and Assyrians—had no natural home and fled in any direction to escape massacre. To these must be added the very large numbers of Russians who fled or were exiled during the Bolshevik revolution, and later the Jewish victims of political change in Germany and Austria.

There was no technical organisation of the League to deal with refugees, and European and American private charities played the chief part in providing relief. But the League was successfully used to co-ordinate their efforts* In 1921 Dr. Nansen, the great Norwegian arctic explorer, was appointed High

¹ "A" mandates: Mesopotamia (Iraq), British; Syria and Lebanon, French; Palestine, British; Transjordan, British. "B" mandates: Tanganyika, British; Cameroon*, British and French; Togo, British and French; Ruanda-Urundi, Belgian. "C" mandates: South-west Africa, Union of South Africa; New Guinea, Australia; Samoa, New Zealand; Nauru, Britain, Australia and New Zealand jointly; other Pacific islands, Japan.

² See also p. 2x3.

Commissioner for Russian refugees, the scope of his work being extended later. Until he died in 1930 he did magnificent work, which was continued after his death by the "Nansen Office" set up by the League. The League also established a Greek Refugee Settlement Commission (1923), another commission for Bulgaria, and in 1933 a High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany. The League Secretariat and the I.L.O. gave valuable help to these commissions, and the Health Organisation checked the spread of disease and plague in the post-war years.

CONCLUSION.—Much useful work was done through the League, but the primary object of freeing the world from the fear of war was not attained. The absence of the U.S.A., and of the U.S.S.R. until 1934, was a very serious handicap; owing to this and to the resignation of Japan, Germany and Italy there were always some powerful states outside the League. Also, the leading member states often feared to use the League machinery. By the end of 1926 the prestige of the League was high; but in the years following the economic crisis of 1931 the will to co-operate was lacking, and after 1936 it was clear that little trust could be placed in the pledges of states which had signed the Covenant. Nevertheless Geneva was a centre where men of different race and creed and outlook worked together and formed friendships valuable to the world. To the Assembly the greater part of mankind sent representatives, for the first time in history, to meet for the purposes of peace, and it is from the League of Nations that men must seek guidance, as well as warning, if they would advance further towards the same goal.

CHAPTER XX

WESTERN EUROPE, 1919-1931¹

IN the twelve years that followed the signing of the Treaty of Versailles difficulties created or accentuated by the Great War occupied the statesmen of Europe and, apart from the regular meetings of the League of Nations, there were frequent international conferences. After a period of confusion and tension, the general condition of Europe, both economically and politically, began to improve in the years 1924-1925. This improvement continued for about five years, during which it seemed that the problems of reparations and disarmament might be settled and that peace between nations might be secured through the League of Nations. But the chance was missed, and by 1931 a great economic crisis engrossed the attention of all states and had a disastrous effect on international relations.

WESTERN EUROPE.—For the purpose of this chapter, western Europe is taken to include Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden and Denmark), Holland, Belgium, Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, together with Germany, Switzerland and Italy.² Taken as a whole these countries were considerably more industrialised than the rest of Europe; only in Italy, Spain and Portugal did the number engaged in agriculture and fishing exceed that engaged in industry, trade and transport. The frontiers of western Europe were not greatly altered as a result of the Great War* The gains of Italy on her north-eastern borders, the trans-

¹ The treatment of the period 1919-1931 is roughly as follows: Chapter XX deals with western Europe and Chapter XXI with central and eastern Europe, from the peace settlement to the economic crisis of 1931. In Chapters XXII and XXIII, after some general account of this crisis, the events that led to war in 1939 are described.

² Germany, Britain, France and Italy had by far the largest populations. Next came Spain with 22 million, Belgium with 7½, Holland with 7, Portugal and Sweden with 6 each, Switzerland with 4, Denmark with 3½ and Norway with 3 million. These are approximate figures for the period 1920-1930.

fer of Alsace-Lorraine to France, part of Schleswig to Denmark and some districts to Belgium were small changes in comparison with those that took place farther east. There were no serious minority problems, apart from those of southern Tyrol and Istria, and the chief international issues of this period were reparations and the search for security.¹

REPARATIONS.—In April, 1921, the Germans were informed by the Reparations Commission (see p. 178) that they were to pay about £6,600 million, a figure that they only accepted after a threat that the Ruhr, Germany's chief industrial area, would be occupied. For a short time payments were made according to the schedule, but during 1921 the mark depreciated rapidly,² and it became clear that the necessary foreign currency would not be obtained for the 1922 payments. Lloyd George then proposed at the Cannes Conference (January, 1922) that reparations should be reconsidered in the light of Germany's capacity to pay; but the French would not agree, and Briand was replaced as premier by Poincaré, who was bitterly hostile to Germany. Germany therefore defaulted, and was granted a moratorium (suspension of payments due) in return for Entente control over her finances. The mark continued to fall, and Germany asked for an extended moratorium; in January, 1923, the Reparations Commission (the British delegate abstaining) declared Germany to be in "wilful default", and the French and Belgians occupied the Ruhr. This policy was opposed by Britain, whose chief interest was the resumption of international trading, on the ground that it would check German recovery and reduce her capacity to pay. The U.S.A. also disagreed with the French action, and withdrew her army of occupation from the Rhineland.

The occupation of the Ruhr led to a refusal to co-operate with the invaders: there was much violence and about 150,000 Germans were driven from the district, before Stresemann became German Chancellor and abandoned passive resistance (September, 1923). The French policy had nevertheless failed, and a committee of experts, under the chairmanship of General

¹ The discontent of the Flemings of Belgium and the Catalans of north-east Spain did not constitute minority problems in the ordinary sense.

² 279 marks to the £ in July, 399 in September, 1910 in November, The par of exchange was 20 marks to the £.

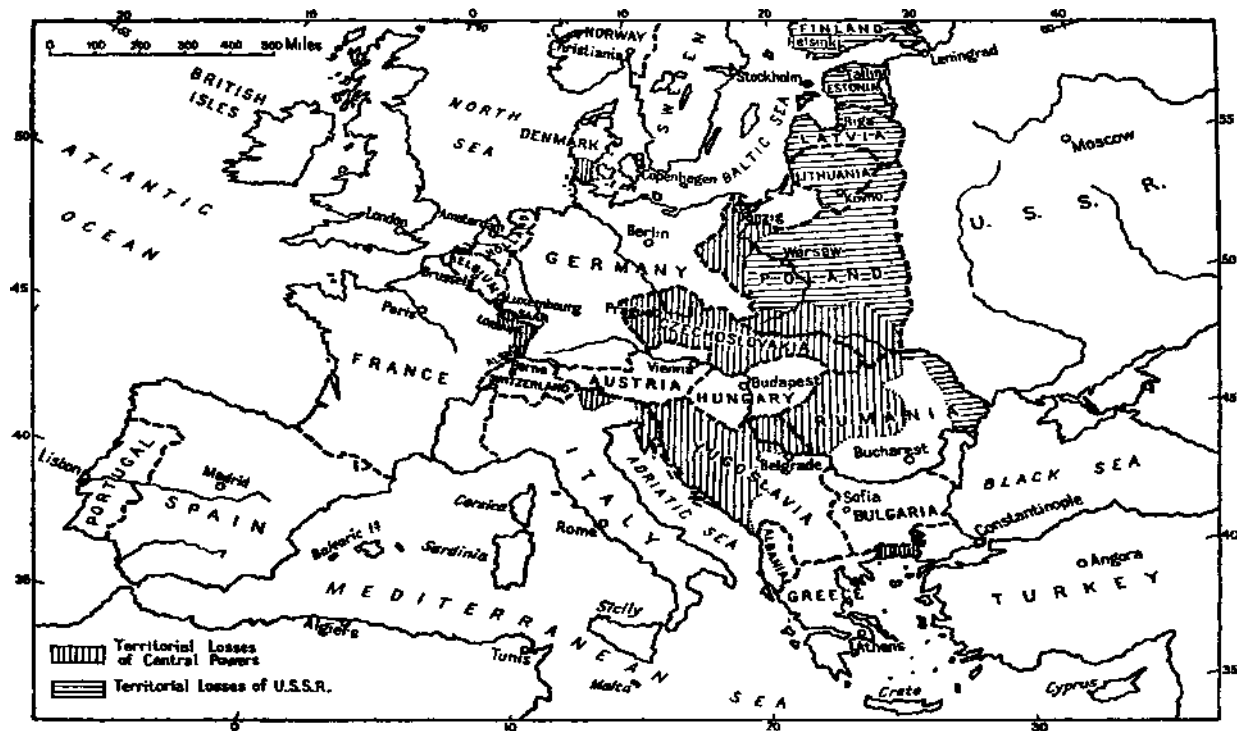
Dawes of the U.S.A., reconsidered the whole reparations issue. The "Dawes Plan" of 1924 fixed a rising scale of payments and provided for an international loan to aid German recovery. The Ruhr was evacuated, and for four years regular payments were made by Germany, until in 1929 yet another committee produced a scheme of annuities that should last until 1987. This, the "Young Plan", was accepted at the Hague Conferences of August, 1929, and January, 1930, and the occupied zone of the Rhineland was evacuated. This seemed to solve the problem, but the economic crisis of 1931 brought a final and more effective solution.¹

SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.—The French were, very naturally, as insistent in their demand for security as in their demand for reparations. When the treaty of guarantee for which they had abandoned their demand for the Rhine frontier was not honoured, they sought to safeguard themselves by building up a system of continental alliances. In September, 1920, a defensive military agreement was made with Belgium, and in 1921 a treaty with Poland; close relations were also established with the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania), a group of states vitally interested in maintaining the peace settlement. Again, at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr, the French financed a separatist movement in the Rhineland which would, if successful, have established a buffer state comparable to Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine.

Meanwhile, many thought that a reduction of armaments would be the first step to security: the Versailles powers were under a moral obligation to disarm,¹ and disarmament was one of the objects of the League of Nations. But nothing could be done if states had not a sense of security. Article 16 of the Covenant was intended to provide this, but nervous states doubted its value. A proposal to strengthen it by definite regional obligations (1924) was rejected by Britain, and Britain also dissented from the suggestion that arbitration should be made com-

¹ Germany paid about £420 million from 1919-1923, and another £400 million under the Dawes scheme. In 1931 payments under the Young Plan were suspended and at the Lausanne Conference of 1932 it was agreed that a final payment of about £150 million should be made.

