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MAN AND HIS WORLD

A COURSE IN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

By
JAMES MAINWARING, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S.

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS IN BLACK AND WHITE
BY THE AUTHOR. M. L. SHIPION, AND OTHERS*

BOOK II
THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN WORLD

SECOND EDITION

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MAN AND HIS WORLD

BOOK I. THE EVOLUTION OF THE OLD WORLD.

BOOK II. THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN WORLD.

BOOK III. THE WORLD'S WEALTH AND ITS PROBLEMS.

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PREFACE

The course represented by this series of books began some years ago with a series of tentative experiments designed to impart to the teaching of elementary history and geography a number of basic principles.

The first of three general principles was that, if education is to be regarded as a genuinely purposive activity, scholastic studies should have an aim and purpose of real and practical value to the student. Secondly, if maximum efficiency is to be achieved with the minimum wastage of effort, the aim should be intelligible to the student and capable of being related by him to his own life, needs and experiences. Thirdly that the interrelation of facts is of greater educative value than mere fact accumulation. In *Man "and His World* the aim selected has been the understanding of the present by regarding it as a phase of human development traced from the beginning: by 'interrelating the facts of history and geography and by relating them to the preceding and succeeding events and thence to the present, to show Great Britain as an element in a world fabric : and, further, to relate them to the reader, whose life so obviously must have been influenced by her or his immediate and remote past, and immediate and remote environment.

The main specific principle underlying the course is that every event is the resultant of two groups of interrelated factors : the historical or temporal factor of events which have already occurred, anti the geographical or spatial factor of environment influences. The books are, therefore, based on the. assumption that the study of human development, at least in its elementary stages, can be rationally approached only by regarding it as the joint product of human and environment influences, as being the product of mutually related historical and geographical factors.

This is not a materialistic conception of the study of history but one which implies that the story of human development is intelligible only when related to the human ideals, needs, desires, hopes, fears and hatreds, instincts, sentiments and habits which have influenced human behaviour in the past, *and* to the world to which these human motives have directed Man's attention for his material satisfaction. It may in fact be regarded as idealistic in that such an interrelating of human and material factors presses home the truth that the satisfaction of needs and desires involves a human contribution of work and service, and that possession and authority involve responsibility from nations and individuals alike.

An effort has been made to make the maps included as interesting to look at as possible and to simplify them by illustrating only a few points at a time. They are not intended to supplant the regular use of good historical and geographical atlases and of a globe.

Teachers using these books as aids in class-instruction will understand that the suggestions appended are not intended to intrude into their own methods but are included as suggestions only for class activities which actually formed part of the original course.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his grateful appreciation of the encouragement and helpful criticism of Professor C. W. Valentine and of his colleagues (especially of Miss Irene G. Grafton) and to express his indebtedness to the many books and atlases on which consciously and subconsciously he may have drawn.

J.M.

CONTENTS

PAGE

<i>INTRODUCTION—The Problem of the last five Centuries</i>	1

PART ONE—Western Europe and the New World

CHAP.

I PORTUGAL AND SPAIN LEAD THE WAY	
II ENGLAND'S CHALLENGE TO SPAIN	21
III THE OLD ORDER AND THE NEW	40
IV FRENCH, ENGLISH AND DUTCH IN NORTH AMERICA	55
V DUTCH, FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN INDIA	73
VI How ENGLAND GAINED CANADA AND LOST HER COLONIES	91

PART TWO—The Old Order and the New in Europe

CHAP.

VII MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION IN HOME PRODUCTION	108
VIII THE SURVIVAL OF THE OLD ORDER IN EUROPE	127
I X NAPOLEON	141
X THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN EUROPE	160
XI THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN ENGLAND	179
XII THE TRAGEDY OF IRELAND	196

PART THREE—Man and his World across the Seas

CHAP.

XIII AUSTRALIS TERRA—THE LAND OF THE SOUTH-EAST	210
XIV CANADA AND THE U.S.A	234
X V THE DARK CONTINENT	259
XVI THE BRITISH IN INDIA	286
XVII CHINA AND JAPAN	307
XVIII CHANGES IN THE MOSLEM WORLD	
XIX THE WORLD TODAY	333
BOOKS SUGGESTED FOR FURTHER READING	540
SUGGESTIONS TO THE FORM OR CLASS	344
INDEX	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS ARE INDICATED IN *ITALIC TYPE*)

	PACK	FIG.	PAGE
1. West African Coast Scenery .	4	21. Richelieu .	41
2. <i>Portuguese Exploration of the Route to India</i>	5	22. Mazarin	42
3. The Landing of Columbus	8	23. The Stewart Sovereigns of England	46
4. Tobacco in Flower	10	24. The Trial of Charles I .	48
5. <i>The Atlantic and Columbus's Voyages</i>	12	25. <i>England during the Civil War</i>	49
6. Magellan's ship the " Vittoria " .	13	26. Old St. Paul's Cathedral	51
7. <i>The First Voyage Round the World</i>	14	27. The Rock of Gibraltar	53
8. Popacatapetl		28. <i>Freach Exploration of North America</i>	56
9. Beautiful Geometric Designs in the ruins of a Palace at Mitla, Maya	16	29. A Sub-chief of the Utes	57
10. <i>Central and South America and the Conquistadores .</i>	17	30. A Chief of the Apaches	57
11. Pizarro's Men crossing the Andes	19	31. An Ojibwa Chief	58
12. Carved Pillars of a Maya Palace	20	32. <i>The Americas</i>	59
13. <i>The Habsburg Empire of Charles V</i>	23	33. Fox	60
14. Public Procession of Prisoners at an <i>Auto da Fe</i> , or act of faith, in Spain (c. 1560)	26	34. Beaver	60
15. The Tudor Sovereigns of England	28	35. An Ojibwa Brave	61
16. Pack Ice in Hudson's Bay	30	36. An Iroquois Chief	61
17. The " Great Harry "	31	37. The " Mayflower "	63
18. <i>Drake's Voyage Round the World ~</i>	34	38. <i>The Coastal Settlement of North America</i>	65
19. The Great Armada. (From a tapestry which hung in the House of Lords)	37	39. A Typical Hut of logs	66
20. The Bourbons	38	40. A Stockade, or Palisade	66
		41. The Coast of Haiti. West Indies	68
		42. Banana Cultivation in the island of Tobago	69
		43. <i>The West Indies .</i>	70
		44. Work on a Sugar Plantation	72
		45. A Village of the Ganges Plain	73
		46. Leopard	74
		47. A Warrior from Northern India.	74
		48. Tiger	75
		49. <i>India in the Eighteenth Century .</i>	76
		50. A Man from Cochin, Malabar Coast .	77

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

vii

FIG.	PAGE	FIG.	PAGE
51. The low, rocky hills of the Deccan	78	72. Newcomen's First Engine, first tried in 1712	122
52. Typical Malabar Scenery	78	73- <i>England: The Industrial devolution</i>	124
53. A Village in South India	79	74- A Child drawing a truck in a Coal-mine	125
54. A Caste Home in South India	80	75- A Russian Noble wearing Asiatic costume .	i*7
55. Typical East Indian Scenery : the famous Bromo Volcano.	82	76. <i>The Growth of Russia</i> .	130
56. Typical East Indian Scenery: a stream running through jungle country in Sumatra .	83	77- French Nobility	132
57. Market Scene in the Dutch East. Indies	3	78. The Oath of the Tennis Court	*35
58. A Sepoy	86	79- The Palace at Versailles	136
59. A Native of Madras	87	80. A la Guillotine .	T37
60. Robert Walpole .	91	81. <i>The Main Naval Events, 1794-1807, and Europe under Napoleon, 1810</i> .	142
61. The Hanoverian Sovereigns of England	92	82. (a) The fast-sailing Frigate "Anglesey", 1852 . . .	1 4 3
62. <i>Central Europe in the Eighteenth Century</i>	94	(b) A 28-gun Frigate, c. 1785 . . .	143
63. <i>The Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence</i>	98	83. A Sailor of Nelson's time . . .	144
64. Table of the Wars of the Double Rivalry	99 *	* <i>Plan of the Battle of Trafalgar</i> . . .	149
65. William Pitt	100	84. <i>The Napoleonic Wars</i> .	151
66. Quebec. A drawing made from an old print	102	85. <i>The Peninsular War</i> .	153
67. The Bank of England	111	86. 1814. Meissonier's famous picture of Napoleon's Retreat .	155
68. An early horse-drawn Drill	115	87. <i>The Balkans in the Nineteenth Century</i> . . .	163
69. Diagram to illustrate Typical Rotation of Crops	116	88. Josef Mazzini . . .	1 6 6
70. An Eighteenth Century Spinning-Wheel	119	89. <i>The Unification of Italy</i> .	169
71. The "Mule" Spinning Frame invented by Samuel Crompton	120	90. <i>The Unification of Germany</i> . . .	172
		91. Siberia. A gang of prisoners at work building roads, with armed guards standing by . . .	175
		92. The Kremlin, Moscow	177

*Based on the plan appearing in C. H. K. Irtzen's "Groundwork of British History" with the permission of the Author and the Publishers, Messrs. Bit

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.	PAGE	FIG.	PAGE
93. <i>Modern England: Population</i>	180	116. The modern city of Adelaide .	218
94. The "Peterloo Massacre	182	117. The Macdonell Range, near Alice Springs, Central Australia	220
95. Robert Peel	183	118. Crossing a dried-up river bed in Western Queensland	221
96. A Village School. Old print	186	119. <i>Madigarfs Expedition across the Simpson Desert</i>	222
97. Transportation to a Convict Settlement	187	120. Some Typical Australian Trees	224
98. The Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Windsor Sovereigns of England	190	121. <i>Modern Australia</i>	226
99. <i>Principal German Coal-fields</i>	191	122. <i>New Zealand</i>	228
100. Benjamin Disraeli	192	123. Maori Chief .	229
101. The Arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst	194	124. New Zealand: Typical North Island Scenery	230
102. <i>Ireland</i>	197	125. Maori Girl	231
103. Irish Cottagers doing their washing outdoors in County Donegal .	199	126. North Island Cattle Pastures .	232
104. The River Shannon at Killaloe, County Clare	205	127. On a South Island Sheep Farm	233
105. Harnessing of the River Shannon. The Power Station at Ardacrusha, County Limerick.	207	128. Musk Ox .	235
106. EammondeValera	208	129. <i>Canada, showing Provinces and the dates of their admission to the Dominion</i>	239
107. <i>Tas man's Voyage</i>	210	130-132. Bear : Skunk ; Opossum	240
108. Kangaroo .	211	133. The Canadian Pacific Railway. Constructing a tunnel	241
109. <i>The Voyager of Cap fain Cook</i>	212	134. Reaping Oats in Alberta .	243
no. Kookaburra, or Laughing Jackass	214	135. Winnipeg. Portage Avenue .	244
111-113. Duck-billed Platypus. Eucalyptus Tree Bottle Tree	215	136. <i>Natural Regions and Products of the U.S.A.</i>	246
114. <i>The Exploration of Australia</i>	216	137. <i>The Western Development of the U S. A. .</i>	248
115. In the Flinders Range	217	138. Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln Memorial at Washington	251

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IX

FIG.	PAGE	FIG.	PAGE
139. A Cotton Plantation	253	164. The River Indus at Kalabagh in the Punjab .	293
140. The Capitol, Washington	255	165. Street scene in Peshawar	295
141. Panama Canal Locks	256	166. <i>The Indian Mutiny and the North West Frontier</i>	297
142. Modern New York	257	167. The Khyber Pass	299
143. <i>Africa. Climate and Vegetation</i>	260	168. Lord Roberts, in 1880	300
144. An African Native Kraal .	262	169. Mahatma Gandhi	303
145. Central African Negro type	263	170. A Mountain Village	304
146. Table Mountain, South Africa	264	171. A Chinese Farmer, ploughing in his Rice Field	307
147. Bushman Chief .	265	172. <i>China and Japan</i> .	308
148. The Drakensberg Mountain*	267	173. Chinese Art. (From a Twelfth Century painting in the British Museum)	309
149. <i>The Exploration of Africa</i>	268	174. Chinese Art. (A portion of an old rice-paper print)	310
150. The Victoria Falls, on the River Zambesi	269	175. <i>China and the Great Powers</i>	312
151. The Meeting of Stanley and Livingstone		176. Old Japan. Street in Tokio. (Old print) .	313
152. Zulu Girl .		177. Modern Tokio.	315
153. <i>South Africa</i>	273	178. An oil-prospecting station in Manchukuo	318
154. Work on a Rand Gold Mine	274	179. <i>The Desert Nations</i>	324
155. <i>Egypt and the Sudan</i>	279	180. Turkish Women wearing the veil	326
156. The Death of General Gordon. From the painting by G. W. Joy	281	181. Arabs of Transjordan	328
157. Sudanese Youth .	282	182. Tents of the Arabs of Transjordan	329
158. Bishareen, "Fuzzy Wuzzy "	282	183. A modern street in Teheran	331
159. <i>Africa in 1914</i>	284	184. <i>The World after the Great War of 1914-18</i>	334
160. The Population of India	286	185. Rheims Cathedral, 1918	337
161. <i>India before the Mutiny</i> .	289		
162. Himalayan Scenery	290		
163. <i>The Indus and its Tributaries</i>	291		

FOREWORD

BY

C. W. VALENTINE, M.A., D.Phil.,

Professor of Education in the University of Birmingham

To the many who have for long recognised the desirability of some revision of our historical and geographical studies the present volumes by Dr. Mainwaring should be welcomed in the first place as a noteworthy and stimulating experiment. To produce continued interest during and after school the study of history and geography must be closely linked with everyday events. Too often the study ends with the Battle of Waterloo or even earlier, and with some confined geographical region, while living present-day problems tend to be avoided because they are controversial. Here is a work which brings us down to the outbreak of the War in September 1939 : which dares to discuss Communism and the Russian Revolution : which maintains clearly that there are two or more sides to every political question and that we should not be content with studying only one side.

Further, Dr. Mainwaring seeks to avoid the making of history and geography into a mere matter of memorising. He holds that a class book should be a guide and stimulus to activity and thinking and to the rational interrelating of facts rather than to the mere acquisition of knowledge of which the items are unrelated to each other or to any end.

Here he is helped by his original and interesting co-ordination of the study of geography and history. In doing this his underlying principles seem to be :

- (1) That history and geography, in the earlier stages of their study, say, to School Certificate standard, can best be presented as interrelated aspects of the story of human development and treated as a single " subject."
- (2) Geography gains, from the historical presentation of it, in that the world can unfold itself as Man discovered

- more of it, made use of his discoveries and was influenced by a wider environment—as his "world" increased from the little worlds of primitive and relatively immobile men to the whole world of to-day.
- (3) History gains in that the story of human development can be consistently shown as the joint product of human achievement and environmental factors, by temporal and spatial factors. This is not an environmental and materialistic conception of history in that it permits the inclusion of idealism, humanitarianism, religious and ethical influences as potential factors in human progress.
 - (4) The study of both gains in that, instead of being an abstract and academic study, it becomes a practical study in which the present can be shown as a stage in human evolution, with its problems and tragedies emerging naturally from the past, as the joint product of human and material influences. The study gains, further, in that it has a purpose, intelligible to the student.

Incidentally, the method of combining the studies, while it is bound to involve some sacrifices which some specialists in either subject may regret, has the additional advantage of avoiding that unfortunate necessity (as the work of some schools is organised) of "dropping" one or other of the subjects in the School Certificate year.

In the last of these three books especially the student is also introduced to some elementary ideas of political science and economics. Here especially are difficult problems, with which Dr. Mainwaring has dealt vigorously and, as it seems to me, most wisely. There are no doubt individual statements which each of us may think he would like to modify ; but dull and tame would a book be on such topics if that were not the case.

More perhaps than ever in the past the students of to-day will need, as the public of to-morrow, an intelligent and broad-minded understanding of international, economic, and social problems. It is, therefore, an urgent necessity that the teaching of to-day should bear that end in view. When lecturing to classes of about a hundred graduates and discussing with

them the teaching of history it has been my custom to ask whether they have been led to a liking for the reading of history as a result of their schoolwork. To one who has found in history a real delight it has been distressing to find such a large proportion (about a third on the average of several years) who have felt no interest in history after leaving school, and who indeed attributed this indifference or even dislike to the kind of history-studies pursued at school.

Most people, I think, will agree that if the early study of history leaves such a large proportion even of these selected students with no permanent interest in history it has failed in its main purpose, in so far as these pupils are concerned. Clearly, the need for the creation of such an interest and of relating the early studies to the practical problems of the present applies equally to the study of geography, and, equally, such studies have failed in their main purpose when they fail to achieve these ends.

If my results are at all representative and these inferences sound, they would seem to justify bold experiments in the revision of our methods of study, such as those on which this course is based. But lest it should be thought that the scheme is based on merely theoretical considerations I may add that not only has Dr. Mainwaring made a great success of it in his own practice but others who have been sent to observe his methods have applied these ideas elsewhere with marked advantage.

I cannot close without first a word of special praise for the admirable and original maps : and second, a warm commendation of these volumes to teachers not only in Secondary but in Central and Senior Schools. Actually I feel that the books should have a larger public and that such organisations as the W.E.A. should find them extremely useful.

C. W. VALENTINE.

MAN AND HIS WORLD

BOOK II

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM OF THE LAST FIVE CENTURIES

EACH DAY IN OUR LIVES seems very much like the day before, and each year is not very different from the previous one, for things usually happen so gradually that changes are rarely noticed until we compare the present with what seems long ago. But even in our lives things sometimes happen more rapidly than usually and certain events occur of such importance that they stand out as having determined the future for a long time. It is just the same with the history of Man.

The gradual changes in human progress told in Book I took millions of years to happen; the story told in this book covers only the last five centuries, and even then is all too briefly told.

Five hundred years ago Land's End in Cornwall was really the land's end, and the British Isles were a rather negligible fragment broken off the edge of Europe. Men knew nothing of what lay beyond the mysterious seas which washed the western shores of Europe, and only a few men believed the world to be round. Though a sprinkling of men was able to enjoy the luxuries which the Old World provided, life for the mass of men was comfortless, crude and dirty, often dangerous and cruel. Men were ignorant and superstitious.

dependent almost entirely on the little world around them. To travel far was a great and dangerous adventure, and, though there was little to tempt the ordinary man to stay at home, there was less temptation for him to leave it.

At first sight the change which the modern world presents seems almost magical. The whole world, with its vast store of wealth, has been opened up for our use; to and from its remotest places men and goods are travelling ceaselessly, with an ever-increasing speed, while news travels with the speed of light. The application of science to every department of human life has opened a New World of opportunity, and given to man to-day the combined wealth of a marvellous past and of a world which reveals ever greater possibilities to human ingenuity.

Yet the last five centuries in which man has achieved so much have not created a happy world. Europe is an armed camp in which science is being applied to the creation of newer and more murderous methods of destruction. Fear and hatred, smouldering everywhere, blaze out into horrible warfare on both edges of the Old World, destroying with a ruthless ferocity men, women and children, and making modern civilisation look like a thin varnish which fails to hide the shoddy workmanship which lies beneath.

There are, therefore, two purposes in the study of the history of the last five hundred years. The story should reveal something of the wonderful development which has created the opportunities of modern life; but it should also help to expose some at least of the causes which have prevented the modern world from a full enjoyment of its great heritage.

PART ONE

WESTERN EUROPE AND THE NEW WORLD

CHAPTER I

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN LEAD THE WAY

WHEN IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY the wild hordes of nomadic Mongolian horsemen were extending their amazing conquests from eastern to western Asia, they dislodged a tribe of Ottoman Turks from their home in Turkestan and drove them into Asia Minor. This event was to have astonishing results, for the Turks, once having begun, continued a career of conquests which were to alter the history of the world. After having completely subdued Asia Minor they turned to Europe, and, finding Constantinople too difficult to attack from the sea, they entered Europe by crossing the Dardanelles. Soon the Balkan peninsula was an Ottoman dominion, and Constantinople was surrounded by Turks. It was less formidable from the land side, and, in 1453, the ancient fortress itself fell into the hands of Mohammed II. For another century the conquests continued, first over Egypt and northern Africa, and then even into Hungary and Austria, to the gates of Vienna, while a Turkish fleet controlled the Mediterranean.

Long before Constantinople had fallen it was clear that the old trade routes, along which had passed the luxuries of the East, were becoming too dangerous to be useful, and that some new way to India and China must be discovered.

The most obvious way was to try to find a sea route round Africa. Ages before, the ancient Egyptians had

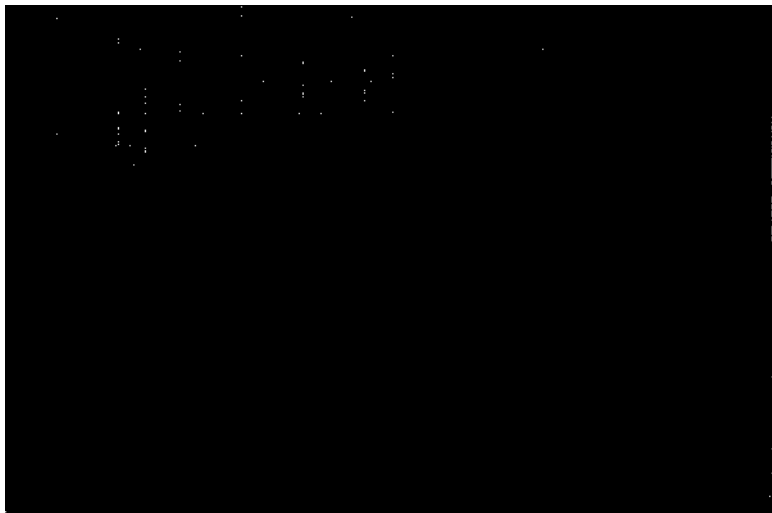


Fig. i—West African Coast Scenery.

[E.N.-i

begun to explore the African coast, but any discoveries they had made had long since been forgotten. During the Middle Ages many adventurers had sailed to the unknown south, but whatever tales they had survived to tell had been exaggerated by fear and superstition into stories of the most hair-raising perils, which awaited the too adventurous explorer.

One man who refused to believe the tales of boiling currents and magical terrors was Henry the Navigator, Prince of Portugal. Henry's father, John of the Good Memory, full of rather old-fashioned crusading zeal, had conquered a Moorish state, and created the kingdom of Portugal from its ruins. The Turkish peril, which ruined the old Mediterranean trade, was a great opportunity for the new kingdom of Portugal, whose shores looked out directly over the Atlantic. From boyhood Henry had

Nuno Tristram reached the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia rivers and the intervening Cape Verde. The name, which means the " green cape," suggests the relief with which the early explorers welcomed the sight of a fertile coast after a thousand miles of sand.

Two years later Cape Palmas was passed, and by 1460 the whole of the coast of Guinea was explored by merchants, who began the horrible practice of seizing negroes from the coastal villages and selling them as slaves. The first slave-market was opened at Lagos in 1445.

The death of Henry, in 1460, did not stop the progress of the explorations which his zeal had started. In 1471 Fernando Po discovered the island which is named after him, and in 1475 Portuguese ships crossed the Equator. A great explorer, Diego Cam, reached the mouth of the Congo in 1482, and examined fifteen hundred miles of the coast. The first explorer to reach the " Cape " and to sail along the southern coast of Africa was Bartholemew Diaz, in 1487. Forced to return by his crew, he called the cape the *Cape of Storms*, but John II, now king of Portugal, renamed it the *Cape of Good Hope*. There was, now, really good hope, for another adventurer, named Covilham, had sailed from the Red Sea and had almost reached Madagascar.

So far the Portuguese ships had kept as far as possible to the coast, but, as a result of their voyages, the general shape of the west coast of Africa was now known. Profiting by this knowledge, Vasco da Gama, in 1497, sailed in a direct line for South Africa, and on Christmas Day anchored off the eastern coast. He called the land Natal, to commemorate the Birthday of Christ. After continuing northwards and meeting Arab traders, Vasco da Gama crossed the Indian Ocean, and arrived at Calicut on the coast of India on May 23rd, 1498. The task was at last accomplished. Laden with spices and precious stones his ships arrived again in Lisbon in June 1499.

The king of Portugal gave himself the title of " Lord

of the Commerce of Persia, Arabia and India", and the task of making the title really mean something fell to the great conqueror Alfonso d'Albuquerque. He first defeated the Moors and Arabs who used Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, as a base for trade. Albuquerque built a fortress there, sailed for India, and established Portuguese headquarters at Goa. The south-east African bays known as Algoa and Delagoa, (to and from Goa), were regular calling places for the trading ships which carried Indian goods to Lisbon. By the sixteenth century Portuguese trading ascendancy was established as far east as China itself.

Meanwhile a far more imaginative adventure had been undertaken, that of trying to reach China and India by sailing to the west. Such an adventure meant sailing in what were little more than cockle-shell boats, away from the coast into an unknown sea. Sailors from many ports had been employed by the Portuguese, and one of them was Christopher Columbus, a Genoese. His early life had been adventurous. After attending the University of Pavia, where he had studied medicine, Columbus defied his father's wishes, ran away to sea, and was promptly shipwrecked. He had to swim six miles to shore and landed in Portugal, where, later, he married, and was employed on the voyage to Guinea in 1481. He had read 'The Travels of Marco Polo' and believed Pierre d'Ailly's theory that the world was a globe with no great distance of water between western Europe and eastern Asia. Columbus failed to interest John II in the idea, and, after the death of his wife and the loss of his money, he set out for Spain.

Looking rather like a tramp he found shelter at last in the priory of La Rabida, near Palos. It was due to the prior, Juan Perez, that Isabella, Queen of the Spanish kingdom of Castile, consented to finance an expedition and to embark Columbus on his adventure. But it was difficult to find crews willing to sail towards the Sea of Darkness which they believed to exist in the west, and criminals had to be



Fig. 3 The Landing of Columbs

taken from the prisons, where they would have preferred to have stayed to meet a more familiar form of death. Of the three ships only one, the Santa Maria, was decked and had a displacement of a hundred tons. The Pinta and the Nina were open ships of fifty and forty tons respectively.

The day on which they set sail, August 3rd 1492, was a Friday, and sailors have always been superstitious. On Monday the Pinta's rudder broke loose; in September a meteor fell into the sea within sight of the adventurers; the ship's compass ceased to point to the true north and Columbus had to invent an explanation; then the tiny ships sailed into a mass of sea-weed. Several times there were cries of "Land!", but what had been thought to be land proved to be a low-lying bank of clouds or an illusion of light and shadow. Food and water grew scarce and with each new disappointment as the weeks dragged by the crews were with difficulty kept from mutiny. On October 7th the crew of the Santa Maria faced Columbus and demanded that they should return. He asked for three more days and swore that if no land appeared in that time they should return.

After two days had nearly gone, floating fragments proved that land was near. They included a wooden staff, handcarved; a bird's nest; a branch bright with berries. During the night of October 8th Columbus saw a distant fire. On October 12th the Pinta fired a shot as land was actually sighted.

Columbus, wearing his robes as the representative of Spain, was rowed ashore to claim the land for Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, joint rulers of Spain. The land was a tiny island of half-naked savages, "brown-skinned and soft-eyed", wearing ornaments of pure gold. Columbus called it San Salvador.

Believing that he had reached Asiatic islands off the coast of India, Columbus spent nearly three months in

exploration. At Cuba, where he discovered tobacco and potatoes, the Pinta left him for a time. At Haiti, which he named San Domingo, the Santa Maria foundered, and Columbus used the opportunity to leave behind a number of men, who were later massacred. Columbus now had only the Nina, but after some weeks he picked up the Pinta, and the two vessels began the return journey in January. They arrived on March 15th 1493, and Columbus was triumphantly received at the court of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. He still believed that he had discovered the Indies, and later the islands were called the West Indies to differentiate them from the true Indies of the East.



Fig. 3. f-Tobacco *m* Flower.

The rest of Columbus's life is a tragic story. Three more voyages he made, exploring other islands of the group but never discovering that he stood on the edge of a new world. The men he left behind were cruel to the natives, and, objecting to Columbus's defence of people whom they regarded merely as conquered savages, they sent him home in chains. In 1504 his queen and patron died, and, neglected and forgotten, he died two years later in poverty.

Although Columbus had failed to establish contact with the traders of India and China, and though he never knew that he had stumbled on to a new continent, his voyages were not a failure. The Atlantic was no longer a mysterious sea of unknown perils; it was no longer an impassable boundary on the world's edge, but a perfectly ordinary ocean with land beyond it. As other ships' crossed it men began to learn more about the prevailing winds and currents.

It was soon discovered, too, that the mainland beyond the islands which Columbus had discovered was neither

India nor China, but a New World, waiting for exploration and conquest. In 1498 Amerigo Vespucci was exploring the coast of the Caribbean Sea, and in the following year he coasted as far south as the Equator. Because of his name the New World was called America.

A new and more interesting problem was already disturbing men's minds. The voyages had not been undertaken with the object of discovering new lands, but simply with the idea of finding a new way to eastern Asia. If this new land were not Asia, where, then, was Asia? In 1513 Bilbao, who had been wrecked on the rocky coast of the mainland after sailing in the Caribbean Sea, began to explore. The land happened to be the narrow isthmus called Darien, and, after climbing to the crest of a ridge, Bilbao saw another sea beyond. Did Asia lie across this new unknown sea? Or were there yet more lands to be discovered and explored?

The problem was solved by Magellan, a Portuguese sailor who had offered his services to Spain. With five old ships he sailed in 1519, and, after crossing the Atlantic, sought for an opening to reach the sea beyond America. The stormy rocky straits through which he passed, where the waters of two oceans seem to rage in perpetual conflict, still bear his name. By contrast the ocean beyond the Magellan Straits seemed strangely peaceful and Magellan named it the Pacific Ocean. Actually it was too peaceful, for often the ships lay becalmed, with the men dying of fever and thirst. So scarce was food that rats were eaten, and even the cowhide from the rigging was chewed in an attempt to relieve hunger. After eighty-nine days of increasing torment the adventurers reached the Philippine Islands off the coast of China. The problem had been solved.

Magellan himself was killed in a skirmish with the islanders and only one of the five ships, the *Vittoria*, with eighteen wretched suffering survivors, reached Spain again, in September 1522. The first voyage round the world had been completed.

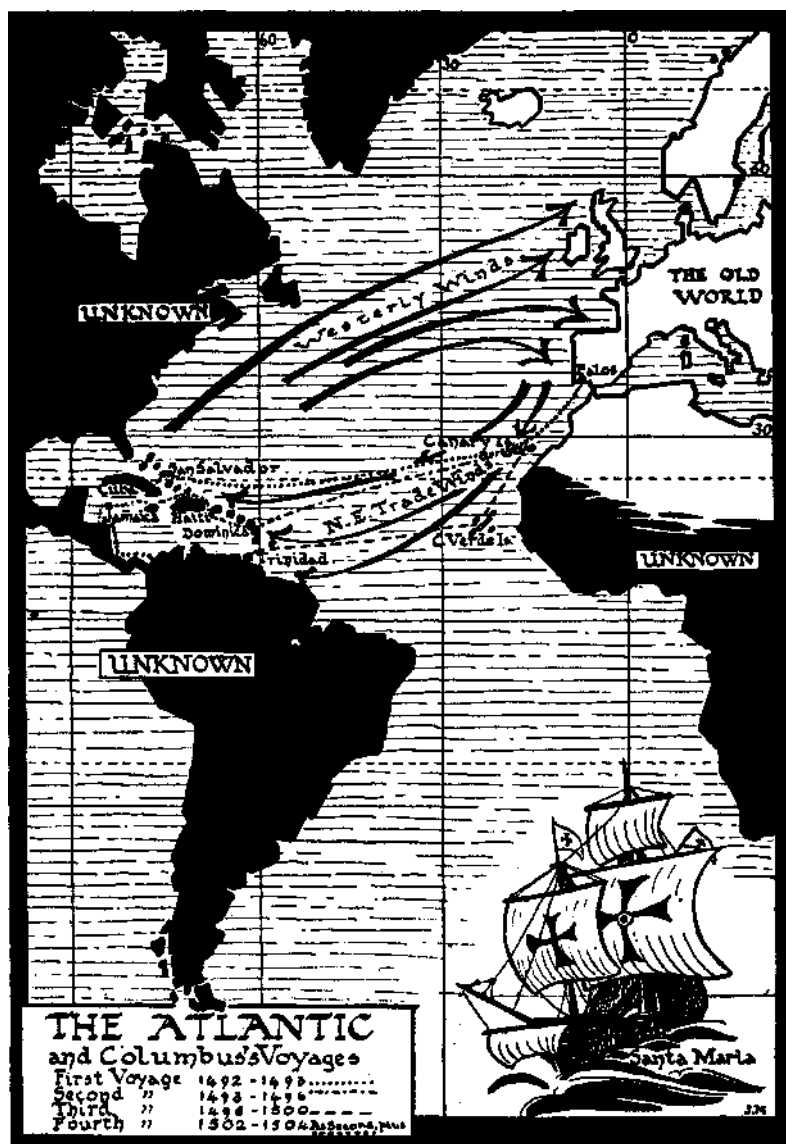


Fig. 5—The Atlantic and Columbus's Voyages.

Spain had already awakened to the fact that the New World had a wealth of its own. Returning sailors brought back evidence of mysterious civilisations and tempting plunder. There were cotton fabrics, beautifully woven; ornaments of silver and gold, wrought by skilled craftsmen, and there were robes studded with precious stones. All this

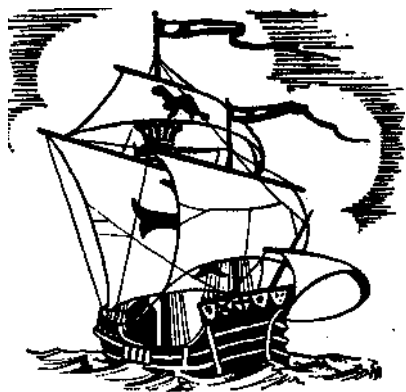
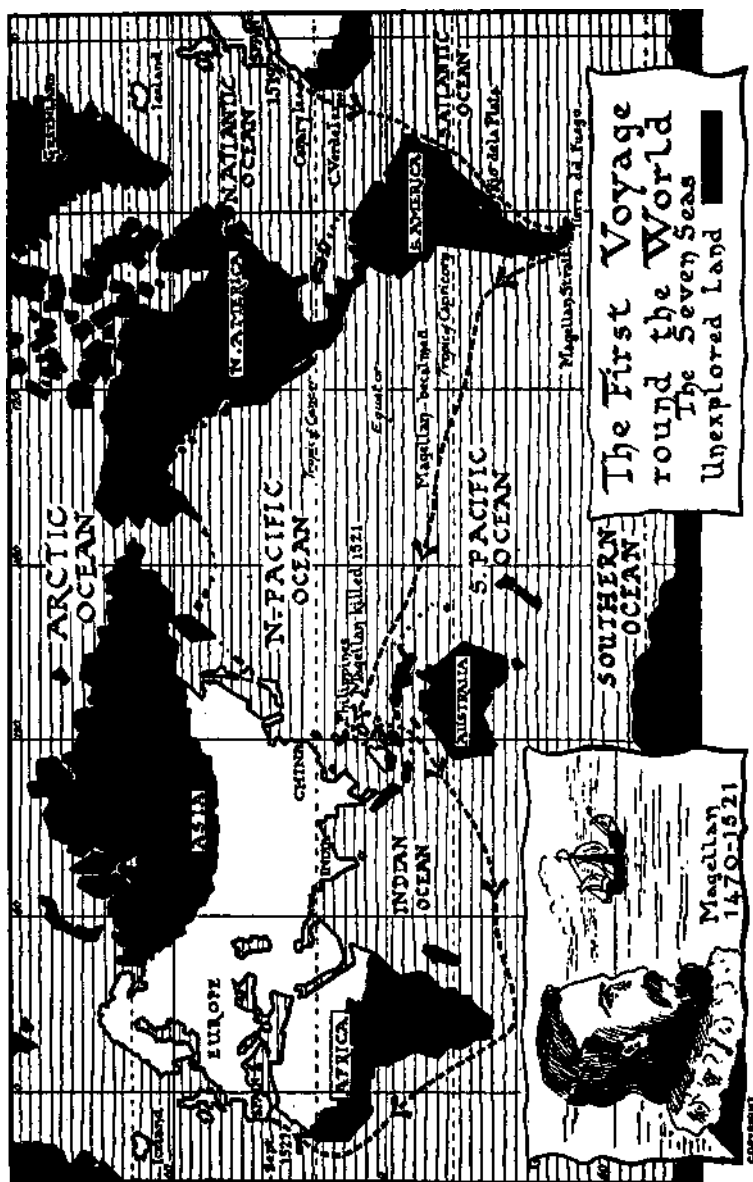


Fig. 6—Magellan's Ship the "Victoria."

wealth Spain believed to be hers for the taking, for in 1493 the Pope Alexander VI had granted to Spain all lands west of a line a hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and to Portugal all lands east of the line. Later, by the Treaty of Tordesillas, the Line of Demarcation was fixed three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. As Portuguese expansion continued eastwards and Spanish continued westwards, a new line soon became necessary on the other side of the world. This was fixed in 1529 just to the east of Asia.

Meanwhile Spain had begun to claim her wealth. In 1519 Fernando Cortes set out "with eleven ships, sixteen horses and fourteen guns to conquer Mexico, where the mountains were known to shelter one such wealthy civilisation. Rumour had already spoken of the mysterious Aztecs, whose wealth was so great that even their eating vessels were of gold, and whose priests ate the hearts of human sacrifices offered to their gods.

Cortes landed on Good Friday, 1519, at a desert place where now stands the great city of Vera Cruz. Camped on fiercely burning sand, under a scorching sun, Cortes received native envoys, sent with presents from the emperor Montezuma. The courteous exchange of greetings and gifts



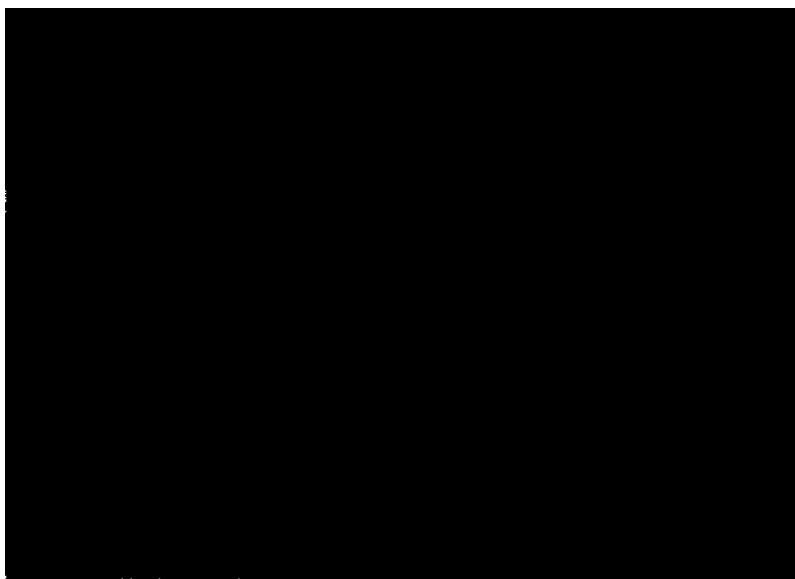


Fig. 8—Popacatapcti.

[Sport and General

meant very little, and Cortes, to make certain that his guests would take back a correct impression, caused all his cannon to be fired.

The story of the conquest is one of the most amazing in history; it is a record of unscrupulous trickery, cunning and cruelty, and of equally astonishing courage and determination. Cortes began by deliberately sinking all his ships except one. An intelligent and attractive woman slave named Marina, who had been presented to Cortes, rapidly learned the Castilian Spanish which Cortes spoke, and became his interpreter. Horses, hitherto unknown in Mexico, were as useful to Cortes as his guns and almost as alarming to the Aztecs; As the Spaniards moved inland, conquering and forcibly baptising the natives, intriguing and massacring, Cortes continued to send friendly messages to the distant Montezuma, hidden in his city beyond the mountains.

At last, after skirting the great volcano Popocatepetl the "Smoking Mountain", which some of the Spaniards climbed, the army arrived at the sheltered valley where lay the *Sacred City* itself. Montezuma, who had never believed that even such an enemy as this could have penetrated thus far, and driven by fear and superstition, came himself to meet his unwelcome guests.

First came three Aztec officers of state, bearing golden wands. Then, escorted by a procession of nobles, came the "royal palanquin, blazing with burnished gold", and carried by noble retainers. Over it was "a canopy of gaudy feather work, powdered with jewels and fringed with silver". As Montezuma stepped to the ground, tapestries were flung before him lest his golden-soled sandals should touch the earth. He himself was tall, with straight black hair and short black beard, and was paler than most of the Indians. His headdress of royal green plumes added to his height. His long cloak, embroidered, and studded with gems, was

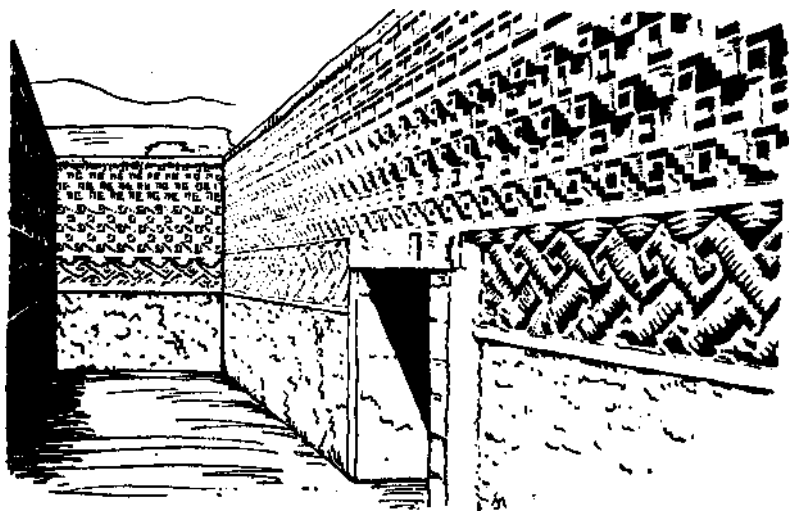


Fig. 9—Beautiful geometric designs in the ruins of a palace at Mitla, Maya.

, knotted on his shoulder. He greeted Cortes with an appearance of friendliness and prepared luxurious quarters for the Spaniards.

To stay in Mexico as the guest of Montezuma was obviously impossible ; to leave meant failure and the certainty of a disastrous retreat. Cortes solved the problem by making the emperor a prisoner in the Spanish quarters, massacring a number of rebellious Aztecs, and destroying the temple. It was the beginning of Cortes' troubles. The Aztecs, hitherto obedient to their weak-hearted emperor, now slew him and began a war of fierce vengeance against the Spaniards. There were sieges and massacres, and Cortes, with diminishing forces, had to fight his way back to the coast. Men sent from Spain to arrest him were seized and their crews forced to join him. The victory at last went to Cortes, and Mexico remained until 1810 a Spanish province.

Farther south was another similar civilisation. The mountains of Central America, after narrowing into the Isthmus of Panama, extend into the great ranges which form the western third of South America, as, in the north, they form the massive mountain ranges of western North America. It is a vast mountain system, stretching from the Arctic to the Antarctic. In South America, the mountains are known as the Andes, or, more fully, the Cordilleras de los Andes, so named from the canals or " andes " which the Indians had constructed to carry water to their mountain homes.