² More accurately, to reduce armaments. The U.S.S.R., in 1927 and later, suggested complete disarmament, but the proposal was not taken seriously.



EUROPE, 1925

pulsory (the "Geneva Protocol", 1925).¹ Little progress, in fact, had been made when the situation was revolutionised by the Locarno Treaties of December, 1925.

In these treaties, which Sir Austen Chamberlain² called "the real dividing line between the war years and those of peace", statesmen returned to the idea of security through regional guarantees. By the first of them, sometimes called the "Rhine-land Pact", the Rhine frontiers of France, Germany and Belgium and the demilitarisation of the Rhineland were guaranteed by those powers and by Britain and Italy.

"The President of the German Reich, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy;

Anxious to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-1918;

Taking note of the abrogation of the treaties for the neutralisation of Belgium, and conscious of the necessity of ensuring peace in the area which has so frequently been the scene of European conflicts;

Animated also with the sincere desire of giving to all the signatory Powers concerned supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties in force between them;

Have determined to conclude a treaty with these objects . . .

Article 1—The high contracting parties collectively and severally guarantee, in the manner provided in the following articles, the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulations of Articles 42 and 43 of the said treaty concerning the demilitarised zone.

Article 2—Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other."*

¹ The Dominions' fear of commitments in Europe may explain British policy at this time. Certainly in the Locarno Treaties that followed it was agreed that the Dominions incurred no liability.

² Then British Foreign Secretary.

• Except in self-defence or because of obligations as members of the League.

[Article 4 provided that on a breach of Article 2, or Articles 42 and 43 of the Versailles Treaty, the signatories would immediately come to the assistance of the aggrieved party.]

At the same time arbitration treaties were concluded by Germany with France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia; and France guaranteed military help to Poland and Czechoslovakia in case of attack or threat. The conciliatory policy of Stresemann in Germany and Briand in France made these agreements possible, and they were followed by Germany's entry into the League (1926). A preparatory commission for the Disarmament Conference, in which the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. co-operated, now set to work in a more hopeful atmosphere.¹ But progress (1926-1930) was very slow, and when the conference at last met in February, 1932, the temper of Europe had so far deteriorated that there was little hope of success (see p. 218).

FRANCE, 1919-1931.—France was less highly industrialised than Britain, Germany or Belgium; her agriculture balanced her industry, and a large middle class and great numbers of independent cultivators made her a natural democracy. Owing to the system of government few French ministries of this period lasted for more than twelve months, but the only big change in foreign policy was in 1924.

In 1919, Clemenceau remained in power supported by the *Bloc National*, composed of groups of the Right, Centre and Left-centre. Though Clemenceau resigned in 1920 this *bloc* controlled the various ministries until the elections of May, 1924, when the failure of Poincaré's Ruhr policy caused an increase in the representation of the groups of the Left. The *Cartel des Gauches* (Left Coalition) controlled the ministries of the next two years, and Herriot, leader of the Radical-Socialists,² became premier and initiated the policy of reconciliation with Germany which Briand as Foreign Minister and then as premier (November, 1925, to June, 1926) carried out.

The Left were less successful in home affairs, and the financial position in France went from bad to worse. Vast sums had been

¹ The Peace (Briand-Kellogg) Pact of 1928 is an interesting example of the optimism of this period. States, including non-members of the League, renounced war as an instrument of policy.

² A misleading name, because they were not socialists and not very radical. They were Left-centre.

spent on restoring the devastated areas in the belief that Germany would pay the bill. But the yield from reparations, of which France received over 50 per cent., was disappointing, and from 1919 to 1924 150,000 million francs had been added to the national debt. The Left Coalition would not face the necessary taxation: currency inflation continued and the franc fell.¹

In July, 1926, Poincaré formed a ministry to save the franc, and was supported by a new coalition of the Right, Centre and the Radical-Socialists, known as the *Union Nationale*. Briand, again Foreign Minister, continued to dominate foreign policy until shortly before his death in 1932. The Poincaré ministry cut down expenditure and increased taxation, and with the prospect of balanced budgets confidence returned and the franc recovered. During 1927 it was kept fairly steady at 124 to the £, and at this rate it was stabilised in 1928 when France returned to the "gold standard" (see p. 215). Poincaré resigned in July, 1929, but the short ministries that followed continued to rely on the support of the *Union Nationale* until the elections of 1932.

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1918.—The German party of the Left (the Social-Democrats) began to advocate "peace by negotiation" in 1917, and a new opposition party (the Independent Social-Democrats or "Independents") was formed. There was also a small group of Communists, led by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and known as "Spartacists".² In October, 1918, the liberal Prince Max of Baden included a Social-Democrat (Scheidemann) in his Cabinet, and except that the Kaiser had not yet abdicated the situation was then comparable with the first stage of the Russian Revolution—for Max one might read Lvov; for Scheidemann, Kerensky.

But William was a stronger man than Nicholas, and held on until, on November 9, a great strike supported by the troops broke out in Berlin. Prince Max, announcing that the Kaiser had abdicated, then resigned his position as Chancellor to Ebert, the Social-Democrat leader.

The Social-Democrats were democrats first and socialists second, and wanted a mildly socialist republic; the Independents

¹ 65 to the £ in April, 1924; 103 in June, 1925; 130 in January, 1926; 180 in June, 1926; 235 in July, 1926. The pre-war par of exchange was 25 to the £.

² From letters signed "Spartacus" which Liebknecht had published denouncing the Government.

wanted to set up a socialist state, but without violence; the Spartacists advocated communism through insurrection. Under pressure from the Left Ebert appointed a Council of People's Commissars, consisting of three Social-Democrats and three Independents. Soviets¹ had been set up and in December an All-German Congress of Soviets met. In this the Social-Democrats predominated (again the Russian parallel is close), and it was decided that a National Assembly should be elected in January. The Spartacists now thought that the time was ripe for a final rising, but the Berlin insurrection missed fire (January 6-13), Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg being murdered after arrest. For a time it had seemed that Russian history might repeat itself in Germany, where the Social-Democrats played the part of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, and the Spartacists might with better organisation and leadership have filled the rôle of the Bolsheviks.

THE WEIMAR CONSTITUTION.—The National Assembly met at Weimar in February, 1919. The Social-Democrats had won 163 seats out of 421, and conservative and bourgeois-liberal groups were well represented; but the Independents got little support and the Spartacists put up no candidates. Ebert, who was elected President of the Republic, therefore appointed a ministry of moderate republicans, headed by Scheidemann, to carry on while the constitution was being prepared. Meanwhile the Spartacists fomented strikes and revolts, and in Bavaria a Soviet Republic was set up in April, but most Germans were content to give the democratic republic a trial.

The constitution, adopted in July, provided for a parliament of two houses, the Reichsrath and Reichstag. The president, elected by the people, would act on the advice of a responsible minister. The Reichsrath was similar to the old Bundesrath, for Germany remained in form a federal state;² the Reichstag, the predominant house, was elected by universal suffrage and proportional representation throughout the country. The referendum was a part of this highly democratic machinery.

¹ Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. The Russian name is used for short.

² The privileges of the states, however, were greatly reduced. Under the old constitution they retained the monopoly of direct taxation in their territories, and control of railways. These rights were now taken away, and all states were required to have republican constitutions with responsible government, universal suffrage and proportional representation.

EARLY DIFFICULTIES.—Scheidemann resigned rather than accept the Treaty of Versailles, and his successors (also Social-Democrats) had to face criticism and rebellion from reactionaries and the extreme Left. Berlin was seized by troops that refused to be disbanded, but this "Kapp Putsch" failed owing to a general strike in the capital (March, 1920), and immediately afterwards a Communist revolt in the Ruhr was suppressed. When the first elections under the new constitution were held in June, 1920, the Social-Democrats lost seats to groups of the Right and to the Independents and Communists; and during the next eight years, when governments of the Centre and Right-centre were in power, the Upper Silesian decision, the fall of the mark¹ and the occupation of the Ruhr at first increased the extremists on both wings. A Communist rising in Saxony was put down in 1921, and extremists of the Right assassinated leading supporters of the Weimar constitution. From Bavaria, now the headquarters of reaction, Adolf Hitler's Nazis² attempted a coup (Titt in 1923. This growth of extremism was reflected in the elections of May, 1924, the Nazis having 32 seats and the Communists 62, but the fall of Poincaré in France (June) and the acceptance of the Dawes Plan (August) led to heavy losses by both Nazis and Communists in further elections in December.

RECOVERY AND RELAPSE.—The moderates slowly improved their position during the relative prosperity and tranquillity of 1924 to 1929. Stresemann with his "policy of fulfilment" dominated foreign affairs until his death in 1929; and foreign investors, particularly Americans, were willing to lend in anticipation of German recovery. Moreover, the collapse of the mark had wiped out Germany's internal debt, and the great industrialists, who had invested extensively abroad during the crisis, now brought

¹ Depreciation continued in 1922, the rate being about 2,500 marks to the £ in July. In January, 1923, when the Ruhr was occupied, it fell rapidly to about 120,000 to the £, and dropped as low as 20 billions to the £ in the autumn. The currency was then altered, and the renten-mark (later replaced by the reichsmark) was introduced. Most stamp collectors have souvenirs of this fall, in which prices in Germany rose to over 160,000 million times those of 1913. Those who depended on interest, insurance, etc., were ruined, and the workers' standard of living fell.

² The National-Socialist Party. Hitler, who was born in Austria, had been a house-painter and served as an N.G.O. in the Great War.

their capital back to develop German production. Heavy reparations payments did not prevent lavish expenditure on public works and industrial development, and by 1928 external trade equalled pre-war figures.

The recall of short-term loans to the U.S.A. (see p. 216) created new financial difficulties in 1929, and the parties of the extreme Right and Left gained increased support at the expense of the Social-Democrats. In the 1930 elections the Nazis won 106 seats, the Nationalists 41 and the Communists 77: Chancellor Brüning, under the influence of conservative groups, began a policy of economy by emergency decrees, and the "normal working of the constitution was suspended.