On the Equator the mountains widen to enclose the great plateau named, for obvious reasons, Ecuador. On its southern boundary rises the largest though not the longest river in the world,—the Amazon. Joined by hundreds of mighty tributaries it flows through equatorial forests denser even than those of the African Congo,

It was just south of Ecuador that another ancient civilisation had developed, in the region now known as Peru. Here a mighty Indian state, ruled by a noble caste called the Incas or Children of the Sun, had existed for hundreds of



Fig. ii—Pizarro's men crossing the Andes.

years when the Spaniards discovered America. An Indian civilisation meant certain wealth and plunder, and an expedition under Pizarro landed in 1531. The story is similar to that of Cortes. By using the jealousies of native subjects, by impressing them with the might of Spain, and by the usual combination of cunning and force, Pizarro made a triumphal progress through the Andes to the city of the ruling Inca. The ruler was seized, the natives enslaved, and the kingdom stripped and plundered to provide booty for Spain.

The conquest of Ecuador followed in 1534; Bolivia, the refuge of many of the defeated Incas, was conquered in 1538, and Spain began the conquest of Chile.

The whole story is rather like a tragic melodrama, with ruthless Spanish actors, complete with rapiers and an exaggeratedly dramatic ferocity, entering the stage to plunder and destroy. The conquerors showed no interest in geographical discovery, in the arts and civilisations they destroyed, or in the possible development of the rich lands they claimed.

Their only interest was in the plunder, and, when they had seized all that they could from the native nobles, they began to work the native population to death in the mines. Then it was that a market was opened for the purchase of the negro slaves seized from West Africa,

For a people as naturally indolent as the Spaniards this method of acquiring wealth was too easy. Content with the treasure which for a time poured into its coffers, Spain preferred to buy rather than to produce, to plunder rather than to develop. Consequently she prepared the way for her own downfall by a growing dependence on the commerce and industry of other countries, some of which were already preparing to challenge her claim to half the world. That the Pope should have granted such extensive privileges to Spain and Portugal meant nothing to peoples who no longer respected his authority even over the Church. As we have already seen, the days of feudal Christendom had gone.



Fig. 12—Carved pillars of a Maya palace.

CHAPTER II

ENGLAND'S CHALLENGE TO SPAIN

A GLANCE AT EUROPE in the first half of the sixteenth century is sufficient to reveal that the centre of interest had already passed to the national monarchies of the west. For over a thousand years Italy had been the source of European Culture; for centuries she had been the nerve-centre of European commerce. From 1494 to 1519 she was the prey of western European monarchs, who invaded and plundered, and quarrelled over the spoil. The papacy was discredited; national monarchies and national churches alike were replacing the old ideals of empire and of Christendom.

The princes themselves, no longer fearing barons or pope, were revelling in their absolute power and their freedom. The typical kind of prince of the Renaissance Age was a despot who regarded any means, however unscrupulous, as justified if it helped to gain his' object. Such a prince was Charles VIII of France, who, after completing the unification of his own nation, began the plunder of Italy. Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, Columbus' patron, the rulers whose marriage had created a united Spain, joined in the adventure. So did the Emperor, Maximilian the Penniless, and the Pope, and even, on occasion, the King of England. England had just emerged from the civil wars of the White and Red Roses of York and Lancaster, in which the last of the barons had disappeared, and which had placed a cunning, commercially minded Welsh earl on the throne as Henry VII, first of the Tudors. We shall have to leave him for a time, while he is establishing his authority, in order to return to the European princes.

These royal adventurers constantly changed their temporary friendships, at one moment strengthening an alliance by a royal marriage and, at the next, quarrelling over the dowry. By 1519 these royal marriages had an astonishing result, for they combined the lands of Austria, the Holy Roman Empire, parts of Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and the New World in the hands of one man, nineteen years old, Charles Habsburg. He could not inherit the Empire, but, as head of the Austrian House of Habsburg, was elected to rule over it, in 1519, as the Emperor Charles V. Fig. 13 will help to show how this happened.

The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile had made Spain. Their daughter Joanna married Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and Lord of the Netherlands as a result of Maximilian's marriage. It is easy to understand, therefore, why the Empire and the Netherlands had not entered into serious rivalry with Spain. As yet neither England nor France was ready to do so.

Charles V was not to be allowed to enjoy a peaceful reign. Spain was unwilling for her newly acquired wealth to replenish the empty coffers of the Empire, and the seventeen provinces which formed the Netherlands were beginning to develop a similar independence. The princes of the Empire had no intention of seeing the usual puppet emperor changed for a genuine powerful ruler. A worse trouble came from France, which, under Francis I, did not feel comfortable with a single Power on every frontier. For ten years there was almost constant warfare between the two rulers. Charles was further worried by the advance of the Turks, who, under Solyman the Magnificent, were threatening Vienna itself. The old crusading spirit was so much a thing of the past that "His Most Christian Majesty", King Francis I, formed an alliance with the Mohammedans against Charles. Though the emperor survived these difficulties, others began to threaten him. It was in Charles' reign that Luther brought the long-felt discontent against the Church to a climax.

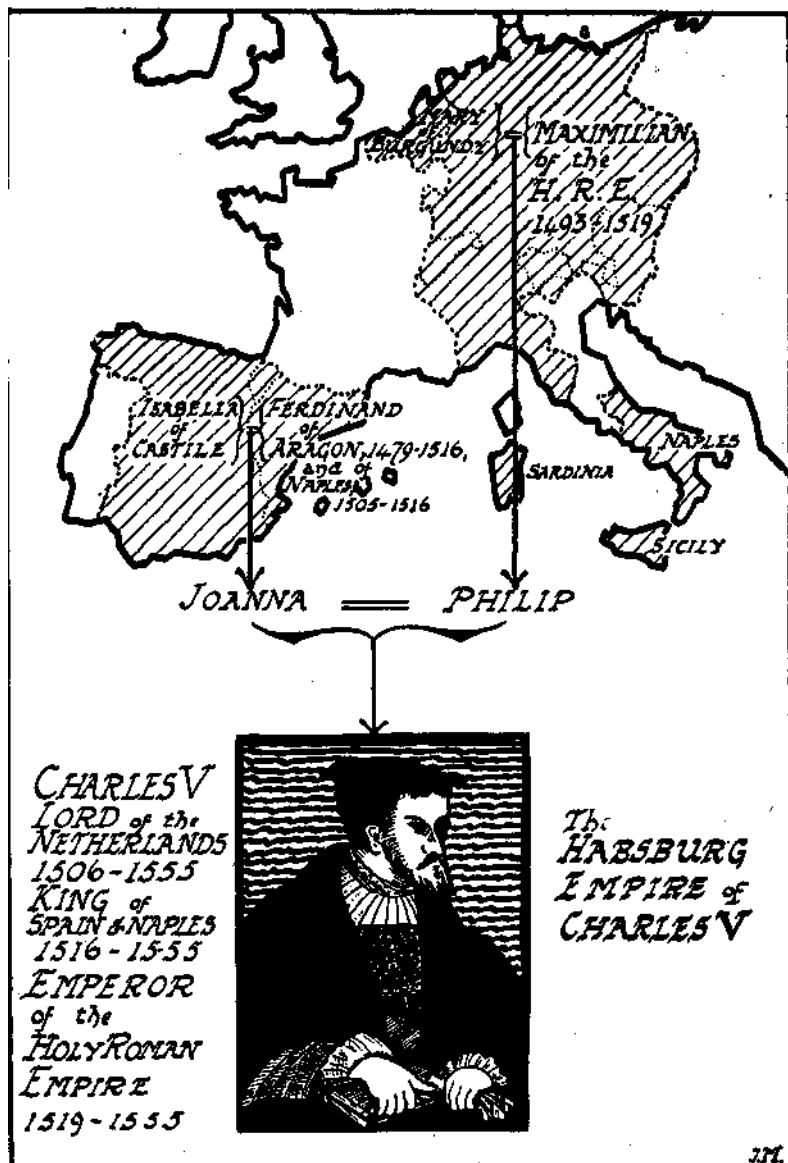


Fig. 13—The Habsburg Empire of Charles V.

Encouraged by his preaching, princes of the Empire began to seize the lands of the Church, and more than a third of the lands of the Empire were ruled by prince-bishops.

Worn out and weary, Charles V, in 1555, gave up the struggle and, in the following year, entered a Spanish monastery. The weakened and distracted Empire was given to his brother Ferdinand, while Spain, the Netherlands and the New World went to his son, the famous Philip II.

No great actor enters the stage at the beginning of the play, and it was to prepare for the entrance of Philip II that the above outline was necessary. Philip looked the part of a great melodramatic villain. He was pale, tall, and dark, and looked, as he actually was, an arrogant, obstinate, relentless bigot, intensely cruel, selfish and narrow-minded. He had but two objects in life : to establish his own absolute authority over all his dominions and to restore the power of the mediaeval Church. The former aim made him jealous of even useful and loyal advisers and of valuable institutions, and, therefore, checked the natural and free development of his peoples, or drove them into rebellion. This occurred in the Netherlands where a long and bitter struggle took place. The northern provinces succeeded in becoming independent, and formed the energetic little republic of Holland. Dutch ships were soon to be found in the distant eastern and western seas. The southern Netherlands, which remained subject to Spain, sank back into a comparatively stagnant indolence.

To carry out his other aim, that of restoring the authority of the Pope and of the Roman Catholic or Universal Church, Philip's spies sought out suspected Protestants who were brought before the Court of the Inquisition, tortured, burnt to death, or, what was probably even-worse, sent as galley slaves to help to row the great vessels which were carrying the wealth of the New World to Spain. Hundreds of Englishmen starved in dark Spanish dungeons, some but " two paces in length ", while many were burnt at the stake.

For a thousand years after the death of Christ the Church had, with very few exceptions, been content to make converts by persuasion rather than to enforce its doctrines by the threat of death. In 1022 thirteen heretics were burnt and soon many others were to suffer death either by burning or, though less frequently, by strangling. Both these forms of execution were such that the Church could claim to have avoided the shedding of blood and thereby satisfy its conscience. We have already noticed that this illogical way of thinking, this obedience to the letter but not to the spirit or real meaning, was characteristic of the feudal age.

The following is a description of an "Act of Faith", such as is pictured in Fig. 14.

" When the Inquisitors have fulfilled their processes, and done whatever they please against the unhappy persons in their custody, a day of public procession, called an Auto da Fe, is proclaimed ... a horrible and tremendous spectacle, in which everything is designedly made use of that may strike terror !

The day on which the act of Faith is to be solemnized, the great bell of the cathedral, at sun-rising, tolls, to give notice to all persons to gather together to this miserable sight . . . The Dominican Friars carrying the banner of the Inquisition lead the way. When all those, whose crimes are too slight to be punished with death are passed, then comes the crucifix, which is followed by those that are led out to the punishment of death. They all march through the principal streets for public view, to the scaffold or church where the sermon concerning the faith is to be preached . . . They that are sentenced to death, being told that the Inquisition can shew no favour, one of their Officers gives each of them a blow on their breast, to signify that the holy office has done with them; and then the Officer of secular justice comes up and claims them immediately.

The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the King's

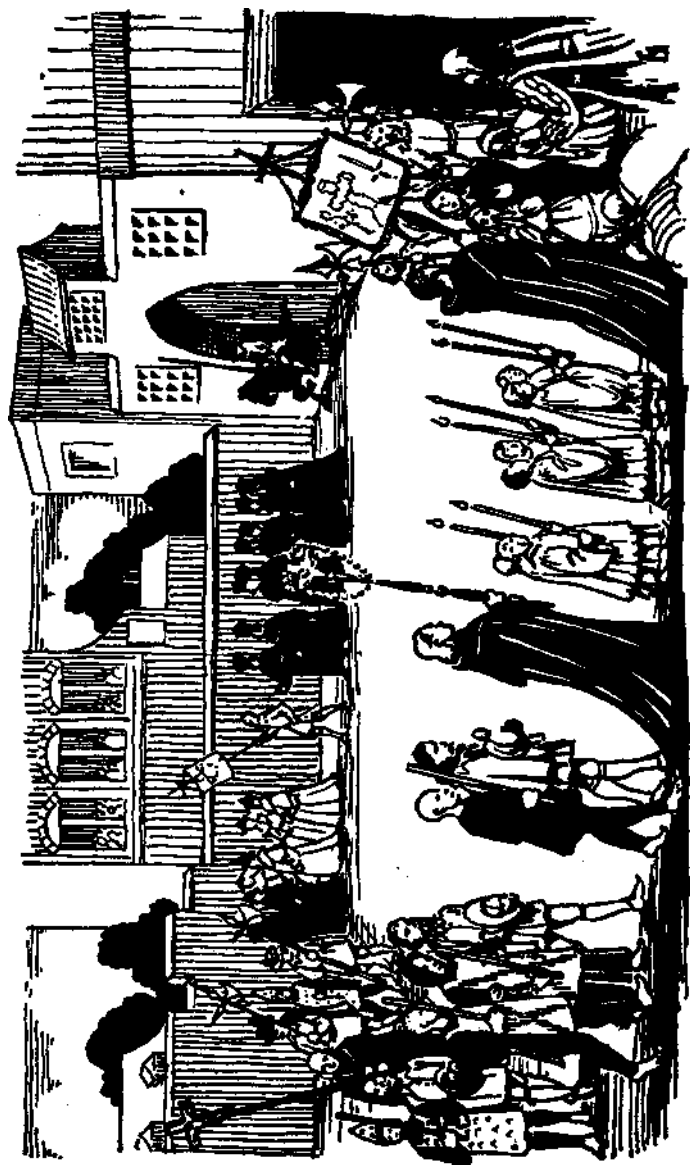


Fig. 14—Public Procession of Prisoners at an *Auto da Fe*, or act of faith, in Spain (c. 1560)

Officers, than they are loaded with chains, in the sight of the Inquisitors. They conduct them first to gaol, and in about two hours after, to the Lord Chief Justice, who asks them one by one, in what religion they intend to die ? If they answer, that they will die in the communion of the church of Rome, he orders them to be carried immediately to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes. But, if they say, They will die in the Protestant faith, or in any other communion than that of Rome, they are ordered by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive."*

It was Tudor England which finally challenged and overthrew the arrogant tyranny of Spain, yet for twenty-five years after Henry VII became king, in 1485, England neither had a fleet, except a few merchant hulks and fishing smacks, nor felt the need of one. Henry was sufficiently occupied in destroying any surviving feudal opposition, in establishing his own absolute authority, in replacing the barons by a number of middle-class dependants, and in the astonishing feat of accumulating a fortune of £1,800,000.

In 1490 Henry was visited by a sailor named John Cabot, who was probably a Genoese. Like Columbus, he believed that it was possible to reach China and India by sailing across the Atlantic, and he too had tried to interest the rulers of Spain and Portugal in the idea. "Two years before Columbus set out, Cabot was trying to persuade the cautious Henry. It took a long time, but in 1496 Henry granted him permission in return for the promise of a fifth of any profits made. Financed by Bristol merchants, Cabot sailed in May 1497 in *The Matthew*. In June he reached what was almost certainly Newfoundland or Nova Scotia, but, like Columbus, he thought he had reached Asia. The disappointing absence of wealthy cities he believed was due to his having sailed too far to the north.

He was enthusiastically received in England and a more

* " *The Universal Magazine* ", March, 1749, vol. IV, pp, 103-5.



Fig. 15—The Tudor Sovereigns of England.

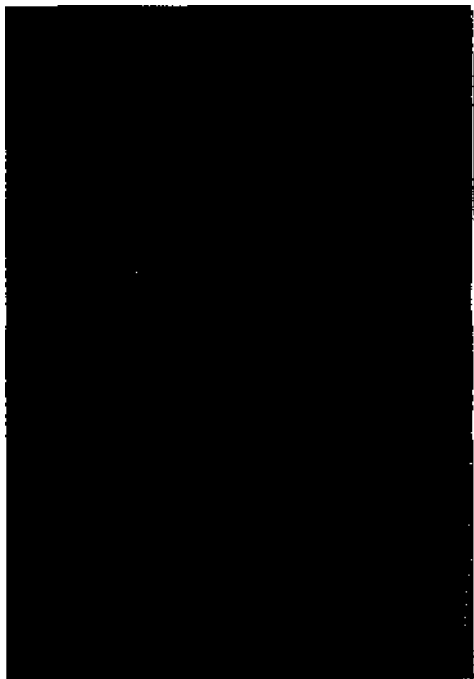
elaborate expedition of five ships set out in 1497, expecting to return laden with Asiatic luxuries. Except for one ship, which only reached Ireland, nothing has since been heard of the venture.

It was soon known, however, that the land across the Atlantic was a New World, and, in the last year of Henry's reign, 1509, Sebastian Cabot, who as a child had accompanied his father's first expedition, set out to discover a route to the east round the northern coast of America. Though there is little definite evidence of his discoveries he appears to have passed through an ice-blocked strait and to have seen an open sea beyond. But it was not, as he imagined, the Pacific, but a huge bay now named after Hudson, another similar explorer who, a hundred years later, was murdered there by his mutinous crew.

Henry's son and successor, Henry VIII, was a different type of man. Only eighteen years of age when he came to the throne in 1509, he was reckless, passionate, extravagant and selfish, tolerating* no opposition to his will. But he was also ambitious, brilliant, cultured, artistic, energetic and very strong. With the Channel increasingly haunted by pirate ships, with royal rivals looking for plunder in unprotected European States, Henry soon realised that England needed a naval defence. He repaired the dockyards, began the building of new ships, and invited European experts to visit England to supervise the casting of new cannon.

Henry himself spent a great deal of time in the dockyards and ports, mingling with the seamen and enquiring about the activities of Portugal and Spain. One such seaman was William Hawkins of Plymouth, whom Henry sent on expeditions to Brazil, to the coast of Guinea, from where he brought back gold and ivory, and to make another attempt to find the North-West Passage.

Meanwhile, in quite another way, Henry was being very active at home. His first of six wives was Catherine, daughter



Hudson's Bay Company

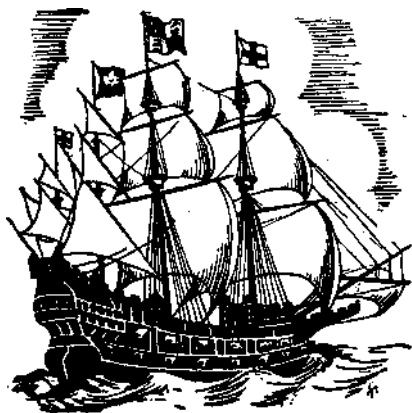
Fig. 16—Pack ice in Hudson's Bay, with fog bank on horizon. Explorers in these regions must constantly have been deceived into thinking they were approaching land.

of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; and, either because she had given him only a daughter, or, more probably, because he had determined to marry Anne Boleyn, Henry sought to have the marriage annulled. As the Church did not recognise divorce, to declare a marriage null (that is, never to have really been a marriage), was a serious matter which required the authority of the Pope as Head of the Church. Henry's friend and adviser, Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, failed to obtain the required authority, so he was dismissed from power and escaped the further wrath of Henry by dying at Leicester Abbey on his way to the Tower. Henry then declared himself supreme Head of the Church in England,

nullified his own marriage, and took the opportunity of the breach with Rome to dissolve and sell the monasteries. Though Henry did not approve of the doctrines of the Protestant Reformers, he had separated the English Church from Rome.

The pope replied by excommunicating Henry, by offering England to the king of France if he should invade England and depose the king, and by releasing all English subjects from their allegiance to their sovereign. It was a difficult situation for loyal Roman Catholics, and men like Thomas More, who was a personal friend of the king, were beheaded for their obedience to the pope.

Although there were scattered risings, some of which, like the one in Yorkshire called the Pilgrimage of Grace, were serious, the country in general supported the king. Henry could obviously rely on the merchants, and they controlled money and ships. The English activity surprised Europe. A seaman of Rye, named Fletcher, revolutionised seamanship by inventing a vessel which could sail to windward. One of Henry's ships, the "Great Harry", was of a thousand tons. When the invasion came at last, in 1544, England was well prepared, and when Henry himself arrived



in Portsmouth to witness the attack, the watchword chosen on board was "God save the King". This, with the answer, "Long to reign over us", is almost certainly the origin of the English National Anthem. The French failed to land, as they had intended, in the Isle of Wight. Harrassed by the skilful tactics of small detachments of the

Fig. 17—The "Great Harry" (1,000 tons).

English fleet, while the main body of the navy remained inside the Spit, and distracted by dysentery caused by the hot weather, putrid meat and water, the French fleet returned to Havre leaving England, for the first time, master of the Channel.

Henry died in 1547, survived by three children, of whom only one was a son, a weak boy who succeeded him as Edward VI. He reigned under a quarrelsome group of regents who rapidly developed the Protestant religion. Clergy were allowed to marry, many churches were disfigured, services were simplified, and there was issued a Prayer Book or Order of Service which still forms the basis of the Church of England's service. Edward's two sisters were strangely contrasted women, and the elder, Mary Tudor, succeeded Edward in 1553. She had never forgotten the injury which her father had caused her by annulling her mother's marriage, and she came to the throne determined to restore the old religion and the authority of the Pope. By the number of Protestant martyrs she created, the Queen earned the title of Bloody Mary. She had married Philip II, who was doing the same dreadful work in Spain and the Netherlands, but all that they really succeeded in doing was to create, in England and the Netherlands, an intense hatred of Spain and of Roman Catholicism.

It was to the sea that men went for revenge, to waylay and plunder Spanish treasure ships, and, though capture meant torture, slavery or death, soon there were "wild hawks as thick as seagulls flashing over the waves, fair wind or foul, brave, reckless, devoted, the crews the strangest medley". In Elizabeth, who came to the throne in 1558, these wild pirates found a friend.

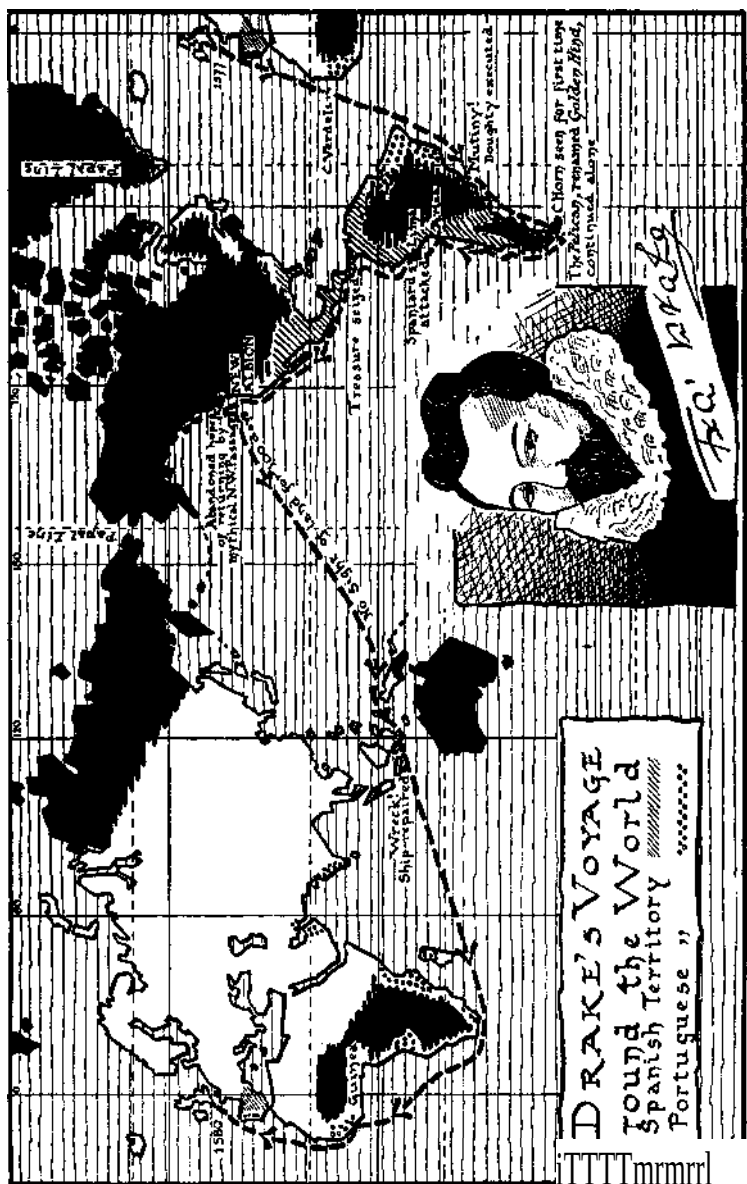
Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, was an astonishing woman, combining the cautious cunning of her grandfather with the forceful determination of her father, Henry VIII. But she had, too, a subtle imaginative ingenuity of her own which baffled the mere masculine intelligence of her courtiers,

advisers and parliament alike, for the men of Tudor England preferred methods more blunt and direct than those of their queen.

Philip II, who had found a subservient England useful, proposed marriage to Elizabeth. The queen had no intention of being the dupe of Spain or of marrying Philip ; but she was not yet ready to become an open enemy. The treasury was empty, the navy neglected since Henry's day, and even the fishing fleet lay idle since fast days had fallen out of fashion. She therefore gave an evasive reply to her "Cousin", professing friendship while she secretly encouraged her sailors to make pirate raids on his ships. It' gave them practice and confidence, and helped to replenish her treasury. When Philip grumbled, she openly scolded them and apologised to Philip. As more and more Englishmen suffered death or worse at the hands of the Spanish Inquisitors, so the number of English " wild hawks " increased, taking vengeance in their own way, which was often as brutal as they could make it*

In 1562 John Hawkins, son of the William Hawkins who had served Henry VIII, sailed to West Africa, captured a number of negroes, and sold them to the Spaniards in the West Indies. It was a profitable adventure and few thought it wrong to sell human-beings. Indeed, the plight of negroes has stirred but little pity even much less than four hundred years ago. Accordingly, Hawkins repeated the adventure in 1564. Philip expressed his annoyance to Elizabeth who apologised and promised to keep Hawkins in England. But she did not prevent his ships from going again under another commander. By 1567 she had forgotten her promise, and Hawkins sailed again, with royal ships included in the expedition. Francis Drake, then twenty-two years of age, was in command of the *Judith*, one of the smaller vessels.

. The actual raid and the selling of the slaves were carried out successfully, although Philip had forbidden the colonists



to buy slaves from the English, **but trouble then began**. The litde fleet, driven by storm into harbour as it was about to sail **for** home, was attacked by **a** Spanish fleet which **had** been admitted to the harbour on **a** promise of friendship. The English ships were undergoing repairs and only **a few** escaped. Hawkins and Drake were among the survivors. In future Hawkins stayed in England, but Drake determined on revenge.

Most of the Spanish treasure, at that time, came from **the** silver mines of Peru. It was carried by sea along the western coast of South America to the Isthmus of Panama. It was then carried by mules across the mountain passes to the **port** of Nombre de Dios, where it was shipped for Spain.

,So sure were the Spaniards that no English ship could reach the western coast, because to do so it would have to pass through the dreaded Magellan Straits, that no attempt was made to protect the ships on die Pacific side. Drake planned to make the attempt.

Drake spent some years in discovering as much as possible about the Spanish treasure route, keeping in practice and funds by pirate raids. In one of these, in 1572, guided by an escaped slave, he ambushed the mule caravan, seized its load of gold and silver, and returned in triumph to England. To Philip's protests Elizabeth expressed her usual regret for the misbehaviour of her unruly subject, but she could not punish him as he had disappeared.

He came to light again in **1577**, prepared to carry out **his** great scheme. With five ships he sailed to the Magellan Strait. There he abandoned two of the ships and distributed their crews amongst the remaining three. The dangers of the passage had not been exaggerated. One ship sank, another returned. Only Drake's, the *Goldtn Hind*> survived the passage. The astonished Spaniards could make no resistance, and Drake seized so much treasure that **his ship was** ballasted with silver 1

To return by the same way was impossible, so, after overhauling his ship, Drake sailed across the Pacific, crossed the Indian Ocean, passed round the south of Africa, and completed his voyage round the world in 1580. Elizabeth now cared little for Philip's anger, and knighted Drake on board his own ship. Further pretence at friendship was impossible, and Philip openly made plans to invade England. His object was to place Mary Stewart, the Roman Catholic Queen of Scots, on the English throne. Driven from Scotland in 1568, she had since been a prisoner in England, and the obvious centre of every Roman Catholic plot, for she was in fact heiress to the English throne.*

In 1580 Philip conquered Portugal and added, thereby, the Portuguese Empire in the East to his own vast dominions. He now began to prepare his "Invincible Armada" for the invasion of England. Drake, now Sir Francis, and in command of a section of the navy, sailed in 1585 to seize the annual treasure needed for the building of the Armada. He seized also two hundred and forty guns and destroyed a quantity of stores. This delayed Philip for two years.

The Armada, with preparations almost complete, was anchored in Cadiz harbour in 1587. Drake, with characteristic recklessness, ignored the guns of the land fortress at Cadiz, entered the harbour, and burnt a number of the Spanish vessels which were taken by surprise. He had "sing'd the King of Spain's beard".

Next year the Armada, repaired, set sail in July. It was no longer to place Mary Stewart on the throne but to avenge her execution. On Friday, July 30th, beacons flared from English hilltops to announce that the Armada had been sighted. Seven miles of mighty galleons in battle order had entered the Channel, carrying an army of invasion to which the army of the Duke of Parma, in the Netherlands, was to be added.

* See Genealogical Table, page 46

Even when the English fleet, under Howard and Drake, was joined by numbers of privateers, it was outnumbered three times. Through Elizabeth's meanness, or economy, or inability to make up her mind, the English vessels were short of food and ammunition. In comparison with the huge galleons the little English ships looked negligibly small and Spanish victory seemed certain. Actually, nothing was farther from the truth.

The Armada was under the incompetent command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who felt sick even in the steadiest



Fig. 19—The Great Armada.

From a Tapestry which hung in the House of Lords.

vessel. The galleons were crowded with soldiers, the food and water were already almost putrid and the casks were leaking. Their guns were of shorter range than the English and were so high that their shots frequently passed harmlessly over the English hulls. The galleons were slow and clumsy to handle, whereas the English vessels were fighting units, capable of lightning movements and were manned by experts.

The Spaniards received their first shock when they saw

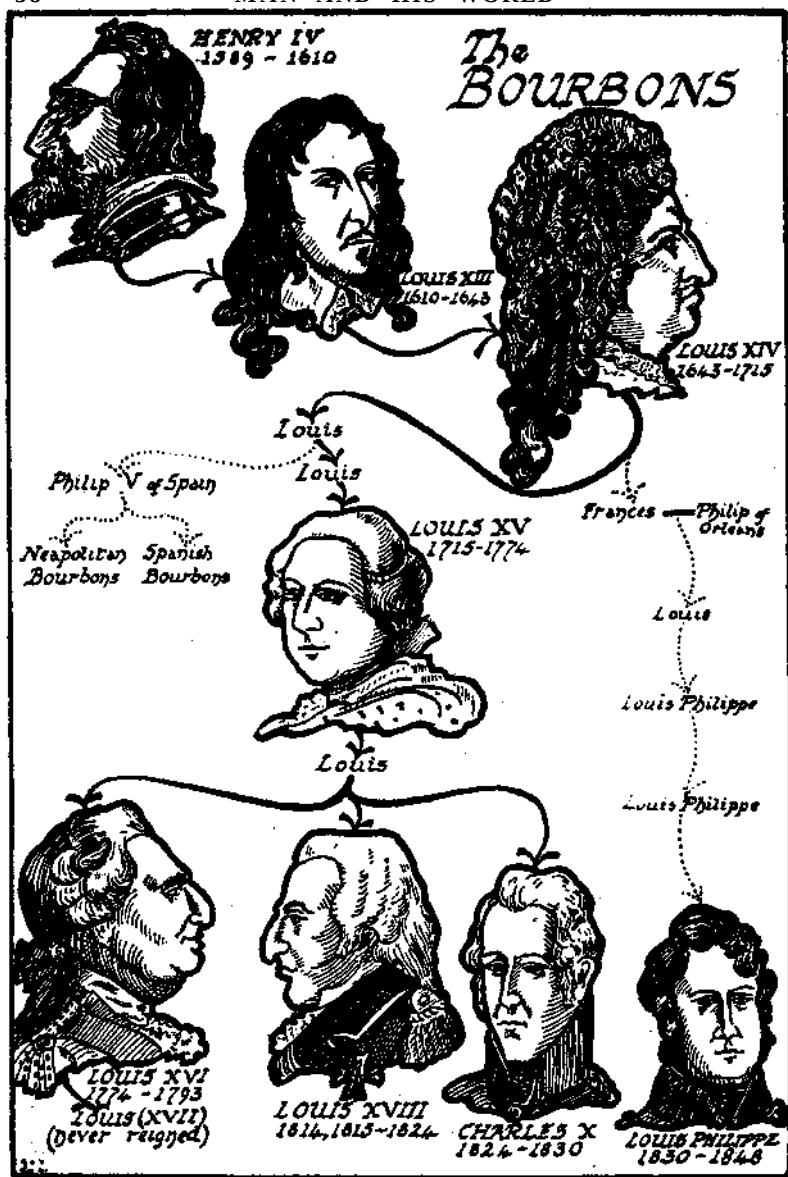


Fig. 20—The Bourbons.

the English fleet tack comfortably to windward, and then pour broadside after broadside into the crowded galleons from a position which rendered the Spanish guns harmless. Abandoning a ship loaded with treasure, the battered Armada sailed on, anxious to reach Parma's waiting army. The English, reinforced by innumerable privateers, hurrying from the creeks to share in the honours, repeated the attack, and the Armada was forced to seek shelter in Calais harbour. Here they would be safe from the English, who were clearly "possessed with the devil"—or so they imagined! But they were far, from secure.

While the Spanish crews, disheartened and ill, were forced to fast throughout the Sunday, though they had to work to repair some of the damage, Diake, Howard, Seymour, Hawkins, Frobisher and others planned to force them from the harbour. Eight old ships were covered with pitch, fired, and, under cover of a night which was conveniently moonless, they were sent to drift into the Spanish retreat. Panic-stricken, the Spaniards hurried from the harbour, and morning found them scattered in the Channel. It was what Drake had prayed for. For hours the galleons were bombarded, until every English cannon ball had been used. Driven by a freshening wind the riddled Armada sought shelter in the North Sea. Ten thousand Spaniards were dead or dying, but the troubles of the rest were not yet over.

Even the putrid water was now so scarce that horses and mules were thrown into the sea. On board men were dying of wounds, fever, hunger or thirst. On the rugged coasts of northern and western Scotland and on the coasts of Ireland many galleons were wrecked. Crews which escaped drowning were robbed and massacred on reaching the shore. Only a sorry remnant reached Spain.

The rule of the seas had passed to England and a medal was struck to commemorate the victory. On it was engraved the Latin form of the quotation "God blew with His winds and they were scattered". Elizabeth could not have been expected to give all the credit to her seamen.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD ORDER AND THE NEW

ONE FEATURE OF THE STRUGGLE between Elizabethan England and sixteenth century Spain is the fierceness of the hatred shown between the two nations—a hatred which cannot be entirely explained by national rivalry or commercial jealousy. Behind hatred there is usually fear, and in the shadows cast by the beacon fires in 1588, whether on the Malvern Hills or on some Devonshire Tor, there was fear of the rack and the stake.

The mind of Spain was the mind of the Old World, seeking salvation by the ruthless extermination of heresy. Mary Tudor, diseased, lonely, miserable, had believed that to please an angry God she must redouble the persecution of the Protestants. It was the belief that men had been crippled in the torture chamber or burnt in the market place, because they had carried an English Bible, that created the fear and the hatred.

But the struggle between the Old and the New was not yet over, nor was it confined to an Anglo-Spanish War. At the same time an equally bitter struggle was occurring in France, complicated by rivalry for the throne, and marked with the usual massacres and atrocities. After eight civil wars Henry of Navarre, leader of the Protestant rebels or Huguenots, was master of France. To gain the support of the mass of the French nation he became a Roman Catholic and, as Henry IV, founded the Bourbon line.

France was in an exhausted condition, and Henry IV devoted his reign to the restoration of prosperity and to

strengthening the monarchy. Lands were drained and agricultural improvements were encouraged ; mulberry trees were planted to help the new silk industry of which Lyons became the centre; the manufacture of glass and of tapestry was developed ; roads were improved and a system of canals was planned. To the Huguenots Henry granted religious toleration and many privileges. When he died, in 1610, Henry left the country strengthened, materially prosperous, and the monarchy established as a despotism.

Henry's successor, Louis XIII, was a child of nine years, under the regency of his incompetent Italian mother, Marie de Medici, who replaced Henry's experienced advisers by Italian adventurers. There were fourteen years of confusion and disorder until Cardinal Richelieu took control in 1624. He crushed the rebellious nobles, made war on the Huguenots, but in general continued the reconstruction which Henry IV had begun. There was, however, an important difference. Henry IV did not represent the ideas of the Old World, but, in general, Richelieu did. It was a reactionary France which began to persecute the Huguenots, whose industrial and commercial activity and whose independent and progressive outlook were typical of the New Order.

Since the days of the lunperor Charles V members of his Habsburg family had confronted France on every frontier. On the north-east were the Spanish Netherlands and on the south was a Habsburg Spain; the Empire itself was a perpetual challenge in the east. To



Fig. 2i—Richelieu.

strengthen France Richelieu believed that the Habsburgs must be weakened, and he was helped by the fact that war had broken out in the Empire.

The Thirty Years' War, which began in 1618, started as a religious war between the Roman Catholics and Protestants of the Empire, but it soon developed into a general European war in which the original aims were almost forgotten. With Richelieu national considerations were more important than religious ones, and France entered the war on the side of the Protestants in order to weaken the Empire and Spain. Even Denmark and Sweden, neither of which had hitherto played any important part in international European affairs, entered the struggle as allies of France.

Richelieu died in 1642, and, as though incapable even of living without his great minister, Louis died a few months later. Richelieu's policy, at home and abroad, was continued by his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, for Louis XIV was only five years old when he became king in 1643.

Five years later the long war in the Empire ended with the Peace of Westphalia, though not for another eleven years did Spain and France lay down their arms. Henceforward the Empire was more than ever a fiction, for every prince was recognised as independent, able to make war or peace, to issue his own coinage, and to control the religion of his dominion. The long wars had reduced vast areas to mere wilderness, so that famine followed the plunder and destruction of war. It has been said that nearly

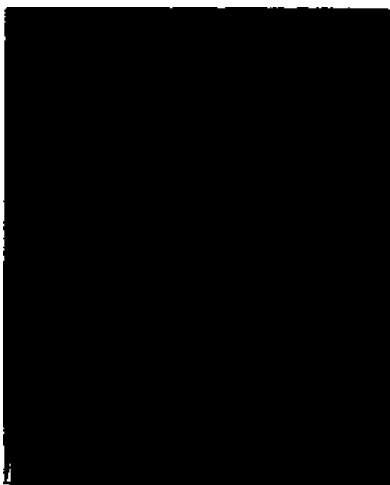


Fig. 22-Mazarin.

two-thirds of the people of the Empire had died. At least two centuries were to pass before Germany had completely recovered.

Spain too was exhausted, for she had had no rest from war since the destruction of the Armada. Only France emerged from the struggle a stronger nation. In 1661 Mazarin died and Louis declared himself of age. Including his minority, Louis XIV's reign was one of seventy-two years. He had everything in his favour: the nobles had been weakened, the Church had become the servant of the Crown, the Habsburgs had been crushed on every frontier. France had, too, material resources in plenty, and Louis was ambitious, active, painstaking and arrogantly self-confident. He was determined to be, in the words of Mazarin, "the most glorious king that had ever lived", "le Roi Soleil", the lieutenant of God, to whom alone he need render an account of his actions. One who knew him and saw him often, said that he always looked as though he were "the master of the world".

Louis never succeeded in becoming the master of the world. On the contrary he was destined to see his armies defeated, his country invaded, his son, grandson, granddaughter and great-grandson killed by a sudden and mysterious disease, and to leave his kingdom nearly bankrupt, full of starving people.

One reason for this is that Louis represented the ideals of the Old World, in an Age when such ideals had passed out of use. His idea of monarchy was almost like that of the ancient Roman emperors, for he built a most luxurious palace at Versailles, at a crippling cost, and he believed that he was almost if not quite divine. He had all the intolerance of the Middle Ages, and, in his persecution of the Huguenots, he forgot that they had placed his dynasty on the throne, and that they took with them into exile a commercial ability and industrial efficiency which would have been useful to France. Both were to profit France's enemies. Louis had,

too, all the ideas of a feudal king, encouraging his nobles to retain feudal privileges which should have died a natural death, despising merchants and craftsmen, and regarding the peasants as those ignorant, humble and rather dirty people whom one saw in the fields.

The first reason for Louis XIV's failure, therefore, is that his policy was reactionary—a refusal to see that the world had changed and that the days of divine emperors and of feudal Christendom had gone.

The second cause of his failure was England.

At the beginning of this story of European strife, we left England mistress of the seas and the conqueror of a haughty and reactionary Spain. The European wars might have seemed a great opportunity for England to seize, as the prize of her victory, the wealth of the New World which Spain controlled. But strange things had been happening in England, and she too might have followed the reactionary policy of France.

When Elizabeth died the crown passed to the Scottish king James VI, who, as James I of England, founded the Stewart line.

James' grandmother had been French ; his mother, Mary, the Queen of Scots whom Elizabeth had executed, had spent her youth in France and, for a time, had been Queen of France. This French influence at the Scottish court helps to explain James' European idea of monarchy, for he, too, believed that kings reigned by " Divine Right " and that to oppose their will was little short of blasphemy. This sounded strange to the blunt English, especially when the members of the court remembered Elizabeth's rather coarse habits and a very worldly temper. It was strange to the merchants and seamen who knew how much the sovereign depended on the wealth they provided. It was strange, too, to those who had been Elizabeth's " Faithful Commons ", accustomed to her toleration of freedom of speech and to her tactful

acceptance of their parliamentary rights and privileges. James himself was clumsily undignified, with no regal grace, and, though very learned, he seemed strangely stupid about ordinary things.

James staggered his parliament by professing his intention to form an alliance with Spain and to arrange a marriage between a Spanish princess and his son, Charles. There may have been good reasons for James' policy. A union between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant country would set an example which might lead to peace in a distracted Europe. War was costly and wasteful, and James was not only impoverished himself but had inherited the burden of Elizabeth's debts. Such arguments meant little to men who remembered the Inquisition, but when parliament protested James angrily forbade the Commons "to meddle", saying that foreign policy was "far above their reach and capacity". Parliament claimed that freedom of speech was a right which was as much a possession as their goods and wrote this in the Journals of the House; but James tore out the page.

While James' son-in-law, Frederick, was being driven from his Protestant dominion in the Empire by Spanish troops, James was still trying to arrange the Spanish marriage. Meanwhile, the navy was neglected and falling into decay.

Charles I, who became king in 1625, was more reactionary than his father. After quarrelling with three parliaments, he determined to rule without[^] such an encumbrance. The same reactionary, repressive, intolerant rule that Richelieu was creating in France was to be established in England. In France it was to last for over a century and a half before the stifled people overthrew it. In England it lasted for eleven years before the merchants and the Puritans discovered the weakness in the king's position: in a crisis the king depended on the money which they alone could provide.

The high-handed reactionary policy of Archbishop Laud had driven the Scots into rebellion, but Charles, who was

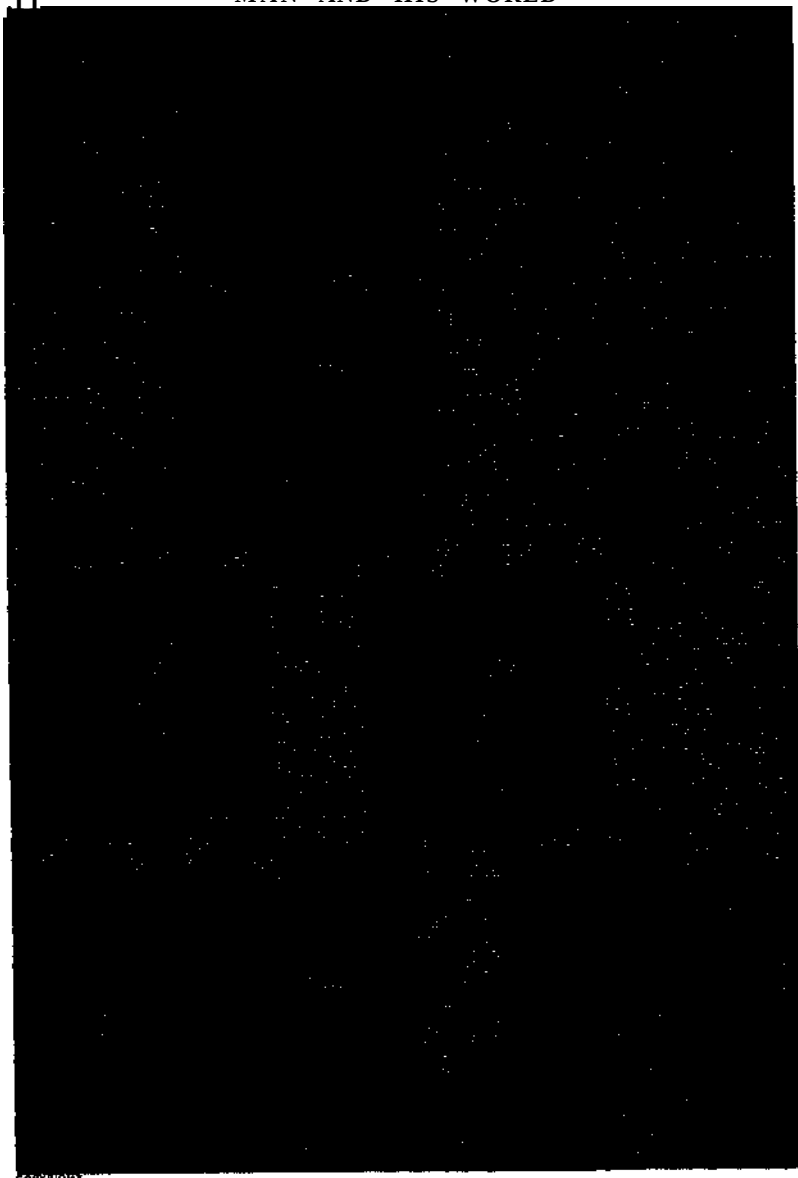


Fig- 23—The Stewart Sovereigns of England.

financially troubled in peace time, had no means of financing an army. Against his will he summoned a parliament, dismissed it, but had to recall it. The victory had really already been won and parliament could make any demands it wished ; but Charles was not without courage, and the struggle ended in war.

The Civil War was a conflict between the Old Order and the New ; between a reactionary aristocratic Church and democratic Puritanism ; between a feudal combination of nobles and peasants and the non-feudal merchants; between absolutism and the right of self-expression; between Divine Right and equality before the law. Even the word " Cavaliers ", which really means " horsemen " and which was applied to the supporters of the king, suggests Chivalry and feudalism. But the struggle was not between these contrasted ideas only. An interesting feature of the general attitude to this war is that most people, in their secret hearts, sympathise with the king and the romantic Cavaliers, even though they may think, when the struggle is analysed, that they ought to sympathise with the rebels. What is it that makes the Cavaliers appeal to one's feelings and that makes the Puritan and merchant " Roundhead " appeal to one's reason ?

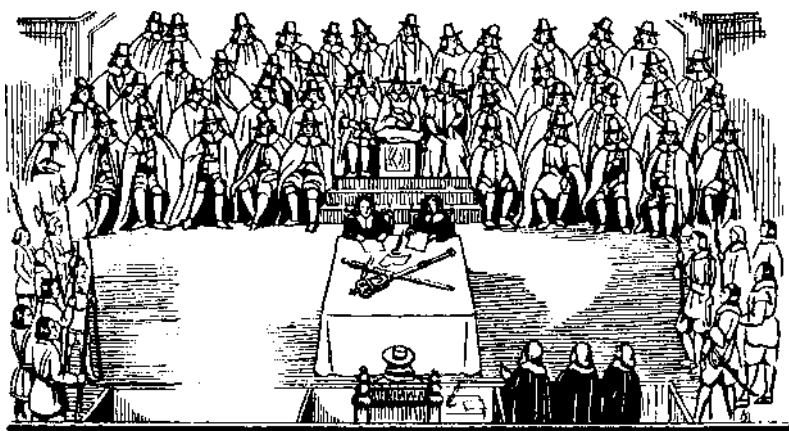
It is true that there is another side to the struggle, for it was also a conflict between love of art, love of beauty, romance and the reckless love of Living adventurously on one side, and a hard-headed commercialism on the other. Poetry, music, or the delicately patterned tracery of a cathedral window, has no material or economic use, no practical utilitarian value, but they all have a higher value which the materially-minded merchant could not grasp. The utilitarian is a man who would root up flowers in order to plant rhubarb which he could sell for a profit. The Middle Ages were not without beauty and romance, and the Mediaeval craftsmen often produced beautiful things for the sheer joy of creation. The merchant, who has to hurry and to make a profit, would think this rather a waste of time. These

two opposed points of view have played a greater part in history than is always realised, and the civil war was, though not perhaps consciously, a conflict between them. The victory of the merchants meant the development of a materially-minded England.

Victory was not won all at once. The merchants had to create and to discipline an army ; but they had the ports, the ships, the money, and London, which was itself a port, so victory in the end was certain. In January, 1649, Charles was tried and executed, and the army under Oliver Cromwell undertook the government of England. As one would have expected, the rule of the army was efficient, practical and energetic, but pitiless, unimaginative and very unpopular, for life became dull and cheerless.

When Cromwell died there was no one to replace him, and, after a year's confusion, it was decided to restore the monarchy. In 1660 Charles II arrived in England from his exile in Holland, and was greeted with bells, ringing in expression of England's joy in the Restoration.

It was not only the monarchy that was restored in 1660.



biE. Z4—The Trial of Charles i.

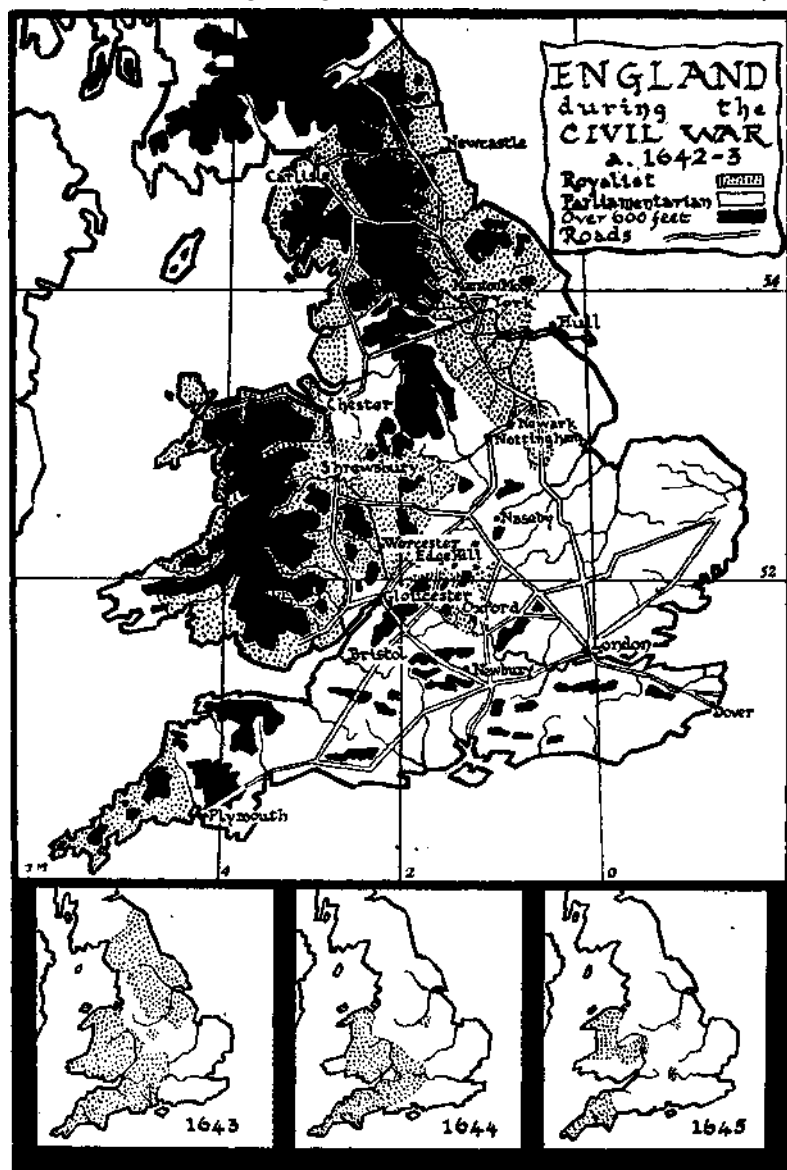


Fig. 25—England during the Civill Wat.

Once more there were bishops and nobles, an aristocratic monarchy and Church, and a rather half-hearted persecution of the Puritans. Many Puritans had loved beauty and art, and among them were great creators of art, such as the poet Milton; but Restoration art was more often a joyous call to youth to frolic with Love and Latighter.

Come, let us go, while we are in our prime;
And take the harmless folly of the time!
We shall grow old apace, and die
Before we know our liberty.

So sang Herrick. Purcell, the King's Chapel Master, was the greatest musician of seventeenth century Europe. After the Great London Fire, which, in 1666, destroyed so much of the plague-filled city, Restoration architecture had its opportunity, and St. Paul's Cathedral is a monument to the genius of Christopher Wren. The vault or cupola which forms the inside of its great dome was painted by the first of the English painters, Sir James Thornhill, whose son-in-law, Hogarth, was the merry little artist of the eighteenth century. Hogarth founded English painting, and his pictures laughed at life, which by then had become very serious and worldly again.

Though so many things were restored with the monarchy in 1660, the Civil War had made great changes which were permanent. Charles could hardly pretend, even, to rule by Divine Right, when he knew that he ruled because a number of English gentlemen had brought him home. He could not pretend to have absolute power when he knew that he did not control the purse-strings. His brother, who succeeded him in 1685 as James II, had not learned this fact, and he began a whole-hearted reaction, Roman Catholicism, despotic monarchy, and power even to subordinate the law to the monarch's will, were to be restored.

No one wanted another civil war; James was growing old, his two daughters were Protestants, and England, which

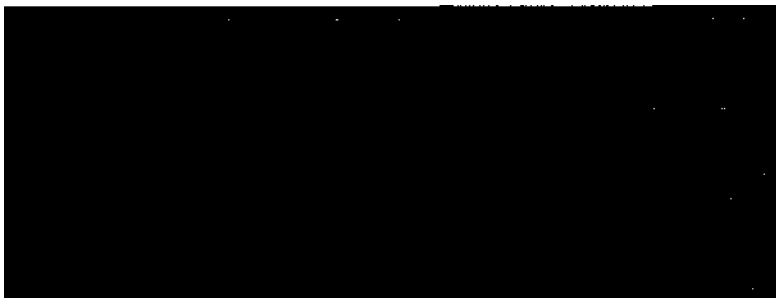


Fig. 26—Old St. Paul's Cathedral.

The Cathedral had a spire, finished in 1221, which was struck by lightning in 1561, when the roof also was destroyed by fire. The roof was restored but not the steeple, and the Cathedral was burnt to the ground in the Great Fire of 1666.

had lost much of the old bitterness, could afford to wait. But, unfortunately, James remarried and, when a son was born, England was faced with a Roman Catholic succession. James' elder daughter Mary had married William of Orange, ruler of the Dutch whom he was trying to save from conquest by Louis XIV. Many letters passed between England and Holland, and, on November 5th, 1688, the pale, wrinkled, courageous little prince landed quietly in England at Brixham on the south coast of Devon. James was allowed to escape to France, and England passed under the joint rule of William III and Mary II, in February, 1689.

This "Bloodless Revolution" really marks the end of the long struggle between the Old Order and the New in England, for in 1689 the rule definitely passed into the hands of the men who controlled the money. The Royal Revenue became the National Revenue, and parliament made itself secure by granting the king an annual income, too small to permit his independence of annual grants. Religious toleration was granted to all except Roman Catholics. The progressive party which had secured William's accession was now known as the Whig party,

while the reactionary party, many of whose members corresponded with the exiled James, was called the Tory party.

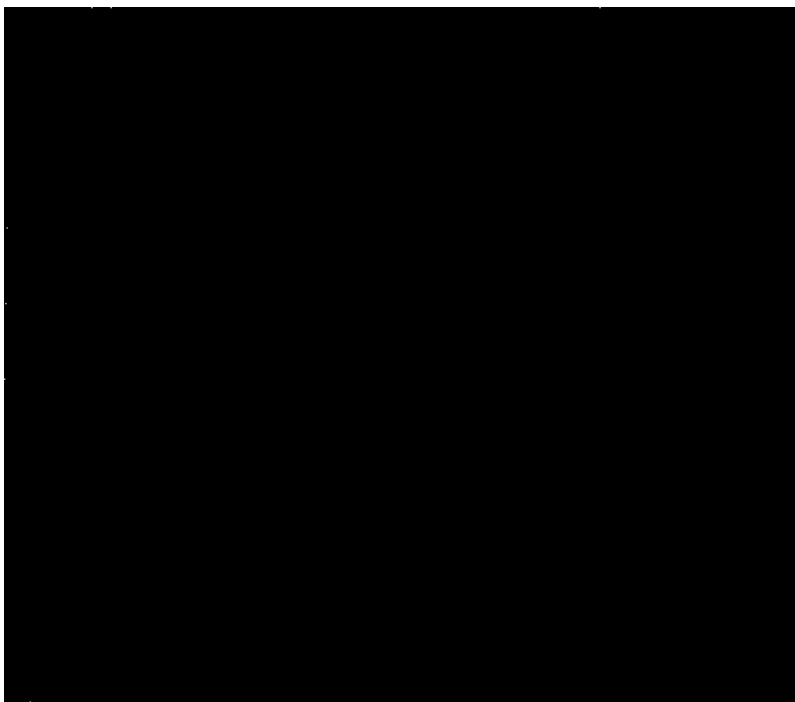
Actually, William's accession to the English throne was an event of European importance. Holland, since it had won its independence, had grown into an active sea power, and Dutch ships were to be found in the distant east and west, capturing the world's carrying trade. Cromwell, who had restored some of England's lost prestige, had ordered that no goods should be brought to England except in English ships or in ships of the country sending the goods. Finding their trade threatened with ruin, the Dutch attacked England, but were defeated. When Charles II turned Cromwell's order into an official Act of Parliament, the Dutch again declared war and were defeated a second time. Hardly had they recovered when their very existence was threatened by Louis XIV who had already overrun the Spanish Netherlands. The little republic, not much larger than Wales, made an active resistance and formed a Triple Alliance with Protestant Sweden and England. Louis, however, bribed Sweden and made a secret treaty with Charles II. In 1672 the Dutch, deserted by their allies, attacked by the English and French on sea and by Louis' armies on land, flooded their country by cutting the dykes, murdered their incompetent rulers, and gave William, Prince of Orange, the task of saving their country.

William formed alliances, but it was the help of England that he needed and when in 1689 he became king of England, he could face Louis more cheerfully. Louis sent the exiled James to Ireland to rouse the Roman Catholics against the Protestant settlers, but tragic Ireland was ruthlessly crushed. A Scottish clan, suspected of treachery, was massacred at Glencoe. In Europe Louis' armies won victories but made no progress. Before the end of William's reign Louis was ready to make peace, and Holland had been saved.

Meanwhile Louis was preparing for his last and most ambitious venture. The king of Spain had no direct heir

and, after several European monarchs had discussed the division of the Spanish dominions, he left them by will to Louis XIV's grandson, Philip. Europe had no intention of permitting unchallenged such an aggrandized France, and a new war to check the ambition of the Bourbon king, the War of the Spanish Succession, began in 1702.

In this year William died and was succeeded by his comfortable and placid sister-in-law Anne. Fortunately Anne was completely under the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough, whose husband was one of the most brilliant soldiers of all time. In alliance with Dutch and Imperial



[Canadian Pacific Photo]

Fig. 27—The Rock of Gibraltar.

In the foreground is seen part of the narrow stretch of "neutral territory" which joins the Rock to the mainland.

troops, the English army under Marlborough repeatedly defeated the French, while the English fleet under Rooke captured Gibraltar, possession of which meant the control of **the** entrance to the Mediterranean.

The years 1713, 1714 and 1715 end a long story in European history. In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht ended the war and established relations in Europe for a long time. In **1714** the Stewart line, which had seen the struggle between the Old Order and the New, ended with the death of Anne and the crown passed to a German, George Elector of Hanover, a prince unable even to speak the English language. In **1715** Louis XIV died, leaving an impoverished France in which the arrogant and extravagant splendour of the Court, like the rosy skin of an apple, hid the rottenness of the core.

A glance at the Treaty of Utrecht, however, reminds us that while European nations and reactionary and progressive ideas had been in conflict at home, the continued activities of merchants and settlers overseas had created a new European attitude to the New World. England's interest in the treaty was almost entirely maritime and commercial. By retaining Gibraltar and Minorca she became supreme in the Mediterranean; from Philip, who retained the throne of Spain, England gained the sole right of supplying slaves to the South American Spanish Colonies; the gaining of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in North America from the French reminds us that England and France were already in rivalry across the Atlantic. The victory of the New Order in England had enabled her to play a controlling part in the European struggle against the reactionary kingdoms of France and Spain. English money had financed the allies, English fleets controlled the seas, and English statesmen dictated the main terms of the peace which left her, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the chief maritime and commercial country in the world.

CHAPTER IV

FRENCH, ENGLISH AND DUTCH IN NORTH AMERICA

FOR A LONG TIME America remained just a disappointment to Europe—a land which ought to have been Asia. Spain had been fortunate in stumbling across a comparatively easy source of wealth in Central and South America, but expeditions to the coast of the unexplored northern land had been doubly disappointing, for they had failed to discover either the hoped-for passage to Asia or anything more valuable than fish. But hope lingered, for there were many tempting inlets which might, perhaps, reach the opposite coast, and there was always the possibility of finding gold and silver.

The most attractive of the inlets was the Gulf and the Estuary of the St. Lawrence, converted almost into an inland sea by the Island of Newfoundland. It was French exploration of the St. Lawrence which first began to make known to Europeans the character of this vast continent, whose rich central plains, if properly developed, could feed the population of the whole world.

A French sea-captain, Jacques Cartier, discovered the St. Lawrence estuary in 1534, and, in the following year, he continued up the great river until he was threatened by a group of Red Indians. They had painted themselves black and put horns on their heads, presumably to frighten the white men, but Cartier was not alarmed and landed near a village or collection of huts, which the Indians called a "kanata". This word is the origin of the name Canada. Cartier established himself on a hill behind the village, and

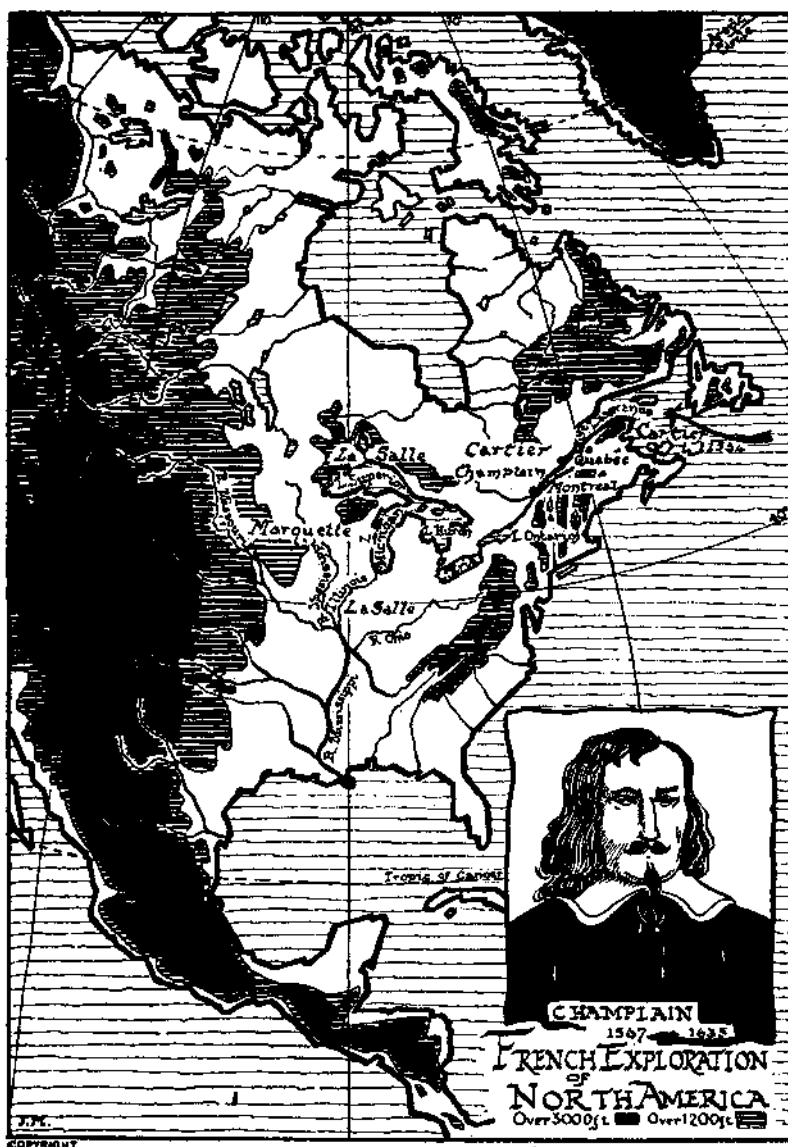


Fig. 28—French Exploration of North America

named it Mont Royal. It was destined to be the site of the modern city of Montreal. Five years later a settlement was made at Quebec, to guard the narrowing entrance to the river, but quarrels ended the experiment.

For sixty years little, more was done, for until the establishment of the Bourbon line ended the wars in France there was little time for exploration. With Henry IV's accession it began again, and, in 1608, Champlain refounded Quebec and continued the exploration of the river.

On either side of the St. Lawrence valley he found dense forests of pine and fir, "tangled growth springing out of the rotting wreckage of fallen trees", and spreading away into the distance, even to the summits of the mountain ranges which formed the sides of the valley. The mountains on the south-eastern side of the St. Lawrence valley continue south along the eastern coast of the great continent, forming a real barrier to invaders from the coast, not because of their height, but because they break into so many parallel ranges. The Appalachian Mountains lie nearest to the coast, and behind them are the Alleghany Mountains. The French, by entering along the St. Lawrence, were establishing themselves *behind* these ranges.

There is a very important gateway through these mountains, formed by the River Richelieu, which flows into the St. Lawrence from Lake Champlain, a smaller lake, Lake George, and the River Hudson, which flows due south into the Atlantic. The names of the northern

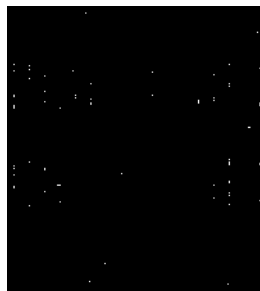


Fig. 29.
A Sub-chief of the Utes.

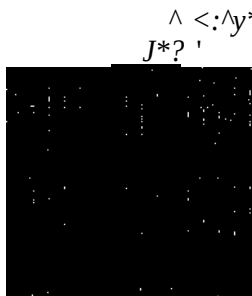


Fig.
A chief of the Apaches.

river and lake tell their own stories. Both this waterway and the land which it separates from the rest of the continent are of great historical importance.

Meanwhile French exploration continued along the St. Lawrence itself, and was rewarded by the discovery of a vast system of gigantic lakes, which are really inland fresh-water seas, all connected. A French explorer named La Salle discovered the first of the lakes, Lake Ontario. To the south lies Lake Erie, whose waters plunge three hundred feet over the Niagara Falls before reaching Lake Ontario. Later, La Salle discovered the third of the five Great Lakes, Lake Huron, from which he sailed to the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. The fifth, Lake Superior, is the greatest of all these inland seas; it is almost as large as Scotland, and is six hundred feet above sea level, lying on the edge of the plateau which merges gradually into the massive mountains of the west.



Fig- 3*.

The French explorers had frequently heard of a great river system of navigable waterways, flowing to the distant south, and La Salle began to explore the Ohio, which rises near Lake Ontario. Later he traced the course of the Illinois, which rises near Lake Michigan; but it was Marquette who discovered the great Mississippi, of which the Illinois and Ohio are tributaries. From the mountains of the east and the west, rivers, navigable for hundreds of miles, flow into the Mississippi. The greatest of these is the Missouri, and the combined Mississippi and Missouri are over four thousand miles long.

The French claimed the whole region they had discovered, and strengthened their possession by the building of forts. They found a profitable occupation in the sale of the furs and skins of the animals of the coniferous forests



Fig. 32—The Americas.



Fig. 33—Fox.

round the lakes and the St. Lawrence basin. As yet there was no one seriously to dispute their claim;

It is now possible to examine North America as a whole. Like the southern continent, it is a huge triangle, with a great mountain system extending along the whole of the west coast and, in places, covering a third of the width of the continent. The principal chain of this mountain system is that of the Rocky Mountains, and it is part of the same system which passes through Central America, to continue as the Andes to the extreme south of South America. It stretches thus from the Arctic to the Antarctic. Again as in South America, there is a lower mountain system along the eastern coast, and in both continents there are two main rivers, of which the northern flows to the east and the other to the south. In North America the northern one is the St. Lawrence; the southern one is the Mississippi, which, after draining the whole of the central plain, flows into the Gulf of Mexico.

The frozen regions of the extreme north gradually merge into the coniferous forest belt, a section of which was providing the French settlers round the Lakes and the St. Lawrence with furs and timber. In turn the forests merge into the vast prairies where millions of bison used to thunder along in herds that would take days to pass. This great undulating Central Plain has been described as a natural larder. It has a fertile soil, an excellent climate and almost inexhaustible natural wealth. When the French discovered it there was no great native population capable of very serious resistance. The "Red Indians", though they had many magnificent qualities, had hardly evolved beyond a Stone Age civilisation. They lived by hunting and fishing, had no domesticated animals, and led a nomadic, tribal life. They certainly had tribal legends, songs and dances, and an



Fig. 34—Beaver.



artistic sense in colour and pattern, but the Stone Age men had at least the last of these.

While the French were extending into the Central Plain events were taking place along the eastern coast, on the seaward side of the Appalachians. In England the practice of granting to a Company of merchants, or to a nobleman, the right to form a colony in the New World had begun in Elizabeth's reign. Such a concession was regarded as a great privilege, because it was hoped to lead to wealth, either through the discovery of gold or silver, or through the development of trade, or through the discovery of a new route to India and China.

In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert had planted a number of men and the English flag in Newfoundland, but he was drowned on the way home and the experiment came to nothing. In the following year Sir Walter Raleigh sent out two captains to find a suitable site for a colony which was to be named Virginia, in honour of the unmarried queen. The first group of settlers, taken out by Sir Richard Grenville, had later to be rescued and brought home again by Drake. A second colony, founded in 1587, was forgotten during the Armada excitement and, when it was remembered later, an expedition failed to find a single survivor.

A more serious attempt was made in 1606, when James I granted a charter to the Virginia Company. An expedition sailed under Captain Newport in 1607 and included an adventurer known as Captain John Smith. He had



Fig. 36—An Iroquois Chief.

already fought in numerous wars against Turks and Spaniards, been sold as a slave, and had escaped by killing the man who had bought him. On board he quarrelled with Newport, * was put in irons and sentenced to death. Fortunately he was released later. The adventurers sailed into Chesapeake Bay in April, 1607, continued for forty miles along the estuary of the river which they named the James, and began to construct a fort on the northern bank. This they named Jamestown.

Left to themselves by Captain Newport, a mere handful of inexperienced settlers, they were expected to find merchandise to provide wealth for the Company in London. Actually they had difficulty in keeping themselves alive. It was too late to plant corn, the Indians were hostile, the climate was hot and damp. Fever, hunger, and the quarrelsome irritability which disappointment breeds, would have destroyed the settlement had it not included Captain John Smith.

Smith struggled to maintain some discipline, work and hope amongst the miserable colonists, and finally set out, with two companions, to obtain food from the Indians. The companions were murdered and Smith was captured and taken before an Indian Chief, Powhatan. The Chief first gave food to Smith, then ordered his immediate execution. He was thrown to the ground and the club was already raised when the Chief's daughter, Pocahontas, threw herself over the captive and begged his life. Once more Smith escaped execution and he returned to the settlement, only to be seized by the colonists and condemned to be hanged for the loss of his two companions. On this occasion he was saved by the arrival of Captain Newport, who had brought out provisions and about a hundred equally stupid colonists, all expecting easy and rapid wealth.

† Smith returned to England, and the colonists, left to themselves, were rapidly reduced to " sixty ragged skeletons ". In England Smith was urging for the selection of a different type of settler and impressing the nature of the true con-

ditions on the Company's directors. As a result the real development of the colony began, and, with the plantation of tobacco, it rapidly developed a trade. Proper defences were constructed, the colony was disciplined and organised, and adequate arrangements were made for the supply of food. In 1614 Smith returned to America and began to explore the coast farther north. He constructed a map of the region between the mouth of the Hudson and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and named this land New England.

It was to New England that a new type of colonist arrived in 1620. Fourteen years earlier a number of Puritans, in the Nottinghamshire village of Scrooby, had separated themselves from the English Church. England was dangerous for "Separatists", so they decided to emigrate to Holland where there was a genuine religious toleration. They reached the coast, bribed the captain of a ship to take them, were betrayed by him instead, and imprisoned. After another unsuccessful attempt some of them making a third effort reached Holland, where they were gradually joined by the others. For twelve years they lived and worked at Leyden, but they were strangers in a strange land and decided, in 1620, to found a colony of their own.

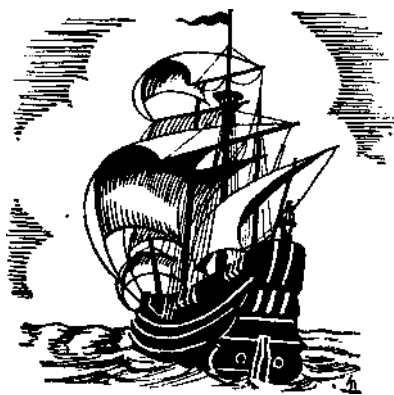


Fig. 37—"The Mayflower."

They gained permission from the Virginia Company to form a settlement on the northern part of its territory and, with money borrowed from some London merchants, the Puritan exiles chartered two ships, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*. Almost immediately after setting out from Southampton the *Speedwell* sprang a leak and had to be abandoned at Plymouth. After delaying for a month,

they were all transferred to the Mayflower and set out again. It was now September 6th.

The name " Pilgrim Fathers ", by which they are known, suggests a number of rather ponderous old gentlemen, but actually, of the hundred and two. passengers, all but nine were under forty years of age and more than a third of them were girls and boys of less than twenty-one years.

They landed on November 9th near Cape Cod, on the south-east coast of the region Captain John Smith had named New England, the land which is separated from the rest of the continent by the Hudson valley and the St. Lawrence.

The " Pilgrims " found a clearing abandoned by Indians, but they had little more good fortune. The sea was so shallow that the ship had to be left out some distance, and it was necessary even to wade from the boats through icily cold water when goods were being carried to shore. There were no horses, so logs had to be dragged by hand before the rough cabins could be built. Lack of food, biting winds, lack of shelter, wet clothing, and the heartbreaking labour, soon depleted the numbers of the little colony and, by the completion of the village, half of the " Pilgrims " had died.

The huts were of logs, clay and thatch. They were arranged as a cross, along two streets crossing at right angles. A palisade surrounded the settlement, and a wooden church had to serve also as a general storehouse. There was no plough so corn had to be planted in holes into which small fish were placed to serve for manure. Yet the remnant survived and grew, under the disciplined leadership of William Bradford, who was elected President, year after year with few exceptions, until his death in 1657.

More and more Puritans were driven from England by the persecution of Archbishop Laud, in Charles I's reign, and* many similar settlements began to appear along the coast of New England. Farming and fishing provided

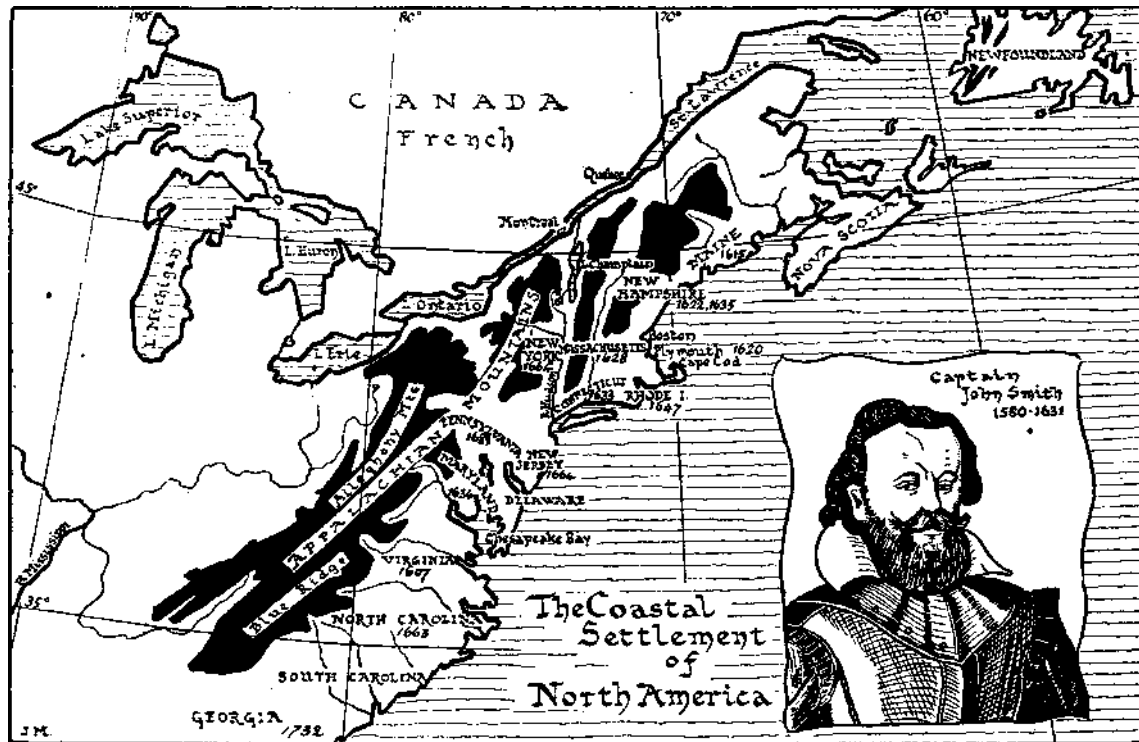


Fig. 38— The Coastal Settlement of North America.



Fig. 39—A typical hut built of logs. the population had increased to sixteen thousand. New Plymouth, the Pilgrim Fathers' settlement, then numbered three thousand people.

As the population grew new settlements had to be formed, such as Connecticut and New Haven, which joined to make a single colony in 1639, New Hampshire and Maine. The Puritan settlers were no more tolerant of different religious opinions than had been the government which had driven them from England, so a number of settlers, anxious for freedom of worship, founded Rhode Island Colony in 1647.

Already, on the other side of the Hudson, and to the south, new colonies were being founded. In 1633 Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, founded a colony just north of Virginia, round Chesapeake Bay, and named it Maryland, after Charles I's queen, Henrietta Maria. Thirty years later Charles II granted a charter to a group of his friends, authorising the colonisation of all the land south of Virginia as far as the Spanish settlement in the peninsula of Florida. Accordingly the North and South Carolinas were founded. North of Maryland the colony of Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn, a Quaker whose father, Admiral Penn, had helped to restore Charles II to the throne.

Life in these southern settlements was very different

from that in the Puritan Colonies of New England. In

food, and a fur trade soon began to develop. In 1629 Puritan refugees from Dorset founded Massachusetts, round the harbour on which Boston has grown. More emigrants arrived in 1630 under John Winthrop and by 1640



Fig. 40—A Stockade, or Palisade.

the northern colonies the climate was cold and hard; in Virginia it was warm and wet; in the Carolina region it was unhealthily hot, and very wet. The northern settlers were refugees, creating a new life in a harsh region where dense forests made cultivation difficult. The southern colonies had been formed by companies or by noblemen for the purpose of trade. In Virginia the climate was ideal for the cultivation of the tobacco plant; the Carolinas were more suitable for the production of rice and cotton. The southern colonies, however, were unsuited to white labour, and soon the population of the southern colonies began to consist of wealthy planters and slaves. A new market was found in the tobacco plantations for the sale of negrd captives.

We have already noticed that these two groups of colonies were separated by the important valley of the Hudson, and this gap, with its adjacent land, had been claimed by the Dutch. The river owes its name to Henry Hudson, who had been employed by the Dutch East India Company to find a North-West Passage. Instead he had traced the course of the Hudson river, and in 1623 he had founded the New Netherland Colony or New Amsterdam. Both English and French settlers looked covetously towards this valuable Dutch strip.

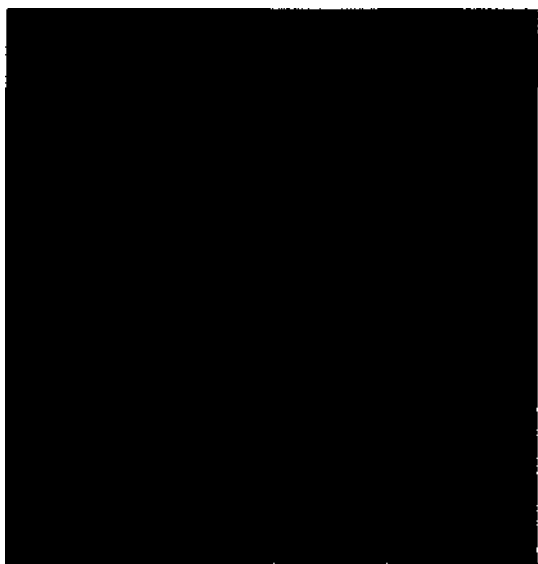
While England was preoccupied by the Civil War, and while France, Spain and the Empire were engaged in the Thirty Years' War, Holland seized the opportunity to capture the slave trade and most of the world's carrying trade. Both Cromwell and Charles II Had determined to recapture the English shipping supremacy, and, by the Navigation Acts, had not only forbidden the importation of goods in any but British ships, or in ships of the country sending the goods, but had also forbidden trade between the colonies and foreign countries.

A Dutch war was inevitable, but it was not confined "to Europe. In 1664 an expedition of four ships and four hundred and fifty men under Colonel Nicolls captured New

Amsterdam, which was renamed New York in honour of the king's brother, James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral. The duke, as Lord Proprietor of the territory, granted a section of it to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley and named it New Jersey. The chain of English possessions was now unbroken.

Another expedition broke the Dutch monopoly of the slave trade and English ships soon began to carry negroes and gold from the Guinea coast of Africa. The gold was coined into "guineas".

The war, however, ended shockingly. Charles preferred amusement to the dull business of the council chamber; bad management and dishonesty, which deprived the sailors of years of pay, led to desertion and mutiny. The Dutch took advantage of the opportunity to sail up the Medway and to burn part of the fleet. Actually, however, England



[Fox Photo

Fig. 41—The Coast of Haiti, West Indies.

had already gained what she had needed, and the Treaty of Breda, 1667, confirmed the British possession of New Amsterdam.

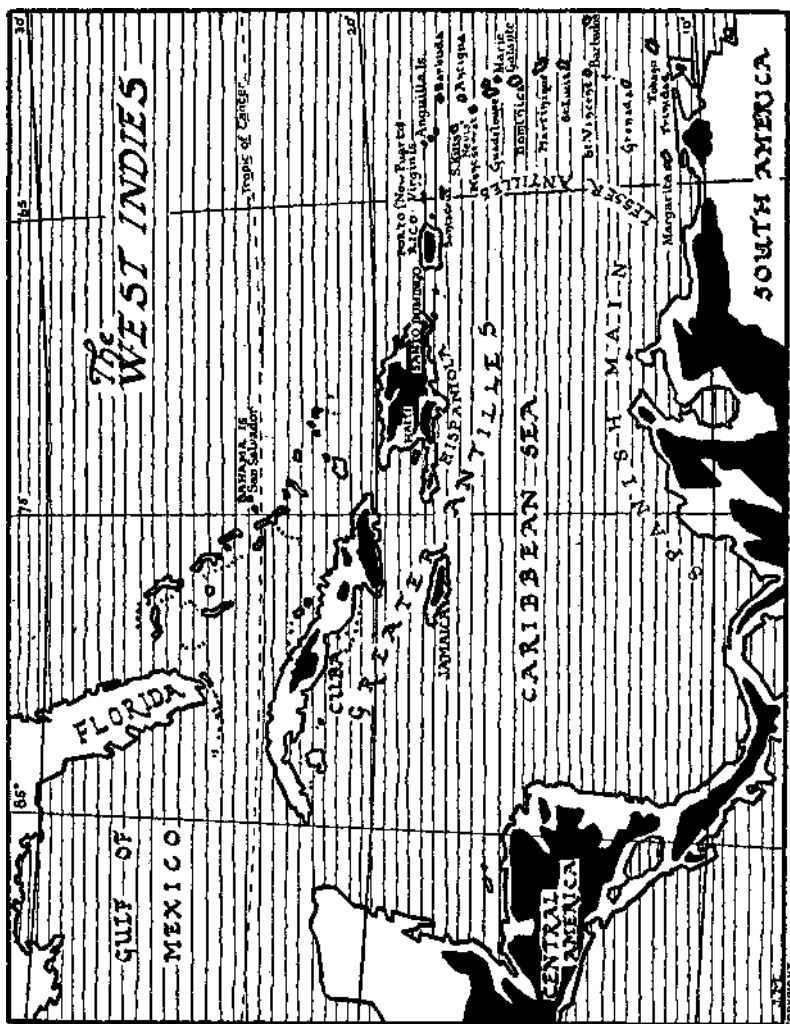
Now that England possessed the valley which communicated with the St. Lawrence and the French territories, rivalry was certain to develop rapidly between the French and English settlers; for the English could not extend further except into the French interior, and the French were cut off from the whole coast line between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico.

Rivalry was inevitable also in the West Indies, where a tropical climate, heavy rainfall and fertile soil combined to suggest the easy cultivation of a great variety of tropical produce.

The islands form the broken fragments of two curves. The more important of these begins as a broken continuation of the Yucatan peninsula of Central America, first as the long, narrow island of

[Fox Photo Cuba, which is

Fig. 42-Banana cultivation on the island of Tobago, almost continuous



with the mountainous Hispaniola and Porto Rico, then it curves southwards through a great number of smaller islands which end in Trinidad. This curve forms a frontier to the Caribbean Sea, and comprises the Greater and Lesser Antilles. The other and less regular curve forms the Bahama Islands, which extend from Florida to Hispaniola.