ITALY.—Although a quarter of a million Austrians in Tyrol, and more than a million Yugoslavs, came under their rule, Italians were bitterly disappointed with the fruits of victory. Discontent with the parliamentary system, which never worked well, currency depreciation, and a low standard of living, due to the natural poverty of the country, all contributed to socialist gains in the elections of 1919 and to disorders in 1920, when there was a possibility of communist revolution.

In 1919 Benito Mussolini founded in Milan a Union (Fascio) of Ex-Service Men, originally a left-wing organisation. During a period of gang warfare they became anti-socialist and their organisation was extended until, in October, 1922, the National Fascist party was strong enough to force the King to appoint a Fascist cabinet with Mussolini as chief minister. Mussolini, then thirty-nine, was a blacksmith's son with a turbulent record. He had been schoolmaster, anti-imperialist, editor of extreme socialist papers, and eleven times imprisoned. From 1922-1926 the Fascists consolidated their power by gangster methods, which culminated in the murder (1924) of the Socialist leader Matteotti, and by taking control of local government. By 1927 Mussolini was completely master of Italy.

The ideas of Fascists were difficult to define, for unlike Communists they proceeded from practice to theory, but stress was laid on the supremacy of the interests of the nation-state over the individual, and on controlled capitalism, public works, national pride and the glorification of war. Laws of 1926 recognised local and regional syndicates of employers and workmen, closely supervised by the government. Strikes and lock-outs were

forbidden, and labour courts were established for the settlement of disputes. Provision was made for the subsequent grouping of local syndicates, by occupations, in national corporations (hence the term "corporate state") presided over by a Minister of Corporations. The Fascists permitted no rival party to exist, and by a law of 1928 future parliaments were to be selected by the Fascist Grand Council from names submitted to them after elections on an occupational basis, the Council's selection being then approved by plebiscite.

Thus the Fascist party, whose leader monopolised the most important offices of state, established complete economic and political control.¹ Criticism was silenced by strict censorship of the press and the banishment of opponents, while Fascist ideas were instilled by control of education and by propaganda. There was at first some opposition from the Catholic Church, but in 1929 an agreement was made by which Mussolini admitted the independence of the Vatican City, paid a large subsidy and recognised Catholicism as the state religion. In 1923 the murder on Greek soil of an Italian member of a boundary commission led to the temporary occupation of Corfu and the imposition of a heavy indemnity on Greece; but the settlement with Yugoslavia (see p. 180) and Italian participation in the Rhineland Pact gave grounds for hope that Mussolini would follow a peaceful foreign policy.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—In spite of a great boom and industrial progress during the Great War, Spain was still predominantly agricultural in 1919. Much of the land was in large estates, the peasants were ignorant and poverty-stricken, and peasant holdings where they existed were too small and the methods of cultivation primitive. The Catholic Church wielded great political and economic influence, and very largely controlled education. War-time prosperity continued until 1920, but the slump of the following year led to serious labour unrest. A severe defeat in the Riff campaign in Morocco (1921) led to further discontent, and in 1923 General Primo de Rivera, with the support of the King, set up a military dictatorship. He reformed the army, defeated the Riffs with French help, and instituted a policy of high tariffs. When his army reforms made him unpopular with his former supporters, the King replaced

¹ It contained about 1½ million members in 1934.

him by another general (January, 1930) and he died six weeks later. The fall in prices that preceded the economic crisis affected Spanish agriculturalists seriously, and the value of Spanish exports fell from 2,300 to 990 million pesetas (1930-1931). In April, 1931, when the municipal elections showed the strength of republican opposition to the regime, the King left the country, and a provisional government proclaimed a republic.

In Portugal, which had been a republic since 1911, the revolutionary overthrow of governments continued, and had by 1931 become the only established constitutional custom.

THE SMALLER STATES.—The seaboard states of northern Europe, and Switzerland, shared in the brief post-war trade boom and the depression and unemployment that followed, and they benefited also from the gradual economic improvement that was ended by the crisis of 1931.

By 1920¹ the constitutions of all these states included universal suffrage and proportional representation. The former naturally led (as in Britain) to a growth of socialist parties, particularly in Norway and Sweden, but proportional representation renders clear majorities unlikely, and ministries dependent on a coalition of political groups cannot make sweeping changes.^x No account of party politics can be given here: in general, aided by a high level of education, these states set an example of stability and ordered progress under democracy. In Norway, a short experiment in "prohibition" was ended in 1927; in Denmark, a law of 1919 allowed the partitioning of certain large estates that had previously been kept intact by law, and thereby increased the number of proprietors; in Holland the reclamation of the Zuider Zee was undertaken, and by 1931 the dyke separating it from the North Sea was nearly complete. The Flemings of Belgium, whose aspirations had been encouraged during the German occupation, pressed for cultural equality with the French-speaking Walloons who dominated Belgian politics.

In foreign affairs Belgium² followed the lead of France, the Scandinavian countries played a valuable part in the work of the League of Nations, and Switzerland maintained the status of neutrality that had served her well for a hundred years.

¹ The same effect was produced in Britain by the dependence of the Labour Governments of 1924 and 1929-1931 on Liberal support.

* Luxembourg joined Belgium in a customs union in 1921.

CHAPTER XXI

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, 1919-1931

THE Great War resulted in far greater alterations of frontiers in the east than in the west,¹ and though the new frontiers corresponded much more closely to divisions of nationality than the old, serious "minority" problems remained owing to the intermingling of races (see p. 181). Moreover, it was not to be expected that so great a redistribution would be brought about without resistance, and it was some years before settled conditions prevailed. Popular assemblies were generally set up, but in an area of divided loyalties and much illiteracy and poverty democratic institutions did not work smoothly. Fear of Russia gradually decreased in the border states, while those who had gained through the war, at the expense of the Central Powers, drew together as the latter recovered strength.

In central and eastern Europe we include the Baltic states (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania); Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary; the Balkan states of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece; and the U.S.S.R. and Turkey, both only in part European.⁸ The industrial revolution, spreading slowly from the west, had had far less effect on central and eastern Europe than on the countries considered in the previous chapter; only in Austria and Czechoslovakia were less than half the occupied population engaged in agriculture and fishing, and the number so engaged was 75 per cent, or more of the total in Lithuania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. Agrarian reform was the chief domestic issue in many of these countries. By a policy of dividing up large holdings the

¹ It has been calculated that in an area where 104 millions lived, 80 millions changed their allegiance.

^a After the U.S.S.R., Poland had the largest population, about 30 millions. Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia had populations between 20 and 10 millions; Hungary, Greece, Austria and Bulgaria between 10 and 5; and the Baltic states each less than 5.

Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia now became predominantly areas of small peasant owners, as Bulgaria and Greece already were. In Poland and Hungary, however, the landowning aristocracy was little disturbed.

THE BALTIC STATES.—Finland, Estonia and Latvia all proclaimed their independence in 1917, and the Germans had already promised independence to Lithuania. In Finland (which had enjoyed spasmodic autonomy under Russian rule) a Communist revolution was suppressed with German help, and Russia abandoned her claim to all four states in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but the German collapse was followed by Communist invasions until the independence of the states was confirmed by treaties with the U.S.S.R. in 1920.

Estonia and Latvia, border states with Russian minorities, made a defensive alliance in 1923 and formed, together with Lithuania, a single customs union. Both had large estates formerly controlled by the German "Baltic barons", which were divided up to increase the number of peasant proprietors. Finland, with a large middle-class Swedish minority, stood apart from the other Baltic states and rather followed the policy of the Scandinavian countries, particularly after the settlement of the Åland Islands dispute (see p. 87). Lithuania, an important state in the middle ages and later part of Poland, claimed Vilna as her historic capital. This was accepted by the U.S.S.R. and the Entente powers, but the Poles captured the city in 1920, and held it until their possession was recognised in 1923. In the same year the Lithuanians seized and held Memel. Hostility to Poland was Lithuania's foreign policy. She refused to recognise the former's right to Vilna, and the two countries were nominally at war until 1927.

POLAND.—The Treaty of Versailles fixed the northern and western boundaries of Poland, and in 1921 she obtained, after a plebiscite,¹ part of the important industrial region of Upper Silesia. But Polish patriots had not forgotten the wide boundaries of their ancient kingdom, and in addition to seizing Vilna they tried to incorporate Russian territory by an invasion of Ukraine (1919); the Russians, however, drove them back and might have taken Warsaw (1920) but for help that the Poles received from France. The Russo-Polish frontier was

¹Seep. 178.

established by the Treaty of Riga (1921). The new Poland was a state of great economic possibilities, but perhaps a quarter of the inhabitants were minorities and her artificial frontiers (for Poland had no "natural" frontiers except in the south) were in obvious danger from Germany and the U.S.S.R.; she therefore concluded treaties with France and Rumania (1921). In 1925 France guaranteed her German frontiers in one of the Locarno treaties.

The father of modern Poland was Joseph Pilsudski, a military adventurer and patriot. He had been sent to Siberia as a socialist conspirator against Russia, had raised a Polish Legion for Germany during the war, and later fallen foul of German authority in Poland. Returning in November, 1918, from a German prison, he took charge of the new republic, and appointed as chief minister Paderewski, the famous pianist. Then, after gaining the Vilna district for Poland and commanding the army that relieved Warsaw from the Russians, he retired from politics. The Poles, however, showed themselves incapable of working an ultra-democratic constitution, and Pilsudski marched on Warsaw (May, 1926), overthrew the Government, and reformed the constitution by strengthening the executive. From 1926 until his death in 1935 Pilsudski was in effect dictator of Poland, and the nominal heads of the government were mainly his comrades from the days of the Legion. Under his guidance Poland's prosperity increased rapidly.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—Czechoslovakia included most of the industrial resources of pre-war Austria, and could also supply almost all her own foodstuffs. But her population was not homogeneous. Czechs and Slovaks (themselves differing in culture) probably formed two-thirds of the total; Germans accounted for more than a fifth, and another tenth were Magyars and Ruthenians. Moreover, the shape of the state gave her a very long frontier, difficult to defend except where the Carpathians formed a natural barrier.