In 1620 Captain Roger North and Thomas Warner began to plant tobacco on the bank of the Amazon. James I had forbidden them to do so, and Warner, when later he brought back a supply of tobacco, was imprisoned in the Tower. When released he found that Spain and Portugal had attacked his plantation, so he decided to transfer his attention to the Indies. Spain was already firmly established in the Greater Antilles, but the smaller islands were as yet unclaimed, partly because there was no indication of the existence of gold or silver, and partly because the Caribs who inhabited many of them were ferocious savages believed to be cannibals.

Warner, in 1625, established himself in St. Christopher, which was known later as St. Kitt's and, finding the Caribs troublesome, persuaded a company of French pirates to join him. In the same year Charles I thoughtlessly granted Barbados to two different proprietors and, during the long quarrel for possession, Warner, now Sir Thomas, began to open up tobacco plantations in other islands. Nevis was claimed in 1628, Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. In this year the Dutch seized Tobago, and the French claimed Dominica. The scramble had begun. In 1635 French planters were settled in Guadaloupe and Martinique, and three years later England seized St. Lucia. Spain had long been in possession of Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico and Jamaica, but had failed to develop them and these islands had become the haunts of pirates.

Cromwell sent out an expedition to capture Hispaniola in 1654 under Admiral Penn, father of the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, but the expedition failed in its object and captured Jamaica instead. No one wanted Jamaica, which was full of malaria and yellow fever, and early attempts to

develop it ended disastrously. Finally it was taken over by English planters from Barbados, who began the cultivation of sugar canes. The work in a sugar plantation is even more strenuous than the cultivation of tobacco plants, and there was an increasing demand for negro slaves.

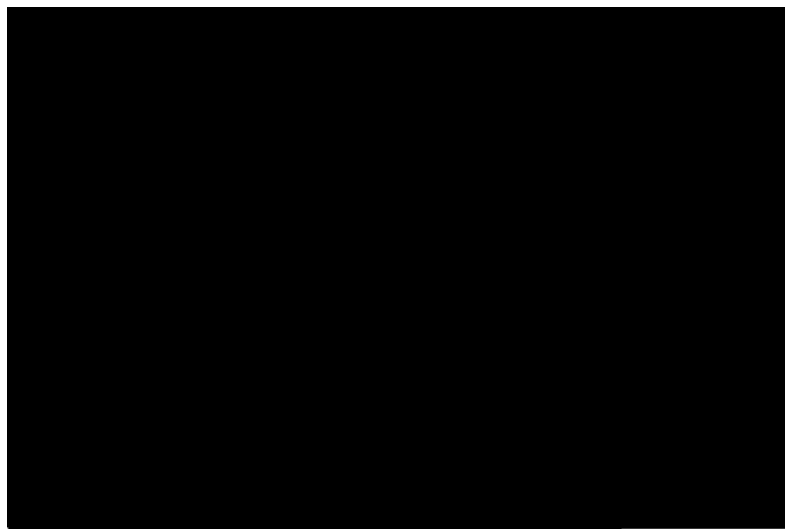


Fig. 44—Work on a Sugar Plantation, West Indies.

The Treaty of Utrecht added the Spanish colonies to England's recognised slave markets and, though the slave trade was horrible, white labour would have been unendurable under the conditions of the early tropical plantations. As we have previously noticed, England gained, also, by the treaty, both Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, thereby gaining the command of the entrance to the St. Lawrence and a certain entry into the French-controlled interior. France and Spain, enemies for so long, were both ruled, after Utrecht, by Bourbon kings, and both had ample cause to quarrel with Britain. Though an uneasy peace was to endure for a generation, a commercial and colonial struggle between England and the Bourbon kingdoms was unavoidable.

CHAPTER V

DUTCH, FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN INDIA

INDIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN, to Europeans, a land of mystery and fascination : a land of glittering temples, of fabulously wealthy princes, of gardens of lotus flowers, innumerable precious stones, and elephants, of mysterious religions and ceremonies, a land of magic and colour. But there is, as always, another and different picture, equally true. There are nearly four hundred million people crowded in India—a fifth of the world's population. Millions of these live in fear and in utter wretchedness, protected only by mud-daubed wickerwork from tiger or leopard or cobra,



[By courtesy of Mr. F. Deaville Walken]
Fig 45—A Village of the Ganges Plain.

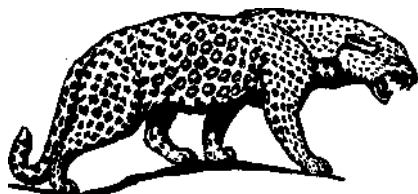


Fig. 46-Leopard.

which kill over twenty thousand natives every year, and driven in time of famine to dig for roots in a parched and dusty earth, and to stew the bark stripped from the thirsty trees. There are beautiful

cities in India, but there are also half a million villages where life is hard and often cruel.

Though the main fascination of India lies in its peoples, we shall understand them better if we first look at the land which is their home.

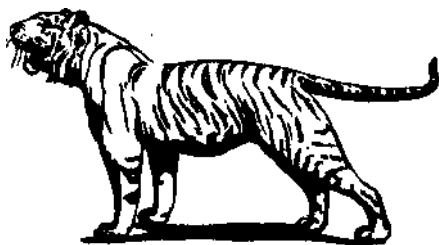
India is separated from the rest of Asia by the greatest mountain system in the world. Starting from the Pamir Knot the mighty Himalayas curve south-eastwards in a series of vast ranges, two thousand miles long, reaching a height, at Mount Everest, of over five and a half miles. Great ice-covered precipices, snow, following the line of the peaks and broken ridges for hundreds of miles, enormous glaciers, deep, gloomy chasms, extend in massive grandeur as though for ever; and always there is silence, except for the cry of a bird, or when some disturbance sends snow and rock crashing down into the distance below.

Farther down the mountain sides are forests of pine, fir, and Himalayan oak, and lower still cluster little groups of crudely built huts of heavy timber, with little terraced gardens, where mountaineers live a lonely life. In the Spring they journey across mountain and valley, to sell to the people of the plains the WOOD



A warrior from northern India.

carving or the fabrics they have made during the winter months. Then they return to their mountain homes with whatever they have bought, gather the crops, and prepare for another winter, when wind and snow imprison them in **their** smoky dwellings.



South of the Himalayas lies the great plain of the Indus and Ganges rivers. The Indus rises on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas and flows north-westwards until it reaches a valley through which it turns south, through the gateway through which peoples of all times have found an entry into India. Joined by four tributaries the Indus flows first through the Punjab, the "Land of the Five Rivers", and then continues alone, through desert land, to reach the Arabian Sea just north of the Tropic of Cancer. On the western bank of the Indus the Sulaiman Mountains form a boundary between India and Afghanistan.

But it is the Ganges, the sacred river, which is the home of Indian civilisation. Rising twenty-two thousand feet up amongst the snow fields of the Himalayas, the Ganges rushes down through rocks and forests till it reaches the plains. Then, for a thousand miles, it flows through tree, jungle and grass jungle, through a valley dotted with thousands of villages, until it pours through its great muddy delta into the Bay of Bengal. There it is joined by the Brahmaputra, which has made its way from the northern side of the Himalayas.

In this valley there is none of the majestic grandeur of the northern scenery, but, in the wet season, there are hundreds of thousands of muddy fields, which, by April or May, are dusty and brown, baked hard by the fierce tropical sun. Here is **India's** densest population, crowded into villages of mud

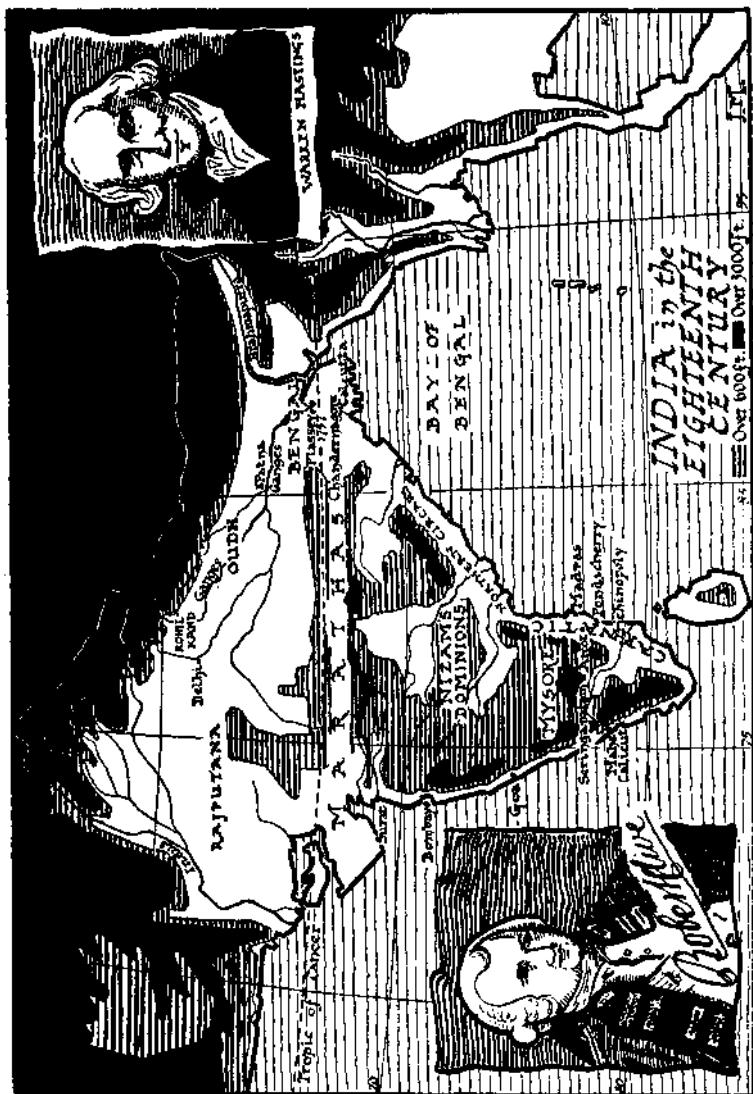


Fig. 49—India in the Eighteenth Century.

huts, with here and there a city and town, with palaces and temples, bazaars, and many symbols of the ancient civilisation which grew along the river valley.

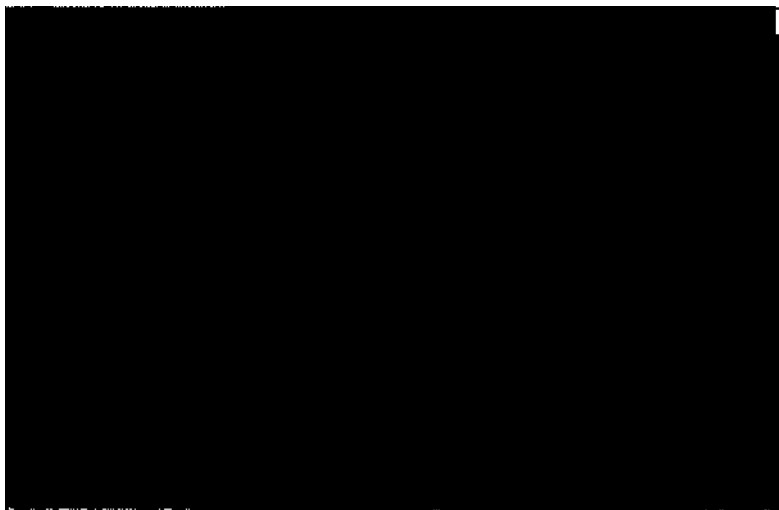
For the millions who live near the Ganges, life is hard. Because rice yields more food in a given area than does any other plant, and because it grows easily in mud and heat, rice forms the main food of the Hindus of the Ganges valley. Millions of men and women have to spend the greater part of their lives wading through the mud of the rice fields, transplanting in due time the rice plants into the flooded fields, where, knee-deep in mud and water, they tend the plants on which they depend. Others grow millet or barley, using the same kind of wooden plough and primitive sickle that were used hundreds of years ago. The same wretchedness that stirred Gautama Buddha to pity, five hundred years before the time of Christ, still exists amongst the millions of the Ganges valley.

The rest of India, south of the plain of the Indus and the Ganges, is a huge triangle of mountains with the apex in the south. The northern base of the triangle consists of the Vindhya Mountains and the Satpura Hills. The triangular plateau is known as the Deccan, and from the high Western Ghats which form its western side it slopes gently towards the east, so that the rivers of the Deccan flow right across the peninsula towards the Eastern Ghats, where they break through to water and fertilise the eastern coastal plain.

Life in the Deccan is harder than anywhere else in India. There are low, dry, rocky hills, which are the home of leopards; there are forests and dense grassy jungles, haunted by tigers and the



Fig. 50—A man from Cochin, Malabar Coast.



[By courtesy of Mr. F. Deaville Walker]*

Fig. 51—The low, rocky Hills of the Deccan.

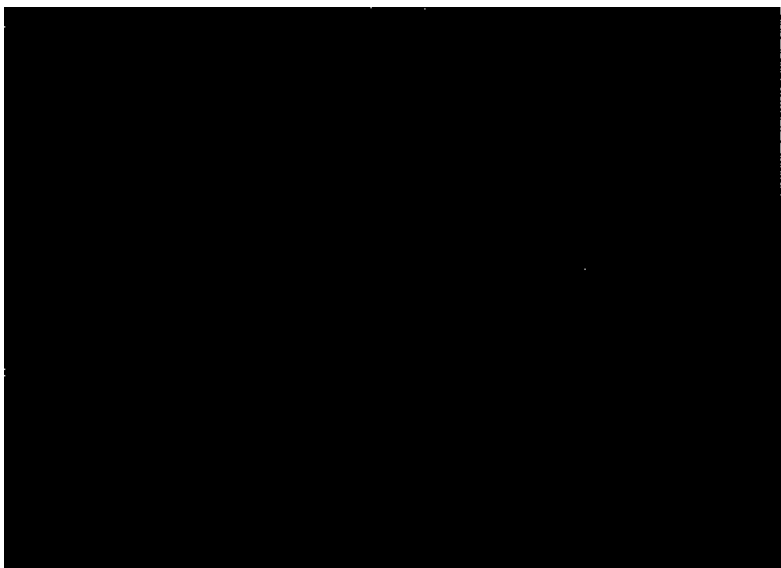


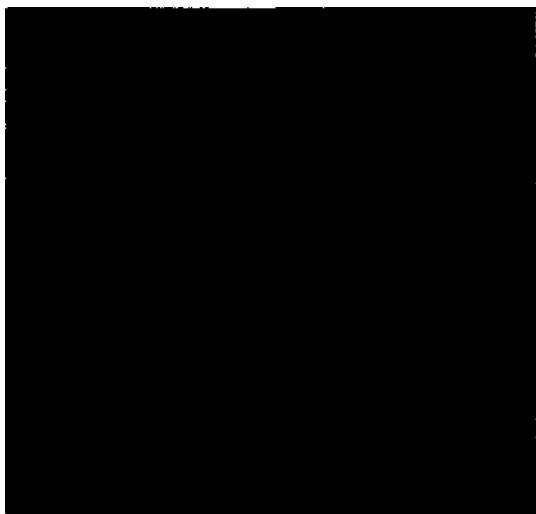
Fig. 52—Typical Malabar Scenery.

[Fox Photo.]

still more deadly cobras. There are huge rock-strewn areas where the cactus and the prickly pear bear witness to the scarcity of moisture, and to the constant dread of famine which faces the village dwellers of the Deccan.

Very different is life on the coastal plains. The western plain of the Malabar Coast is narrower than that of the eastern or Coromandel Coast, where the fertile lowlands are sometimes two hundred miles wide. Here, in the south-east, life is relatively easy, for the sea helps to temper the intense tropical heat, and there is plenty of moisture without the excessive summer rainfall of the western coast, for there the south-west monsoons shed the bulk of their rain before they rise over the Western Ghats. Here again are rice and millet fields, hundreds of little villages, with clusters of palmyra palm trees, and scattered wayside shrines.

A few hundred yards away from most of the towns or villages are little clusters of miserable hovels, where, in rags



[By courtesy of Mr. F. Deaville Walka.

Fig. 53—A Village in South India.



[By courtesy of Mr. F. Deunlle W'alke.*

Fig. 54—A Caste Home in South India.

and squalid wretchedness, live the outcastes or "untouchables", despised and shunned, forbidden to use even the village well. There are fifty millions of them in India; they are not diseased and have committed no crime, but are born as outcastes, and their children will be outcastes too. Unprotected, it is they who suffer most from prowling wild animals and from famine. Like the fortune of all of us, whether it be good or bad, their lot is the joint product of historical and geographical factors.

In the dim past, through the mountain passes along the Indus valley, came people known as the Dravidians, who gradually spread over India, driving the previous inhabitants into the mountains and jungles where their descendants still exist. Later, Mongolian tribes from China entered along the valley of the Brahmaputra and settled in the Ganges valley. Then, about 1500 B.C., the vigorous nomadic Aryans began to spread eastwards and westwards into Europe and Asia, from their home near the Caspian Sea, and many began to settle in India. Aryan civilisation developed in the same way as most of the ancient civilisations developed. There evolved, in time, an all-powerful priesthood whose members, known as Brahmans, were the guardians of the sacred writings, rather as the priests of ancient Egypt were. There were, too, noble warriors, the Kshatriyas, inferior only to the priests, though they often challenged their supremacy. As in every kind of civilisation the specialist, whether priest or soldier, has to be fed and clothed, an inferior class, known as the Vaisyas, developed to till the ground and to do the work. In time, as merchants, money-lenders, and skilled craftsmen appeared amongst the Vaisyas, their desire for comfort and their specialised lives had created a fourth class of labourers, who were little better than slaves, and who were usually conquered peoples converted to Brahmanism. These people were known as Sudras. These divisions of people remained rigidly separated as "castes", and to be born into a caste fixed the Hindu there for life. The first two castes remained undivided, for they represented



Fig- 55—Typical East Indian Scenery. [E.N.A.]
The famous Bromo Volcano.

specialised work, but the third and fourth castes have subdivided into hundreds of castes.

Outside this caste system remained all the peoples whom the Aryans had conquered and who had not, in the early days, adopted Brahmanism. It was probably fear which, in the first place, led to their rigid exclusion from all contact with the lives of the conquerors, for at first they were far more numerous. Now, after hundreds of years, their miserable descendants are still outcastes and "untouchable".

Like the Aryan conquerors of Europe, the Aryans of India began to develop a feudal type of organisation, with tribal rulers growing by conquest into kings or rajahs, and rajahs growing, by further conquest, into maharajahs, or

great kings. This development was checked in the eleventh century by the appearance of new invaders, the Mohammedans, whose rapid empire building had been checked in the distant west, in the previous century, by the Franks.

From the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries the Mohammedans, Arab, Persian, Tartar and Turk, in successive waves, struggled to establish a Moslem empire in India. They succeeded in creating an empire, but Brahmanism remained unconquered. Akbar the Great, who founded the Mogul Empire by consolidating the Mohammedan conquests, was contemporary with England's Queen Elizabeth.

Other strangers had already begun to appear, for on May 20th, 1498, Vasco da Gama, with three Portuguese ships, reached Calicut, and soon Portuguese traders and missionaries were established at Goa and Diu on the western coast. In 1599 an English representative of Elizabeth's court, Sir John Mildenhall, stood, plumed cap in hand, before Akbar in the marble palace of Agra. As a result of



Fig. 56—Typical East Indian Scenery.
A stream running through jungle country in Sumatra.

[E.N.A.]

his mission the English East India Company was founded in the following year, with the monopoly of the English trade of the East.

A Dutch East India Company was already active in the East Indies, or the Spice Islands, providing another motive for the Anglo-Dutch Wars we have already noticed.

Sumatra, an island spread across the Equator, Java, and a group of smaller islands, make an almost unbroken curve which forms a kind of frontier to the Pacific Ocean, protecting the inner islands, Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas from the violence of the Indian Ocean. They are all volcanic, watered by the monsoons, extraordinarily fertile, and once they almost certainly connected Asia and Australia.

The two principal openings from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean are the straits on either side of Sumatra, which is separated from the Malay Peninsula by the Malacca Strait and from Java by the Sunda Strait. These the Dutch seized and forbade the English to trade east of Sumatra. Defiance of this order led to the massacre of the English merchants at Amboyna, a tiny island of the Moluccas, in 1623. This practically ended English activities in the Spice Islands, for the Company had already transferred its interest to the mainland of India. After twice defeating the Portuguese, against overwhelming odds, the English had opened a "factory" at Surat, the main port on the Western Coast, in 1616.

The factory at Surat was simply a two-storeyed house* of which the ground floor was used as a warehouse for the goods to be shipped to Europe, and the upper storey was used for the offices and dwelling rooms of the President and the servants of the company.

A second factory was opened in 1632 on the fertile Coromandel Coast at Masulipatam, and, in 1639, another was opened at Madras, a section of which was fortified and named

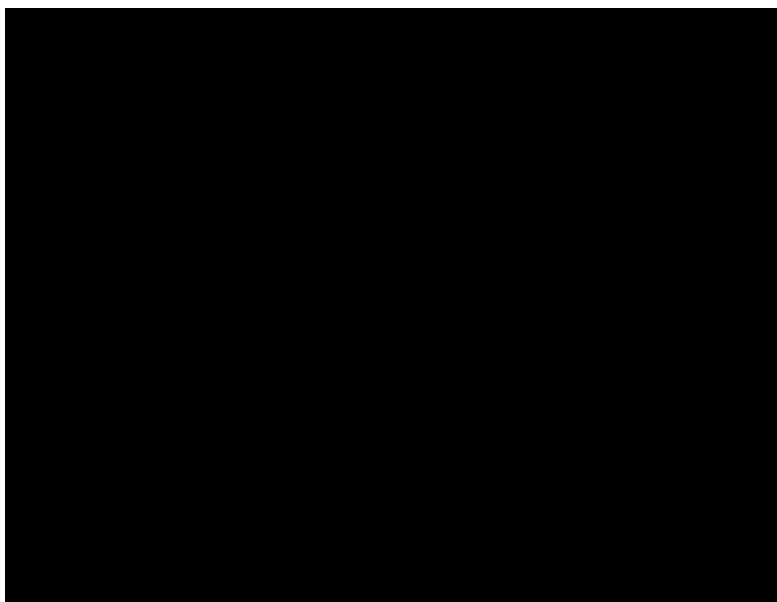


Fig- 57—Market Scene in the Dutch East Indies. *[Bums Philip Line Photo]*

Fort St. George. This controlled the trade of the fertile south-eastern coastal plain which formed the Indian province known as the Carnatic.

Entry into the Ganges valley and the province of Bengal was obtained by the opening of a factory on the left bank of the Hooghli, one of the rivers of the Ganges delta. This factory was destined to grow into Calcutta, now the second city in the British Empire.

In 1660 Charles II was given Bombay as a marriage dowry, and he presented it to the East India Company. Situated on an island, Bombay was more independent and more easily defensible than Surat, and it rapidly became the centre of the north-western trade. As trade increased, representatives went out from each of these centres to estab-

lish agencies either along the western coast, or on the coast of the Carnatic, or along the Ganges valley.

Just as French and English were becoming rivals in North America, England found her growing Indian trade challenged by a French East India Company, which was opening similar factories. Near Calcutta, on the opposite bank of the Hooghli, the French established themselves at Chandernagore, as a challenge to the English trade in Bengal. A hundred miles south of Madras a French factory was opened at Pondicherry, to challenge English trade in the Carnatic. Western trade was threatened by a French station at Mahe, just north of Calicut.

At first the little groups of merchants and clerks, whether English or French, avoided quarrels, for their business was to make profits for their companies and for themselves, and fighting was both expensive and dangerous. For a long



Fig 58—A Sepoy.

time, too, the servants of both companies depended on the friendship and support of the neighbouring Indian princes. The situation began to change in 1707 with the death of the Great Mogul, Aurungzebe, for he left no successor capable of controlling the lesser Indian princes. Rival claimants began to struggle for power, and, in these native rivalries, a French genius named Joseph Francois Dupleix* saw an opportunity to overthrow the English in the Carnatic and to capture the whole of the trade of south-east India for France.

* Pronounced D'yū-pleks.

Dupleix, an aristocratic, courageous and extremely capable French nobleman, had already fortified Pondicherry and created a native army under French officers. War between the French and English in America and in Europe had been in progress *for five years before Dupleix acted in India; then, in 1745, he struck a sudden, unexpected blow. With the aid of a French fleet under La Bourdonnais the French attacked Madras, captured it within a week, and took the English prisoners to Pondicherry.

Amongst the prisoners was a young clerk named Robert Clive, who had enlivened his youth, in Shropshire, by wild escapades, and who had found life in an office in Madras rather dull. Dangerous adventures were more to his taste, and, he and a few companions disguised as natives, escaped to Fort St. David, which was a gallant little agency just south of Pondicherry. It resisted French attempts to capture it, and was still uncaptured when, in 1748, peace was signed in Europe, and, for the moment, imposed on the French and English in India. To the disgust of Dupleix, Madras had to be restored to the English in return for the American fortress of Louisburg which the English colonists had captured.

Dupleix was not to be restrained by European treaties. In 1749 there were two rival claimants for the throne of the Carnatic, and Dupleix had the magnificent idea of helping one of them, so *that, if successful, he would be a puppet in the hands of the French, who could then turn out the English and control the Carnatic through the Nawab. The English were forced in self-defence to support the rival claimant, though not until the whole of the Carnatic except Trichinopoli was in the



Fig 59 —A. Native of Madras.

hands of the French claimant. Trichinopoli was on the point of falling when Clive once more left his desk and, with eight officers and about five hundred men, attacked Arcot, the native capital, to distract the French and their "sepoys", or native soldiers, from Trichinopoli.

Arcot was easily captured, and, as Clive had foreseen, a French force withdrew from Trichinopoli to attack Clive in Arcot. For fifty days he and his little army were besieged, but so popular was Clive with his Indian soldiers that they offered to live on the water in which the scanty rice was boiled so that the English could live on the grain. A final attack on Arcot failed, with heavy loss, and, disorganised by panic, the sepoys deserted the French army. Hundreds of natives joined Clive, who not only was able to relieve Trichinopoli but to capture a French force sent to relieve it. The French claimant was murdered by his Indian enemies, and the English were left supreme in the Carnatic. Dupleix was recalled in disgrace, and Clive, not yet thirty years of age, returned to England as a national hero.

It was only in south-east India that the French and English merchants had seriously quarrelled. Though Calcutta and Chandernagore were in close rivalry, the Nawab of Bengal had compelled them to keep the peace. In 1756 the Nawab died, and his successor, Surajah Daulah, was a brutal and stupid tyrant. In the same year the Seven Years' War between England and France, and various European allies, began, and the English in Calcutta had thought it wise to strengthen their defences. * Surajah Daulah regarded this as a personal affront, and, with an enormous Indian army, captured the depot and was reported to have imprisoned the hundred and fortysix survivors in the Black Hole of Calcutta. By morning only twenty-three were said to have been still alive.

At length news of this reached Madras, and, though rumour or an approaching French fleet made the project risky, the Governor determined to send a force to punish

Surajah Daulah and to regain Calcutta. Clive, who had just returned, was given the command.

Clive sailed to the mouth of the Ganges, recaptured Calcutta, and then found himself in difficulties. Surajah Daulah, aware that a French expedition was on its way, and that delay and inactivity would weaken Clive's force, began a long series of futile negotiations. After some months of this Clive determined to seize a chance opportunity. A treacherous general in Surajah Daulah's army, Mir Jaffir, offered to betray the Nawab by deserting to Clive's side, with his section of the army, if Clive in return would make him Nawab. Clive accepted the offer, but it was a dangerous gamble. It was at Plassey that Clive, with three thousand men, attacked Surajah Daulah's army of fifty thousand, while Mir Jaffir waited, inactive, to join whichever side was likely to be victorious. Clive's little army was flanked by trees, so that the effectiveness of the enemy's superior numbers was reduced. The English guns and a surprise flank attack created a panic, and Surajah Daulah fled, to be murdered.

Clive's victory at Plassey meant more than the revenge of the English for the Black Hole atrocity. Mir Jaffir was so weak a ruler that Clive could not leave him, so that the Company had, in fact, become the sovereign power in Bengal. Unable to go to the help of Madras against the French, who had been reinforced by an expedition of three thousand under Lally Tollendal, Clive sent Colonel Forde and Sir Eyre Coote with every available man. The struggle lasted for two years before the French were finally defeated at Wandewash in 1760. In this year Clive returned to England where he was created Lord Clive of Plassey.

Clive had left a great problem in Bengal. With no superior authority to check them, the servants of the Company became oppressive tyrants, creating and dethroning puppet princes, accepting bribes and seizing plunder, amassing private fortunes, dealing unfairly with Indian traders, and, in

eneral, making themselves and England thoroughly detested by the Hindus throughout the province. The neighbouring Nawab of Oudh invaded the province, and the sepoys in the Company's- army mutinied. The mutiny was crushed by Major Munro, the ringleaders were fired from guns, and Oudh was annexed. The Company's directors in London had no wish to substitute the responsibilities of empire for the profits of trade, and sent out Clive again, with full authority, to restore order in the Ganges valley. He sailed, for the third time, in 1765.

Clive's task was the most difficult he had had to accomplish. An attempt to end the army's tyrannous abuse of its power led to the resignation of the officers and mutiny in the ranks. The officers were replaced and the mutiny was crushed. The merchants, fattening on their dishonourable practices, plotted against him and the whole Council at Calcutta had to be dismissed. After establishing some discipline, Clive tried to readjust the relation between the Company and the native government by organising a system of Dual Control. Hitherto the Company had enjoyed all the authority without recognising any responsibility; now the Company was to be responsible for the administration of the province and for the collection and expenditure of the revenues from which a special grant was to be made to the Nawab.

In 1767 Clive returned to England, having created a system which at least recognised that government involves responsibility to the governed. Unfortunately no members of the English government, except Pitt and Burke, realised that this new responsibility should have been England's, and that imperial rule and administration could hardly be regarded as suitable work for a company of merchants whose main interest would remain in the making of profit. The long struggle had certainly left the English supreme in India, but it had left problems which had not been solved when Clive left it, for the last time, in 1767.

CHAPTER VI

HOW ENGLAND GAINED CANADA AND LOST HER COLONIES

THE DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE of England in 1714 produced more far-reaching results than anything she had done in her lifetime. It brought one of the German princes of the Holy Roman Empire to the English throne as George I, in preference to Anne's half-brother, James Edward Stewart, for whom the Scottish Highlanders rebelled in vain in 1715.

George's German province was Hanover, on the border of the newly created and active kingdom of Prussia, so that England was certain to be drawn into the affairs of Central Europe. Anne's death almost certainly prevented another civil war in England, for the Tory party had been plotting to restore the exiled Stewarts. George's accession, therefore, was a victory for the Whigs, a party which had developed mainly from the merchant class, and the Whigs controlled the government for half a century. As George I never learned to speak English and ceased even to attend the "Cabinet" meetings of his ministers, the actual government of the country **passed into the hands of**



Fig. 60—Robert Walpole.

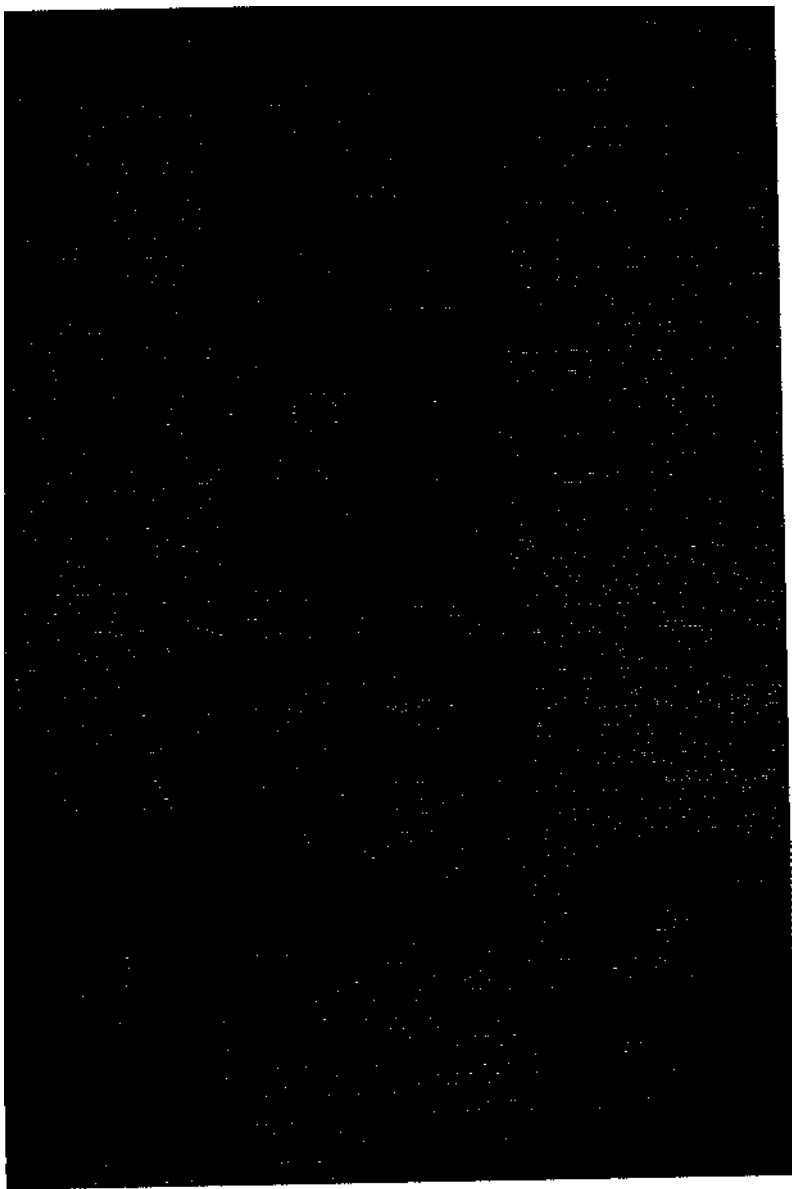


Fig. 61 -The Hanoverian Sovereigns of England.

a small body of wealthy men, one of whom began to preside over the rest as chief minister. From 1721 to 1742 a Norfolk squire, Robert Walpole, ruled England as its first " Prime Minister ".

Walpole was a jovial squire who laughed at life and scoffed at ideals, believing that all men could be bribed if the bribe *were high enough, but he was extremely efficient and intelligent, and kept England at peace for a generation. This became an increasingly difficult task as the rivalry between England and France grew in India and in North America and, more especially, as commercial rivalry increased between England and Spain.

By the Treaty of Utrecht England, in addition to the slave trade monopoly, had acquired the right to send one ship of not more than five hundred tons annually to the Spanish South American Colonies. At first by reloading at sea or in the West Indies, and by extensive smuggling, and finally quite openly, England had broken this contract, known as the Assiento Treaty, and had continued to develop a " Great Triangle " of South Atlantic trade. Gaudy cloth, beads, gin, muskets and various cheap attractions were shipped to the West African Coast and exchanged at a huge profit for negroes. These were then taken to the West Indies and South America and exchanged, at a second profit, for sugar, tobacco and cotton, which were brought back to England and sold to make a third profit.

Spain began to send out armed vessels to search British ships at sea, and unofficial warfare began to develop along the Atlantic trade routes. When an English officer, Captain Jenkins, brought one of his ears home in cotton wool, with the story that it had been cut off by a Spaniard in one such skirmish, Walpole was unable any longer to prevent war. When war was declared in 1739 there was general rejoicing, and it is impossible to avoid quoting Walpole's pun : " They are ringing the bells now; they will soon be wringing their hands ".

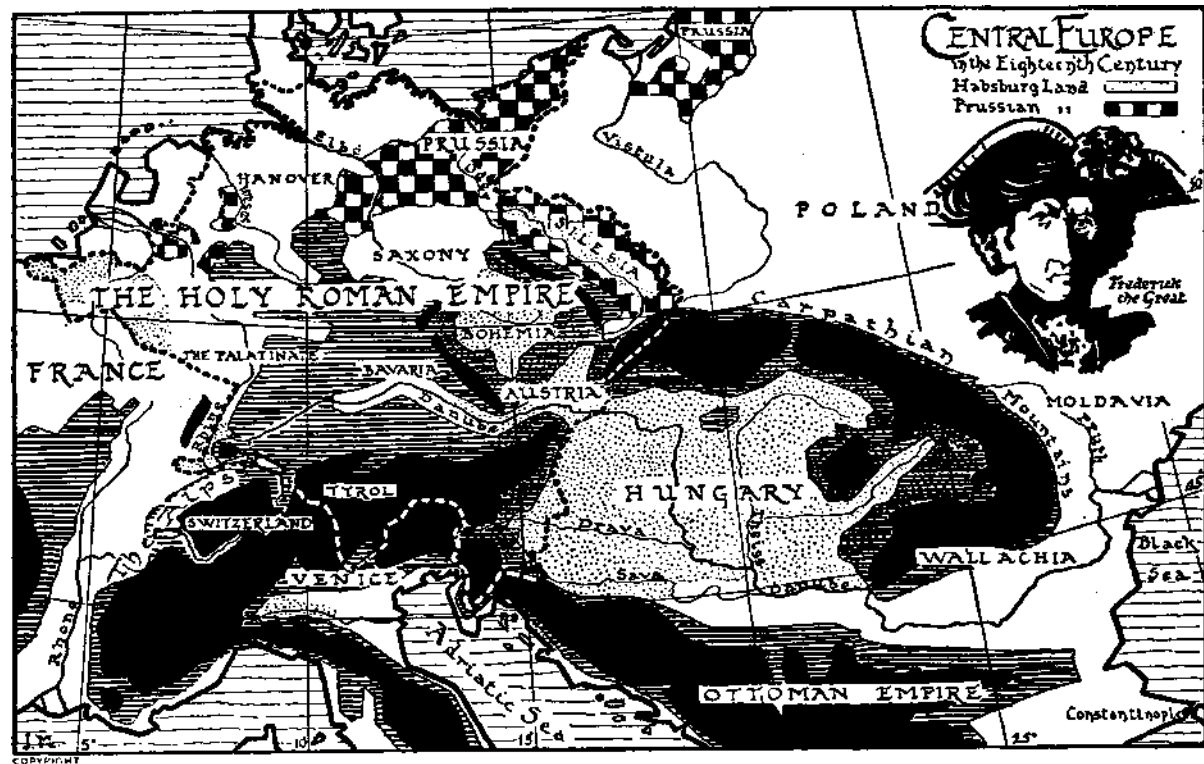


Fig. 62. —Central Europe in the Eighteenth Century.

Meanwhile a series of events in Central Europe, too near Hanover to permit England to ignore them, was bringing another group of rivalries into a war that was soon to be almost world-wide. The kingdom of Prussia had grown from a little barren strip of sand and salt marshes, which Charlemagne had formed into the Mark of Brandenburg early in the ninth century to protect his north-eastern frontier. During the centuries it had succeeded even in extending the frontier and had become an Electorate. After the troubles and exhaustion of the Thirty Years' War it passed into the hands of the "Great Elector", Frederick William Hohenzollern, who turned it into a powerful state. Dutch engineers drained the marshes and watered the sandy wastes, Huguenot exiles from France introduced cloth, silk and other industries, while Frederick William used the profits to create a huge army. Brandenburg helped in the War of Spanish Succession and, as a reward, was recognised in the Treaty of Utrecht as the "Kingdom of Prussia". The first king, Frederick William I, was a coarse, brutal, military fanatic, who scoured Europe for giants for his "Potsdam Guards", and who flogged, imprisoned, tortured and almost murdered his son for no greater crime than a love of music. It was this son who became, in 1740, Frederick II, afterwards called "The Great", and who was to prove an even more alarming neighbour to the English king's electorate of Hanover than his violent father had been.

South of Prussia's poor lands lay the fertile province of Silesia, and an opportunity to acquire it, to a monarch sufficiently unscrupulous, occurred in the year of Frederick's accession, when the Emperor Charles VI died. He left only a daughter, Maria Theresa, whom Frederick, in common with all the European rulers, had promised to recognise as Empress. Frederick, the last to give his pledge, was the first to break it, and demanded Silesia as a bribe for his support. Maria refused, and Frederick occupied it without waiting even to declare war.

^Maria created an army which included many loyal but ragged peasants from Austria and Hungary, and England, possibly fearing that Hanover's turn might come next, formed an alliance with the Empress. England's rivals, France and Spain, naturally joined Prussia, and, when England declared war on France in 1744, the circle was complete. Many Englishmen failed to realise that England's main interest in the War of Double Rivalry was not in the question of Austrian Succession or -the fate of Silesia, but in her colonial and commercial rivalries with France and Spain, the two powers which, since Utrecht, had both been ruled by the Bourbon family. Many blamed George II's Hanoverian interests for the war, and belief in his unpopularity, together with a British defeat at Fontenoy, persuaded the Stewarts to make a last bid for the throne.

Charles Edward Stewart, James IP's grandson, landed in Scotland and, with an army of Highlanders, invaded England. George had begun to pack his belongings and there was a financial panic in London, but there was no real cause for alarm. As Charles marched south he found himself more an object of curiosity than of respect or even of sympathetic interest, and, after reaching Derby, quite disillusioned, he returned to Scotland. Ultimately, disguised as a woman, he escaped to France; the Highland clan system was abolished, and soon Highland regiments were fighting in the armies of Great Britain.

News of the European war reached America in 1745, while in India Dupleix was attacking Madras, and an army of English colonists under William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, determined to attack the great French fortress of Louisburg, which commanded the entrance to the St. Lawrence. With no help from England except that afforded by four ships from the West Indies' fleet, the little army of four thousand began its task. It had to land guns and supplies first across a rocky beach and then across marshy ground, under the guns of a fortress garrisoned by five thousand Frenchman, of whom over two thousand were

regular soldiers. The fortress was **captured after a five weeks' siege** : but it was this fortress of Louisburg **which** the English government restored to the French in exchange for Madras when peace was signed in **1748**.

England lost more than Louisburg by the exchange, **for** the disappointed colonists were more than ever embittered against the mother country ; and the French, realising before England the importance of the American struggle, began to strengthen the defences of Louisburg.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the first war of the Double Rivalry, was only a truce. Frederick II kept Silesia which Austria was determined to regain. In India the French were determined to regain Madras, and in North America there was no pretence at peace. The French, though less numerous than the British settlers, were united, whereas the thirteen English colonies were mutually jealous. The French occupation of the interior had brought them into contact with the Red Indians, who were friendly, and had accustomed the French to life in the backwoods and wilderness of the interior. The French had already begun to spread eastwards from the Ohio valley, along the rivers which made passes through the Alleghanies, and replied to the complaints of the Virginian planters by building forts at important points on these rivers. An English fort, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, was occupied by the French. A young squire named George Washington, with four hundred men, failed to recover it and the French named it Fort Duquesne.

The English government, which had hoped that the colonists could look after themselves, sent General Braddock with fourteen hundred men to organise the defence of the colonies. The French government sent out a stronger force with instructions to cut the British colonies into two sections by concentrating on the gap formed by the Hudson **river and lakes** George and Champlain. A convenient fog



Fig 65—The Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence.

HOW ENGLAND GAINED CANADA 99 AND LOST HER COLONIES

helped the French expedition to slip past an English fleet under Admiral Boscawen, who had been sent to intercept it.

Meanwhile, in Europe, the English government had formed an alliance with Prussia, as a better means of safeguarding Hanover than by fighting Frederick; but the alliance had driven Austria to seek the friendship of France and Spain, for Maria Theresa was still determined to regain Silesia. Consequently, when the war recommenced in 1756, it was still a war of two distinct rivalries, with Austria and Prussia fighting for European territory, while England was fighting against the Bourbon kingdoms for colonial and commercial reasons; but the allies had changed sides. This change is known as the Diplomatic Revolution, and this phase of the world-wide struggle is called the Seven Years' War.

The Wars of the Double Rivalry

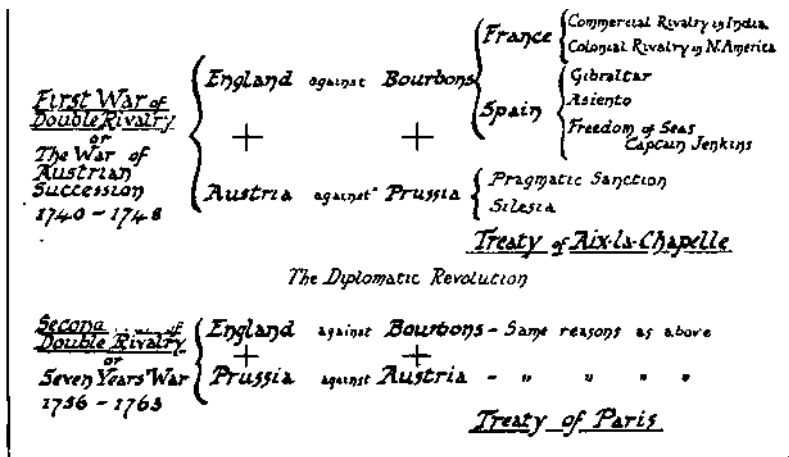


Fig 64 —Table of The Wars of the Double Rivalry

The war had already begun badly for England. In North America Braddock, with Washington as guide, had set out on a march of a hundred miles, mainly through trackless forest, to regain Fort Duquesne. His fourteen hundred men, unaccustomed to this kind of environment, were ambushed; Braddock was killed and only a small remnant was saved by the skill of Washington. The Red Indians who had attacked them remained invisible foes.

Farther north the French had already begun to concentrate on the Hudson-Champlain valley, and had constructed forts at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, to command the narrow passage between Lakes Champlain and George. At home the French captured Minorca, England's chief naval base in the Mediterranean, and threatened to invade England. Admiral Byng, who failed to recapture Minorca, was shot; and while England seemed to waver between hysteria and paralysis the French sent a great force under the brilliant general, the Marquis de Montcalm, to drive the English from North America.

One man in England, William Pitt, already forty-six years old, had for a long time thundered his denunciations of the feeble government from the opposition benches. In December 1756 he was asked to take charge. Pitt was a man of incredible energy and an organising genius. His infectious enthusiasm energised everyone with whom he came in contact, and he believed that to attack was the best means of defence. He

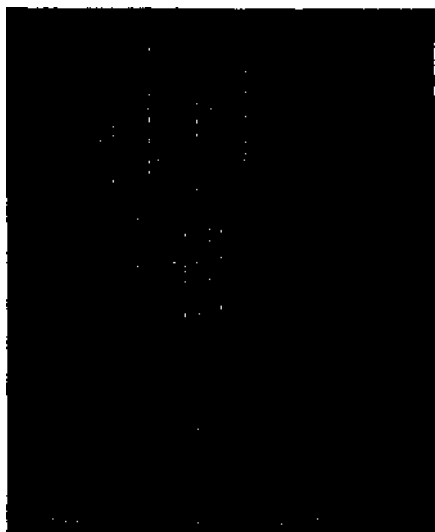


Fig. 65—William Pitt the Elder.

planned to blockade the French ports to keep the French navy inactive; expeditions were to be sent to attack the French coast to destroy French confidence at home; money was to be sent to Frederick II to help him to beat the French armies in Europe, and England, thus freed from anxiety, was to concentrate on the war in North America.

Unfortunately Pitt's outspoken criticisms had made many enemies, including George II, and after four months Pitt was dismissed. But there was no one to replace him and for three months England had no government at all! When Pitt was recalled, nominally in harness with the incompetent Duke of Newcastle, he was really Dictator of England.

Montcalm had not been wasting his opportunity and had driven the English from Fort William Henry on the Hudson itself. Disasters followed in Europe and news arrived of the tragic events in Bengal. Even Pitt felt that England was a "distressed, disgraced country". But Frederick, subsidised by Pitt, began to win victories, and news arrived of Clive's miracle at Plassey. A new enthusiasm aroused England and Pitt made every use of it. The navy was strengthened and the blockade of French harbours and of the Mediterranean was rigorously enforced. An expedition captured the West African French factories and their trade in gold, ivory and slaves. The colonists were promised financial help and troops were sent over to carry out a three-fold plan.

An expedition under Admiral Boscawen and Colonel Amherst, with James Wolfe as second-in-command, was to capture Louisburg and advance up the St. Lawrence. A force under Abercromby was to advance along the Hudson valley, capture the forts at the south of Lake Champlain, and join the other force on the St. Lawrence. A third force was to keep the French occupied in the Ohio valley and join the Lakes. Louisburg was regained and the way to Quebec opened; Forbes, in the interior, recaptured Fort

Duquesne and renamed it Pittsburg. The French were defeated on Lake Ontario and the way to the St. Lawrence from the interior was opened. If Abercromby had also succeeded in clearing the Hudson-Champlain valley the French would have been completely cut off from the coast. Unfortunately he wasted his gallant Highland regiments in a futile attempt to drive Montcalm from Ticonderoga.

The plan was repeated in 1759, when Montcalm, supported by a new French government under the vigorous Duke of Choiseul, had concentrated a vast army of fifteen thousand men at Quebec. Wolfe, now in command of the St. Lawrence army, -with Admiral Saunders, was to advance against Quebec from the east. Amherst was given the task of capturing the Champlain forts and of advancing on Quebec from the west. A third force under Colonel Prideaux was to advance from the Lakes and to attack Montreal.

Though the last two expeditions were successful they did not reach the St. Lawrence in time to help Wolfe, who was faced with an almost impossible task. Quebec crowned a rocky precipice two hundred feet high, bristling with guns which commanded the river. On the other side was the Isle of Orleans, fortified, and held by a French army larger than Wolfe's. Months passed with no news of Amherst, and an icily cold September came as a warning that soon the river would be frozen.



A drawing made from an old print.

Wolfe decided to attempt what was but a last slender hope. On a dark night a

force of less than five thousand men rowed as silently as possible to the foot of a narrow path which zig-zagged up the cliffs to the " Plains of Abraham " above. Twenty-four volunteers went first and overcame the sentries. Then, dragging two guns, the rest followed. In the morning they were lined on the plain. Montcalm, astonished, hurriedly organised an attack to sweep the impudent invaders back into the river, but the British waited until the French were within forty paces. Then they fired and charged, with Wolfe, his red hair flying, for he wore no wig, leading. Three times he was wounded, and he fell dying, but not before he knew that Quebec was won. Montcalm too was slain.

The war was not yet over, for the British were besieged in Quebec until relieved by the fleet and by an expedition from Lake Champlain. The French retreated to Montreal but that, too, was captured, in 1760, and Canada had become an English conquest.

The war dragged on in Europe until, in 1763, the Peace of Paris ended it. France, completely exhausted, had to surrender Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, and all North American territory east of the Mississippi except New Orleans, and the barren islands, Miquelon and St. Pierre, off Newfoundland, which gave her fishing rights. In the West Indies France retained Martinique and Guadeloupe, but England gained Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago and Dominica. France also restored Minorca and recognised British supremacy in Bengal and the Carnatic.

Three years before the Treaty of Paris was signed, George III, a young prince who " gloried in the name of Briton ", succeeded to the throne, determined to restore to the crown its ancient power. Dictators, even though they were national heroes, must not stand in his way, and Pitt had to be sacrificed. The eighteenth century English parliament represented only a very small section of England, and its membership was largely controlled by bribery, purchase and

patronage. George, using the same methods, replaced the Whigs by a party dependent on his patronage, and regarded himself as the "Patriot King". Unfortunately he was obstinate, narrow-minded, suspicious and unintelligent, and the government he created reflected his character.

The long wars had drained the English treasury, and Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, turned to the English colonies, which had gained so much from the wars, to supplement his revenues. The prosperity of the New England colonies depended on trade and shipping rather than on production. They bought and sold tobacco, sugar, rum and molasses (sugar syrup), from the southern colonies and from the West Indies ; rice from South Carolina; furs from the Red Indians; and they themselves sold timber, tar, and other naval necessities. Attempts to restrict this trade to British ports had been consistently evaded, and Grenville determined to enforce the restriction, so that the English revenues might profit from the duties imposed on the trade. Then, by the Stamp Act, he insisted that a stamp should be affixed to every legal document in America. In England today stamps which cost many pounds have to be fixed to certain legal documents.

The colonists, hitherto separated by mutual jealousies, and no longer dependent on England for protection from the French, determined to resist the demands and summoned a Congress with representatives from all the colonies.

It is generally agreed that the British parliament had every constitutional right to impose taxes on its colonists and in fact the trade regulations which had long been imposed had never been questioned by the colonists, though they tried with some success to evade them. These trade regulations were a form of taxation, but the Stamp Act seemed different, for it was a direct tax. The colonists claimed that as they were not represented in the British parliament they could not be subjected to direct taxation by that parliament. They raised the old cry " No taxation without representation ",

and even in the English parliament many supported this claim as the very foundation of liberty. Even Magna Carta had established the principle that the consent of the barons in Great Council was necessary before a new demand could be made of them. So great was the outcry in America that the Stamp Act had to be repealed. Instead increased indirect taxes were levied on tea, glass and paper. Unfortunately the government passed at the same time a Declaratory Act asserting its power to impose laws and taxes on the colonists. The storm broke out more violently than before.

A new colonial agitation led to the repeal of all the taxes except that on tea, but this policy of combining obstinacy and weakness only encouragea the colonists, who were now fighting for a principle. They refused to allow the tea ships in Boston harbour to unload their cargo, and, on December 16th, 1773, fifty colonists, disguised as Red Indians, boarded the vessels and emptied the tea into the sea.

The English government still failed to recognise the determined attitude of the colonists and sent out eight hundred soldiers under General Gage to occupy Massachusetts, which was deprived of its Charter of Liberties, and a fleet to close the Boston harbour to all trade. A number of colonists attacked and defeated Gage at Lexington, eleven miles from Boston.

A new Congress drew up the Declaration of Rights, demanding for the colonists the right of making their own laws and of levying their own taxes. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, appealed for moderation, but George was obstinate and English squadrons were sent to blockade the other colonies. The colonists replied by forming a joint army under George Washington, by declaring that they had the right to trade without interference, and by signing, on July 4th, 1776, the famous Declaration of Independence.

A force of twenty thousand men, under Clinton, sailed to New York, with the intention of carrying out the old plan

of isolating the New Englanders from the southerners by seizing the Hudson-Champlain valley. To assist the scheme a force was to advance from Canada under General Burgoyne.*

Washington had removed his headquarters from New York to Philadelphia, and the whole English plan was delayed by the despatching of eighteen thousand men from New York to capture Philadelphia. While Burgoyne was struggling southwards, the army he was expecting to meet him was spending the winter comfortably in Philadelphia, after having defeated Washington at Brandywine. Burgoyne reached Saratoga, on the Hudson, about twenty miles south of Lake George, and there, in October, 1777, a force of fourteen thousand men compelled him to surrender.

France, Spain and Holland had been watching events, and Saratoga persuaded them that the moment for revenge had arrived. The British navy was scattered, and French and Spanish fleets, regaining command of the seas, transported men and arms to help the colonists, while a Spanish fleet attacked Gibraltar.

General Cornwallis, who had crushed the southern colonies, was ordered by Clinton to march to Yorktown on Chesapeake Bay and to await reinforcements from England. An army under Washington was approaching, and Cornwallis eagerly watched for the arrival of a fleet. When at last the sails appeared, they were the sails of a French navy. Cornwallis surrendered in 1781, and the English colonies had become the United States of America. A fortunate naval victory in 1782, when Rodney defeated the French in the West Indies at the Battle of the Saints, and Sir George Elliott's brilliant defence of Gibraltar during a three years' siege, prevented the treaty from being a complete humiliation, but England had to sign it at Versailles, in 1783.

England had lost her colonies, and gained Canada, which was, in 1783, undeveloped and unpopulated except for the

French province round Quebec, and about forty thousand loyalist refugees who had fled from the rebellious English colonies. To eighteenth-century England it must have seemed a poor exchange. The fact that a body of people had won independence from an unsympathetic government and had set up a democratic state was an example which European peoples did not forget.

PART TWO

THE OLD ORDER AND THE NEW IN EUROPE

CHAPTER VII

MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION
IN HOME PRODUCTION

IN THE STORY told in the last few chapters, one fact that stands out with unmistakable persistence is that Europe, especially Western Europe, seemed interested in nothing but the accumulation of wealth at the expense of other countries. Spain, Holland, France and England had fought not only for wealth, but to deprive each other of wealth. South America, India, the West and East Indies, the West Coast of Africa, and North America were regarded as valuable only in so far as they produced wealth, and England had quarrelled with and lost her colonies because she had expected them to be a source of wealth to her alone.

In the eighteenth century wealth meant money. Money had played a very small part in the lives of most men in the Middle Ages, when kings and nobles lived on the land and depended on the enforced or customary labour of men who, in turn, depended on the protection of their lords. Commerce had, in the main, been left to merchants and to the commercial cities. With the discovery of the New World, silver from the Peruvian mines and gold from West Africa soon increased the money in general circulation and the western countries of Europe became commercially-minded nations.

It is not true that money is wealth. All that man needs,—his food, shelter, clothing, service and advice, even

MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION 101) IN HOME PRODUCTION

leisure,—these things constitute wealth, and money is only a means of measuring the value of goods and of service, in terms of some common unit,, to help the process of exchange. When a man spends money to buy something he wants he is using the money to obtain wealth; and when he receives money in exchange for goods or service he has not exchanged his goods or service for wealth until he has spent the money he has received.

If a number of people were wrecked on a small uninhabited island, their wealth would consist of their actual possessions and whatever the island and the sea could produce in response to their joint efforts. They might find an old chest of coins which they could use, if they wished, to help to organise the exchange of the island's produce and their service, but their total wealth would not be increased however many such chests they discovered. The more coins used, the less each one would buy. Now suppose that one man, stronger than the others, were to find another chest of coins, and try to keep them for himself. He would be no better off until he began to spend his hoard, which would merely put more coins in general circulation, though, for a time, he would accumulate more than his fair share of the island's wealth. Thus the gold and silver discovered in the New World soon began to find its way into general circulation. It is easy to understand, even in the imaginary island, that many would desire to possess as many of the coins as possible, though less of the real wealth *would • then be available for the others. If one man ultimately accumulated and kept all the coins the situation would obviously be absurd, for the money would simply cease to be of any value at all.

Eighteenth century Europe believed that the wealth of a nation or of an individual depended on the amount of actual money or bullion, i.e. gold or silver, which that country or man possessed, and this theory, known as the Mercantile Theory, lay behind the quarrels and wars outlined in the previous chapters. Money was not regarded as valuable

because it helped trade, but trade was regarded as valuable only if it produced a profit in gold or silver, and each nation tried to accumulate as much as possible. This meant, in practice, that each country had to export more goods than it bought, so that the balance could be paid in gold. The method was to produce as much as possible, sell as much as possible to the foreigner, but buy as little as possible from the foreigner, who would then have to pay the balance in bullion. As the foreign nation was, of course, doing exactly the same thing, the obvious result of such a policy was that every nation, instead of enjoying to the full the available wealth of the world, closed its ports to the goods of other nations, or only admitted them on the payment of heavy customs duties. Nations, jealous of each other's productions, grew into armed camps, determined to seize for themselves the wealth which other nations guarded with equal determination.

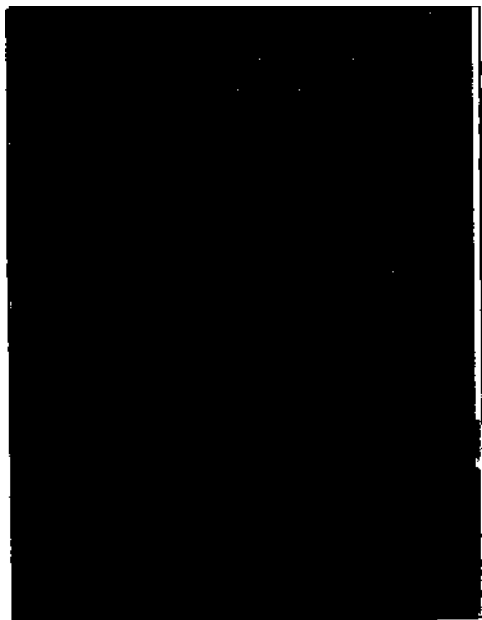
Once this is understood, the attitude of countries to their colonies becomes intelligible. A colony or a trading settlement was regarded simply as an additional source of wealth, to be rigidly and exclusively employed to the advantage of the mother country and jealously guarded from the foreigner, so that its wealth could be sold to him for a monetary profit.

The result of this policy on life within the nation itself is more apparent in England than elsewhere, firstly because eighteenth-century England was more advanced politically and commercially than any other nation in the world, and secondly because England had emerged from the wars with command of the seas. Whereas in every other European state a feudal organisation survived, in varying degrees of decadence, England had long since replaced its Mediaeval nobility with a commercial and middle-class aristocracy, which had increasingly captured the control of the government and the country.

With William III's accession, the practice of lending money to the king, often with little hope of its recovery,

MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION 111 IN HOME PRODUCTION

had ceased, and money was lent to the government instead, while the king was given a fixed annual sum. A company of merchants, formed by a Scotsman named William Paterson lent £1,200,000 to the government at eight per cent annual interest. This money was lent not to the king but to the nation, to be used for the nation by its representatives in parliament. It was, therefore, a 'national debt'. As is the case when money is lent to a company it is not expected that such money will be soon returned or that it will be returned at a fixed time, and those who lend it, if they wish to have their money returned, must sell their 'shares', the receipts they hold to prove that they have lent the money, to someone willing to buy them. Anyone to whom money is owed is known as a creditor, and anyone who has bought National Savings Certificates has lent that money to the



[Fox Photo

Fig 67. -The Bank of England.

country and is one of the nation's creditors. Since 1694 the National Debt has grown until in 1937 it reached the amazing total of approximately £8,000,000,000. In 1945, at the conclusion of the second World War, it was **£22,398,000,000.**

The company received a Royal Charter by which it was given the privilege of incorporating itself as the Bank of England. The bank was able to carry on the work of the old goldsmiths, who had begun by

keeping peoples* money safe for them, and then had found that they always had a reserve of money lying idle. Relying on the fact that it was unlikely that all their depositors would ask for all their money at the same time, they had begun to *lend* the money they held, and to *pay* to the people who had deposited it a lower rate of interest than they themselves obtained. The process of borrowing money at one rate of interest and of lending it at a higher one had been a prosperous business in the Middle Ages. The Bank of England had the additional advantage of being able to issue Bank Notes which its clients could use while the Bank kept or lent the gold or silver. A certain reserve of bullion had to be kept so that a client could have gold if he demanded it.

The practice of lending money to particular enterprises rapidly developed in the eighteenth century, especially to the formation of trading companies. <The early voyages of discovery had often been financed by merchants, who had hoped for a profitable return. The East India Company, which had a Royal Charter granting it the monopoly of all the trade of India and the East Indies, was what is called a Joint Stock Company, which means that the money lent forms a common or joint fund, and that the men who lend it share profits, or losses, in proportion to the share of the capital they have subscribed.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a mania for company-promoting, and thousands of people were anxious to lend money to any kind of company that was formed, however ridiculous its object. The greatest of such companies, and quite a genuine one, was the famous South Sea-Company, formed in 1711 to control the famous triangle of trade between England, Africa and South America. The profits from this trade were known to be enormous, and some people were willing even to pay £1,000 for a £100 share, while the company undertook to take over the bulk of the national debt. This meant that anyone who had lent money to the government, or, rather, to the nation, could exchange the shares or stock he held for South Sea Company

MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION 113 IN HOME PRODUCTION

Stock. He would then be one of the Company's creditors instead of one of the nation's creditors. This arrangement seemed to suit everyone. It pleased the creditors because they expected to receive a much higher rate of interest from the Company than they had received from the government. It pleased the government, for it was relieved of a great portion of its debt and would have to pay less each year as interest. The Company was pleased because it obtained its monopoly of the South Sea's trade without having to pay so much for it in actual money, and because it led the public to believe that unless the Company were certain to make enormous profits the government would never have consented to such a scheme. Even such a company as the South Sea Company could not hope to pay an interest on a £100 share sufficiently high to satisfy a man who had paid £1,000 for it, and the "bubble" inevitably burst.

It was Walpole's management of the financial chaos which, in 1720, followed the bursting of the "South Sea Bubble" which brought him to power. Walpole was himself a believer in the Mercantile Theory, which he realised meant the stimulation of home production, the control of colonial trade, and the free entry of those raw materials which had to be bought abroad for British manufactures. In 1733 Walpole passed the Molasses Act which tried to prevent the colonies from buying the sugar products of the French West Indies.

Worse was the attempt of Walpole and his successors to destroy colonial industries, so that English manufacturers should have no rivals. The colonists, forbidden in 1722 to engage in copper smelting, were prevented from making fur hats, and forced to send the furs as raw material to English manufacturers. In 1750 the colonial manufacture of iron goods was prohibited.

While England was busily developing her own productions, protecting her own industries from foreign competition by prohibitive customs duties, and forbidding colonial com-

petition by legislation, she was still hoping to find foreign markets for her goods in rival nations equally determined to, purchase as little as possible from England. For the time being England's commercial supremacy assured her of those markets.

Eighteenth century England was still essentially an agricultural country in which about three quarters of the population of eight millions lived on and by the land. In Tudor times large areas of land had been enclosed to provide increased pasturage for sheep, as wool was England's chief export. Here and there land had been enclosed to make small farms, some of which were privately owned while others were rented from squires. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century most of the English villages still had their three open fields, just as they had had in the days of the feudal manor. The peasants still worked their scattered strips, which were separated by "balks" of turf, and each year they produced their crops in common and shared the fruits of their labour. One field usually produced wheat, another barley, and the third lay fallow. In turn each field had a year's rest. On the village "common", sheep grazed; the villagers' cows shared the hay meadow, and there were common rights in the woodlands as in the ancient days.

When the Mercantile Theorists were eagerly demanding more exports, urging the development of home production, and looking with disfavour on foreign purchases, the age-old system of agriculture began to look extremely wasteful. To grow corn merely to produce food for a village, when it might be grown for sale in a foreign market or in those parts of England which were developing other industries, seemed obviously to be wasting an opportunity.

It was impossible, however, to develop any scientific method of production so long as each man's strips were scattered over different parts of the fields, and the demand to consolidate the strips into permanent holdings and small farms increased. Unfortunately the cost of enclosure was

MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION 115 IN HOME PRODUCTION

considerable, since each new farm had to be fenced, new roads had to be made, and the government commissioners who planned the enclosure had to be paid. Many of the peasants were, therefore, faced with debt and forced to sell their share of the land, with the result that thousands of peasants, hitherto maintained by the common produce of the open fields, became landless paupers, dependent on their ability to find employment.

On the other hand, wealthy men formed enormous farms, and began the scientific development of agriculture, so that they could make a monetary profit on their capital. Even the small yeomen farmers, who had owned or rented small farms, disappeared, for they could not hope to compete with the large capitalised farms.

One of the pioneers of scientific farming was Jethro Tull, who proved by experiment the value of hoeing, which helps air and moisture to reach the roots. Hoeing was impossible so long as seeds were broadcast indiscriminately, as had always been the English practice, and, by means of a "drill" which Tull invented, seeds were planted in "drilled" straight lines between which it was easy to hoe.

Lord Townshend abandoned politics to develop his Norfolk estates, and he is responsible for the Norfolk rotation of crops. By changing the type of crop it was found unnecessary to leave a field periodically fallow, and Townshend became known as "Turnip" Townshend because he introduced root crops in alternation with the cereals or grain crops. By planting clover for a year a four-years' rotation was possible, in the order of barley, turnips, wheat and clover.



Fig. 68—An early horse-drawn drill.

TYPICAL ROTATIONS OF CROPS

MANORIAL
SYSTEM



FIRST 3-FOLD
ROTATION



3-FOLD ROTATION
Where ground too
hard for Roots



TYPICAL 4-FOLD
"NORFOLK"
ROTATION

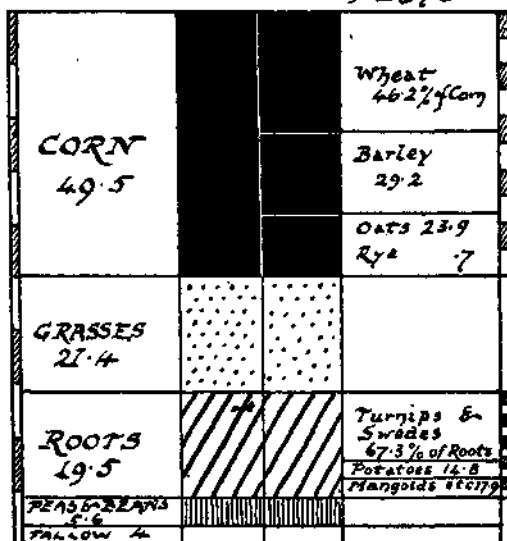


6-FOLD
"SCOTTISH"
ROTATION



PERCENTAGE CROPS of ENGLAND & WALES
in 1870

KEY



J.N.C.

Fig. 69—Diagram to illustrate Typical Rotations of Crops.

MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION 117 IN HOME PRODUCTION

This development had far-reaching effects, for it provided for the first time a winter food for cattle, which hitherto had had to be slain and salted for the winter, except for the retention of a few for breeding. Now England had fresh meat in winter, to the vast improvement of the general health, and Robert Bakewell of Leicestershire turned his attention to the scientific breeding of fat sheep and cattle. The new English breeds of cattle and sheep soon attracted European interests and foreign buyers began to appear at the Cattle Show first opened at Smithfield, London, in 1793. Farmers from everywhere began to congregate to discuss scientific agriculture at the annual meeting held on the estates of Thomas William Coke of Holkham, in Norfolk, Coke, the first farmer to use bone manures, made an enormous fortune from his farms. Great encouragement to enclosure and to scientific agriculture was given by Arthur Young, who toured the northern and eastern counties, published two works describing his tours, and edited a monthly publication, "Annals of Agriculture", to which even the king contributed. George III accepted the presidency of the new Royal Agricultural Society, and, by his interest in agriculture, became known as "Farmer George". The application of scientific method and of capital had revolutionised agriculture, stimulated production and improved quality; it had created wealthy farmers and huge farms; but it had also produced corresponding poverty by the creation of a landless class, forced to *buy* its food, and therefore dependent on its ability to earn money by labour or to attract compassion by its wretchedness.

Meanwhile a similar revolution was stimulating industrial production. At the beginning of the eighteenth century woollen manufacture was still the main industrial occupation of England, and, in 1701, woollen goods to the value of £2,000,000 were exported, constituting a quarter of England's whole export trade. This considerable output came from little cottages where, on crude spinning wheels, the women

spun the yarn, while, on equally crude handlooms, men wove the cloth. The finest cloths had originally come from Somerset, Dorset and Gloucester; then from Wiltshire and Worcestershire, and finally from the West Riding of Yorkshire, where the Pennines provided an ideal home for the sheep, and the innumerable streams were invaluable in the washing and dyeing processes. In 1725 Daniel Defoe was touring parts of England practically unknown to the eighteenth century Londoner, and he told of the dyeing houses, the scouring shops and the fulling mills of the West Riding, of the streams coloured with dye, the rustic workers of every cottage, and of their dependence on the industry. He said that " everyone generally keeps a cow or two for his family ", but " as for corn, they scarce sow enough to feed their poultry ".

As parliament was controlled by the great landowners, whose main interest was naturally in the profits of the land, the woollen industry was encouraged at the expense of the cotton industry, and both legislation and organised riots prevented its development. In 1736, cotton manufacture was permitted, provided that linen thread was used for the warp, or the parallel threads through which the " weft " or " woof " is woven. The persecuted cotton manufacturers, many of whom had descended from Huguenot settlers (as have the glass makers of Stourbridge, in Worcestershire), took refuge in Lancashire, which was then almost unpopulated. Lancashire had a suitably damp climate and it had harbours and river mouths conveniently facing the cotton plantations across the Atlantic.

The cotton industry differed from the woollen also in its dependence on merchants for its raw material, whereas a cottager with a few sheep could make woollen cloth. For this reason cotton industry escaped more easily from the domestic stage than did the conservative and age-old woollen industry.

Not for thousands of years, not since the days of ancient

Egypt, had any mechanical invention of importance been applied to textile manufacture, until John Kay ^1733 invented the flying-shuttle. By this one man could weave cloth of a width which had hitherto employed two weavers. Believing, therefore, that the invention would mean loss of employment, the weavers wrecked Kay's house, smashed his machine, and threatened to kill him. Kay fled to France and died there in poverty. Already work had become a necessity, an end in itself, instead of a means of satisfying human needs.

The Mercantile Policy, which demanded an ever-increasing home production, began to speed up the textile industries, and the increased demand soon brought about a mechanical revolution. It is obvious that weaving must exhaust the yarn much more quickly than it can be spun, and, therefore, the first inventions were directed towards an increase in the speed of spinning, or, rather, to an increase in the quantity of yarn spun in a given time. In 1767 James Hargreaves, a Lancashire cotton weaver, believing that the same amount of energy used by his wife to turn the handle of her spinning wheel would suffice to turn more than its solitary spindle, invented one which would turn eight at once. He named it a spinning Jenny, after his wife, and later

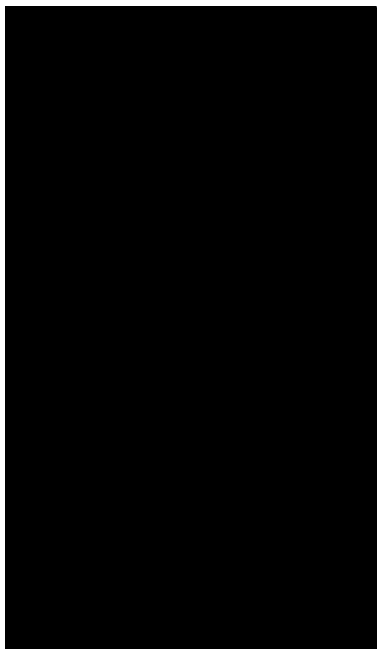


Fig. 70—An 18th Century Spinning Wheel. The spinning wheel illustrated is of the type in use when the first " Spinning jenny " was introduced. It was once the property of Richard Arkwright. (Science Museum London.)

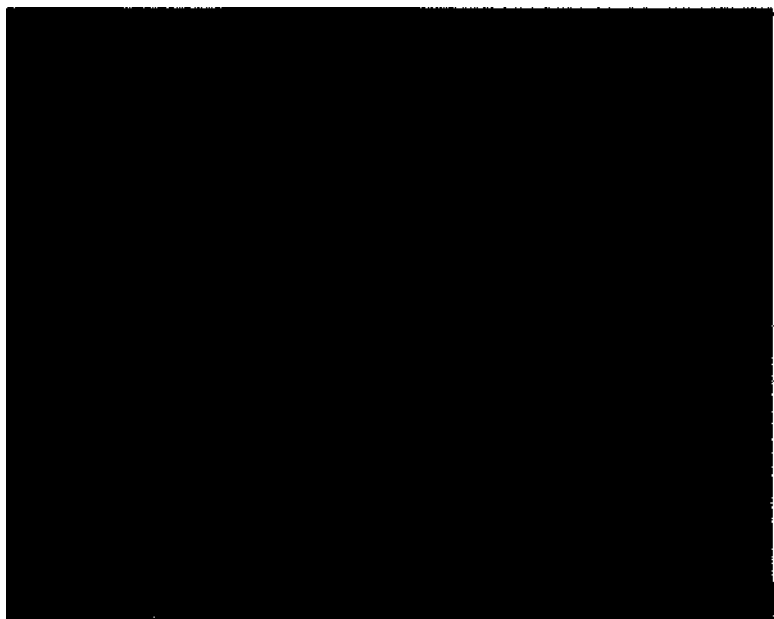


Fig. 71—The " Mule " Spinning Frame invented by Samuel Crompton.
A replica in the Science Museum, London.

Hargreaves made a machine which turned a hundred and twenty spindles at once. As in the case of Kay, his house and machines were wrecked, and though, later, Hargreaves' invention made fortunes for merchants in Nottingham, he died in a workhouse.

A Bolton barber, Richard Arkwright, annoyed his wife by neglecting his customers to "waste his time" in his workshop, and she smashed the models he had made there. Arkwright then left his wife and became a wandering wig-maker, though his mind dwelt on his broken models. Ultimately he invented a machine which rolled out a cotton yarn strong enough to replace the linen thread still used as warp. Arkwright went into partnership with a Nottinghamshire manufacturer named Strutt, who improved the machine, and in 1769 a mill was opened where horses were used to turn the new machines. Later mills were erected in

Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the streams provided a cheaper source of power.

Arkwright's "water-frame" produced a strong but coarse yarn, and it was left to Samuel Crompton, a poor weaver of Bolton, to invent in 1779 a machine which would produce rapidly a strong yet fine yarn. Crompton's machine was an improved combination of Hargreaves' jenny and Arkwright's water-frame, and for this reason was called the "mule". Within a few years hundreds of mules were spinning and rolling in Lancashire mills, but Crompton had to wait for thirty years before the government, reaping a rich excise on imported raw cotton, recompensed him.

By this time cotton yarn was being spun more rapidly than the weavers could use it. Dr. Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman, had patented an improved loom in 1785, but it was not until 1813 that it could be commercialised, for it was a "power loom", and sufficient water power was not everywhere available. The solution was found in the application of steam power.

A number of experimental steam engines, designed for pumping water from mines, existed in France and England in the seventeenth century, and one really capable of doing the work had been invented by Savery and improved by Newcomen. But it was noisy, crude, and too expensive in practice. A single chamber acted both as cylinder and condenser. In 1769 James Watt improved the engine by separating the condensing chamber and the cylinder.

A great difficulty in the development of the steam engine was that it depended on a special kind of iron. Iron had been smelted in England from Roman times, by the use of charcoal, but, with the increasing scarcity of wood, the industry had dwindled. Dud Dudley* in 1620 had patented a method of smelting iron with coal, but the method had not been developed extensively, partly because of the difficulty of draining mines. Real development began with the inventions of Abraham

* Dud Dudley was a natural son of Edward Sutton Lord Dudley, born 1559, and buried in St. Helen's Churchyard, Worcester.

Darby who set up improved blast furnaces at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire. Iron, run from the furnaces into sand moulds is called cast iron, and is hard and brittle, because it



Fig. 72.—Newcomen's First Engine, first tried in 1712.
The fall of the Weight W causes Piston P to rise. Steam generated in the Boiler B is admitted into Cylinder C. Cold Water from the Reservoir R is then admitted into the outer Cylinder C. The condensation of the Steam then causes a vacuum in Cylinder C; the Piston falls, and Water is pumped from Mine M.

contains carbon and other impurities. It would be useless for an engine cylinder, because, instead of expanding when heated, it would crack. Between 1740 and **1780** the industry developed rapidly, and various ways of beating out the carbon produced a softer iron called wrought or worked iron. Cylinders made of wrought iron did not crack, but the earlier ones lost their shape. After **1784**, by using Cort's puddling and rolling methods, wrought iron was improved. Watt was fortunate enough to form a partnership with Matthew Boulton of Soho, Birmingham, at whose works a cylinder capable of functioning efficiently was ultimately •constructed.

A long time elapsed before the " up-and-down " motion of a piston could be converted into rotary motion, and hundreds of weird models were made before the crank-shaft was applied. By 1785 a steam engine was turning wheels in a cotton mill in Nottingham, and, early in the nineteenth century, steam engines had improved sufficiently to work the power looms.

All these changes meant that a revolution, social and economic, had occurred, for machines were increasingly expensive, and the industry inevitably passed from the hands of the cottager into those of the capitalist, who supplied money for the building of large mills and factories and for the purchase and upkeep of the machines. The workers had changed from domestic manufacturers to wage-earning employees, dependent on their ability to find work.

These changes, which formed the Industrial Revolution, still continue, for there are, even now, many little garden sheds in England where various implements and chains are " hand-forged", but they are rapidly disappearing, for obviously they are unable to compete with huge, capitalised factories, with specialised labour, hundreds of workers, and constantly improving machinery.

The process rapidly began to change England in other

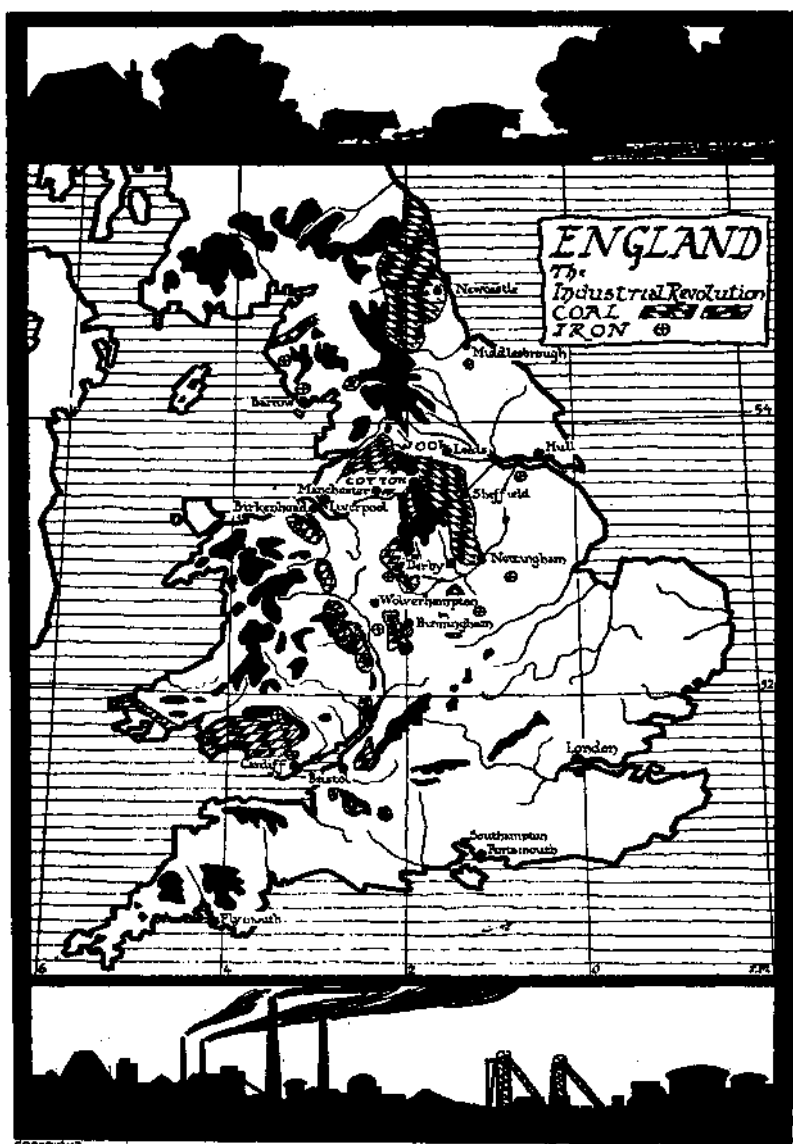
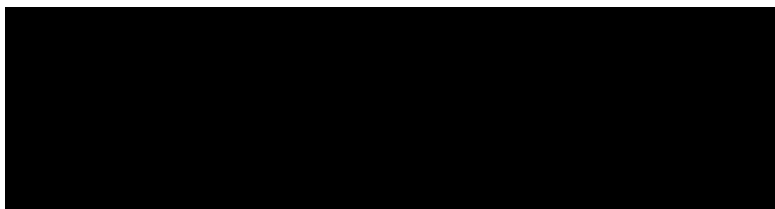


Fig. 73.—England : The Industrial Revolution.

MERCANTILE THEORY AND THE REVOLUTION 125 IN HOME PRODUCTION

ways. Certain areas began to specialise in the production for which they were most suited, especially in the Midlands and the North, where there was a wealth of coal and iron; and towns, crowded with poor houses, ill-planned, or not planned at all, began to appear in the new industrial centres. To carry goods from one specialising area to another involved a revolution in methods of transport. The old roads, in parts untouched for centuries, had ruts and hollows deep enough to hide an ox, and parts of the country, as the Midlands and Manchester, had been for centuries isolated in winter. First the roads were improved, then canals were



From a print.

Pig- 74—A child drawing a truck in a coal-mine.

[Rischgit^.

constructed, for water transport was best for heavy goods; then railways were built for use by vehicles and waggons, using horses, men, and even sails for locomotion, until steam power revolutionised transport.

A new and industrial England was rapidly developing, but the same policy which the Mercantile Theory had created in international relations applied equally tragically to the new industrial England. Behind all the development lay the struggle for profit and wealth, and, just as eighteenth-century nations had tried to accumulate wealth at the expense of other nations, so eighteenth-century manufacturers tried to create wealth for themselves at the expense of everyone

else. Soon women and children were being employed in factories, mills, and even mines, because their labour was cheap, and industrial towns in the early nineteenth century were filled with deformed dwarfs. The Mercantile Policy admitted foreign produce only on payment of heavy duties if at all, and, after 1815, foreign corn was admitted only when English corn reached the famine price of eighty shillings a quarter, to protect the English farmer, in a country becoming increasingly industrial, with an impoverished and increasing population. Men were reduced to poverty and wretchedness in a wealthy country which had become the "Workshop of the World".

CHAPTER VIII

THE SURVIVAL OF THE OLD ORDER IN EUROPE

TO TURN FROM the English cotton mills and steam engines, from the squires and the scientific farming, to eighteenth century Europe seems rather like turning back the pages of history to the Middle Ages; once more there are nobles, peasants and serfs, castles and dirty hovels, superstition and ignorance, and, especially in the East, all that is typical of a very primitive feudalism. The map of eighteenth century Europe shows, on the eastern border of the Empire, the extensive kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, and, beyond them, the vast area of Russia, but none of these had so far entered into the story of European history.

Russia was, in fact, far more Asiatic than European, for it had been conquered by the yellow, narrow-eyed Mongols and Tartars from Eastern Asia, and, though these had ultimately been overthrown, their influence remained. Even in the seventeenth century Russian nobles still wore the long-sleeved robe typical of Chinese costume, the "garment of idleness". The miserable serfs had grown to look upon hunger and the whip as their inevitable lot, and in truth there was no escape until death relieved them of the burden of their wretchedness. There were few towns or industries; there was no middle class; there were



Fig. 75—A Russian noble wearing Asiatic costume.

just serfs, scattered in villages of crude huts over the vast Russian plain, toiling ceaselessly, threatened by snow and biting winds, by famine, by wolves and by the ignorant cruelty of an idle caste of landowners, hardly less ignorant than their peasant slaves*

When Constantinople fell in **1453** the Grand Duke of Moscow claimed that the mantle of the Eastern Emperor had fallen on to his shoulders, and the rulers of Russia became known as Caesars or Czars or Tsars. Until late in the seventeenth century the Tsars still wore robes and jewels in the style of Mediaeval Chinese princes. In 1689 Peter I, afterwards called " the Great ", became Tsar, and, influenced by a number of European adventurers who lived in a separate quarter of Moscow, Peter determined to Europeanise Russia. He made two journeys to Western Europe, worked in the dockyards of Holland, and stayed for a time in England, where the dirty habits of the uncouth giant disgusted the Stewart aristocracy. Peter had to return from his first visit to crush a rebellion, and, acting himself as executioner, he spent some weeks in beheading a whole regiment. Russians were forcibly deprived of their beards, a navy was built and men were drilled into soldiers; roads and canals were constructed, foreigners were invited to develop industries, and towns were planned.