That Czechoslovakia was the most stable and progressive of the new or enlarged states, as well as the most prosperous, was mainly due to two men—Thomas Masaryk and Edward Benes. Masaryk was the son of a Slovak serf who worked as a coachman in the imperial service. He distinguished himself as a student and philosopher, and during the war he and Benes, in exile, won

the support of Entente statesmen for the idea of a Gzecho-Slovak republic. In 1919, at the age of sixty-nine, he became the first President, and devoted his splendid mind and his democratic idealism to the service of his country.

Benes, son of a Czech peasant and thirty-five years younger than Masaryk, was Foreign Minister throughout the latter's long presidency (1919-1935), and succeeded him when he retired. He established close relations with Yugoslavia and Rumania, thus forming the Little Entente to maintain the *status quo* in eastern Europe, and made a treaty with France (1921)* By one of the Locarno treaties France promised aid to Czechoslovakia if she should be attacked by Germany. At home important agrarian reforms were carried through; after an act of 1920 about 500,000 families were settled on land previously held in big estates.

THE U.S.S.R.—Though the territorial losses of Russia were greater than those of any other state (see map p. 195), they represented only 3 per cent, of her European and Asiatic area. She had vast undeveloped mineral resources and endless expanses of land suitable for intensive cultivation, but most of her industries and population were in the ravaged west. By the end of 1920, when civil war and foreign attacks were over, production had fallen greatly.* This was partly due to the confusion of war and the opposition of the upper and middle classes, partly to the allied blockade and a breakdown of communications, and partly also to the attempt to revolutionise the ways of a backward people too quickly.

The communist theory of the Bolsheviks, derived from Karl Marx, was that a classless society could be achieved by the public ownership of all the means of production—factories, transport, equipment, raw materials. "Exploitation" i.e., the making of private gain through the labour of others, and "speculation" by buying to sell again at a profit, must be ended. But the abolition by decree of private trading and the nationalisation of all industries large and small caused confusion and loss of output.

Lenin, the organiser of the Revolution and undisputed leader of his party, had the courage to admit his mistakes. In 1921, he introduced the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), which was in

¹ The industrial output was perhaps 15 per cent, of the pre-war figures, and grain production had decreased by 50 per cent.

fact a temporary compromise with capitalism. The state retained control of foreign trade and the larger industries, but small businesses were denationalised, private trading was allowed and the peasants after paying a tax in kind were free to sell surplus grain. Thus private enterprise for profit was restored to aid production.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE PARTY.—The Bolsheviks inherited a sixth of the land surface of the world, whose peoples differed widely in race and culture, and spoke a hundred languages. In 1923 the U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was formally constituted as a confederation of seven republics, by far the largest being the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The R.S.F.S.R. and other "Union republics" themselves included autonomous republics and other autonomous regions. Though the Czarist policy of Russification was abandoned and variety in language and customs was encouraged, the central government (Council of People's Commissars) * controlled such matters as foreign policy, defence, foreign trade and economic planning throughout the Union.

The greatest unifying force was the Communist Party. It was quite different from a British party, for it was assumed that the general principles of policy had been finally decided at the Revolution, and no other party was permitted. Its purpose was therefore to lead the people through socialism to communism, and to apply and interpret principles already accepted. Members were very carefully selected from the most active citizens who applied, and the numbers were relatively small.¹ They were expected to set an example in their work and private lives, to go anywhere for urgent work or organisation, and to accept without question the decisions of their elected Central Committee and its Politburo or Party executive. Those who failed in their duty were expelled at periodical purges or "cleansings" of the Party, and opposition to the "Party line" might be ruthlessly suppressed. Since members of the Politburo were usually

¹ Chosen by the two houses of the Congress of Soviets. The Soviet of the Union was indirectly elected through local, district and provincial Soviets; and the Soviet of Nationalities represented the union republics and other autonomous areas, much in the same way that the Senate represents the states of the U.S.A.

² Less than a millions in 1930, out of about 160 millions.

also Commissars, they really controlled the government, while Party members naturally took the lead in the hierarchy of Soviets.

STALIN, TROTSKY AND THE COMINTERN*—When Lenin died in January, 1924, there was no obvious successor, and it was as Secretary of the Party organisation and a member of the Politburo that Stalin¹ rose to power. Before the Great War he had played a leading part in revolutionary work in the Caucasus and in St. Petersburg, and had been imprisoned many times and made five escapes from exile. He was one of Lenin's most effective supporters, and as Commissar for Nationalities he had a large share in forming the U.S.S.R. His chief rival for the leadership of the Party was Trotsky, who had gained wide popularity as the organiser of the Red Army during the Civil War and was a brilliant orator and writer. He believed that communism in a single state was impossible and that world revolution was essential, whereas Stalin advocated the building of a model communist state in Russia as an example that the world might follow. In the end Stalin won, and Trotsky went into exile (January, 1928).

It was to hasten world revolution that Lenin in 1919 had founded the "Third International" or Comintern, to which national Communist Parties were affiliated. This was naturally dominated by the Russian Communist Party, which was by far the largest; and the international "Party line" was closely related to the foreign policy of the Soviet government.

PLANNED PRODUCTION.—By 1928 the N.E.P. had served its purpose, and socialisation was resumed in the first Five Year Plan.² This was a great drive to develop basic industrial and agricultural equipment. Payment for the necessary imports had to be made by exporting raw materials, which involved rationing and a low standard of living, but propaganda and the example of Party members in the factories achieved extraordinary results.

¹ Joseph Vissarion Djughashvili (b. 1879), son of a Georgian cobbler. He won a scholarship to the Tiflis Ecclesiastical College, from which he was expelled in 1899. Stalin means "man of steel".

² This and subsequent Plan were framed by the state planning organization (Gosplan) in consultation with the departments controlling state industries and the Central Committee of Trade Unions. Targets of production were assigned to each factory and form, and circulated for criticisms and suggestions before being finally issued.

To provide grain for export, and food for the rapidly growing towns, it was necessary to replace the small and inefficient peasant holdings by large "collective farms". The collective farmers were to elect their own officials and settle the distribution of work and division of the proceeds on the basis of work done, while the state would provide the use of tractors, fertilisers and other requirements, to be paid for in kind. At first the peasants refused to join the collective farms, and slaughtered their cattle, until it was decided that cottages, a small plot of land and some livestock should remain private property. By the end of 1932 about 60 per cent, of the peasants were working in collective farms or state farms.¹

This immense programme of development and reorganisation was undertaken in a backward country, and under fear of attack from a hostile capitalist world. In 1917 two-thirds of the population was illiterate. A high proportion of the national income was therefore spent on free compulsory education, and the collective farms and trade unions (administering social services) provided a valuable training in self-government in farm and factory.⁸

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.—Nearly a third of the population left to Austria by the Treaty of St. Germain lived in Vienna, and, with a capital and a civil service large enough for an empire, the country was not self-supporting. She could, indeed, only avoid bankruptcy by industrial development; but most of her industries had passed to Czechoslovakia, she was cut off from the sea, surrounded by the tariff walls of suspicious neighbours, and forbidden to unite with Germany. An economic collapse soon occurred (1922) necessitating League of Nations⁹ assistance and control. Her other chief problem was chronic disagreement between the Socialists of Vienna and the Catholic peasantry of the hinterland.

¹ Collective farms were co-operative organisations, virtually owning the land they farmed. State farms were owned and managed by the government, like agricultural factories, mainly for special crops such as sugar-beet and cotton or for stock-breeding. In 1939 they covered about one-eighth of the agricultural land, and nearly all the rest was worked by collective farms.

• In 1931 Stalin said; "We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us." By 1939 illiteracy had been reduced to one-fifth of the population, excluding children under nine.

In 1919 a Communist revolution under Bela Kun involved Hungary in war with Rumania. By the end of the year, however, Bela Kun had been overthrown, the Rumanians (who had occupied Budapest) had retired with their booty, and Admiral Horthy had become regent under a monarchical constitution.* The feudal aristocracy survived the war and was strong enough to prevent agrarian reform; it is said that a third of the arable land was owned by a thousand people.

Hungary lost about seven-tenths of her territory and nearly two-fifths of her population as a result of the Great War. The economic subdivision of the Danube area created difficulties similar to those of Austria, and Hungary also had to invoke the assistance of the League of Nations (1923). Her frontiers had been drawn to suit the economic and strategic convenience of neighbour states, and some three million Magyars became minorities, mainly in Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Her avowed aim was to extend her borders once more and to recover part at least of those lost millions.

THE BALKANS.—The Great War had followed close upon the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and in 1921 little of the Balkan frontier lines had been in existence ten years. Rumania and Yugoslavia had now become closely concerned with central European politics, and shared Czechoslovakia's interest in confining Hungary and Austria to their post-war frontiers. France, champion of the *status quo*, wished to control the policy of this group, and found herself in competition with Italy for influence in the Balkans. Thus a Franco-Rumanian treaty (1926) was followed by treaties between Italy and Hungary, while a treaty between France and Yugoslavia (1927) was immediately answered by a military alliance for twenty years between Italy and Albania.¹

Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece had all profited by the defeat of Bulgaria, and were naturally suspicious of her. Greece,

¹ The "throne" was still vacant and Horthy still regent in 1939. Ex-King Charles twice attempted to return to Hungary in 1921, but a Hapsburg restoration might have led to war with the Little Entente, and Horthy opposed him. Charles died in 1922, and the Pretender to the Austrian and Hungarian thrones thereafter was his son Otto.

² In Albania, Italy and Yugoslavia were competitors. After a period of provisional government Ahmed Zogu set up a republic with Yugoslav aid, and himself became President (1925). Soon afterwards he came under Italian influence and financial control. In 1928 he became King Zog.

after her failure to gain a footing in Asia Minor (see p. 180), was principally occupied by internal difficulties.

YUGOSLAVIA.—Yugoslavia had considerable German, Magyar and Albanian minorities, but her principal difficulty was that the Serbs and Croats differed in race, religion and culture.¹ The Catholic Croats, formerly members of the Austrian Empire and partly industrialised, objected to the domination of the primitive and agricultural Orthodox Serbs, while the latter (though forming less than 50 per cent, of the total population) regarded the new state as an enlarged Serbia. Under these conditions the democratic constitution of 1921 proved unworkable, and when Radich, the Croat leader, was murdered in the Assembly by a Serb member, the Croatian deputies withdrew from Belgrade (1928). King Alexander² then suspended the constitution and governed autocratically.