These reforms made little actual difference to general life in Russia, and over its great plain serfs continued to live their hopeless lives.

The Russia of Peter the Great had at first no coastline except in the frozen north, for the Turkish Empire surrounded the Black Sea and the Baltic was a " Swedish Lake ".

Peter's early attempts, which were to reach the Black Sea, failed, but the accession of a boy of fifteen to the throne of Sweden as Charles XII looked more promising. In alliance with Poland, Denmark and the German Duchy of Saxony, Peter attacked Charles, but the Russian untrained

troops were defeated. Peter left his allies to the mercy of Charles, who won a series of brilliant but fruitless victories, while he himself returned to Russia to create a real army. With this he defeated Charles at Pultawa and, by acquiring part of the Baltic coast, gave to Russia " a window looking on to Europe ". There Peter began the building of a new capital, St. Petersburg, and himself supervised the draining of the marshes. At the* age of fifty-three Peter dived into the icy waters of the Neva to help in the rescue of a wrecked boat. He contracted pneumonia and died, in 1725.

Peter's reforms had aroused intense opposition, but, as long as Peter was alive, the axe and the knout, a lead-weighted whip, had silenced it. Peter had shown no mercy even to his own son, who had been accused of conspiracy and been beaten to death with the knout. After Peter's death reaction and anarchy were unchecked until Catherine the Great came to the throne in 1763, by having her husband strangled. Catherine was as ambitious and as efficient as she was unscrupulous, and she completed Peter's work by defeating the Turks, annexing the Crimea, and by giving Russia a southern coastline on the northern shore of the Black Sea.

On the western frontier of Russia was Poland, where conditions were worse, in some respects, even than in Russia. The Polish nobles were completely unrestrained, for the king was a mere decoration, actually chosen by the nobles. An Assembly in which nobles could make laws existed, but a single noble could prevent the* passing of any law or even cause the dissolution of the assembly, so that government was a mere pretence. There were Magnates and lesser nobles, and of the latter it was said that their estates were so small that a dog, standing in the middle of one lord's domains, would wag his tail in a neighbour's field.

Obviously in such a country, where no power existed to control the selfishness of a feudal nobility, where there was no middle class of merchants, craftsmen or citizens to check feudal privilege, and where there was no developing



Fig 76—The Growth of Russia

knowledge or culture to help to soften the brutality of an ignorant tyranny, the life of the peasant-serfs was inconceivably wretched. Even in Europe generally, where feudal society still survived, the worst thing that could be said of human misery was that "it was as bad as that of a Polish peasant".

On the borders of Poland were the lands of the ambitious Catherine of Russia, the equally unscrupulous Frederick II of Prussia, and the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. With characteristic lack of scruple these sovereigns decided to divide Poland between them, and, in 1772, the treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg, "In the name of the Very Holy Trinity... to prevent the total decomposition of the Polish State". An attempt to reorganise and defend the surviving remnant by a group of Polish patriots led to a second partition in 1792 and to a third in 1795, after which Poland ceased to exist as a separate state. Catherine said "Now I have my doormat in Europe".

The same survival of a feudal nobility and peasantry existed, with various modifications, throughout the many states of the Holy Roman Empire, where the numerous wars, famines and plagues had reduced the population by two thirds in little over a century. The old trading cities had lost their wealth and power with the rise of the commercial nations, but their influence had modified German feudalism. In Germany there was, too, a developed culture, expressed in literature and the arts. But there was still in Germany the same feudal arrogance which accepted a privileged nobility and an hereditary serfdom as inevitable and right. The Mediaeval Church had found nothing wrong in the existence of a class born into poverty or in its own accumulated wealth, and even Luther had preached a pitiless war against the peasants who had risen in 1525 to bring about "an empire of Christ", "where there should be neither kings nor priests . . . and where all goods should become common".

It was in France, however, that this feudal tradition

produced, in survival, the greatest tragedy. France had played a great part in oversea development; she had explored and fought for Canada, had struggled with Britain for commercial supremacy in India, established flourishing sugar plantations in the West Indies, and more than once seriously challenged England's mastery of the seas. As in England, there were in France traders and merchants, craftsmen and artists, towns grown from the ancient gilds, centres of learning, scholars, philosophers and writers, economists and engineers, and, in short, all the characteristics of a growing, modern state. But all this energy and this potential progressive development was being smothered under the folds of a feudal tradition which France still wore like a fancy garment grown shabby.

The French nobles, the majority of whom had no function in the state, had degenerated into a privileged class of bored and idle courtiers, living wasteful lives of extravagant and luxurious amusement, paid for by the produce of estates which they seldom saw except when hunting, but which were controlled by agents, while the disheartened peasants starved in squalor and wretchedness.



Fig 77—French Nobility.

Equally privileged and decorative were the noble officers of the Church, who regarded the office of bishop or abbot as conferring an honorary feudal privilege which involved little or no responsibility. Enforced labour, including unpaid work on the lord's demesne, was still demanded from the peasants, who had still to send their corn to the lord's mill and their grapes to the lord's winepress, and to pay heavily for the privilege. There was no equality before the law, there was no redress for damage done to crops when

the lord should choose to hunt over what he regarded as his estates, and even wolves were "preserved" as game. Though there was in France a numerous, active and enlightened middle class, it was outside the pale of feudal society and of feudal privilege.

The most harmful of these feudal privileges were the nobles' exemption from most of the taxation, and the king's privilege of granting to certain nobles the sole right to sell salt in their districts (the Gabelle). Thus, the peasants and merchants not only had to pay ancient feudal charges, but to bear the additional burden of the national revenue. By 1774, when Louis XVI came to the throne, France was nearly bankrupt, and no oppression could extract more from her eighteen million starving peasants. Louis, already middle-aged, was kind, well-meaning, simple and weak. In theory he was the absolute ruler of France, and the early Bourbons had destroyed everything which might prove an obstacle to the royal will. The States General, the French equivalent of the English parliament, had not met since 1614. Obviously, when the sovereign had no will, there was nothing else to prevent France from drifting to disaster.

Even Louis, vaguely conscious of the world around him, felt that something somewhere seemed wrong with the money supplies, and Turgot, who had made a reputation as a financier, was expected to work the miracle of restoring French credit without remedying any of the abuses which had destroyed it. He made the two obvious suggestions that there should be less extravagance at court and that the nobles should share the burdens and responsibilities of the state. Queen Marie Antoinette, who was an arrogant Habsburg, and the noble courtiers demanded Turgot's dismissal, and the absolute king was too weak to save him.

The task was then given to* a Protestant Swiss banker named Necker, but it was made completely hopeless by France's entry into the American War of Independence. Necker published an account of the whole financial system, including the wastage at court, and, on his dismissal, became a national

hero. A friend of the nobles, Calonne, replaced Necker, and proceeded to pay the most urgent of France's creditors by borrowing money from someone else. He even increased the grants demanded for court entertainment, until, suddenly realising the extent of his own folly, he hastily summoned a meeting of "Notables". To his plea that the desperate urgency of the situation demanded their contribution to the national expenses they replied by demanding his dismissal.

Meanwhile French writers had been pouring contempt on a system of government which tolerated such obvious abuses. Voltaire, "with twisted, cynical mouth", jeered, mocked and sneered at the hypocrisy of the Church, which fattened on a system based on selfishness and oppression, and at the government and nobility which recognised no responsibility in return for the privileges to which they obstinately clung. Montesquieu wrote books and pamphlets praising the English system of government and of justice. Diderot, d'Alembert, Turgot and others edited an Encyclopaedia which expressed theories of government and religious beliefs in direct opposition to those maintained in France.

More and more books, articles and pamphlets began to express the growing hostility to a system which was stifling French life, but it was Jean Jacques Rousseau's "Social Contract" which was read, re-read, learned by heart, and quoted in clubs and at the corners of the streets. Rousseau emphasised the responsibility which government and authority owe to the governed, and expressed the view that, as ultimate sovereignty lay in the people, they were justified in overthrowing a government which had broken its contract by failing to fulfil its responsibilities to the people. Some of Rousseau's phrases, as "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and "Man was born free; yet now is everywhere in chains", were never forgotten.

The demand that the States General should be summoned again increased, and at last the king consented. In May, 1789, the representatives of the three States, the nobles, the

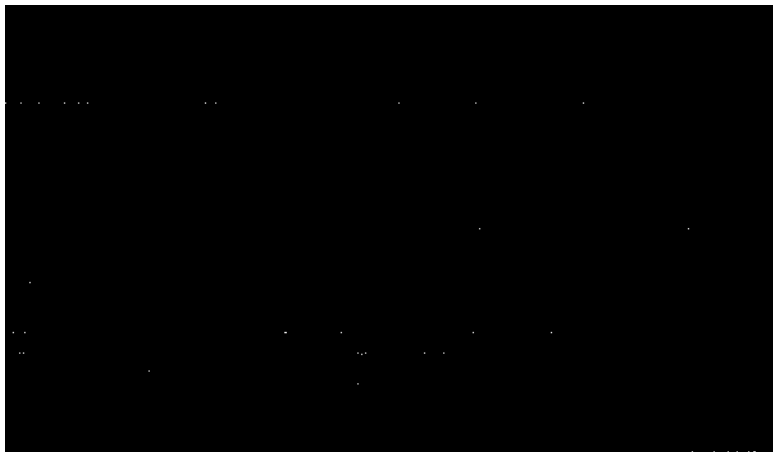


Fig. 78—The Oath of the Tennis Court.

clergy and the people, met at Versailles. There were three hundred and eight clergy, two hundred and eighty-five nobles, and six hundred and twenty-one representatives of the "Third State", drawn mainly from the merchant and professional classes.

The nobles and clergy demanded that the three "States" should sit and vote separately, which would enable the privileged classes to outvote the "Tiers Etat" by two votes to one. The last group demanded that they should all assemble together and that a majority vote should decide questions. Everything depended on this, and, as neither side would give way, and the king was too weak to enforce his will, the Tiers Etat and a sprinkling of the more intelligent members of the other groups took the oath of the Tennis Court, forming themselves into "The National Assembly", and swearing not to depart until they had given France a new constitution. This was the first act of the French Revolution.

When the National Assembly was ordered to disperse and to occupy separate rooms, Mirabeau, leader of the Assembly and himself a noble, replied to the king's messenger

that they would do so only at the point of the bayonet. As usual the king gave way.

The National Assembly was formed on June 20th and within a few weeks increasing numbers of foreign troops were noticed in Paris. The rumour spread that Marie Antoinette was preparing a counter-revolution, and a section of the Paris mob, determined to forestall it, captured the ancient fortress known as the Bastille, which stood as the symbol of feudalism. When the king heard of it, he was just returning from a hunting party. "Why! This is a revolt!", he said, apparently quite surprised. He was answered by the phrase: "Nay, Sire. It is a revolution!"

The National Assembly destroyed all feudal privilege, issued its famous declaration of "The Rights of Man", seized the lands of the Church, and used them as security for new loans. It then began to prepare a new constitution for France. Meanwhile the queen was urging Austria to intervene, Louis was writing to the King of Prussia, French

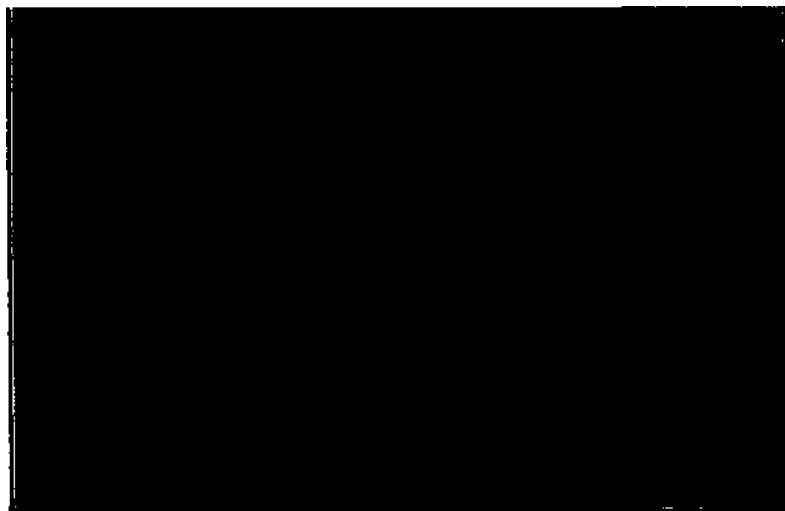


Fig. 79.—The Palace at Versailles. A Reproduction of an old Print.

nobles were fleeing over the frontier to add their personal entreaties, and foreign soldiers were being entertained at Versailles Palace. This seemed particularly hard when an unusually severe famine had reduced the people of Paris to starvation, and a number of ragged, hungry women, driven to desperation, accompanied by some of their menfolk, encouraged and possibly inspired by revolutionary leaders, marched the eleven miles to Versailles demanding bread. On the following day the royal family was brought back to Paris and compelled to reside at the old disused palace of the Tuileries. Only the calm sanity of Mirabeau, who kept both sides from rash blundering, prevented violence, but Mirabeau died in 1791, and Louis was left to the folly of the queen. In September the royal family fled, hoping to join the "emigres", the "emigrated" nobles, over the frontier*; but they we*e caught and brought back, marked by their own acts as traitors to France. The Assembly was replaced by a more extreme one, in which the more determined revolutionaries, known as Jacobins, overthrew and executed the leaders of the moderate party. Austria and Prussia,



Fig. 80.—A la Guillotine.

released from the business of the second partition of Poland, sent armies to invade France and to restore the authority of the king.

The approach of the armies created a panic which rapidly turned to hysteria. A Committee of Public Safety was formed, with dictatorial powers, and supported by the guillotine. A reign of terror began in France and nobles were executed at the rate of eighty a day. In January, 1793, the king was executed, having been condemned to death by the casting vote of his cousin, the Duke of Orleans. The queen followed soon, and even revolutionary leaders themselves when they failed to support the authority of the moment. Even Dan ton and Robespierre, members of the first Committee of Public Safety, were guillotined, and with the death of the latter the Terror ended.

An important fact about the revblution is that it was never in fact a revolution of peasants against a feudal tyranny, even though it was begun by the representatives of the middle class to overthrow a feudal tyranny which oppressed them as much as it oppressed the peasants. But peasants were scattered and ignorant and in many parts of France fought blindly against the revolution. The control rapidly passed from the bourgeoisie into the hands of the people of Paris, hungry, ragged, concentrated, and easily accessible, therefore, to revolutionary agitators. On the other hand, the revolution was not caused by such agitators, nor did the Paris massacres constitute the revolution. Rapidly the control passed, in turn, to the armies which had already begun to defend the revolution from the invading armies of Austria and Prussia.

The English attitude to the revolution was at first divided. Fox expressed one extreme view when he described the fall of the Bastille as one of the greatest events in the world's history. Burke, the great Irish statesmen and orator, though himself a lover of liberty, believed that liberty could never be gained by revolution, which could only lead to military dictatorship and thence to greater tyranny. William Pitt,

a son of the hero of the Seven Years' War, and Prime Minister since 1783, had at first begun a policy of reform in England ; but the fear that the French revolutionary spirit might spread in England changed his policy. After the execution of Louis, French emigres were given a refuge in England, and, in 1793, France declared war. With one brief interval, England, often in isolation, was to remain at war with France for over twenty years.

Reactionary governments like those of Austria and Prussia had no difficulty in raising armies, for their peasants, far more than those of France, were incapable of resistance. Financed by British money and supported by the British navy, the allied armies could look for an easy victory against the revolutionary armies of France, for the senior officers of the army had been guillotined or had fled, the armies were ragged and often hungry, and the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity do not make for discipline. But the French armies were fighting to defend their country and the revolution; young and energetic junior officers had an unparalleled opportunity to rise to ranks hitherto restricted to the nobles, and discipline is a habit not easily shaken by phrases.

One of the young officers was a Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte, five feet two inches in height, with an Italian accent, clumsy and ill-mannered in society, intolerably arrogant, with no sense of humour or code of honour, but with a colossal energy and an ambition that recognised no bounds. When Toulon, which did not support the revolution, opened its harbour to an English fleet, it was the young Napoleon whose disposition of the guns had saved the town for the revolution. When Robespierre fell, Napoleon was imprisoned as one of his supporters ; he escaped the guillotine and was released, but he was deprived of his rank. But he was too useful and far too pushful to be left idle long, and when the Directory was threatened by a rising of people already tiring of dictatorships, recollection of

Napoleon's work at Toulon brought him the task of saving the government. By what he called a "Whiff of Grapeshot" the mob was dispersed and Napoleon was again in favour. He married Josephine de Beauharnais, the influential widow of a guillotined Marquis, and was appointed, at his own repeated request, to the command of the army which was attacking the Austrians from northern Italy.

Napoleon obtained the Italian command in 1796, and, after a series of brilliant campaigns, he defeated the Austrians, formed a dependent republic in the Po valley, wrung treasures from the Vatican, and, in October, 1797, forced the Austrians to sign the humiliating treaty of Campo Formio.

In France the Directory was again threatened and it was suggested to the victorious General that he should return with his army, overthrow it, and establish himself in power. Instead he sent troops to restore the Directory. The action seemed to prove him to be a disinterested and loyal servant to the French revolutionary government, which was what he intended, for his answer to the suggestion was "The pear is not yet ripe". Actually, however, the government owed its continued existence to Napoleon and the army, and Burke's prophecy was already being fulfilled, in that sovereign power was rapidly passing into the hands of a military dictator.

CHAPTER IX

NAPOLEON

BY 1797 REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE had humiliated Austria, destroyed the First Coalition raised against it, established dependent republics in the Netherlands and in Northern Italy, and was preparing to complete its triumph by a triple invasion of England, its isolated enemy, at the very moment that the English navy was threatened with paralysis by two mutinies.

Considering the repeated evidence of British dependence on the navy, it is rather surprising that so little attention had been paid to it. The crews consisted mainly of men seized by press gangs or of society's dregs sent from the prisons. Wages had not been raised since Stewart times, notwithstanding the rise in prices, and sailors, often a long time at sea, had to prove the amount of money due to them. It was then paid by a kind of cheque, cashable only in London, so that in fact great numbers of sailors were not paid at all. Biscuits and salted meat, during a long period at sea, became almost uneatable, and, even in port, fresh meat was refused. Consequently scurvy was common and deadly, yet requests for lime and other fruit juices, which had been proved to be excellent preventatives and cures for scurvy, had been consistently refused. The ships were rotten, and the bottom fell from the Royal George at Portsmouth. Amongst the drowned was Admiral Kempenfelt, the inventor of a more useful code of signalling than had hitherto been used. There can be little wonder, then, that the sailors at Spithead mutinied.

Fear of invasion stimulated British interest in her neglected navy, and, after Admiral Howe, known as "Black Dick", had restored discipline, the worst abuses were remedied.



Fig. 8x.—The Main Naval Events, 1794-1807, and Europe under Napoleon, 1810

These remedies naturally were to be applied to the whole navy, and, therefore, a second mutiny, which occurred in the fleet stationed off the Nore to guard the North Sea, had no such justification. When Justices of the Peace had been asked to supply their towns' quota of men required by the navy, instead of sending the usual criminals many of them had used the opportunity to rid the town of revolutionary agitators, inspired by the French Revolution. The second mutiny was mainly the work of such agitators under the leadership of Parker. It was, therefore, vigorously suppressed.

Meanwhile the first essential in the triple invasion of England, the union of the Spanish and French fleets, had been prevented by Admiral Jervis ("Old Jarvie"), who had defeated the Spanish fleet, as it emerged from the Mediterranean, off Cape St. Vincent. Jervis, adopting the tactics which Rodney had used at the Battle of the Saints, led the British ships in a long line, at right angles to the line of the

Spanish fleet at its centre, and cut the Spanish fleet into two sections. Nelson, a young subordinate officer in the rear of the British line, noticed that the broken Spanish line was attempting to rejoin behind him. Risking court martial by leaving the line without authority, Nelson turned and attacked the Spanish ships. Though his ship was badly damaged, Nelson's recklessness was successful, and he was made a Rear Admiral and a Knight of the Order of the Bath. Admiral Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent.

The third arm of the triple attack was the Dutch fleet, which was being blockaded by Admiral Duncan when the North Sea Mutiny robbed him of all his ships except two fighting vessels and a fast-sailing frigate. Duncan prepared to sink his own ship at the mouth of the Dutch harbour, temporarily to block it, and he wrote in his log that he had taken careful soundings and that the British flag would still be flying over the surface of the water. Fortunately this suicidal sacrifice was not necessary, for Duncan found a brilliant bluff unexpectedly successful. By signalling to an imaginary fleet out at sea Duncan deceived the Dutch into the belief that the rest of the British North Sea fleet was just over the horizon until, the mutiny having been suppressed, he was reinforced. The Dutch fleet, evading the blockade during a storm, was defeated by Duncan off Camperdown. The dangers of 1797 were over

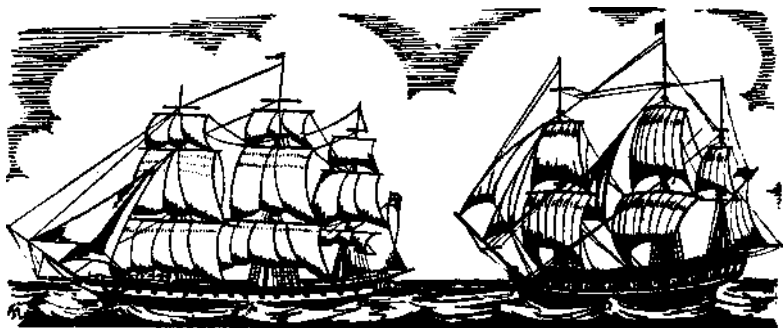


Fig. 8z.—(a) The fast-sailing frigate "Anglesey," (b) A 28-gun trigate, c.1765
1852.

Early in 1798 the British Admiralty was informed by Earl St. Vincent that a section of the French navy had sailed eastwards in the Mediterranean with a strong force under Napoleon, and he was instructed to send a section of the fleet, under Nelson, to investigate. Actually, the Directory had been persuaded by Napoleon of the importance of the old overland trade routes to India, and had sent an expedition under Napoleon to conquer the Turkish dominions of Egypt and Syria. This plan gave Napoleon the opportunity to win dramatic victories sufficiently far away from the disturbed land of France, while the pear ripened and grew rotten, so that he could return and seize the power as the saviour of France.

Nelson, after some difficulty, found the French fleet anchored, with sails furled, in the sandy shallow delta of the Nile at Aboukir Bay, where Napoleon had disembarked. To reach the French ships seemed impossible, for they were protected by the sand banks. Suddenly Nelson noticed that the French ships were anchored only at the stern, which meant that the water was sufficiently deep to permit them to

swing in safety. Nelson, declaring that where there was room for a French ship to swing there was room for an English ship to sail, divided his fleet into two sections, and sailed into the bay with one section on each side of the defenceless French fleet, which was completely destroyed. Only one British ship went aground and, by so doing, served to mark the danger zone for the rest.

The Battle of the Nile, 1798, left Napoleon's army stranded in Egypt, winning barren victories against the Turks. Napoleon,



Fig. 85.-A sailor of Nelson's time, however, marched into Syria, cap.

tured Jaffa, and attacked Acre, but **found there another** section of the British fleet, under Sir Sydney Smith, helping in its defence. Leaving his army to continue under General Kleber, whom he informed of his desertion by letter, Napoleon slipped back to France in 1799, in a convenient vessel which narrowly escaped capture off Sicily.

Napoleon's despatches had glossed over his Egyptian muddle, and, on his return, he found plenty of excuse to overthrow the decaying Directory. A new coalition, formed when Nelson's victory of the Nile assured the Austrians of the English command of the Mediterranean, had regained most of what had been lost by the defeat of the First Coalition. Napoleon entered the room where the Directory was assembled and began a dramatic speech which feebly tailed into a stammering confusion. The entry of his brother Lucien, with a number of armed soldiers, was more effective and the Directors fled.

To mask the truth that the French government had passed into the hands of a military tyrant, Napoleon organised France on the model of the Roman Consulate, sharing his authority as First Consul with two other consuls, a Council of State, a Legislative Body, a Tribune and a Senate. All this elaborate safeguarding of popular rights was a mere pretence. The Legislative Body could vote, but could neither discuss nor propose laws. The Tribune could discuss but could not vote, and new laws could be proposed only by the consuls, of whom two were merely ornamental. The Council of State was appointed by Napoleon himself; but France was weary, and only a military despotism seemed likely to be able to save it from a hostile Europe. With the greatest opportunity that any man has ever had, with a completely subservient nation eager for peace and reconstruction, "Napoleon could do no more", in the words of Mr. H. G. Wells, "than strut upon the crest of this great monument of opportunity like a cockerel on a dunghill".

The first task was the defeat of the Second Coalition.

Napoleon's own campaign against Austria, at Marengo in 1800, was saved from disaster mainly through the genius and courage of General Desaix. Napoleon, confident of victory, had weakened his army by sending sections of it to cut off the subsequent retreat of the Austrians. Desaix, sent to guard one of the passes, judged from the sounds of the distant battle that all was not well with Napoleon. Leaving his post, he arrived in time to make victory certain, though he himself was slain. The coalition was finally defeated by General Moreau's brilliant victory over the Prussians in December snows at Hohenlinden.

England was again isolated, and no French victory could achieve much so long as British navies continued to blockade France while English ships carried goods and money into the ports of France's enemies. Denmark, Sweden, Prussia and Russia, cowed by Napoleon and jealous of England's progressive commercial supremacy, formed the "Armed Neutrality of the North", to defeat England's attempt to restrict their trade with France. The Danish fleet, the only unblockaded fleet of any size, was suddenly confronted by an English fleet under Admiral Parker, with Nelson as second-in-command. The Danish fleet was protected by the guns of the land fortress of Copenhagen, and, after a futile engagement, Parker signalled an order to abandon the attack. Nelson, placing his telescope to his blind eye, said that he could not see the signal, and continued on his own responsibility. Threatening to fire on the town if the Danish navy continued resistance, he returned to England with those Danish ships which had escaped destruction.

The battle of Copenhagen made it necessary for Napoleon to make peace with England, in order to reorganise France and to prepare a way to destroy England's naval supremacy, which continued to neutralise his land victories. In 1802 the Peace of Amiens was signed.

Napoleon's reorganisation of France left no doubt as to his ultimate intentions. The emigres- were recalled, on

promise of their support, to form the nucleus of a court. Wealth and poverty were to continue to exist, side by side, and the Roman Catholic Church was restored so that it could tell the poor that their miserable condition was God's will. Missionaries were sent to distant lands, so that their holy garment might conceal the commercial and military activities for which Napoleon valued them. A scheme for general and free education had been drafted by Condorcet, during the idealistic period of the early revolution, in 1792 ; Napoleon's consular organisation provided no place for elementary education and condemned any form of public education for girls, for " marriage is all they look to ". By his famous " Code Napoleon ", the old legal disorder was clarified into a definite system of intelligible and simple laws,—a work carried out under Napoleon's supervision by the Council of State* It was not an imaginative work : women were completely subordinated to the will of their husbands, and the social status of every class of the French people was fixed with a rigidity typical of an attitude formed by military training, and of a mind determined that every department of the French state should be controlled by and subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief.

In 1802 Napoleon made himself consul for life. In 1804 he ceased the pretence and began the farce by inviting Pope Pius VII to crown him Emperor. When the pope was about to do so Napoleon seized the crown himself and placed it himself on his head. * As Charlemagne had done, a thousand years before, Napoleon crowned himself with the iron crown of Lombardy. To Napoleon might be applied the Psalmist's words " A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday ".*

Unfortunately this farcical revival of an obsolete Caesardom by an upstart general who had risen from the ashes of a democratic revolution turned again into the tragedy of war. England, alarmed by the reports of French military activities in the Near East, refused to evacuate Malta, as she

* Psalm 90, v. 4.

had promised to do in the Treaty of Amiens. At Boulogne Napoleon was preparing a vast army to invade England, though the French navy was being blockaded in five separate harbours. Napoleon's plan was that the sections of the navy should elude the vigilance of the British blockading squadron, assemble in the West Indies, and so draw the British fleets away from the Channel long enough to permit the French army to be shipped across in huge flat-bottomed boats.

Earl St. Vincent, tired of being asked by frightened peers if there were any real danger of French invasion, said that the French might quite possibly come, but that they certainly could not do so by sea. The French fleets escaped from Rochefort and Toulon, crossed to the West Indies, and, chased by Nelson, returned to seek shelter in the harbour of Cadiz.

Meanwhile the formation of a third coalition had compelled Napoleon to abandon his scheme of invasion, and to march his army from Boulogne against the Austrians, Prussians and Russians. Napoleon was anxious for the co-operation of his navy in the Mediterranean, and ordered Admiral Villeneuve to leave his retreat in Cadiz harbour and either to elude or to defeat the English. Nelson had already been trying every possible way of tempting the French admiral to leave the harbour, without success. Now the Spanish fleet and the French fleets of Toulon and Rochefort sailed from Cadiz and made for the Mediterranean. The combined fleets had reached Cape Trafalgar when Nelson attacked them, on October 21st, 1805. „*

Nelson again adopted Rodney's tactics, and two lines of British ships sailed into the hollow crescent into which the French and Spanish navies had formed themselves. One line was led by Admiral Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*, and Nelson led the other on board the *Victory*. Though Nelson, easily recognisable on deck, was killed by a musket ball fired from the rigging of the *Redoubtable*, the victory

of Trafalgar was complete and shattering. It left England's, naval supremacy without possible challenge, and any further talk of invasion, of England was impossible; English ships could transport men or goods anywhere without fear of serious molestation, and both the trade and colonies of France fell increasingly into English possession.

Unfortunately, Napoleon on land seemed as invincible as England had proved herself at sea. In 1805 he defeated the advance-army of Austria at Ulm, continued to Vienna, defeated the main Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz, and dictated the terms of the Treaty of Pressburg. He then invaded Prussia, annihilated the Prussian army at Jena in 1806, and established himself at Berlin from where he began to reconstruct Europe to his liking.

That there should be another Emperor in Western Europe, believing himself to be the successor or the Roman Emperors of the West, had irritated Napoleon, who now abolished the Holy Roman Empire and formed in its place the Confederation of the Rhine, under his own protection. Holland became a kingdom under his brother Louis, and Joseph Bonaparte was made King of Naples. In 1807 Russia was again defeated at Eylau and Friedland, and Napoleon was master of Europe. Alexander, the Caesar of the East, and Napoleon, Caesar of the West, met on a raft on the river Niemen, and, intending to divide the world between them, signed the Treaty of Tilsit.

The world, however, included many things which - would not fit into such a scheme, and amongst them was an unconquered England. At Berlin, "in 1806, Napoleon had punched his most ambitious scheme to destroy his one surviving enemy. By the Berlin Decrees the British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade; all correspondence and trade with Britain were forbidden, British subjects were to be taken prisoners, British goods were to be seized, and, no British ship was to be allowed to enter any port of France or of an allied or subject state. This "Continental System"



Fig. 84—The Napoleonic Wars.

or "Continental Blockade" was rather optimistic, since England had no naval rival, and since a war-exhausted Europe was depending increasingly on British goods and British transport.

France still had the Brest fleet, Russia had a fleet in the Baltic, and Denmark, with a reconstructed fleet, was to be forced by the two emperors to abandon her neutrality so that the three fleets could be used against England. Canning, warned by the secret service, and without waiting for official approval, sent a squadron under Gambier to Copenhagen, and, repeating Nelson's plan of 1801, he brought back the Danish navy to England. To enforce Portugal's help, for she had a small navy, Napoleon sent Junot to Lisbon, with an army. A British squadron under Sir Sydney Smith joined the Portuguese fleet, transported the Portuguese royal family to Brazil, while a British force under Wellesley landed in Portugal and defeated Junot at Vimeiro. The Russian squadron was captured and, like the Danish one,

carried off to Britain. Only the Brest fleet remained, and, in 1809, it escaped its blockade, only to be driven ashore by fire ships and destroyed by bombardment.

Now that Napoleon had no fleet, his Continental Blockade, which closed all European markets to British goods, meant that Europe herself was virtually blockaded. European countries could neither sell nor buy except through the merchants of neutral countries or where Napoleon granted a special licence. England, however, by Orders in Council, had replied to the Berlin Decrees by forbidding neutral countries to trade with the Napoleonic Empire unless their ships were prepared to carry British goods. This clearly made neutrality impossible. A neutral country had to decide either to trade in British goods and risk the anger of Napoleon, or to avoid British goods and risk the seizure of its merchant vessels by the British.

Napoleon replied to the Orders in Council by the Milan Decrees, threatening to seize any vessel which called at a British port. But even Napoleon's tyranny could not prevent a suffering Europe from smuggling British manufactures and oversea produce from British controlled areas into her ports, and, in 1810, by the Decrees of Fontainebleau he ordered that all British goods found in Europe should be destroyed ; at the same time a prohibitive tariff*was imposed on all tropical and colonial imports. It was impossible that even an exhausted Europe could long endure such a tyranny.

Spain and Portugal, assisted by British forces, were already in revolt, roused by Napoleon's transference of his brother Joseph from Naples to the throne of Spain. After a premature attempt to advance along the Tagus to Madrid, and the retreat and death of Sir John Moore at Corunna, Wellesley took command and gave himself a secure base and safe retreat by fortifying the peninsula on which Lisbon stood.

After defeating a French force at Talavera, Wellesley, now Viscount Wellington of Talavera, began to conquer



Fig. 85.—The Peninsular War.

the fortresses which guarded the river passes into Spain. In their defence, and in the subsequent defence of Spain, French troops were continuously defeated, and the Peninsular War became to Napoleon a "Spanish Ulcer", slowly bleeding his forces to death. The gradual advance of Wellington towards the French frontier gave new heart to the discouraged European powers. The tyrant's armies were no longer invincible. Prussia, under Stein, was undergoing vigorous reconstruction and creating a new army. Sweden, under Bernadotte, a French Marshal who had become a sovereign, but who hated Napoleon, was preparing a secret alliance

with Russia. The change in attitude became apparent in 1810 when Napoleon, anxious to join the two "imperial" houses, and anxious for an heir to establish his own dynasty, had asked for an empress from the Russian royal family. Alexander had refused. Instead, Napoleon, after divorcing Josephine, married Marie Louise, a princess of the aristocratic Habsburg House of Austria, the most typical representative of the outworn system of caste privilege which the French revolution had set out to destroy. A Habsburg queen had been guillotined, only to make room for a Habsburg empress.

In 1811 Alexander withdrew from the Continental System. Napoleon replied by invading Russia with a "Grand Army" of six hundred thousand men, drawn from France and her "subject peoples". The Russians avoided battle, tempting Napoleon farther and farther into the interior. He reached Moscow, and the Russians set fire to it. • Napoleon's position, in the heart of an impoverished and hostile country, separated from his own country by peoples waiting for a chance to overthrow his tyranny, hated by peoples and despised by sovereigns, was an impossible one. Forced to retreat, he was overtaken by the deadly Russian winter. Disease and hunger helped the work of destruction, and soon the Grand Army was a straggling, starved, ragged, frost-bitten remnant, which Napoleon deserted, to reach France before Europe should rise against him.

1813 was the year of the War of Liberation, when the French Emperor, forced to conscript boys, and with no efficient cavalry, had to face the angry armies of Austria, Prussia, Russia and Sweden, while, Wellington, now a Duke, was approaching the Pyrenees. In October Napoleon was defeated at Leipsic and, in 1814, the victorious allies entered Paris, compelled Napoleon to abdicate, and banished him to the Mediterranean island of Elba.

It is easy, looking back after a hundred years, to see the truth behind the story; to see how a movement which had begun to free a people from an obsolete and oppressive system



Fig. 86.—" 1814". Meissonnier's famous picture of Napoleon's Retreat.

had developed into a struggle between the royal guardians of that ancient order and an upstart general, who had betrayed the movement for purely personal aggrandizement, and who had merely created a new tyranny. The representatives of the victorious allies, assembled at the Congress of Paris, were the representatives of that ancient order which they were determined to restore.

Russia, a land of starving serfs and tyrannous nobles, was represented by the Tsar Alexander, who wished to play at being a constitutional monarch in a revived Poland, for he had read Voltaire, while he retained all his absolutism as the Caesar of Russia. Prussia, under the arrogant Hohenzollerns, though it had destroyed serfdom, had no democratic sympathies, and was entirely subservient to Austria. The Congress adjourned to Vienna, where it met under the presidency of Prince Metternich, Austria's haughty Chancellor, to whom people were a mob whose function was that of "the dull spectator". People were to be seen but not

heard. Even England, represented by Lord Castlereagh, a cold, fussy and rather pompous aristocrat, had become reactionary, believing that the cry of a suffering population, starving amidst the wealth of the richest country in the world, should be repressed. The one idea of the Congress was that an insolent mob had ravaged the palaces of nobles and kings, and that the silk knee-breeches of genuine authority had been temporarily replaced by the dirty "pantaloons" of mob rule. It was not only necessary, therefore, to restore as much of the old order as possible, but to keep it restored by "chaining the revolutionary monster".

The Bourbons were restored to their thrones in France, Spain and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, i.e. the island of Sicily and the mainland kingdom of Naples. Louis XVIII of France, brother of the guillotined Louis XVI, whose son, Louis XVII, had never actually reigned, was feeble, frightened and lame with gout. Ferdinand of Spain and Ferdinand of Naples were intolerable tyrants, vicious and brutal. In northern Italy the little states re-appeared and were given to Austrian puppet rulers, including Marie Louise, who had deserted her fallen emperor. In Germany princes complete with liveried retainers and powdered wigs were restored. Everywhere the restored despots were to be protected by a system of police spies, as the restored Roman Catholic Church was to be protected by the Inquisition. The press was muzzled, the people crushed and silenced. The Congress had "put back the clock".

At Vienna, to entertain the Congress, all the old court festivities had been revived. There were balls, at which the Viennese Waltz was first danced; there were concerts at which Beethoven, perhaps the world's greatest musician, appeared, and there were elaborate banquets, frequently enlivened by the brilliant and witty Talleyrand, who was present to watch the interests of France.

Talleyrand had enjoyed the revenues of an abbey before the French revolution, but when the revolution had begun,

he had saved himself by proposing the seizure of the Church lands. He had adopted Napoleon without disturbing his elastic conscience, and, when Napoleon's fall was imminent, had helped to restore the Bourbons. This most brilliant of all opportunists, given the delicate task of trying to lighten France's punishment for having disturbed the peace of Europe for twenty years, soon discovered that the gaiety and apparent unity of the Congress hid a number of personal jealousies and rivalries, due mainly to the desire of Russia, Austria and Prussia to increase their territories in the general reconstruction of Europe. Talleyrand skilfully played on these rivalries until he had created a serious division, when suddenly differences were forgotten, overshadowed by the dramatic reappearance of Napoleon in France.

To the Frenchman the restoration of Louis meant the return of everything the revolution had fought against, and, now, this restoration was to be supported by the armed might of Europe and an iniquitous police system of spies. Napoleon, though a tyrant, had won incomparable victories against these enemies of France, and, though he had betrayed the revolution, he had guaranteed the French peasant in the possession of the lands of the Church, had given him recognition, and created at least an efficient state in which everyone had responsibilities. In contrast with his energetic and overpowering personality, Louis appeared, in his closed carriage, to be but the pale shadow of a monarch, who would be the tool of the reactionaries. A genuine republican government was obviously out of the question, and France therefore, flocked to the returned emperor. Louis had fled, and for a " Hundred Days " Napoleon was again master of France.

While Austria and Russia hastily remobilised, an English army under Wellington and a Prussian under Blucher, hastened to reconquer the common enemy. Blucher succeeded in withdrawing his troops from complete defeat at Ligny and arrived at Waterloo in time to reinforce Wellington who

was stubbornly withstanding Napoleon's charges. The allied victory at Waterloo, on June 18th, 1815, meant that the last of Napoleon's gambles had ended in failure. Louis was restored and Napoleon banished to the little island of St. Helena, a thousand miles from anywhere, in the tropical south Atlantic. Six years later he died there, from cancer, in 1821.

Once more the victorious allies resumed their interrupted discussions, dances and banquets at Vienna—but with a difference. France clearly could not be trusted, and an army of occupation had to be maintained there to support the restored monarchy. Further, by the Quadruple Alliance, the Great Powers pledged themselves jointly to intervene in France should any new revolution threaten disturbance. To keep a watchful eye on the frontier, Holland and Belgium were forcibly united, as were Genoa and Piedmont. The desires of "subjects" were ignored as though they were the whims of spoilt children, in need of disciplinary correction. The Holy Roman Emperor had gone, and the Congress created, in place of Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, a new state called the German Confederation. The princes retained their independence and sent a representative to a central Diet at Frankfort, under the Presidency of Austria. As a single vote could nullify the proceedings, its value was negligible. As both Prussia and Austria were members of this Confederation, any unity or progressive development was impossible.

Great Britain was the only Power to seek or to make no territorial gains in Europe, retaining however Heligoland and Malta as naval bases and the Ionian Islands, which she voluntarily transferred to Greece in 1864. Even many of her oversea conquests Great Britain restored. West Indian Islands were restored to France, Holland and Denmark; France regained her trading posts in West Africa and India and her valuable fishing rights off Newfoundland; the rich island of Java was restored to the Dutch: Ceylon, Cape

Colony and the western portion of Guiana in South America were transferred from the Dutch to the British Empire, though for Cape Colony Britain paid a huge sum to Holland. Ceylon and the Cape were actually far more valuable to Britain than any other territorial gain could have been, for they were invaluable calling places on the sea route to India. The Dutch, during the French wars, had seen a great portion of their carrying trade, especially that of sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, and spices, pass into the hands of the English. With Ceylon and Cape Colony in British possession it was unlikely that the Dutch would ever regain the command of this trade.

When the representatives of the allies returned from the Congress, confident that they had permanently chained the "revolutionary monster", they had in fact merely re-established a tyrannous and antiquated system over an exhausted Europe. But though only for a moment the breath of liberty, like a fresh breeze, had blown through the stuffy, dusty courts, the moment was not forgotten. The barred windows of the palaces could not for ever keep out a growing storm, for the shutters were already old and rotten.

CHAPTER X

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN EUROPE

ONE OF THE GREATEST TRAGEDIES of modern history is that the peace treaties which end the bloodshed of warfare never seem to solve any problems, but to create, instead, a more intense hatred and bitterness, until the blood of further generations has blotted them out. For more than a century in Russia and for the first half of the nineteenth century in the rest of Europe, the sovereign powers, held together by fear, fought with spies and armies, prisons and executions, control of the press and universities, to enforce obedience and subjection on peoples determined to win the freedom of self-expression. In the second half of the century the desire for national expression broke down every barrier which the settlement of Vienna had set up against it; and when at last national unity had won some success, international rivalry, and commercial and colonial jealousy, created the tragedy of the World War, and the still greater tragedy of another mis-handled peace.

For some years after the Congress of Vienna, the Metternich system of reaction was too oppressive to be challenged by an exhausted and muzzleckpeople. Discontent was driven underground to ferment in secret societies, or to be discussed behind closed doors in the university common rooms, for everywhere there were spies.

By 1818 France had apparently settled down to a mute acceptance of the Bourbon restoration, and a Congress of the Great Powers assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle to approve the withdrawal of the army of occupation which for three

years had kept order. The Quadruple Alliance became a quintuple one by the addition of France, and was known as the Moral Pentarchy of Europe. Castlereagh hesitated to sign the inclusion of England, for Canning, from the English parliament, insisted that the Quadruple Alliance had originally been formed to support the restored monarchy in France, and that, therefore, a Quintuple Alliance could mean only that it was the intention of the "Concert of European Powers" to intervene in any country which might rise against an oppressive government. The Congress pledged itself never to intervene unless invited to do so, and Castlereagh signed. As no invitation could ever come except from a threatened tyrant, the pledge obviously meant nothing.

The first signs of the coming storms appeared in Germany, where Students' Associations began to form at the Universities. A harmless demonstration at Wartburg, where Luther had sheltered from papal and imperial vengeance three hundred years before, and the murder of Kotzebue, a journalist, aroused Metternich to action. In 1819 the Diet issued the Carlsbad Decrees, which forbade the continuance or formation of Students' Associations, and increased the general vigilance and repression.

The first actual rising occurred in Naples against the tyrannical Ferdinand, who was forced to promise a Constitution, which meant a democratic form of government. Metternich was informed, and he summoned a Congress at Troppau, in Austria, and adjourned it after Christmas to Laibach, where Ferdinand could more easily attend. Castlereagh, having signed the Quintuple Alliance, found it difficult to protest very vigorously, and an Austrian army marched into Italy, executed the rebel leaders, and confirmed Ferdinand in his despotic system. On its return, it crushed a similar rising in Piedmont.

Meanwhile the Spanish colonies in South America had claimed their independence, under General Bolivar; a mutiny in Spain had spread from the army into a general demand

for a Constitution; and revolutions had broken out amongst the Christians of Rumania and of the Greek Morea against the harsh rule of the Turks.

A further congress was summoned, to meet at Verona in 1822. The diplomats felt that this " nonsense about liberty " was becoming an increasing nuisance, and unless vigorously stamped out would become a real danger. They determined, therefore, to crush it once and for all. Castlereagh could not face another congress. He had signed the original Quadruple Alliance in all good faith, to prevent another Napoleonic or revolutionary disturbance from undoing the results of twenty years' warfare. He had hesitated to sign the Quintuple Alliance, but had done so, feeling that what had applied to France logically applied to all the restorations. But this interpretation of it, this interference with peoples' attempts to win freedom in their own countries, no English parliament would support. Leaving a rather pathetic Memorandum, that England should oppose joint intervention, Castlereagh committed suicide.

From the beginning, Canning, his successor, had always opposed any intervention in the affairs of other countries. Unable to prevent the Congress of Verona from sending a French army into Spain, Canning struck the first blow for liberty by acknowledging the independence of the South American Colonies. President Monroe of the United States of America, on Canning's promise of English support, warned Europe that any extension of its system in any part of America would be regarded as a hostile act. This " Monroe Doctrine " effectively saved the colonies, and Canning said that he had called a new world into being, to redress the balance of the old.

Non-intervention in the struggle of the Greek Christians against Mohammedan oppression did not satisfy the average Englishman, and volunteers, including the poet, Lord Byron, gave their help and their lives to the cause of Greek freedom. The Greek revolt was regarded differently by different



Fig. 87.—The Balkans in the nineteenth Century.

people; to some it was a racial struggle, to others a religious struggle—a crusade; or it was a struggle for liberty against oppression, or a Hellenistic resurrection of a long-dead Greece. To Metternich, however, it was simply a revolution which ought, therefore, to be crushed. Alexander was in a dilemma: he ought to support the Christians of his own Greek Orthodox Church and to avenge the murder of its Patriarch; moreover it was in the interest of Russia to extend her authority into the Balkans, as the Protector of the Greek Church; a Russian Constantinople would be a step towards the control of the direct route to India; but Alexander was pledged to crush revolution, and there were signs of danger in Russia and in his Polish kingdom. Canning was afraid that an independent Greece might fall under the control of Russia, so decided that an armistice must be enforced on the Balkan armies, and that Turkey must promise to reform. An English fleet under Admiral Cochrington, supported by French and Russian squadrons, sailed. Codrington was a sailor and not a diplomat and failed to appreciate that only a show of force had been intended. Finding his orders ignored, he sank the Turkish fleet, in October, 1827, in Navarino Bay. Canning had died, and Wellington, a reactionary Tory, found it necessary to apologise to Metternich for the "untoward event". Alexander too was dead, and Nicholas I, tied by no treaties, invaded the Balkans. By the Treaty of Adrianople, 1829, Greece became an independent kingdom.

This series of revolutions had hardly ended when a second and far more threatening series began in France and ran like an electric tremor through "Europe. Louis XVIII had been succeeded in 1825 by his brother Charles, Duke of Artois, as Charles X. The last of the French Bourbons, Charles, was an extreme reactionary, whose government was described even by such a Tory as the Duke of Wellington as one of priests for priests. Huge sums¹ were given to the nobles to compensate them for their losses during the revolution of 1789, and Charles attempted to restore the old

privileged hereditary aristocracy. The press was more strictly censored and, in July 1830, the issue of royal ordinances destroyed the last remnants of the constitution which had been given to France in 1815. With startling suddenness the people rebelled against a tyranny grown intolerable, and, before Charles had realised what was happening, they had captured Paris. Charles fled to England, and, as a republic would have invited invasion, the crown was practically forced on Louis Philippe, son of the Duke of Orleans whose vote had led to Louis XVI's execution and who himself had later been guillotined.

The " July " revolution of 1830 kindled others. Belgium regained its independence; Austrian puppets were driven from their thrones in Modena and Parma and the Papal States became a republic; Poland rose against its Russian king, for Nicholas had none of Alexander's earlier liberal sympathies; and in four German states constitutional government was demanded.

Except in France and the Netherlands the revolutions were easily suppressed, and in Poland at least the suppression was brutal. But the 1830 revolutions proved a shock to the tottering system of reaction and showed how widespread was the growing determination ultimately to overthrow it. The Quintuple Alliance had lost France, and England, after 1830, mainly under the guidance of Palmerston, began openly to support European liberal movements.

For eighteen years only minor disturbances betrayed the growing national and liberal feelings which were smouldering dangerously under the surface. Industrial Specialisation, spreading gradually from England into Western Europe, was beginning to crowd men together in factories and towns, giving them a new sense of grievance and a new opportunity for united action. Economic and social grievances, such as the experience of hunger in the midst of plenty, add a reckless determination to grievances based on sentiments such as nationalism or even liberalism, and have been the driving power behind all revolutions.

Again the movement began in France, in September, 1848, and with dramatic suddenness almost the whole of Europe was the scene of a vast revolution. In France the monarchy was overthrown and the Second Republic was formed, with Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon, as President. In every German state, even in Prussia,



constitutional government was demanded, and a national German movement demanded and obtained a "national parliament" at Frankfort, and offered the crown of a united Germany to Frederick William IV of Prussia. In Italy a nationalist secret society called "Young Italy", formed by Josef Maz2ini who had been driven into exile after the 1830 risings, set up a republic in Rome, while once more, in Northern Italy, the Austrian rulers were driven out. In Vienna

Fig.88.-JosefMa22ini.

^{^Risch^}

J_t_s_e_l_f a rising, begun

by a university student, spread rapidly, and Metternich fled. The Austrian Emperor, Ferdinand, was compelled to abdicate in favour of his eighteen-years old nephew, Francis Joseph. Austria's difficulties were increased by a nationalist rising of the Czechs of Bohemia, by a nationalist rising of the Magyars of Hungary under Louis Kossuth, and by revolutions in Venice and the Italian duchies. In Poland and Russia Nicholas and his Cossack regiments were still keeping order with the knout and the axe, and the threat of Siberia.

The first disappointment to the nationalist and liberal hopes came with the refusal of Frederick William to accept the crown of a united Germany. He refused to accept the crown as the gift of rebels, nor was Prussia to be absorbed into Germany; later Germany was to be Prussianised, and unity to be enforced on it in terms consistent with absolute authority.

Austria was helped by divisions amongst the rebels. Her dominions were a mixture of many races, and, when the Magyars of the Hungarian plain demanded independence, Austria encouraged the Slavonic peoples of the southern mountain borderland to rise against the Magyars. The Austrian armies were reinforced by Russian troops, and against these combined and regular forces the half-starved and ill-disciplined revolutionaries had little chance. Once more order and authority were restored in Bohemia and Hungary, rebels executed, and the national and liberal hopes, which had seemed so promising, crushed. The Italian movement, with no central authority or organisation, with no agreement as to how a united Italy should be created or organised, was easily defeated, and Austrian domination was reimposed. Even in France the movement seemed to have failed, for Louis Napoleon, encouraged by the re-establishment of Austrian and Prussian authority, and suffering from the life-long illusion that he had inherited his uncle's military genius, took upon himself the title of Emperor Napoleon III in 1852. It was, of course, assumed that "Napoleon II" had been reigning in exile until his death during the intervening period.

Although the "1848" revolutions had apparently been a complete failure, actually they had not. They had differed from the earlier revolutions in that they were less liberal and more national. Even in France, where Napoleon's achievements had made him an almost legendary hero, the nation accepted Napoleon III's reassumption of the imperial title with little disapproval. The Italian, German, Bohemian, and Hungarian revolutions were all demands for national

independence, and were, therefore, risings against the Concert of Europe and against external and especially Austrian interference, more than they were risings against despotism and privilege. Except in Russia and Poland, privilege, as the claim of hereditary aristocracy, was dying a natural death. After 1848, therefore, the history of Central Europe is the history of the development of Italy, Prussia and Austria into separate and independent national units, and the subsequent development of far more bitter and determined national rivalries than had ever before existed.

Italian unity came first. In 1850 Italy was still a collection of separate states, each with its own sovereigns. In the south was the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where Austrian armies had maintained the Bourbon tyranny. Across the centre of Italy and extending north-eastwards were the Papal States of Romagna, Umbria and the Marches, over which successive popes had reigned as autocratically as ordinary princes. Of the four duchies in the north, Milan or Lombardy was directly ruled by Austria; Modena, Parma and Tuscany were ruled by members of the Austrian royal family, supported by Austrian spies and troops. All that was left of the ancient republic of Venice had been handed to Austria at the Congress of Vienna, when, similarly, the ruins of the ancient republic of Genoa had been* joined to Piedmont, which with the island of Sardinia formed the territory of the House of Savoy.

The seeds of nationalism and liberty had been planted by the French armies in the early days*of the revolutionary wars, and had grown under the enthusiastic care of Mazzini and his "Young Italy" movement. But the republican idealism of the early nationalists made an enemy of every prince and produced no leader capable of defeating Austria. It was Victor Emmanuel II, King of Piedmont, and his Prime Minister, Count Camillo Cavour, who provided a leader, a policy and a solution. After making Piedmont worthy to become the leading state of a united Italy, Cavour's



Fig. 89.—The Unification of Italy.

next and more difficult task was to find an ally capable of helping to defeat Austria.

From 1854 to 1856 England and France were fighting the futile Crimean War against Russia, partly through fear of Russia's possible expansion eastwards through the Balkans, and partly because the French emperor was named Napoleon. Cavour used the opportunity to send troops to the Crimea, and afterwards to claim a seat at the Congress of Paris where peace was signed. From Palmerston, England's freedom-loving representative, Cavour obtained the promise of friendly neutrality; from Napoleon III he obtained the promise of actual help, in return for the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. Not until Napoleon had narrowly escaped death, when a bomb was thrown at his carriage by an impatient Italian named Orsini, did he give the promised help. In 1859 ^a combined French* and Sardinian army defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino. Then, quite suddenly, Napoleon was frightened by his very success. Prussia was arming, and his own clerical party at home was growing restive. Deserting his ally he made peace with Austria at Villafranca, after making certain of Savoy and Nice.

Actually Italy had achieved a great deal. Austria ceded Lombardy; the duchies of Modena, Parma and Tuscany drove out their rulers and enthusiastically joined Piedmont, as did the papal state of Romagna. The kingdom of Northern Italy was created with Turin as its capital.

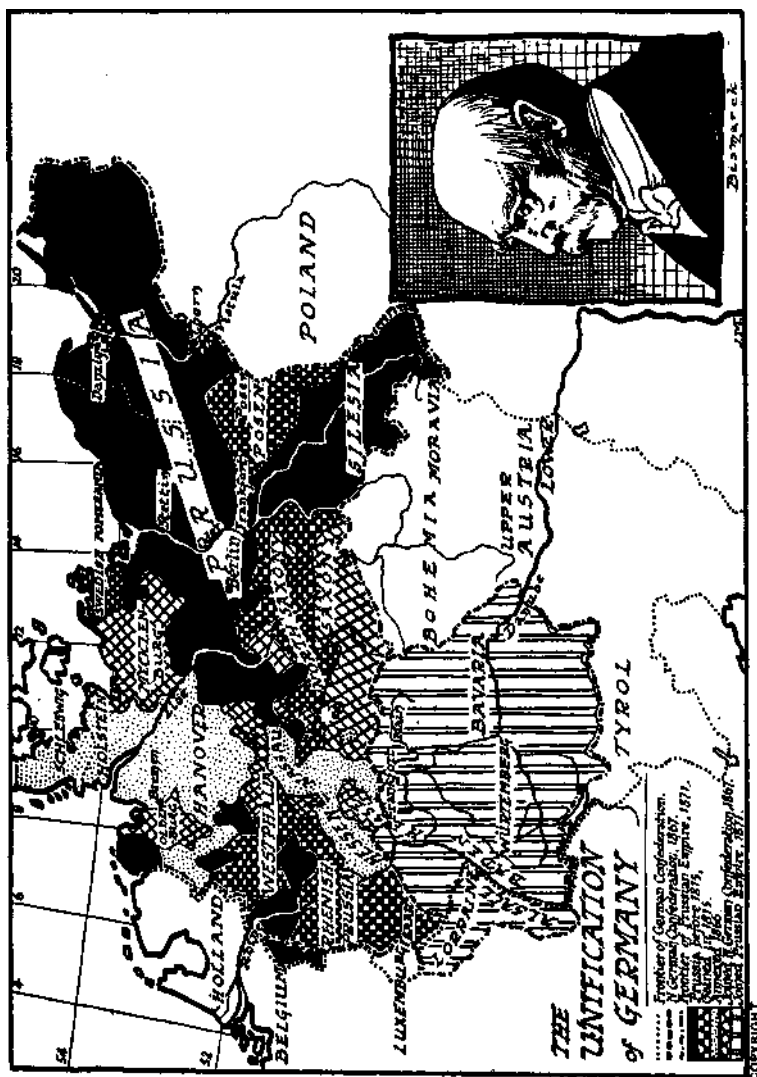
In the following year, 1860, an old revolutionary hero named Garibaldi was busy with the conquest of southern Italy, while Victor Emmanuel was defeating the papal armies and adding Umbria and the Marches to his kingdom. The king then continued south and with Garibaldi at his side accepted the allegiance of the Sicilies. Garibaldi had wished to march on Rome, but this Cavour had forbidden as certain to lead to foreign intervention. That this had not already occurred was mainly due to England's sympathy with Italy. In 1861 Cavour died, leaving an Italian kingdom, complete

except for Venetia and the coastal strip with Rome at its centre, known as the Patrimony of St. Peter. By helping Prussia in a war against Austria, in 1866, Italy gained Venice. The pope was protected by French troops, but in 1870 these were withdrawn to defend France against an ever-growing Prussia, and Rome too was added to the Kingdom of Italy. The pope was allowed to retain the sovereignty of the Vatican.

While Austria had been exhausting her strength in her vain struggle against nationalism and liberalism, Prussia had been growing into a formidable kingdom, determined to dominate Central Europe. After 1815 there were still thirty-nine independent states in the German Confederation, and economic barriers increased their mutual rivalry. By the Treaty of Vienna Prussia, a poor and agricultural country, gained rich and industrial provinces on the Rhine, so that the economic development of Prussia was especially hampered by the existence of Customs barriers on every frontier. In 1816 Prussia abolished all Customs dues within her own states, and, in 1819, the Customs Union or Zollverein began to include other states. As more states joined, Germany was gradually achieving economic unity under Prussian control, with Austria deliberately excluded.

In 1850, after the revolution of 1848 and 1849, Prussia had developed a parliamentary system, though the king claimed to retain the right to demand any supplies for military purposes. The expenditure on armaments continued to increase, and in 1862 the parliament refused to grant further supplies. The king gave dictatorial power to Otto von Bismarck, a hard, fierce and gigantic squire who had represented Prussia at Frankfort, in France and in Russia. Bismarck ignored the parliament, collected the taxes, further increased the army, and suppressed all opposition. Having imposed his will on Prussia he then began to impose the will of Prussia on Germany and Europe.

In 1864 Prussia, in alliance with Austria, captured the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark. The division of the spoils gave Bismarck the opportunity to quarrel



with Austria, and in 1866, after a Seven Weeks' War, Austria was driven from the German Confederation. Almost before Europe realised what had happened, Prussia had established its authority over all the German states north of the Main and formed them into the North German Confederation. Bismarck then deliberately sought a quarrel with France, and Napoleon III's jealousy of the growing power of Prussia made the task easy. In 1870 Napoleon III was tempted into a declaration of war, but within two months his armies had been crippled, and he himself was captured and sent to Germany a prisoner! Paris for the third time declared France to be a republic, and prepared to defend itself against the advancing Prussian armies. The siege of Paris lasted through the winter and into 1871, until rats were bought for food in the market and the trees of the avenues were used for fuel.

The Treaty of Frankfort, signed at the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, is a landmark in European history. The new republic of France had to surrender Alsace and the rich coalfields of Lorraine ; saddled with a crippling war indemnity, she was faced with the task of reconstruction and of securing her republican government. The loss of Alsace and Lorraine created in France a bitter and enduring hatred of Prussia. After the acquisition of the southern German states, Prussia was declared an empire; a new Caesar or Kaiser had arisen, who had hammered Germany into unity, in Bismarck's word? 'by blood and iron', and who had created in Central Europe " a terrible and menacing Power ".*

As long as Bismarck remained in power in Prussia, every encouragement was given to Austria to transfer her interest and her expansion towards the east. In 1867 the mixed races of the Austrian section of the Danube valley had been formed into the Dual kingdom of Austria-Hungary, and in 1878 Austria obtained a foothold in the Balkans by

* Ramsay Muir Short History of the British Commonwealth vol. II p. 480.
George Philip ; 1922.

being made "protector" of Bosnia, which had revolted against the Turks.

The bordering state of Serbia watched this Austrian intrusion with alarm. In 1888 Kaiser William II became ruler of Prussia and began his autocratic career by dismissing Bismarck from the Chancellorship. To the Kaiser, further expansion of Prussia was checkmated by England's overseas pre-eminence, and he too began to look towards the Balkans, and thence to India. His expressed interest in Mohammedan peoples, of whom there were seventy millions in India, the construction of a railway from Berlin to Bagdad, and the activities of Prussian engineers, capitalists, industrialists and merchants in the Balkans, began to look alarming. The Kaiser's public expression of Prussia's colonial aims, his expressed determination to win the command of the seas, his scramble for African territory, and his feverishly rapid development of his army and navy, made it clear that a new and terrible international rivalry had begun.

Once more the eighteenth century system of armed alliances appeared in Europe, and in 1872 the League of the Three Emperors had united Prussia, Austria and Russia. But Russia, disturbed by Austria's and Prussia's growing interest in eastward expansion, was replaced in the Triple Alliance in 1882 by Italy. For some time Russia, France and England remained isolated, separated by age-old rivalry and new colonial and commercial clashing interests; but the threat of the Triple Alliance gradually forced them into alliance. In 1894 Russia and France signed a defensive treaty, and in 1906 England joined France, to form the Entente Cordiale. In 1907 the three nations formed the Triple Entente, and once more Europe was divided into two threatening groups of hostile states.

Before turning to the story of how Britain was progressing at home and overseas, it is impossible to leave the tragic history of nineteenth century Europe without glancing behind the scenes into the greater tragedy of Russia.

Nicholas I, who succeeded Alexander 1 in 1825, had none of Alexander's earlier liberal sentiment, and was determined that no ideas of liberty should be imported into Russia, to interfere with his divinely inspired authority. Russians were forbidden to leave the country, foreigners and foreign books were kept out, and over a hundred thousand Russians were either sent to die in Siberia or were executed in Russia. In 1855 Alexander 11 became Tsar, and startled his nobles by freeing the serfs on his own estates. In 1861, by the Edict of Emancipation, he freed all serfs, and compelled the nobles to sell to the freed serfs on their estates the portion of land they had worked. Actually this did not improve the lot of the wretched peasants, who could not pay the prices demanded, fell into debt, and starved just as they had starved before.

The long and terrible Russian oppression had led to the appearance of bands of Terrorists or Nihilists, determined to destroy utterly their hated oppressors, and in 1881 they



Fig. 91.—Siberia. A gang of prisoners at work building roads, with armed guards standing by.

F.N.A.

assassinated the Tsar. His successor, Alexander **III**, who reigned from 1881 to 1894, replied by increasing the floggings, imprisonments, banishments and executions. Meanwhile the Industrial Revolution had reached even Russia, and railways, factories and towns were producing a new class whose angry resentment of oppression was more dangerous than that of the peasants, for the workers were crowded into compact groups. In a Russia still feudal, where aristocratic privilege was still jealously guarded, the wealthy middle class which grew with the workers had its own grievances and provided leaders for the growing revolutionary movement. Nicholas II, who became Tsar in 1894, merely tried to increase the repression; more* spies entered the universities, and writers, teachers and professors followed the long stream into Siberia. Trials were held in secret or not at all, and thousands were executed annually, sometimes for the mere possession of a foreign book.

Little was known in Europe of the actual state of Russia until its sudden collapse before the armies of Japan, in 1904, revealed the corruption and oppression. The corruption, which had even robbed the Russian armies of food and clothing, led to the demand for a Russian parliament. A procession of unarmed workmen, led by a priest, petitioned for freedom of speech and public trials. The Tsar replied by sending a Cossack regiment against the petitioners, who were flogged, mutilated or shot. This "Bloody Sunday", January 22nd, 1905, began a reign of terror and reprisal, out of which gradually emerged a party with a definite plan. A minority of this party, known as the Social Democratic Party, still hoped to gain its end by peaceful means, but the "Majority" or Bolshevik section realised that nothing but force could ever shake the age-old tyranny.

In August, 1914, the two groups of hostile European Powers began the Great World War, and Russia, as a member of the Triple Entente, had to send troops. The same corruption which, ten years before, had sent ill-dressed, ill-armed troops to Japan now sent men armed with obsolete

rifles or no rifles at all to be slaughtered by the best prepared armies in the world.

For three years the Russian people endured their Mediaeval and corrupt tyranny; then a riot began in the streets of St. Petersburg. Once more the troops were ordered to fire on the rioters, but this time they refused. The revolution rapidly spread, and the Tsar, hastening in alarm to his capital, was seized and forced to abdicate. The crown was offered to the Tsar's brother, the Grand Duke Michael, and on his refusal to accept it, Russia was declared a republic and Kerensky was appointed President. Russian exiles began to rush home, when they could do so, and amongst those successful were Lenin and Trotsky, who overthrew the Provisional Government as a mild middle-class compromise, and after making peace with Prussia began to organise Russia in the interests of the working class.

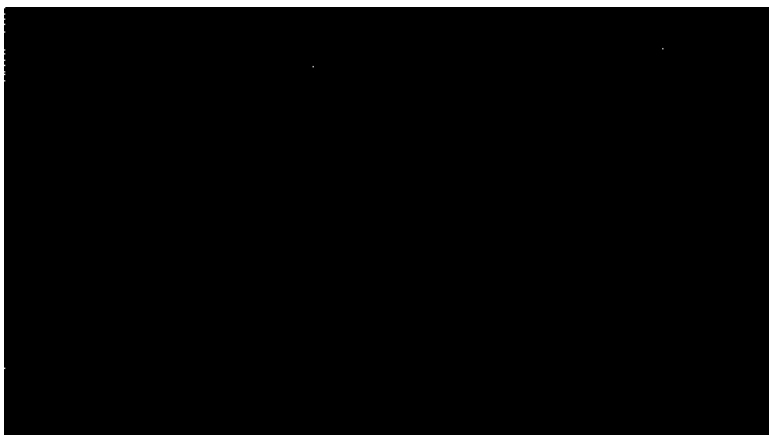


Fig. 92.—THE KREMLIN MOSCOW.

The walls of the Kremlin, or fortress of Moscow, surround the principal buildings—cathedrals, churches, palaces and an arsenal. Some of the palaces have been turned into museums containing ancient arms and other antiquities, while other buildings house the Central Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Thus the Kremlin, with its 18-towered thirteenth century wall, embodies as a monument the changing story of Russia.

The long pent-up fury expressed itself in a Reign of Terror, in which the Tsar and the royal family were shot, with hundreds of nobles. Willing or unwilling, Russia had then to submit to a determined, ruthless and efficient despotism which meant to hammer Russia into a State organised by and for the workers. There should be no more private accumulation of wealth and no personal use of another man's labour, which belonged to the State. A fuller description of this revolution and of its achievements is included in the next volume of this series.

CHAPTER XI

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN ENGLAND

WHEN THE SHADOW of England fell across the pages of the European history of the nineteenth century, it was the shadow of a nation that was powerful, wealthy, liberal, progressive, and independent enough to maintain a "splendid isolation". But a shadow, however true in outline, reveals nothing of what lies beneath the surface, and beneath the prosperous surface of England lay many ills.

The rapid growth of factories, mills and mines, the increasing use of big and expensive machines, the growing dependence on steam power, and the determination of owners to obtain maximum profits, had degraded the workers to a state of poverty and wretchedness. Children, bought from workhouses, or sent of necessity by starving parents, worked even from the age of five in mines and factories, often for fourteen or fifteen hours a day, or were forced to climb inside long and crooked chimneys to clean out the soot with a hand brush.

The hardship caused by low wages was increased by the high price of bread. The British parliament was still controlled by landowners who had passed the Corn Law of 1815 to protect the English farmer from foreign competition. Hungry men, driven desperate, sometimes tried to catch a rabbit or a fawn; but after the Game Law of 1816 a man caught in the possession of a snare could be transported in chains to the other side of the world to work for seven years in a convict settlement.

From the time of Walpole the British government had adopted a policy known as '*laissez faire*', which means

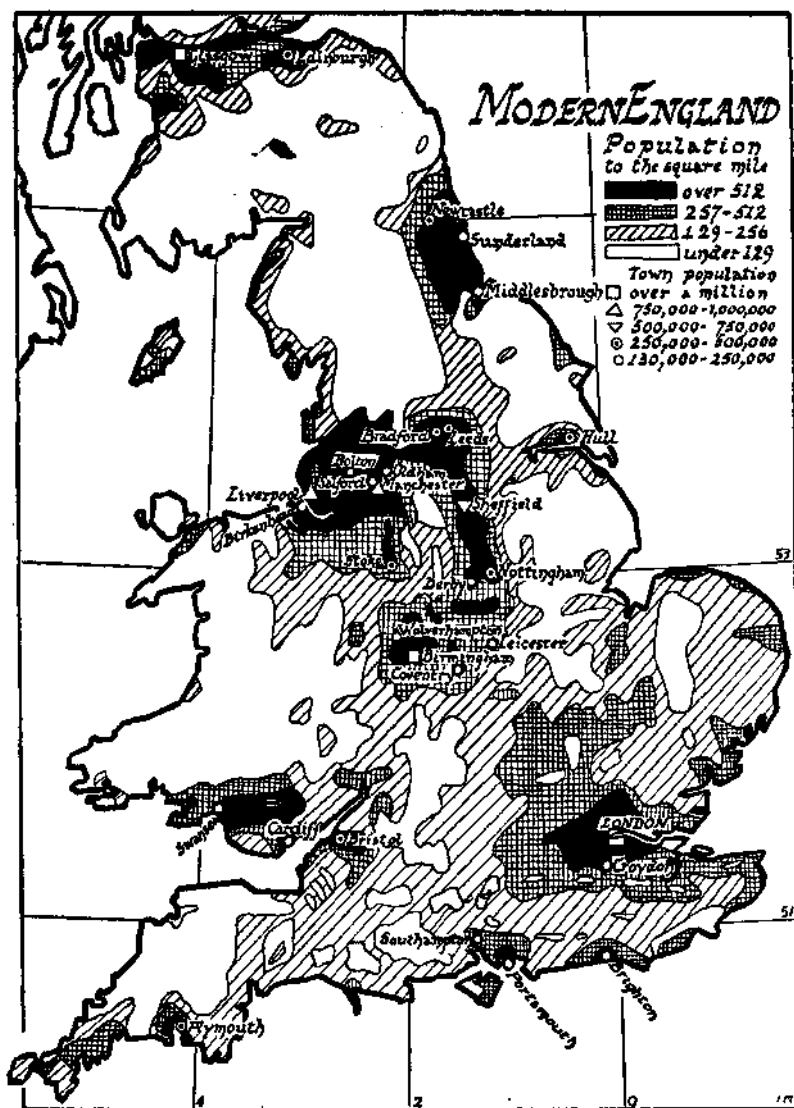


Fig-95—Modern England: Population

leaving things alone\ When this policy is interpreted to mean freedom from niggling interference and obstruction, when it means the encouragement of healthy, genuine and responsible effort, it is a sound policy; but when it means non-interference with the selfish abuse of such liberty, it is obviously bad. The early nineteenth century government's interpretation was worse, for reactionary and repressive laws were passed to maintain the existing system when men were driven by hunger into active agitation.

The government was not to blame for having *caused* the distress. Much of it was due to the war against France, for the national debt and consequently taxation had enormously increased, and the flood of paper money, which had replaced the gold coinage, equally added to the cost of living. The more paper notes there were in circulation, the less each one could buy. Nor was the government responsible for the revolutionary changes in agriculture and industry; but it is equally true that the early nineteenth century government made no attempt to relieve the distress, and that it ignored or imprisoned many writers who dared to suggest either cause or remedy, and that it finally attempted to crush any expression of grievance with a reactionary system worthy of Metternich.

There were irresponsible spies and informers, and unjust trials where unsupported evidence was accepted. Troops were turned out against a number of workers, carrying blankets and attempting to walk from Lancashire to London to present a 'humble petition.' Leaders of riots in Devon and York were hanged. In 1819 a meeting of unarmed workers at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, was dispersed by cavalry, and the government, after approving the outrage, passed the Six "Gag" Acts, which forbade unauthorised public meetings. Reaction, untempered with remedies, rapidly breeds revolution, and in 1820 a wild attempt, known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, had as its object the murder of the Cabinet Ministers. In the same year George III, after ten years' blindness and insanity, died, and was succeeded



(Old print. By courtesy of the T. U. C.)

Fig. 94.—The “Peterloo Massacre.”

by George IV, whose scandalous life destroyed what little respect was left for the British monarchy or for the government.

In 1822 Castlereagh committed suicide, and the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, who had been mainly responsible for the reactionary measures, resigned. A younger generation of Tories took office, determined to look for the cause of the trouble, and the most enlightened of these were Canning, the new Foreign Secretary, Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, and Sir Robert Peel, Home Secretary. All three were financiers and were supporters of a theory which had been published nearly fifty years before in a book called 'The-Wealth of Nations'. The writer, a Scottish professor named Adam Smith, had condemned the old Mercantile Theory, and expressed the view that freedom of trade between two countries must increase the prosperity of both. The French revolution had ended Pitt's attempt to put this theory into practice, but Huskisson now began to do

so by reducing and simplifying the customs duties, and by arranging for the freer exchange of goods between England and other countries. Meanwhile Peel had begun to soften the hardship of the old penal code, reducing the number of crimes for which death had been the penalty, reforming the prisons, and destroying Sidmouth's horrible system of spies. The old watchmen of London were replaced by a disciplined police force, and uniformed 'Bobbies' or 'Peelers' soon began to appear in other towns. The

shocking conditions of labour had led men to combine into Trade Unions, but Combination Acts had made such societies illegal. The repeal of the Combination Acts, in 1824, made Trade Unions legal, though their sudden activity led to another act, in 1825, which destroyed their usefulness.

While these reforms suggested at least a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the government, and, by easing trade, did something to reduce poverty, the main grievances remained untouched. Bread was still very dear, wages were still low, work was scarce, and children and women were still being deformed by long hours of labour in mines and mills. Often men, sullen and angry, might have been seen grouped round someone reading the rousing articles from a paper known as Cobbett's *Political Register*.

Cobbett, a writer who had already suffered imprisonment for his biting comments on government corruption and reaction, had begun to issue his famous paper in a new form. To avoid the tax on newspapers Cobbett omitted the news and published only his vigorous views and criticisms. This reduced the price of each copy to twopence, and Cobbett's "Twopenny Trash" was read eagerly all over England.

Cobbett's most frequently expressed view was that no real improvement in people's lives would be possible so long as parliament remained under the control of the men who profited by the existing system. Gradually the cry for parliamentary reform spread everywhere, but it seemed unlikely that the great landowners would consent to overthrow themselves. The Duke of Wellington stated, as Prime Minister, in 1830, that he would always feel it his duty to resist parliamentary reform, so nothing seemed left but revolution. All over England there were riots, meetings, threats and revolts ; and once more there were mock " trials ", hangings and transportations. Obviously the cry for reform could no longer be ignored, and in 1831 a new government under Earl Grey began, with the help of Lord John Russell, to draft a bill.

The Reform Bill startled the House of Commons, for it proposed to destroy the old system of * rotten ' and ' pocket ' borough representation and the ' boroughmongering ' by which wealthy landowners who controlled the boroughs had distributed ' seats ' to friends, at a price. Many of these boroughs, though they returned from one to four members, were almost depopulated, while many of the growing industrial towns were still unrepresented. The bill proposed also to enfranchise or to * give a vote ' to every tenant whose property was worth £10 a year. The country was delighted and waited for news with growing excitement. After a struggle the bill passed the House of Commons and reached the House of Lords—which rejected it.

The disappointed country grew dangerously angry and in 1832 the Lords withdrew their opposition. The Great Reform Act was passed and Cobbett, feeling that his life work was accomplished, was made a member of the first reformed parliament, which sat in 1833. In the remaining two years of his life he was to learn bitter disappointment.

The reformed parliament began, in fact, a period of rapid and extensive reform. The dream of humanitarians like Wilberforce was at last realised in the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. In 1834 the Poor Law Amendment Act destroyed the old degrading system of outdoor relief for all except the unfit, and a grant of £20,000 expressed the first national interest in elementary education. The first really operative Factory Act was passed in 1833, forbidding the employment of children under nine in the textile factories, and restricting the hours of labour. All this was excellent so far as it went, but it is easy to understand the intense disappointment of the workers who had expected so much from a reformed parliament. The abolition of slavery overseas seemed mere hypocrisy when the little " black dwarfs " continued to return from English mines to empty pantries. The Factory Act applied only to the textile

industries, and even in those children of nine had still to work for thirteen hours each day. To children such as these the education grant meant nothing. But the Poor Law Reform was hated most of all, for, to avoid starvation, the able unemployed had in future to go to workhouses run with a rigid severity, regarded as symbols of tyranny, and still known in parts of England as Bastilles.

One man who no longer expected anything from political reform was Robert Owen, one of the most interesting men of the century. Having left home at the age of seven to find employment in a London shop, he had become a cotton printer at Manchester and eventually a director of a large mill at New Lanark in Scotland. After overcoming the suspicion of the employees and paying off his co-directors with money lent by Quaker philanthropists, Owen created a humane factory in a model town.* Schools were built for children and adults, employees were taught self-respect, and cleanliness was enforced even in their homes. Owen's benevolent despotism and his care of his workers did not prevent his becoming enormously wealthy, and Owen used this



Fig. 96.—A Village School.

[Old print

fact to try to persuade other factory owners to adopt the same humane methods. When his efforts to convince them and parliament had failed, Owen tried to organise all the workers of England, agricultural and industrial, into a "Grand Consolidated National Trades Union". All men were to cease work for a "Sacred Month", to convince England of the value of labour. The scheme was far too unwieldy. Rural peasants, like those at Tolpuddle, in Dorsetshire, took strange oaths in dark attics, read the bible and sang



By courtesy of "Illustrated London News"

Fig. 97.—Transportation to a Convict Settlement.

hymns, and formed 'lodges'. It was all very orderly but very un-English, very mysterious and very cumbersome. Suddenly the government struck. A number of mystified peasants from Tolpuddle were seized, convicted for administering illegal oaths, and transported to a distant convict settlement. The collapse of the movement occurred in the same year as the passing of the "Poor man's Robbery Bill", which was the name the workers had given to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

The feeling that the enfranchised middle class had betrayed the workers, whose agitation had enforced the passing of the Reform Act, led to a new political agitation, to make the House of Commons representative of the whole country. Everyone was to have a vote and to be able to record it secretly ; working men were to be admitted to parliament, which meant that members would have to be paid, and there was to be a new election every year. A monster petition was prepared, with one and a quarter million signatures, written on a chart so big that it had to be rolled into the House of Commons. The Chartists, as they were called, were greeted with laughter ; many of the signatures were found to be forgeries, including that of the young queen Victoria, who in 1837 had succeeded her uncle William IV ; the leaders were divided, and by 1848 the movement flickered out in a futile rising. Actually England had already taken a much wiser route towards the healing of her economic disease when Peel became Prime Minister in 1841.

To many men it was at last becoming clear that the constant agitation, which had expressed itself in riots, petitions, charts, secret societies and trade unions, was not the mere survival of a revolutionary spirit, bred from the French revolution, but that it was a justified expression of genuine grievance. Men, women and children were starving, through no fault of their own, in a land of plenty. Peel began his ministry with the intention of making England " a cheap land to live in ", and he believed that this could be done only by a policy of Free Trade. He began to reduce and to abolish the customs duties imposed on almost every import, believing that this would not only lower prices, but that it would increase British export trade. The foreigner, selling more goods to England, would tend to buy more from England, to the advantage of both. To replace any immediate loss in revenue Peel reimposed the income tax, which Pitt had used in the Napoleonic war, but which had been hurriedly dropped in 1815. So

successful was Peel's experiment that he continued to abolish more and more customs duties.

The landowners did not object to the removal of tariffs from manufactured articles, but they objected to the suggestion of the manufacturers that foreign corn should be freely admitted in the same way. Under the leadership of Cobden and Bright an Anti-Corn-Law League, whose object was the repeal of the Corn Law of 1815, had become so powerful that the landowners were seriously alarmed, and they relied on Peel to oppose the League. In 1845 a tragic famine killed thousands of Ireland's already starving population; yet even this calamity was not sufficient to persuade the English farmers to approve of the free importation of foreign corn—but it persuaded Peel. In 1846 the hated Corn Law was repealed, and though Peel had destroyed his party he had cheapened bread.

Neither industry nor agriculture suffered from Peel's free trade policy. British exports, which had fallen during the twenty-seven years between 1815 and his great budget of 1842, were more than quadrupled during the next twenty-seven years, and British agriculture revived with the increasing general prosperity. Gladstone completed Peel's work, and by 1860 only fourteen important articles were still taxed at the ports; there had been twelve hundred before the budget of 1842.

After 1860 England settled down into a comfortable easy-going state of self-satisfaction, just at the time when Prussia was beginning to forge its terrible and threatening State by blood and iron, and just at the time when other countries, with feverish haste, were beginning their own industrial revolutions. Factories and smoky towns were rapidly appearing, and all over the world railways were being constructed. The presence of coal and iron meant wealth and power for any country which possessed them, and it is significant that the formation of the German Empire gave to Prussia the coalfields of Saxony, the Ruhr and the Saar.

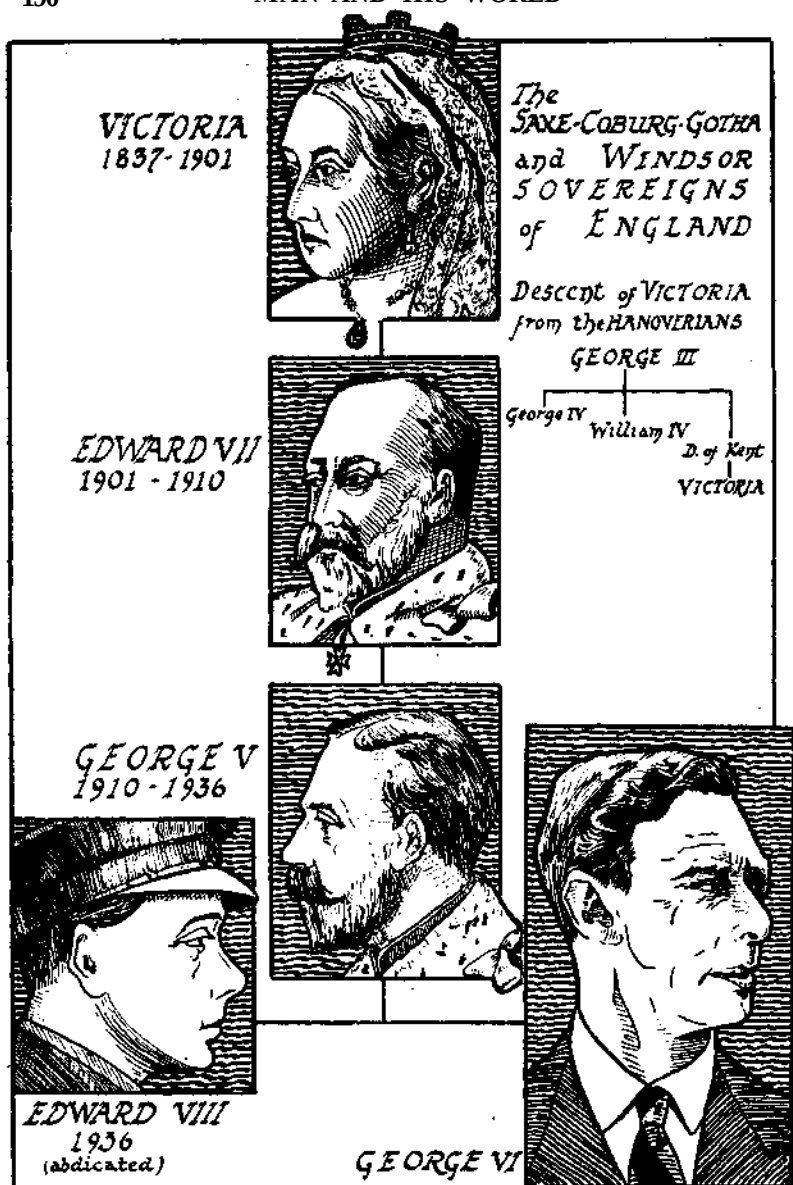


Fig. 98.—The Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Windsor Sovereigns of England.

For a time this general development improved British shipping, trade and industry, especially in coal, iron and steel, and the period of quiet prosperity helped towards a more sympathetic social development. In 1867 a new political Reform Act enfranchised the artisans of the towns, and parliament became dependent on the votes of working men. Though England had become a genuinely democratic country, it was still a hopelessly uneducated one, and parliament awoke to the necessity of "educating its masters". In 1868 Gladstone, who had become leader of the liberals after Palmerston's death in 1865, began his great Ministry. In 1870 it laid the foundation of a national system of elementary education. Local Government Boards were created to administer the Poor Laws and to control the factors on which public health depended. In 1872 the Ballot Act enabled voting to be done secretly.