RUMANIA.—The area of Rumania was more than doubled by the peace treaties and by the seizing of Bessarabia, and minorities constituted about 30 per cent, of her population, the Magyars being the largest. A new constitution (1923), though apparently democratic, made little difference in a country politically backward. Politics were corrupt, and the government in power could almost always win an election. The most important change made after the war was the breaking up of the great agricultural estates, which made Rumania a potentially wealthy country of peasant proprietors.

King Ferdinand and his wife Marie, granddaughter of Queen Victoria, ruled until he died in 1927. Their eldest son Carol had renounced the throne in 1925 for domestic reasons, and a regency for his son Michael continued until 1930. In that year Carol returned to Rumania and resumed his rights, deposing his son.

BULGARIA.—Insufficient land and the activities of Macedonian brigands, who constantly disturbed the Yugoslav and Greek sections of Macedonia, were Bulgaria's chief problems.

¹ The state was at first called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In 1929 the name Yugoslavia was officially adopted.

² Since 1914 Regent for Peter I. of Serbia, and King since 1921. He was a hard-working and patriotic ruler who wished to unify his kingdom. A new constitution (1931) therefore laid down that no candidate could stand for election unless his party had a candidate in every other constituency. It also forbade the carrying of firearms in parliament.

The land was cultivated in very small holdings, and during the ministry of Stambolisky (1920-1923) Church and Crown lands were divided among the peasants. A middle-class *coup d'Etat* and the murder of Stambolisky in 1923 led to a confused and violent period before constitutional government was restored in 1926.

Boris III.,¹ who succeeded on the abdication of his father Ferdinand in 1918, proved himself an unpretentious and popular sovereign. His marriage (1930) with Princess Giovanna of Italy strengthened a natural tendency to look to Italy as champion of the discontented states of south-eastern Europe.

^m GREECE.—King Constantine, who had been restored in 1920 (see p. 180), abdicated a second time after the capture of Smyrna by the Turks (September, 1922), leaving to his son George I I. an unstable throne, a heavy debt, and the problem of supporting a million refugees from Asia Minor. Convention were made with Bulgaria and Turkey for the exchange of minority populations, and by 1931 Greece had a predominantly Hellenic population. This immigration led to agrarian reforms similar to those in other Balkan states, large holdings being broken up for peasant settlements.

At the end of 1923 George I I. was advised by his ministers to withdraw from Greece, and it was decided by plebiscite to set up a republic. After some confusion and a short dictatorship Venizelos, who had taken little part in politics since his fall in 1920, became premier (1928). He substituted the English electoral system for proportional representation, and so got a clear majority at the 1928 elections and remained in office for four years. It was a peaceful period of internal development, and treaties of friendship were concluded with Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

TURKEY.—Though Turkey had no longer much claim to be considered a European power, something must be said of her extraordinary development under the dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal. After distinguishing himself in the war, he organised a national resistance to the partition of Asia Minor among the

¹ "III.", because some early Bulgarian Czars were named Boris. His principal hobby was driving railway engines.

² Known as Kemal Ataturk after he had made surnames compulsory in Turkey.

Allies,¹ defeated the Greek invaders, abolished the Sultanate and Caliphate,¹ and became President of the Turkish Republic (1923). His foreign policy was peaceful, for his object was to make Turkey a unified modern state and abolish its religious character.

He was altogether ruthless, as is shown by the Armenian massacres and the suppression of a religious revolt of the Kurds, and by 1930 had established such power that he encouraged, for a time, an opposition that would give him the benefit of its criticism. Westernisation proceeded apace: European hats replaced the fez, the Christian calendar was adopted, polygamy was made illegal, the western script and metric system were introduced, and education (in a country with over 90 per cent, illiterate) was made compulsory. Industry and agriculture were encouraged, with the object of making Turkey self-supporting, and Ankara became a modern city.

¹ As contemplated in a series of bargains and understandings during the Great War.

² The Sultan was also Caliph, or religious head of the Mohammedans.

CHAPTER XXII

THE YEARS OF DISAPPOINTMENT, 1931-1936.

DURING the early thirties the high hopes of the previous decade were dashed. The great economic crisis of 1931 led some governments (particularly those that rested on insecure foundations) to adopt aggressive foreign policies, partly to distract attention from hardship at home and partly in the hope of economic advantages to be gained by conquest. There was a decline of democracy. Dictatorships were set up {e.g. in Germany and Austria) or strengthened where they already existed; and in the U.S.A. and elsewhere democratic parliaments gave to governments wider powers of control. By the summer of 1936 Europe was racked by fear and suspicion, and the prospect of continuing peace and international co-operation was declining rapidly.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 1931.—For ten years after the Great War, and particularly from 1925 to 1929, world production and trade expanded faster than population, and productive capacity increased much faster still. A time was within sight, if it had not already arrived, when production could satisfy the reasonable needs of everyone.

Under the normal conditions of capitalism, however, effective demand (*i.e.*, the power and willingness to buy) must be estimated in advance, and when markets are world-wide it is easy to miscalculate. Demand may be reduced by state policy (*e.g.*, by tariffs) or by some failure of the world's financial machinery. Before the war this machinery kept exchange rates and price levels fairly steady, owing to the general use of the "gold standard". This meant, briefly, that though the normal medium of transfer might be cheques or bank notes or bills of exchange, the note-issuing authority in each country undertook "to buy and sell for currency at fixed prices an unlimited quantity of standard gold", and that freedom existed to import and

export gold.¹ The gold standard was suspended during the war, but by 1928 (after great exchange fluctuations which hindered trade) all important currencies were again on the gold standard or its equivalent.¹

Owing to the uncertainty of the post-war years, international *short-term* borrowing (*.*., loans repayable at short notice) reached astronomical figures: for example in the two years 1927-1928 the U.S.A. lent abroad 1,644 million dollars, and Germany borrowed 2,001 million, principally from the U.S.A. But in 1929 when a trade boom promised big profits from investment at home, the U.S.A. lent abroad only 225 million. Foreign financiers joined in the speculation in New York, which was followed (October, 1929) by the "Wall Street crash", when stock exchange values fell by 40 per cent. This shock to world confidence caused the recall of credit from foreign countries. At about the same time a rapid fall in prices began, affecting raw materials first. From 1929 to 1932 world trade fell by 26 per cent, in volume and by about 61 per cent, in value, with the result that the real burden of debts was roughly doubled. By the end of 1929 some agricultural countries (Australia, Canada, Argentine) had to check the export of gold.

In May, 1931, the biggest bank in Austria failed. The value of the German mark fell, and although it was agreed (July) to suspend for a year all inter-government payments on debt, the German Government had to control foreign exchange and the export of gold. Short-term money in Germany could no longer be withdrawn.

Meanwhile in July gold began to leave London, mostly for France. It was thought that Britain had too many bad debtors abroad and that a budget deficit might lead to inflation. Emergency taxation and cuts in expenditure by a National Government (August) failed to stop the drain of gold, and on September 21, 1931, Britain went off the gold standard. Many other countries followed suit, linking their currencies to sterling instead of gold. By the end of 1933 the gold standard had been

¹ King-Hall, in *Our Own Times, 1913-1931* gives a full and intelligible Note on the Gold Standard (Appendix II., Volume I.).

² It is not necessary to the gold standard that notes shall be convertible into gold coins. Britain, for example, retained an inconvertible paper currency.

abandoned—wholly or in part—by all important countries except France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Poland,¹ Three years later all these states had been compelled to devalue their currencies.

EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS.—Currencies were kept fairly steady by government management, but default on external debts became usual.* Thus confidence in international lending was seriously impaired. The problem of trade and prices was approached from two sides. International associations of producers tried to reduce output in order to raise world prices, by limiting each group to a quota of production. On the whole this was unsuccessful, as was the attempt to find a common policy through a World Economic Conference. A preparatory committee had recommended a return to the gold standard, price-raising to reduce the debt burden, and the encouragement of foreign lending; but Roosevelt, the newly-elected U.S. President, who was then devaluing the dollar, refused to consider currency stabilisation, and the conference achieved nothing (1933).

The other approach to the problem was on the lines of economic nationalism. Individual states, by protective duties and subsidies, tried to make themselves more self-sufficient,² Countries with small resources (*e.g.*, Italy) or insufficiently varied resources (*e.g.*, Germany and Britain) were at a disadvantage; hence a stimulus was given to efforts to form an economic unit of the British Empire (Ottawa Agreements, 1932) and to the colonial demands of Germany and Italy. Tariff-walls rose rapidly, Britain abandoned her free-trade policy, and international trading was increasingly governed by pacts on a quota basis.

The crisis profoundly affected the domestic and foreign policy of states throughout the world. The decline of trade increased

¹ The great stores of gold in the U.S. A. did not save her. By 1933 the crisis there reached its peak: exports and imports were a quarter of the 1929 figures, and perhaps 15 million were unemployed. The dollar was devalued.

² France (1933) and Britain (1934) defaulted on payments due to the U.S.A.

³ This was an acceleration of a process already going on. Before the war business men in industrial countries had been disappointed to find that their "markets" were not prepared to be always dependent on foreign manufactures, and the war had illustrated the dangers of exclusive specialisation in either manufactures or raw materials.

unemployment, and in most countries the standard of living was forced down and social services curtailed, though from 1933 to 1936 there was some slow economic improvement.

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.—The long preparation conducted by the League of Nations had shown the difficulties in the way of disarmament, but in 1930 a naval treaty between the U.S.A., Britain and Japan encouraged hopes of success.¹ But early in 1931 Franco-German relations were embittered by the successful opposition of France to a customs union between Germany and Austria, and in September Japan began a war with China for Manchuria. The Disarmament Conference of 1932-1934 was therefore a forlorn hope; in an atmosphere of suspicion, successful aggression and economic nationalism the difficulties of reaching agreement proved insuperable. Germany, withdrawing in September, 1932, returned on a promise that the Versailles limitations should be removed, and for a time in 1933 it seemed that a detailed British suggestion might be accepted. But in October modifications were made that would prolong German inferiority for four years, and she again withdrew from the conference and also from the League. The conference broke up into committees in 1934, and was soon dead.

JAPAN AND CHINA.—During the Great War Japan had secured from China special privileges in Manchuria, and by the Treaty of Versailles she obtained the ex-German territory of Kiao-Chow. In 1922, however, she restored Kiao-Chow to China, joined in a Nine-Power Treaty to maintain the open door for Chinese trade and renounced aggressive designs upon her (Washington Treaties). This policy of moderation was abandoned in 1931 when an "incident" on the South Manchurian Railway led to a rapid occupation of southern Manchuria (September, 1931).*

Japan's motives were probably mixed. The economic crisis increased her desire to have raw materials and markets under her own control, and she claimed that the Chinese boycotted her

¹ By this treaty the three powers agreed to limit the construction of all classes of ships until 1936, and to extend the holiday in battleship construction that dated from the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922. By the latter the U. S.A., Britain and Japan had agreed to a battleship ratio of 5:5:3. France and Italy (ratio 1.75) had also signed.

² The S.M.R. was controlled by Japan, and Japanese soldiers policed the railway zone.

goods and discriminated against Japanese and Korean immigrants in Manchuria. Moreover, the Chinese Nationalist party (Kuomintang) had from 1926 to 1928 extended its power from Canton to Peking, and Japan, fearing a Sino-Russian alliance,¹ wished to drive a wedge between Russian and Chinese territory.

By the end of 1931 southern Manchuria was captured; in 1932 the remainder was occupied and the puppet state of Manchukuo set up under Japanese control; and before a truce was made in 1933 Japanese troops had penetrated the Great Wall and approached Peking. Meanwhile the League of Nations appointed a commission of enquiry (December, 1931) of which Lord Lytton was chairman. More than a year later proposals were made for a settlement on the lines of the "Lytton Report". Japan rejected these and resigned from the League (March, 1933). Neither the League powers nor others mainly interested (the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) had been prepared to take action, and in 1934 Japan announced a kind of Monroe doctrine for the Far East. During the preoccupation of Europe with the Abyssinian dispute (see p. 223) Japanese influence was further extended south of the Great Wall, and troops from Manchukuo occupied Inner Mongolia (1935).

THE NAZI REGIME IN GERMANY.—The economic crisis gave the Nazis their opportunity. By 1932 there were about six million unemployed in Germany; the elections of July made the Nazis by far the largest single party in the Reichstag and Hider became Chancellor in January, 1933. In March, a new Reichstag, elected in the excitement after the burning of the Reichstag building,¹ gave Hitler dictatorial power for four years, and when in August, 1934, Hindenburg* at last died, Hider combined the offices of President and Chancellor.

Hitler was then forty-five. In prison, after *his putsch* in 1923 (see p. 200) he wrote *Mein Kampf*, setting out with great frankness his policy for the "master-race". It was to extend the Reich

¹ From 1923 to 1997 the Kuomintang had been under Russian influence and communism existed in parti of China.

² The official story was that this was the work of Communists: in reality the building was burnt by the Nazis themselves, as an election stunt.

³ President since Ebert's death in 1905. He was born in 1847 and had been failing for some years.

to include all Germans, and to establish German predominance in Europe. Beyond that, there were hints that "the victorious sword of a people of overlords" might later control the world.¹

Having gained power by the help of big industrialists and militarists, Hitler kept it by fear. In June, 1934, Röhm, who commanded the storm-troops, a prominent general and a large number of dissatisfied Nazi leaders were surprised and shot without trial. Opposition from any quarter was stifled: it is estimated that by 1939 1½ million Germans (communists, socialists, trade union leaders, Christian clergy) had been sent to concentration camps. Jews were ostracised and persecuted* being at first treated as "second-class citizens" and later driven to gas chambers for extermination. But in spite of this the Nazis did achieve impressive results. The country was unified and the old federal divisions disappeared; public works and rearmament and road-building soon gave full employment. The Hitler Youth organisation, which was virtually compulsory for boys from 14 to 18, required unquestioning loyalty to the Führer and the ideal of German might; but it inspired an enthusiastic sense of purpose, and provided vigorous physical training and comradeship.

HITLER AND HIS NEIGHBOURS.—The withdrawal of Germany from the Disarmament Conference and the League (1933) has already been mentioned. The first objects of Hitler's foreign policy were to rearm quickly and to take advantage of divisions among his neighbours. By 1934 he no longer concealed the existence of a German air force, and in March, 1935, he openly introduced conscription. Both were breaches of the Treaty of Versailles. In March, 1936, he was strong enough to commit a third, at risk of war, by reoccupying the Rhineland. A ten-years' Non-aggression Pact with Poland (1934) weakened French influence in the east. A greater success was a Naval Treaty with Britain (June, 1935) by which Germany could build up to 35 per cent, of the British tonnage. In taking this isolated action, Britain both condoned yet another breach of the Versailles Treaty and alienated France and Italy, to whom she had

¹ In the new German flag the Aryan swastika symbolised the national or racial aspect of Nazi doctrine. The red background represented the promise of social reform.

recently given pledges for joint action.¹ Finally, Hitler took advantage of Italy's isolation during the Abyssinian war (see p. 223) to make common cause with Mussolini.

The revival of German strength had wide repercussions. The Little Entente set up a Permanent Council of Foreign Ministers.¹ France, Britain and Italy expressed their common interest in Austrian independence, and Mussolini (then the most effective opponent of Hitler) extended his influence in Austria and Hungary by the Rome Protocols (March, 1934), by which the three states were to consult together on foreign policy. When in July Austrian Nazis, with encouragement from Berlin, murdered the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss, in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow his regime,² Mussolini moved troops to the Austrian frontier as a warning to Germany.

During 1934 the French Foreign Minister Barthou⁴ tried to negotiate an "Eastern Locarno"—a security pact that would include the Baltic States, Germany, the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia. Germany and Poland, however, refused to enter any general agreement. His attempt to organise a peace front against Germany in south-eastern Europe also failed and ended in tragedy: King Alexander of Yugoslavia, suspicious of Italian influence in the Danube area, was invited to France for consultations, but at Marseilles both he and Barthou were murdered by a Croatian assassin. Barthou's initiative, however, bore fruit soon after his death in a defensive treaty between France and the U.S.S.R.

THE POLICY OF THE U.S.S.R.—The successful aggression of Japan in China and Hitler's fanatical opposition to communism led to important developments in Russian foreign policy.

¹ In this period, before the elections of 1935, pacifism was very strong in Britain, and the danger from Germany was little understood.

² The Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) also formed a "Baltic Union", and Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece and Turkey came together in a Balkan Pact.

³ Dollfuss had established a dictatorship in Austria, and suppressed the Vienna socialists with great severity, but he was an opponent of union with Germany.

⁴ A National Government had taken office in February, 1934, when two years' rule by the Cartel des Gauches ended in a financial scandal and riots in Paris. After Barthou's death, Laval controlled French foreign policy until 1936.

Litvinov, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, entered into pacts of neutrality and non-aggression with all Russia's western neighbours, and in 1934 the U.S.S.R. joined the League of Nations. In May, 1935, a Mutual Assistance Treaty with France (the "Franco-Soviet Pact") provided for aid in the case of unprovoked attack on the European territory of either party,¹ and a similar treaty was concluded with Czechoslovakia. The latter, however, was only to become operative if France fulfilled her obligations (see p. 207). Russian participation in defensive measures against Germany was reflected in the Comintern Congress in 1935, the first to be held since 1928. Communist Parties outside Russia, which had hitherto played a lone hand were encouraged to join whenever possible in a "popular front" with other parties of the Left.

Peace was badly needed by the U.S.S.R., where a second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937) provided for the expansion of light industries and food production, the increase of electric power and improvement of transport. The economic crisis affected Russia less than other countries, and long-term unemployment did not exist; but the need for increasing the export of foodstuffs when world prices had fallen bore heavily on the peasants, and the standard of living, though slowly improving, remained low.

In 1936, after detailed popular discussion, the system of government was remodelled by the "Stalin Constitution". Members of the Supreme Soviet (formerly the Congress of Soviets) were to be directly elected from candidates nominated by various organisations, including the Communist Party;¹ and the peasants, previously under-represented in comparison with factory workers, were now admitted to full voting equality. Priests, who had been disqualified owing to the Church's support of the old regime,⁸ and other political suspects, were no longer disfranchised, and everyone over 18 had the right to vote by secret ballot.

¹ Germany was invited to adhere to this treaty.

² In the first elections (December, 1937) there was only one candidate in most constituencies. The real choice was made when candidates were selected by their organisations. All but one would then withdraw by agreement, and the final election was regarded as a demonstration of national unity.

³ The Communist Party remained officially atheist, but hostility to religion was declining.

ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.—Mussolini had met the economic crisis by wage reductions and by public works: the former caused discontent and the latter swelled the annual deficits. The need for a diversion was probably a main cause of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia (1935-1936). During 1933 Mussolini decided to avenge the Italian defeat at Aclowa in 1896 and an "incident" in December, 1934, near the undemarcated frontier of Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia provided the occasion. Abyssinia appealed to the League, but the Council postponed discussion of the dispute so that direct negotiations could take place under an Italo-Abyssinian arbitration treaty of 1928. These negotiations were spun out while Mussolini completed his preparations and in October, 1935, the invasion of Abyssinia began.

The League declared that Italy had violated the Covenant, and the member states (with the exception of Albania, Austria and Hungary) agreed to economic and financial measures against the aggressor. The lead in this policy was taken by Britain, whose interest in the League was reinforced by imperial considerations. France was in a dilemma: she was preoccupied with the danger from Germany, and therefore did not wish to alienate Italy; for the same reason she wished to keep the friendship of Britain.

The League states had not included oil among the supplies that should be kept from Italy, and it soon became clear that the limited "sanctions" at first imposed would not save Abyssinia. It was therefore suggested that oil should be added, to which Mussolini replied that he would answer this by war. Early in 1936 a League committee reported that an oil embargo would be ineffective unless the U.S.A. would restrict her exports to Italy. Meanwhile, Franco-British peace proposals (December, 1935), favourable to Italy, were rejected by the League Council and even by Mussolini himself, and the invasion continued. So matters stood when in March, 1936, Germany occupied the Rhineland. Europe then lost interest in Abyssinia.¹

¹ In May, 1936, the Emperor Haile Selassie fled to take refuge in Britain, and the King of Italy assumed the title of Emperor of Ethiopia. Sanctions against Italy ended in July, and the League had suffered a fatal blow: aggression and the use of poison gas had been successful. By the end of 1938 the League states, including Britain and France, had officially recognized the Italian annexation of Abyssinia.

THE END OF "LOCARNO".—When Hitler invaded the demilitarised Rhineland he denounced the Rhineland Pact (see p. 196). He asserted, without justification, that the Franco-Soviet Pact was contrary to the Locarno Treaties, and that it "encircled" Germany.¹ The Locarno powers (France, Britain, Belgium and Italy) protested against this *coup*, and the League duly recognised that there had been a breach of treaty, but the German troops remained. Hitler indeed offered to make non-aggression pacts with his neighbours, and proposals were sent backwards and forwards; but all came to nothing, for he was not prepared to accept effective guarantees of frontiers in the east. e

His moment had been well chosen: Britain and France were not prepared to use force, and Mussolini had already decided on a policy of friendship with Germany. Both dictators professed to regard communism as a menace to European civilisation, and both held the League of Nations and democracy in contempt. Italy therefore ceased to oppose German influence in Austria, and the latter undertook that her policy should be "constantly guided by the principle that Austria recognises herself to be a German State" (Austro-German Treaty of July, 1936).

Events soon made it clear that this "Berlin-Rome Axis" was to be a partnership in aggression.

¹ So William I I . , whose policy had resulted in the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894, had later complained that Germany was encircled by it.

CHAPTER XXIII

THREE YEARS OF CRISIS, 1936-1939

HITLER'S denunciation of the Locarno Treaties, and Mussolini's successful defiance of the League of Nations, opened the last phase of Europe's uneasy peace. The masters of two well-armed states were determined to increase their power and their territories, by war if need be; their neighbours, less resolute and less prepared, were moved by fear, self-interest or misguided conviction to hope for peace by concessions and smooth words.

The plan of aggression can now be clearly seen. By intervention in Spanish politics, Italy and Germany would establish a friendly government in an important strategic position. By encouraging the overthrow of the Soviet Government, Germany with Japanese support would weaken and even dismember the U.S.S.R. Thus German expansion in eastern Europe and Italian control of the Mediterranean could proceed under threat of force, and with good prospects of victory if ever the western democracies should resist.

CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN.—After the fall of the monarchy (see p. 203) a republican constitution was drawn up by parties of the Left, and measures were adopted for the disestablishment of the Catholic Church, the splitting up of large estates and the development of education. The country, however, was neither accustomed to democratic government nor ready for it.* When the elections of December, 1933, gave a large majority to right-wing parties, the extremists of the Left answered by a general strike and an unsuccessful rebellion. In February, 1936, a "Popular Front" coalition gained a narrow majority, but the coalition itself was far from united and something like civil war developed between the constitutional socialists who supported Azaña and the violent followers of Largo Caballero. Fascist

¹ Nearly half the population was illiterate in 1931. Local patriotism was very strong, particularly among the Catalans and Basques, who had their own languages and culture and demanded self-government.

groups joined in, and there were strikes, riots, murders and reprisals. The army was preparing to take action and the stage was set for the normal Spanish solution.¹

The revolt of the army began in July. General Franco, who took supreme command, was supported by the landowners, clergy and leading industrialists and soon controlled the south and west. The navy and air force were divided. The Government was strong in the Basque provinces, Catalonia and the east, and held Madrid. By early November the capital was in great danger: at this crisis Largo Caballero became Prime Minister and the city was saved by the arrival of the First International Brigade of volunteers recruited in France. °

Both sides had already received help from abroad. Italian and German aeroplanes for the rebels had been quickly followed by aircraft purchased for the Government in France, and Russian generals were giving advice in Madrid. But the Great Powers did not want a general European war. Germany and Italy, though prepared to take greater risks than their rivals and to experiment with new weapons on Spanish soil, did not want open war: the Rhineland and Abyssinia still required attention. The U.S.S.R. was fully occupied with economic development and the suppression of conspiracy at home (see p. 231), and Britain was poorly armed and sharply divided on the Spanish issue. France was also weak. As in Spain, the "Popular Front" of Radicals, Socialists and Communists had gained a majority in the French elections, and Léon Blum became the first Socialist premier (June, 1936). He announced a programme of sweeping reforms, including the forty-hour week, and this was followed by much industrial confusion.

Therefore, on Blum's suggestion, the five powers and Portugal¹ made a non-intervention agreement (August). It was ineffective: tanks, aircraft, volunteers and even regular troops continued to arrive. Franco's success seemed certain before a

¹ So far Rome and Moscow only supplied "noises off" and prompters.

² Since 1933 Dr. Salazar had been in effect dictator of Portugal.

³ Numbers of foreign combatants are variously estimated. In October, 1937, the Italian Government referred to 40,000 Italian troops in Spain; the Germans may have numbered 10,000, and the International Brigades perhaps as many as the Italians. The number of Russians was small, but they had increasing influence after Dr. Negrin became head of the Government. Russian officers formed in fact a second General Staff.

scheme for the withdrawal of foreign troops was at last adopted (July, 1938).

The war was fought with great local ferocity. After their failure to take Madrid, the rebels during 1937 conquered the Basque territory in the north; and early in the following year, strengthened by Italian reinforcements, they pressed rapidly eastwards to the sea, cutting off Valencia from Barcelona (April). Franco's ultimate victory was now assured, and Britain and France recognised the new régime when Barcelona surrendered in January, 1939. The fall of Madrid in March brought the war to an end.

• THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1936-1938.—The Abyssinian war caused the naval powers to look to their Mediterranean communications. Britain obtained a promise of naval help from Greece and Turkey, if Mussolini should resist sanctions, and made a bid for Egyptian friendship by a treaty of alliance (August, 1936).¹ Together with France and the U.S.S.R., she supported Turkey's claim to refortify the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus (see p. 181) and by the Montreux Convention of July, 1936, the Black Sea states obtained the right to send war-ships through the Straits in peace-time.⁸

Italy's intervention in Spain, and her early occupation of Majorca, threatened the sea-routes of both France and Britain. On the other hand, Britain's hold on Malta, Cyprus and the Suez Canal reminded Mussolini that his own position was insecure. In January, 1937, an Anglo-Italian Agreement stated that freedom of transit in the Mediterranean was vital to both countries, and that neither wished to alter the existing distribution of territory. In the summer, however, mysterious attacks on shipping by submarines of "unknown nationality" (believed to be Italian) led to a conference of Mediterranean powers at Nyon, which Italy refused to attend. A system of patrol by Britain, France and the eastern Mediterranean states was announced, and the piratical attacks at once ceased.

As the danger of German aggression increased, a further attempt was made to improve Anglo-Italian relations. By a second Agreement (April, 1938) information about troop move-

¹ Egypt had been occupied by the British since 1882.

* Also in war-time, if operating for the League or under mutual assistance pacts (*e.g.* the Franco-Soviet Pact).

ments and the construction of overseas bases was to be exchanged, and previous declarations were reaffirmed. Britain undertook to discuss with the League states the recognition of Italy's Abyssinian Empire, and Italy promised to withdraw her troops from Spain as soon as the war ended.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.—For Germany the period from March, 1936, to March, 1938, was one of military, diplomatic and economic preparation. Vast military expenditure continued,¹ and in November, 1936, Hitler concluded with Japan the Anti-Comintern Pact for exchange of information and joint action against the Communist International (see p. 209). A year later this Pact was joined by Italy, thus becoming a Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle.¹

German influence in south-eastern Europe was mainly economic. Hitler needed agricultural produce and certain ores, and provided the Danubian and Balkan states with an assured market, at prices above the world level, for their raw materials, for which they had to take payment in German manufactures. In 1936 Bulgaria and Turkey sent Germany about half their total exports, Greece nearly a third, Hungary and Yugoslavia about a quarter, Rumania about a fifth.

Hungary and Bulgaria now tended to regard Germany rather than Italy as their champion, while Rumania and Yugoslavia began to feel French support less reassuring. In Rumania, King Carol had trouble with the Rumanian Fascist "Iron Guard", but tried to follow an independent policy. Yugoslavia, however, was more exposed to Axis power, and the Regent, Prince Paul, made a Pact of Friendship with King Boris of Bulgaria (1937) and assured Italy of his country's neutrality in a Mediterranean war. General Metaxas, who became military dictator of Greece in 1936, shortly after George II.'s return from exile, continued close relations with Britain, France and Turkey.

In February, 1938, Hitler dismissed the German Commander-in-Chief and a number of generals, representing a conservative and cautious element in the army, and made the Nazi adventurer Ribbentrop his Foreign Minister. He then summoned the

¹ Estimated at £900 million in 1936 and £1,000 million in 1937, compared with £350 million and £430 million for Britain and France combined.

² Hungary and Spain became two short sides of a pentagon by joining the Pact in 1939.

Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg, and insisted that he should take a Nazi into his Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, with control of police. Nazi demonstrations in Austria and demands for union with Germany now became more violent, and Schuschnigg (hoping to forestall German action) announced a plebiscite on the question of Austrian independence for March 13. Hitler's immediate reply was the invasion of Austria: resistance was useless, and on March 12 German troops entered Vienna. Austria was incorporated in Germany by decree, and Austrian Nazis exiled in 1934 returned to take their revenge.

- At a stroke Germany gained between six and seven million subjects, a common frontier with Italy, and important supplies of timber and other raw materials; and since Austria had close trade relations with the Danube states, Germany's great economic influence in south-eastern Europe was further increased.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND MUNICH.—The Czechoslovak Republic, allied to France and the U.S.S.R., was an obstacle to Hitler's eastern ambitions. It had a small but efficient army and important industries and armaments works; it was, however, embarrassed by a large German minority on the fringe of the Czech population (see map, p. 233). Since 1935 Henlein, the leader of these "Sudeten" Germans, had been demanding self-government for the German districts with increasing support from the Nazi press. The German occupation of Austria, on the weakly defended southern frontier of Czechoslovakia, caused great excitement and friction in the Sudeten areas; the danger of German intervention increased week by week, and France and Britain urged the Prague Government to make the maximum concessions to the German minority.

In July, and again at the beginning of September, President Benes offered the Sudetens local self-government. But this was no longer enough. In a violent speech at the Nuremburg Party Rally, Hitler demanded "self-determination"—in fact, the cession of the Sudeten districts to Germany. Henlein therefore refused the President's offer.

A German invasion now seemed imminent, and on September 15 Neville Chamberlain, the British premier, flew to Berchtesgaden to see Hitler. There Chamberlain undertook to persuade the French and Czechoslovak Governments that all

districts that were 50 per cent. German should be ceded, and this was accepted by France and, under pressure, by Czechoslovakia.¹ But when Chamberlain flew back (this time to Godesberg) to report this acceptance, Hitler presented new demands. Czechoslovak forces were to withdraw immediately to a line determined by himself, leaving intact fortifications, factories, rolling stock and raw materials, and the districts were to be occupied by German troops. This was refused, and the mobilisation of the Czechoslovak and French armies and the British navy was ordered.

At the last moment Hitler drew back, inviting Mussolini (who wished to avoid immediate war), Chamberlain and Daladier to meet him at Munich, and the Czechoslovaks had perforce to accept the Munich Agreement of September 29. The German military occupation was to take place, but by stages and to a line fixed by an international commission. Britain and France guaranteed the Republic's diminished frontiers, and Germany and Italy agreed to do so when the claims of Poland and Hungary had been met. Thus Hitler gained without war the substance of his Godesberg demands, but the appearance of a negotiated settlement was preserved.²

THE U.S.S.R., JAPAN AND THE U.S.A.—Out of deference to Hitler the U.S.S.R., though recently acknowledging her commitments under her Pact with Czechoslovakia, was ignored during the Munich crisis. Confidence was lacking between the western democracies and Russia. The latter complained of half-hearted opposition to the Axis dictators, and the Governments of Britain and France were politically hostile to communism.

¹ Daladier was now premier in France. Blum's Popular Front Government had broken up (1938), and the country was weakened by industrial disputes and the Fascist sympathies of some powerful interests and politicians. The Czechs were told that if they refused Hitler's demands France would not fulfil her treaty obligations. This would make the U.S.S.R.-Czechoslovak Pact inoperative. The Czechoslovak Government therefore accepted, and immediately resigned.

² Chamberlain was acclaimed on his return to London, though many were bewildered and dismayed. "No conqueror", wrote *The Times*, "returning from a victory on the battlefield has come home adorned with nobler laurels than Mr. Chamberlain from Munich yesterday." Churchill however spoke of "total and unmitigated defeat", and prophesied that "in a period of time which may be measured by years but may be measured only by months, Czechoslovakia will be engulfed in the Nazi regime".

There were doubts, too, about the strength of the Red Army and even the stability of Stalin's regime. In a series of treason trials (June, 1936, to March, 1938) over fifty political and industrial leaders, including Commissars and distinguished Bolsheviks of the Revolution, had been found guilty of Trotskyite conspiracy to overthrow the Government and treasonable relations with Germany and Japan, and most of them paid with their lives.¹ The most sensational of these trials was in June, 1937, when Marshal Tukhachevsky, second-in-command of the army, and seven leading generals were court-martialled and shot for conspiracy with "foreign aggressors". These revelations led to a drastic "purging" of the Communist Party and its membership was greatly reduced. For eighteen months terror reigned: suspicion and denunciation, banishment and execution seriously affected both the army and industry until in December, 1938, Stalin cried halt. Many who had been wrongfully dismissed were then reinstated, and the Third Five-Year Plan (1938-1942) was pressed forward with emphasis on basic industries and armaments.

Japan, like Germany, stood to gain by the overthrow of Stalin, and after she resumed her attacks against China on a large scale (July, 1937) clashes occurred between Russian and Japanese troops on the Amur river. On the border of Outer Mongolia, which was under Russian influence, the Red Army inflicted a sharp defeat on the Japanese in a short undeclared war (August-September, 1939). By this time the Japanese invasions of China had made considerable progress, and puppet governments had been set up in Peking, Nanking and Canton.

As war approached in Europe, the attitude of the U.S.A. became of great importance. President Roosevelt, who began his second term of office in 1937, realised that a general upheaval in Europe would probably involve the U.S.A., and twice appealed directly to Hitler for a peaceful settlement in the days before Munich. But the American public, slowly emerging from the recent slump, was more concerned with the President's "New Deal" policy of better conditions for wage-earners and

¹ Among those found guilty were Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radck, Bukharin, Rykov and Rakovsky (all friends and early colleagues of Lenin); two Commissars, three Assistant Commissars, and Yagoda, himself head of the O.G.P.U.

recovery through loans, public works and economic development. Though Americans generally were sympathetic towards democratic states threatened by aggression, they were anxious above all to avoid being drawn into war. Congress therefore passed Neutrality Laws (1935-1937) forbidding loans to belligerents or trade with them in which the experience of 1917 and after might be repeated.¹

THE END OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—Czechoslovakia was weakened not only by the loss of her frontier defences but by the seizing of Teschen by Polish forces (September 30) and the generosity with which Hitler and Mussolini, acting as arbitrators, satisfied Hungary's claims against Slovakia in the Vienna Award (November, 1938). President Benes resigned and went into exile, and the new President, Dr. Hacha, tried to strengthen the Republic by a federal organisation in which Slovakia and Ruthenia had their own governments.

In spite of a savage persecution of German Jews in November, and violent criticisms of British rearmament in the Nazi press, optimism in Britain and France slowly increased. Chamberlain had brought from Munich an Anglo-German undertaking that all questions between the two countries would be peacefully settled, and Hitler made a similar agreement with France. There were ominous shouts in the Italian Chamber ("Tunis, Nice, Corsica!") but the Mediterranean Agreements (see p. 227) seemed to guarantee the *status quo*, and Chamberlain with his Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, paid a friendly visit to Rome in January.

Early in March, however, the Slovak premier Tiso was dismissed by President Hacha for seeking, with German encouragement, the separation of Slovakia from the Republic. Events moved fast; Tiso appealed to Hitler, German troops immediately invaded Bohemia and Moravia, Hacha in desperation hurried to Berlin (March 14). That same night, while the invasion continued, Hacha was browbeaten by Hitler into placing his country under German protection.² Bohemia and Moravia were promptly declared a German protectorate, Slovakia was also

¹ Some trade, but not in munitions, was permitted on a "cash and carry" basis, the purchasers being responsible for transport of the goods.

² The interview lasted from about 1 a.m. to 4 a.m. Hacha was an old and sick man.



CENTRAL EUROPE, 1938-1939

entrusted by Tiso to Hitler's care and the Hungarians invaded and seized Ruthenia. Thus in three days Czechoslovakia, the Munich settlement and the hope of peace in Europe vanished (March 14-16, 1939).

LAST STEPS TO WAR.—Hitler pressed forward at once with his programme. Within a week Lithuania surrendered Memel-land on demand, but the Poles refused to agree to the addition of Danzig to East Prussia and their proposals for a settlement by negotiation were rejected.

The events of March, 1939, convinced even the die-hard optimists that Hitler could not be trusted, and that his ambitions went far beyond the restoration of Germans to the Reich. Chamberlain therefore gave a guarantee to Poland, and a bill for conscription was laid before Parliament. On his side, Hitler was equally definite: in April he denounced the German-Polish Agreement of 1934 and the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935, and ridiculed President Roosevelt's appeal for long-term assurances to some thirty states in Europe and the Middle East.

Meanwhile dramatic developments took place in the Mediterranean area. On March 23 a trade agreement between Germany and Rumania increased Hitler's economic grip on the Balkans. Not to be outdone, Mussolini seized Albania on April 7, breaking not only his treaties with that country but the Mediterranean Agreements with Britain. Chamberlain replied by guaranteeing Greece and Rumania against attack, and by an agreement with Turkey for mutual aid if peace in the Mediterranean were disturbed. So the "encirclement" of which German propaganda made so much was becoming a reality owing to the policy of the Axis powers, and they drew closer together in a military alliance (May 22).

The guarantees to Poland, Greece and Rumania, though they made Britain's position clear, could not save those countries from sudden destruction; only the U.S.S.R. was in a position to give effective aid. In April, therefore, negotiations were started in Moscow by Britain and France. But Russian policy was changing.¹ In May, Litvinov was replaced as Commissar for Foreign Affairs by Molotov, and it seemed that the U.S.S.R. might be

¹ Already in March Stalin had said that he would not "pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire*".

withdrawing into isolation. Hitler, too, suddenly stopped his abuse of Russia.

At the storm centre there were clashes throughout the summer between the Nazis, who controlled the Danzig Senate, and Polish citizens and officials; and in early August stories of atrocities against the German minorities in Poland became prominent in the German press. At the same time British and French military missions arrived in Moscow, but on August 21 the announcement of a U.S.S.R.-German Pact revolutionised the situation. The two states agreed not to support any group of powers hostile to either of them. In order to postpone a major war in the east, Hitler put the Anti-Comintern Pact into cold storage, while Stalin "bought time" to strengthen his defences, as the western powers had done at Munich.

It was now a matter of days: German troops were already massed against Poland. After a last-minute attempt to secure the neutrality of Britain, Hitler began the invasion at dawn on September 1, without a declaration of war—"to defend the territory of the Reich". On September 3 Britain and France declared war on Germany.

INDEX

NOTE.—The index includes separate references to the dealings of the great powers (the Austrian Empire, Britain, France, Italy after 1861, Prussia and the German Empire, and Russia) with the smaller states of Europe except during the Great War, when they can be traced by reference to the smaller states concerned. The dealings of the great powers with each other, or with states or areas outside Europe, are not shown separately, but the latter are grouped under such headings as "and the Far East" or "Colonies", Colonies and dependencies are only separately indexed where their importance to European history justifies this. References to states mentioned in connection with the industrial revolution or population are not given: they can be found by turning to "Industrial Revolution**" or "Population".

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