Gladstone's political opponent was the brilliant and imaginative Jew, Disraeli, leader of the Conservatives. Disraeli criticised Gladstone's reforms as "barren privileges", and, when a general election in 1874 gave his party a majority,

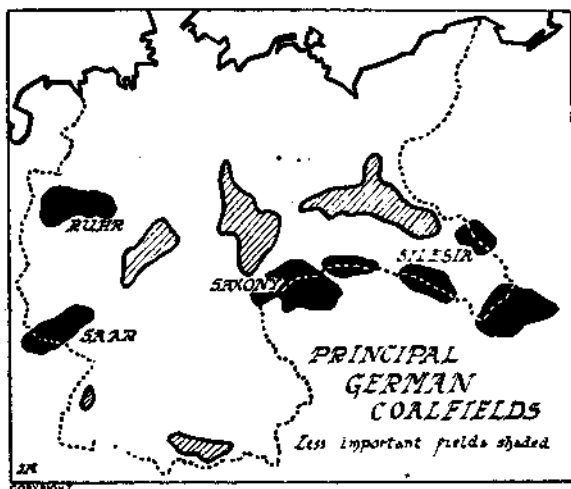


Fig. 99—Principal German Coalfields.

he began a series of what he regarded as genuine social reforms. Assisted by Richard Cross, the Home Secretary, Disraeli withdrew the remaining restrictions from Trade Unions, and improved the conditions under which working men lived by a Workmen's Dwelling Act and a Public Health Act. There had already been a long series of Factory Acts, mainly inspired by Lord Shaftesbury, which had removed the chief abuses of female and child labour, and these acts were assembled or codified by the Factory and Workshop Acts of 1878. The dangerous and disgusting practice of sending men to sea in overloaded ships was ended by an Act for which Samuel Plimsoll had struggled for years.

Meanwhile Disraeli had been energetically creating in England a pride in her " Empire ". This development was partly due to the sudden determination of the new European Powers to win oversea possessions, and their increasing rivalry was rapidly creating a world situation in which England could no longer hope to remain isolated. The Gladstonian Liberals had hoped that the policy of Free Trade would have created a friendly world, in which nations would realise that they were no longer independent, but that by having developed special industries they now depended on each other's goods. A nation could not sell unless it were also prepared to buy. The other nations, however, felt that they could not buy unless they had something to sell, and so long as England controlled the greater part of the world, they felt at a serious disadvantage. Prussia, under William II,

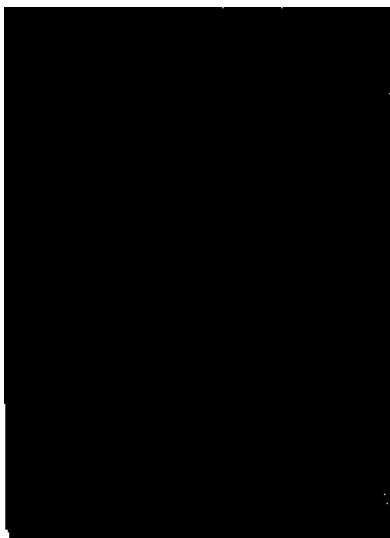


Fig. 100.—Benjamin Disraeli.

had no hesitation in saying so, **and the extraordinary** development of the Prussian navy, together **with the** Kaiser's speeches, were a direct challenge to England. Disraeli's imperialism, and the growing determination to defend the British Empire, showed Europe and England to be rapidly returning to the old dangerous policy of national commercial rivalry.

In 1884 a third political Reform Act doubled the number of voters added in 1867 by enfranchising the male head of every household, including agricultural labourers. The imperialist temper of England was shown in the general election of 1886 when the new electorate returned Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives to parliament. For the remaining fifteen years of Queen Victoria's long reign, British imperialism reached a noisy climax that was both arrogant and high-handed, and which ended in the South African War against the Dutch farmers or Boers. The unity of the Empire was demonstrated by the presence of volunteers from every continent in the world in the British armies in South Africa, but many Englishmen were growing ashamed both of the policy and of the unrestrained boastfulness which followed the exultation of victory. But still the process continued towards the inevitable and final tragedy. Joseph Chamberlain proposed to form the Empire into a great Zollverein and to reimpose customs duties on foreign goods, including food-stuffs. The old Mercantile Policy was to be applied to empires by the country which possessed by far the greatest of them, and though the scheme had to be abandoned, it illustrates the growing national rivalry. In Edward's reign Imperial Conferences began to meet periodically to organise methods of military co-operation and defence, to strengthen imperial communications, and in general to strengthen the feeling of unity in the British Commonwealth.

By this time, however, Britain's old and noisy imperialism **had gone**, **and**, except for **her** determination **to defend the Empire**, **Britain did everything possible to avoid war.**

Conferences were summoned to discuss the settlement of international quarrels by arbitration, to end the race for the building of bigger and bigger armaments, and to settle differences by mutual agreement. But all these efforts were wrecked by the opposition of Prussia, determined to gain world supremacy by the same process of blood and iron by which she had gained supremacy in Central Europe. In 1911, 1912 and 1913 Prussia increased the size of her army, and in 1912 England began to concentrate her navy in the North Sea, leaving to France the guardianship of the Mediterranean.

It would be wrong to imagine that during these years the average Englishman worried or even thought very much about the possibility of England's being involved in a European war. General prosperity and industrial activity made life in town or village very like what it is today, except that the roads were dustier in summer and mud-dier in winter. There were fewer "Company" shops but more slums; more noisy trams but fewer motor cars; aviation and wireless telephony were still in their infancy. Children who went to school hungry, after 1906, were provided with food, and after 1907 they were medically supervised. The safety of workers, their hours of labour

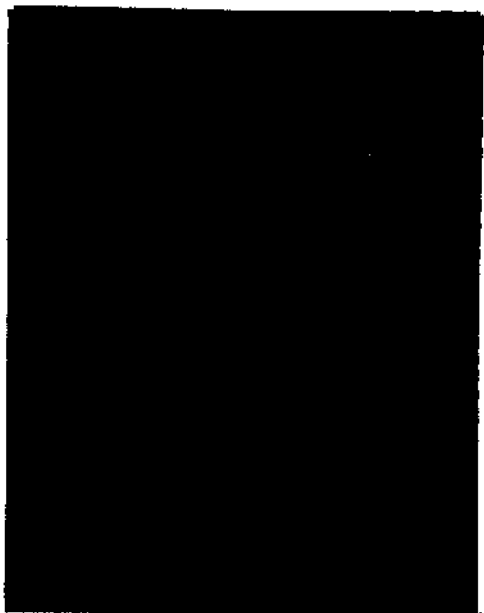


Fig. 101.—The arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst, leader of the "Votes for Women" agitations, outside Buckingham Palace.

and even their wages were increasingly controlled by the government and in 1908 the coal-miners' working day was reduced to eight hours. Now that almost everyone could read, cheap newspapers had become popular and had already become powerful means of influencing public opinion. In 1908 men and women read that the government had granted Old Age Pensions to all poor people over seventy years of age. In 1909 they read of Lloyd George's proposal to levy supertaxes on large incomes and to tax the land to raise more money for social schemes, and next year they read of the death of Edward VII and of the coronation of George V. The next few years were gloomy. The Lords had rejected Lloyd George's proposals; the expenditure on armaments had increased the cost of living; demands for higher wages, met by refusal, led to strikes in the mines and on the railways. Everywhere there was growing unrest. Women, determined to "have the vote", were breaking windows, burning letters in pillar boxes, destroying pictures in Art Galleries. General violence seemed to be replacing law and order. Suddenly this was forgotten. On August 4th, 1914, the newspapers declared that England and Germany were at war.

CHAPTER XII

THE TRAGEDY OF IRELAND

JUST AS THE SHADOW of England had fallen from time to time across the pages of nineteenth century European history, so across the life of England fell the ever-darkening shadow of tragic Ireland.

The island itself, on the western edge of the great land mass of Europe and Asia, is hollowed like a saucer, with a rim of mountains, and a depressed, -boggy central plain, soaked by the first rain of the south-western winds. Here and there are forests, peopled by the imaginative and poetic Irish from time immemorial with the magic folk of a Faery World. Through the plain of Ireland flows the Shannon, which swells out into Lake Derg before it breaks through the mountains in the south-west to reach the wild rocky Atlantic Coast where limerick now stands. The mountain rim is broken too in the east, where a lowland coastal strip from Dublin to Dundalk makes an open front door into the island.

Through the open door many peoples have passed. Some were conquerors, and the ancient legends of the Irish are full of epic tales of heroes, giants and gods from across the Sea of the Rising Sun. Others were refugees, for Ireland is the last refuge of fleeing peoples. Through the open door went, also, missionaries of the early Christian Church and, later, Vikings and Normans from Mediaeval England. But all who entered Ireland seem to have been absorbed into the" ancient mystic race, to have succumbed to the magic of the strange, poor land, where chieftains continued to fight for the possession of the few areas that would yield



Fig. 102.—Ireland.

a return for labour, and where peasants in scattered hovels lived their poor lives, sang strange and beautiful songs, and listened to the voices in the wind and the trees.

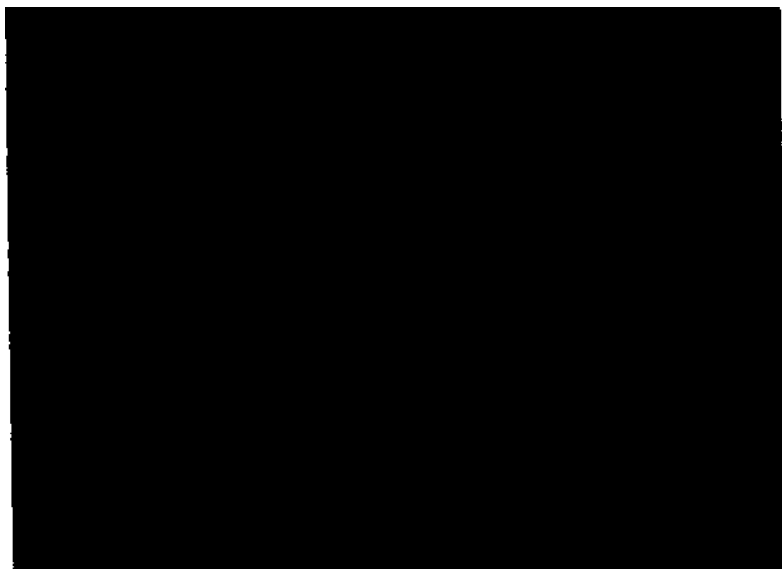
In the north-east of Ireland is a separate little basin, almost surrounded itself by broken mountains, with Lough Neagh in the centre, and an opening to the eastern sea. To the west of this province, which is called Ulster, lie the mountains of Donegal, with thin, poor soil, and where violent Atlantic gales sweep through the mountain passes and flood the land with rain. But these mountains help to shelter Ulster and there the land is fertile. There is good pasture, and both flax, from which linen is made, and grain, grow easily.

England, from the early Middle Ages, had held Dublin, the key of the open door, and the land just round, known as the Pale. The words 'pale' and '*paling' come from the Latin word 'palus', which means a '*stake', and the English made no serious attempt to extend 'beyond the Pale', where their influence was ignored, until about three hundred and fifty years ago. Then the Tudor and Stewart sovereigns began to conquer Ireland and to plant Protestant settlers in its most fertile regions. The Reformation had, naturally, not reached Ireland, and to the hatred inspired by conquest was added the bitter hatred which existed between seventeenth century Protestants and Roman Catholics.

The most important of the English settlements were those of Ulster, of the Golden Section, which lies south of Shannon from Tipperary to Limerick, of the eastern part of the Central Plain, and of the south-eastern coast round Wexford. There was little of value left for the Irish. Charles I sent Strafford, efficient and relentless, to consolidate the conquest, and resistance seemed useless. But suddenly the English Civil War provided an opportunity for rebellion, and many of the Protestant settlers, unprotected for the moment, were massacred. England was not long pre-occupied, and Cromwell, once he had established his power,

"restored order" in Ireland so ruthlessly that his name still lives there as that of a monster of cruelty.

England's own troubles, however, were not yet over. Cromwell was succeeded by Charles II, the restored Stewart, and he by his Roman Catholic brother James II, who after three years fled, an exile, before William of Orange. Helped by French money, ships and men, James II went to Ireland,



[Fox Photo

Fig. 103.—Irish Cottagers doing their washing out-doors in County Donegal.

hoping from there to conquer England and to regain his throne. Early victories over the Protestants and the terrible siege of Londonderry meant little, for three armies from England crushed the Irish, who were forced to sign the Treaty of Limerick.

The Treaty was broken, as was the spirit of the Irish. Many of the soldiers were driven overseas, as an alternative to death, and a cruel penal code deprived **the Irish Roman**

Catholics of almost every right save that of living. Forbidden education, they were doomed to lives of ignorance, by deliberate confiscations and by a new law of inheritance Protestant landowners, many of whom lived in England, obtained control of more and more land ; and to prevent further rebellion, no Roman Catholic could possess a horse valued at more than £5, which meant that a Protestant who offered more for a horse could legally claim it. The landlords, often represented by agents, used their power to extort the utmost farthing from an increasingly wretched and impoverished peasantry. The Irish Roman Catholics were deprived, too, of all political rights, and the parliament which had sat at Dublin since Edward I's reign, but which England controlled, was the parliament of the Protestant settlers only. Sheer poverty drove the Irish to depend increasingly on the potato, which, next to rice, provides more food to the square yard than any other plant. Further, from their scanty produce, the Irish had to pay a tithe towards the upkeep of the Anglican Protestant Church in Ireland.

Although the Protestants appeared to have every conceivable advantage, they were oppressed in other ways. The Mercantile Policy did not permit economic competition from colonists, and in Charles II's reign the importation into England of Irish butter and cheese, or of cattle, sheep or pigs, dead or alive, was forbidden, and all Irish trade with the colonies had to cease. In William III's reign raw wool could be exported only to England, and the exportation of manufactured woollens to any other country was forbidden. Under the Walpole regime these restrictions were further increased, and an old Act of Henry VII's reign, known as Poyning's Act, which demanded the approval of the English Privy Council for laws passed by the Irish parliament, was re-enacted.

It has often been said that England's troubles have been Ireland's opportunities, which is merely another way of saying that an oppressive tyranny, maintained by force, has

no permanent value. England had to withdraw her troops from Ireland when the American Colonists rebelled, and the Irish Protestants, under the leadership of Grattan, assisted by the Roman Catholics, seized the opportunity. Actually many Irish refugees fought in Washington's armies. Under the excuse that Ireland was defenceless, Grattan formed a body of volunteers, and asked and obtained arms from England. Backed by eighty thousand armed and determined troops Grattan obtained the removal, in 1780, of all the restrictions which England had imposed on Irish trade with the colonies, and, a year after Saratoga, won a more independent parliament. It was no longer necessary to submit its laws to England for approval, but the English Viceroy remained in effective control, and membership of the Irish parliament, as of the English, still depended mainly on 'boroughmongering'.

The native and Roman Catholic Irish had gained nothing from the movement, and they were oppressed not only by the English but by the Protestant colonists. But there were signs of a growing national feeling in Ireland, a desire for unity, which found expression in "The Society of United Irishmen" founded by Wolfe Tone.

The opportunity came when England was fighting revolutionary France; the Irish asked for French aid and prepared for rebellion. French aid was promised but delayed; the movement for unity was young and weakened by religious division; the impoverished Irish, badly armed or not armed at all, ill-clothed and hungry, were incapable of serious resistance. The rebellion of 1798 was easily crushed and was followed by a stern repression which left Ireland crushed and stupefied.

Pitt turned from his struggle against Napoleon to attempt to solve the Irish problem by uniting Ireland and England, as Scotland and England had been united in 1707, nearly a hundred years earlier. By the promise of equal rights for the Roman Catholics, and by bribing the Irish parliament,

the union was accomplished in 1801. The Irish parliament was abolished and Irish representatives sat in the English parliament at Westminster.

Actually the situation was worse than before, for the Irish Protestants had lost their relatively independent parliament for which Grattan had fought, and the Roman Catholics gained nothing, for George III would not consent to their emancipation, and Pitt, though he resigned office, did not insist on the fulfilment of his pledge. It was not until 1829 that Roman Catholics were admitted to parliament, after the threat of another Irish rebellion, and under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell a compact body of Irish Nationalists began to demand, in the English House of Commons, the Repeal of Pitt's Act of Union. The English also began to hear, at first hand, some of the causes of Irish distress, but the distress continued unchecked until the tragic failure of the potato crops of 1845 and 1846 threatened to solve the problem by destroying the Irish population. Thousands died; thousands fled, to increase the crowded population of the slums of English factory towns; thousands fled to find refuge in America. The words which are sung to the *Londonderry Air* have an added meaning if they are imagined as being sung by Irish exiles " across the sea " :

In Derry Vale, beside the singing river,
So oft I strayed, ah, many years ago,
And culled at morn the golden daffadillies
That came with Spring to set the world aglow.
Oh Derry Vale, my thoughts are ever turning
To your broad stream and fairy-circled lea,
For your green isles my exiled heart is yearning,
So far away across the sea.*

Of those who survived the famine, many, unable to pay the rents demanded by Protestant landowners, were evicted from their cottages and from their land, though originally

* By W. G. Rothery (Novello).

they or their ancestors had paid rent only for the land, and had frequently built their cottages themselves. Nor were they compensated for any improvements they may have made. The eviction of an Irish peasant was like the uprooting of a tree.

Bitter hatred grew between tenant and landlord, encouraged by the exiled Irish in America, who had flourished there, and who had formed a Fenian Society, which smuggled arms and money into Ireland to strengthen resistance. Bitter hatred continued, too, between Roman Catholic and Protestant, for the tithe was still exacted from the impoverished peasants for what they regarded as the alien Church of their oppressors, while they themselves worshipped often in barn or field, "pelted by the rains of Heaven".

It was Gladstone who first began to tackle the Irish question sympathetically. In 1869 he disestablished the Anglican Irish Church, using half its endowed income of £16,000,000 for the relief of distress. In the following year, the year of the Education Act, an Irish Land Act forbade the eviction of tenants so long as they continued to pay their rents, and provided compensation for improvements they had made. But this act did not solve the problem. Tenants were often unable to pay their rents, which could be raised to any figure, and the increased importation of cheaper American corn led to wholesale-evictions, so that corn land could be turned to pasture. Agrarian outrages increased and were met by corresponding violence in repression, and over parts of Ireland only Terror reigned. In 1879 an Irish Land League was formed to organise tenant resistance and outrage, and, financed by Irish Americans, systematic murder, cattle-maiming and other outrages increased in number and horror.

Meanwhile Charles Stewart Parnell, a Protestant land-owner who had become the leader of the Irish party in the English parliament, was fighting to win for Ireland complete independence from England. Assisted by funds from the

Irish Americans, whom he tried to persuade to abandon their methods of lawless violence, and accepting the Presidency of the Land League, though he detested its methods, he felt that he had the support of all Ireland. Actually his association with the American Clan-na-Gael, the "dynamiters", and with the Land League, the "moonlighters", weakened his position in England, where the Irish situation was not generally understood. A new Irish Land Act was passed in 1881, and in effect it reduced tenant rents by appointing Land Courts to fix them, but the act was accompanied by still sterner repressive measures, which were to be enforced by W. E. Forster. The Land League was suppressed, Parnell and other leaders were imprisoned, and a rigorous attempt was made to restore order. Instead it created a more violent and determined resistance and undid any possible good which may have been expected from the second Land Act. As repression had failed, Gladstone decided to abandon it, to release Parnell and his colleagues, and to replace Forster by Lord Frederick Cavendish. Both Cavendish and his chief officer Burke were murdered in Phoenix Park, in 1882.

By 1882 there seemed no alternative between complete conquest and complete independence. Parnell, shocked by the Phoenix Park murders, had disassociated himself from the supporters of violence, formed a National League, and concentrated on the persuasion of the English liberals to grant Ireland "Home Rule". The Reform Act of 1884 had applied to Ireland as well as to England, and the increased electorate gave Parnell more supporters. After the elections eighty-six of the hundred and three Irish members at Westminster were "Home-Rulers" and these were sufficient to give either side in the House of Commons a majority. Gladstone was already convinced that Irish independence was the only solution, and in 1886 he proposed it, together with a great scheme for buying out the Irish landlords. But the imperialist wave was at its height, and the conservatives would not consent to the "dismemberment of the Empire".

A second Home Rule Bill, in 1893, was rejected by the Lords.

Though by the dawn of the twentieth century most of the old grievances had been remedied, the remedies had come too late. The long oppression had hammered a national sentiment into Ireland, strengthened by hatred of England, and hardened, not broken, by attempted repression. This determined national spirit was kept actively alive, in



By courtesy of the Irish Tourist Association.

Fig. 104.—The River Shannon at Killaloe, Co. Clare.

the early twentieth century, by a small body called *Sinn Fein* which means Our Selves, and, as the name implies, it would accept no compromise to complete independence. It wanted a united republican independent Ireland. Another section of the Irish people, however, the section which Parnell had represented, and which later John Redmond represented, felt that some connection with England was desirable, and wanted Ireland to be a self-governing dominion under the British monarchy. This party drew its main support,

naturally enough, from Ulster, and became known as the Loyalist Party.

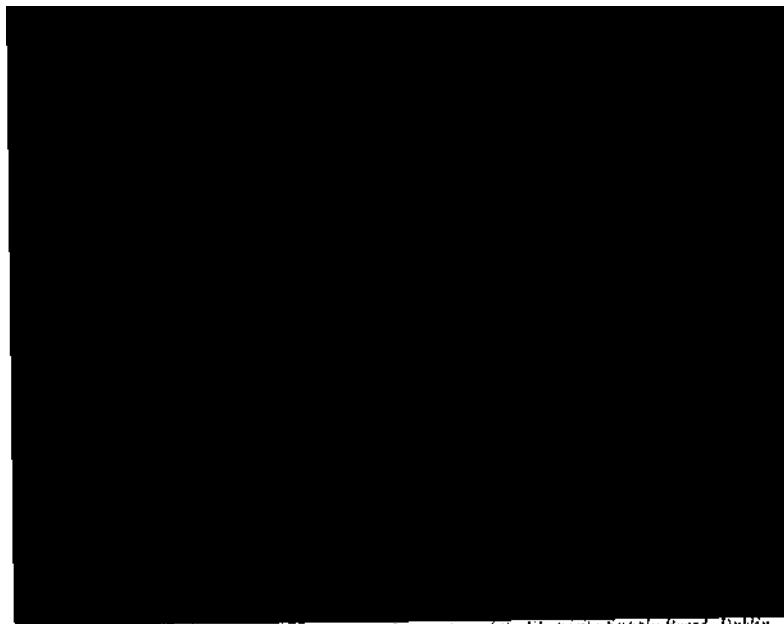
In 1912 the English government under Mr. Asquith introduced a third Home Rule Bill which satisfied the " Loyalists " but by no means satisfied the Sinn Feiners, and the quarrel had led to strife when the Great War broke out in 1914. While John Redmond was trying to raise Irish volunteers to help the British armies, Sir Roger Casement was hurrying from Germany with a German vessel and arms to help the Sinn Feiners to establish an Irish republic. The ship was sunk, most of the arms seized, and Casement was hanged. Other leaders of the " Easter Week Rebellion " were tried in secret and shot.

But Sinn Fein and the determination to create a national, united and republican Ireland spread, while the determination of Ulster to resist such complete separation grew in proportion. More than ever, tragic Ireland was embittered by its own divisions.

Another act of the pathetic drama began in 1920, when Lloyd George succeeded in passing a Home Rule Bill which divided Ireland into two parts, granting a parliament to Ulster and a separate parliament to the rest of Ireland, both virtually independent, but recognising the ultimate authority of the British monarchy. Ulster accepted the Act, but the rest of Ireland did not. The republican nationalists, more bitter against Ulster than ever for its acceptance of a partitioned Ireland, once more, rebelled, against Ulster and against England. After a year's bloodshed the majority of the rebels accepted a treaty which recognised Ireland, outside Ulster, as a " Free State", virtually independent, although a section of the " rebels " under De Valera kept the republican flag flying and continued open resistance until 1923. Gradually, under the Presidency of Mr. Cosgrave, order was restored, and the republicans became an opposition party in the Chamber of Deputies, or Dail Eireann, which has turned its attention towards the development of the resources

of the Free State. One of the most interesting of these schemes is the harnessing of the waters of the Shannon to provide electrical power for Ireland.

In January 1932 De Valera secured a majority in the Dail for the first time, on a programme to abolish the oath of allegiance and to make Ireland economically self-supporting.



By courtesy of the Electricity Supply Board, Dublin.

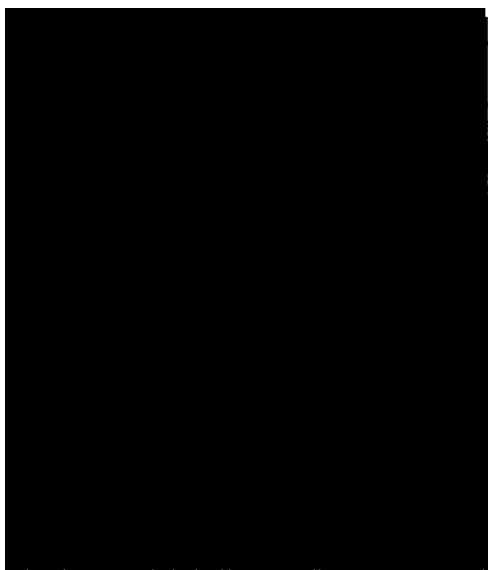
Fig. 105.—Harnessing of the River Shannon. The Power Station at Ardnacrusha, Co. Limerick.

England replied by imposing tariffs on Irish agricultural produce, whereupon De Valera's Government placed heavy duties on English goods. Actually this economic war was not wholly harmful to Ireland, because it helped to stimulate Irish production.

Cosgrave's party, now the opposition party in the Dail, still had a majority in the Senate, or Upper Chamber, and, supported by a Fascist-like organisation of "Blue Shirts",

became increasingly disturbing. De Valera acted vigorously. The "Blue Shirts" were banned, the Senate was abolished, and a new constitution was drawn up to replace the tattered fragments of the old. The new constitution, after it had been submitted to the Irish people by means of a Referendum, became law in December 1937. It restored the Senate, but in such a way that its majority always coincided with that of the existing government; there was no mention either of the king or of the British Commonwealth, and Ireland, to be known in future as Eire, regarded itself as a republic in all but name. The constitution was enacted for the whole of Ireland and was regarded as being suspended in Northern Ireland until the people of the "Six Counties" should join the rest of Eire.

Since the beginning of the economic war the opposition had advocated an agreement with 'England. De Valera



"took the wind out of the sails" of the opposition by concluding such an agreement, in which the debt claimed from Ireland by England was enormously reduced, the duties lowered on both sides, and certain ports held by England since 1921 restored. That Ireland should have obtained such favourable terms was possibly due to England's fear of a European war and her anxiety to secure Irish friendship and food supplies

Fig. 106.—Eammon de Valera. [Fox Photo

in the event of war. This is the only agreement ever freely signed between England and Ireland and the most favourable Ireland has ever obtained in her long struggle for independence. It left the official opposition without a policy and enabled De Valera to appeal to the country, by a general election, certain of obtaining a majority which would establish his supremacy.

It would be absurd to pretend that Ireland's problems have been solved, or that the old wounds have been healed. The problem of a divided Ireland still remains, and centuries of rebellion and repression, of lawlessness and strife, of hatred and fear, have bred habits and sentiments which outlive their purpose. But a more sympathetic understanding of the Irish point of view has long, in England, replaced the old ignorance, selfishness and prejudice, which turned rule into tyrannj, and tyranny into tragedy.

PART THREE

MAN AND HIS WORLD ACROSS THE SEAS

CHAPTER XIII

AUSTRALIS TERRA-THE LAND OF THE SOUTH-EAST

WHEN THE STORY of the discovery and development of the New World, told in Part I of this book, was interrupted to tell, in Part II, something of the* way in which these discoveries changed life in modern Europe, the story was already approaching modern times; yet the southern Pacific was still an unknown and mysterious sea. Ships crossing the Pacific had kept to Magellan's track, from America to

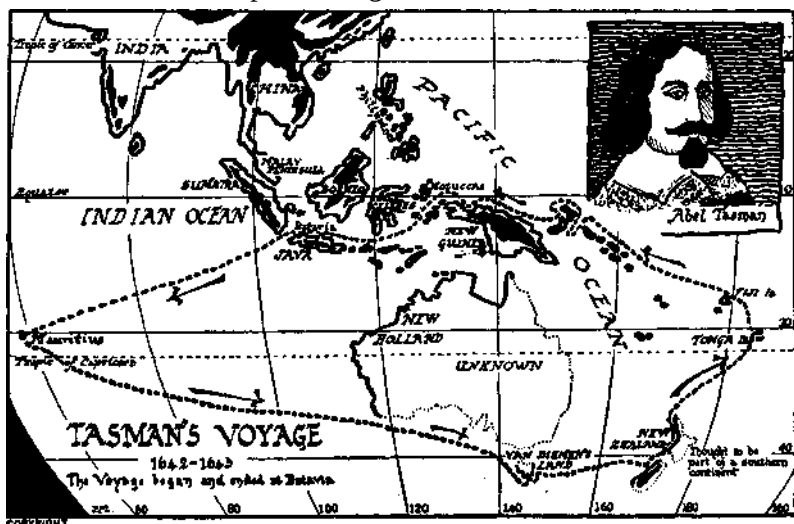


Fig. 107.—Tasman's Voyage.

the Philippines, skirting the Dutch Spice Islands, which guarded the entrance into the Indian Ocean.

Dutch traders were well aware of the existence of a barren-looking land which lay to the south east of the Spice Islands, but what the land was no one knew, and it looked so inhospitable that few cared. In 1642 van Diemen, Dutch Governor of Java, determined to find out more about it, and sent Tasman to explore. On his first voyage Tasman discovered the land now known as Tasmania, but which he named van Diemen's Land, though he was unaware that it was an island. Two years later Tasman sailed along the north-western coast of what was known as Australis Terra Incognita, the unknown land of the south-east, and named it New Holland. There all interest ended until William Dampier, an Englishman, made two voyages between 1686 and 1699, sailing along the north-western and western coast, and landing in the west on his second voyage. His report was not encouraging. The land he described as of a dry, sandy soil, "barren of water except you make holes", and the natives he thought were the ugliest and most backward he had ever seen. It is of little wonder, therefore, that

Europe remained uninterested, though geographers insisted that there must be a great southern continent to balance the land mass in the northern hemisphere.

In 1742, a hundred years after Tasman's voyage, a fourteen-years-old apprentice named James Cook tired of life in a Yorkshire draper's shop and ran away to sea. He had been working on small coastal vessels carrying coal from the north to London for fourteen years



Kg.ioa- Kangaroo.

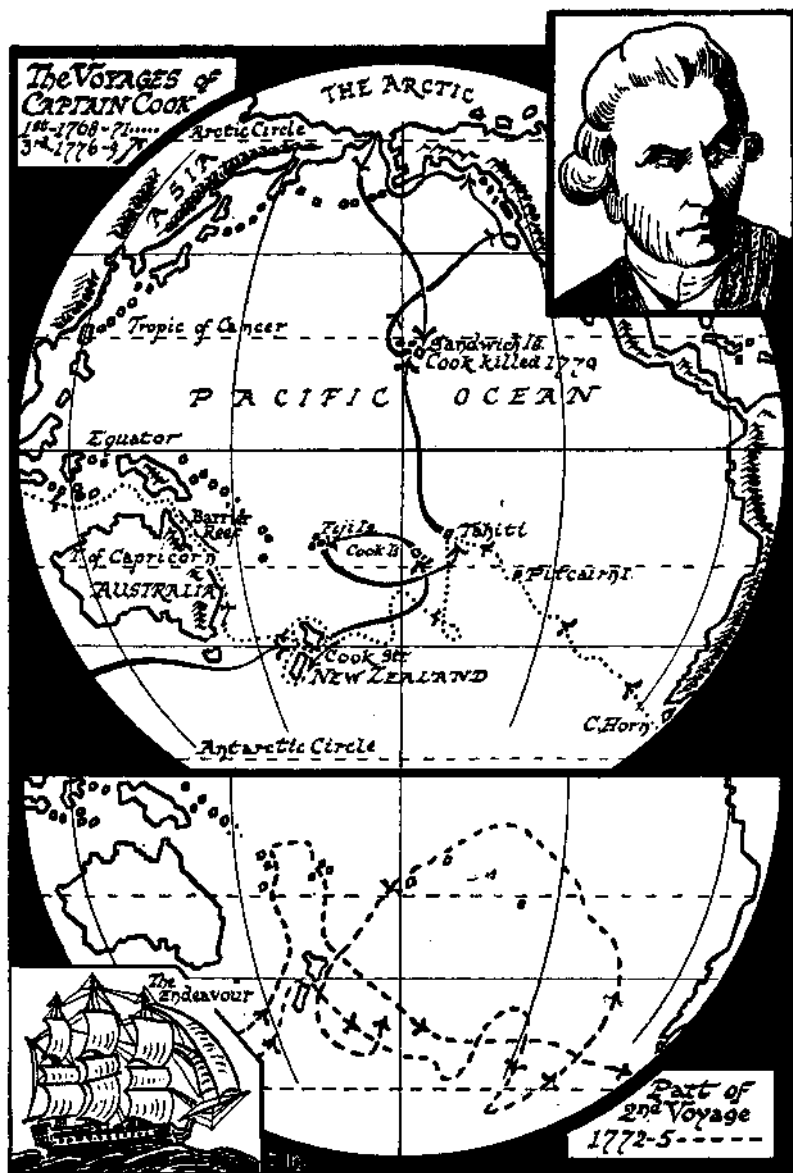


Fig. 109. The Voyages of Captain Cook-

when the Seven Years' War began, and Cook left the cargo boats to join the navy. In 1758, as master's mate, he took part in the attack on Louisburg, and in 1759 Cook was with Wolfe at Quebec, taking soundings of the St. Lawrence and making charts. His skill in this work kept him employed as Naval Surveyor off Newfoundland until 1768, when he was selected to conduct an expedition into the unknown southern Pacific.

The expedition, organised by the Royal Society to make astronomical observations—of the passage of Venus across the Sun—left Plymouth in *The Endeavour* in August 1768. The island of Tahiti had been chosen as the most suitable place for the observations, and after the work had been completed Cook, now a naval lieutenant, continued south-east until he reached New Zealand. By sailing through the strait which now bears his name, Cook proved the existence of the two New Zealand Islands, and, after sailing round both of them, he sailed for the eastern coast of Australia, which he named New South Wales. To the north east of Australia lies the Great Barrier Reef of coral, and twice the *Endeavour* narrowly escaped being wrecked during Cook's attempt to make a chart of the reef. Cook then sailed to the west, between northern Australia and New Guinea. Though Torres had sailed through the strait in 1603, Dutch explorers had later denied the existence of any such entrance into the Pacific. After leaving the northern coast of Australia Cook returned home by the Cape of Good Hope, sailing into the Bristol Channel in June, 1771. The *Endeavour* had sailed round the world, in three years.

One of the members of the scientific expedition which had sailed on the *Endeavour* was Sir Joseph Banks, and he had given the name of Botany Bay to part of the coast of New South Wales, because of the profusion and diversity of its vegetation. This was the first hint that the unknown south-eastern world was not a mere barren waste. Had Cook stumbled on the north-eastern edge of a vast southern

continent? Determined to prove the existence or non-existence of such a land, the Royal Society sent Cook on a second voyage, and he sailed in the *Resolution*, accompanied by the *Adventure* in 1772. The *Adventure* returned home, but Cook sailed, in three summers, completely round the ice-bound Antarctic, proving that no such vast southern continent existed, and that Australia had no such dimensions. Once more interest waned, so much so in fact that Cook, now a captain and a Fellow of the Royal Society, was sent to discover the old elusive North-Western Passage, in which English interest was restimulated by the conquest of Canada, and on this expedition Cook was slain by natives of the Sandwich Islands.

Sir Joseph Banks had not forgotten Botany Bay, and when England lost her American Colonies he suggested that New South Wales would make an admirable convict settlement, now that England could no longer send criminals to Virginia, the Carolinas or Georgia. Accordingly, Captain Arthur Phillip sailed, in 1788, with the warship *Sirius*, three storeships of cattle, grain, food and implements, and twenty four transports carrying seven hundred and fifty convicts—in all a thousand and thirtyfive men. The prison camp was

fixed at Port Jackson, where now stands the great city of Sydney, and the settlement of Australia had begun.

It is important to remember, of these early' convict settlers, that a man then could be transported for ensnaring a rabbit or for taking home a turnip when his family was starving, or for a too active sympathy with revolutionary sentiment. Actually many of them were far better men than some of their jailors. Isolated in a little settlement on the eastern edge of an unexplored continent on the other



Fig. no.—Kookaburra, or Laughing Jackass, so-called because of its extraordinary note, resembling laughter.

side of the world, dependent for a long time on food brought in ships which were often delayed, separated from the interior by mountains which long proved impassable barriers, criminals and jailors alike found life both hard and strange.



Fig. in..—Duck-billed platypus.

Australia had been separated from the mainland of Asia for so long that plants and animals had developed in a unique way ; or, what is probably truer, natives, plants and animals had remained in an

astonishingly undeveloped stage of evolution. There were kangaroos, wallabies and other strange, jumping animals, with pouches in which they carried their young. The duck-billed platypus was strangest of all; it was fur-covered, yet had webbed feet; it was a mammal, yet laid eggs. Weird birds there were, as the laughing



Fig. 112.—Eucalyptus Tree.



Fig. 113.—Bottle Tree.

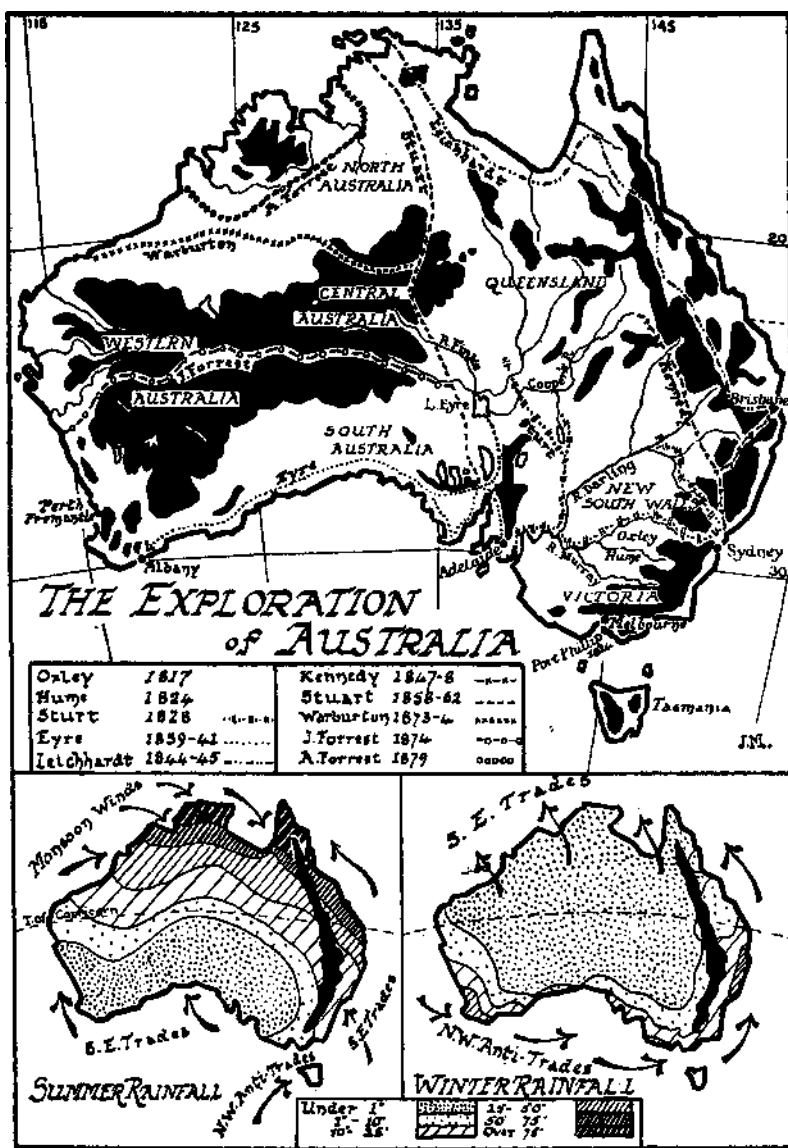


Fig. 114.—The Exploration of Australia.

jackass, the black swan, and the long-legged emu which had never developed wings. There were as yet no rabbits, no horses, no sheep or cattle, except those brought with the convicts. All the animals were timid, and none looked edible. The natives, equally primitive, lived on frogs and caterpillars, roots, and anything they could catch with boomerang or spear. They knew nothing of metals, and



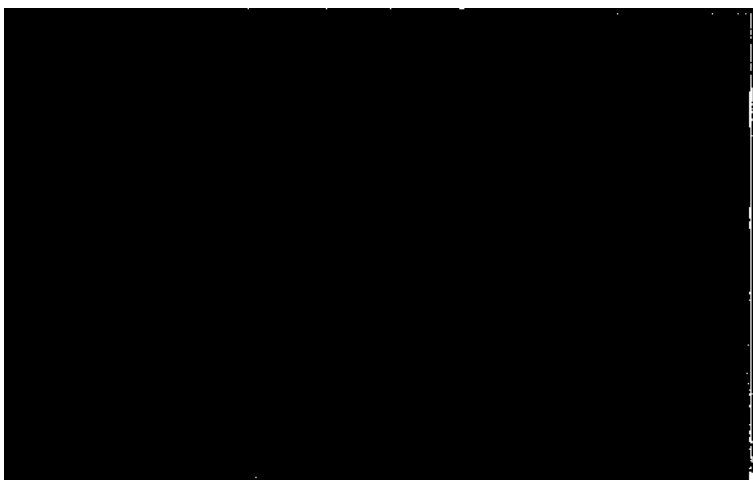
{By courtesy of Intelligence Branch, Australia House.
Fig. 115.—In the Flinders Range.

made primitive tools of bone, wood or stone, and, except for the plaiting of hair and fibre, knew no craft. They were neither numerous nor particularly courageous, and, in the main, lived their nomadic lives away from the settlers.

* Stretching away from the settlement towards the distant mountains were trees in plenty, and the clearing of land for agriculture increased the necessary labour; but even the trees were new and strange. Some were of an unbelievable hardness, while others, species of the eucalyptus or **gum**

tree, were giant trees of a bluish colour, whose massed presence gave the name to the Blue Mountains.

By granting land to released prisoners, governors encouraged freed men to remain and the colony grew. The most important event in its life was the introduction of merino sheep, in 1797, by Captain John Macarthur. The first sheep were hybrid strains imported from South Africa, but the pure Spanish merinos which Macarthur desired were so jealously guarded by Spain that to be caught



[By courtesy of Intelligence Branch, Australia House.]
Fig. 116.—The modern City of Adelaide.

exporting them from Spain meant death. There were, however, some merinos on George III's farms at Windsor, and some of these reached New South Wales, where the rich turf and the climate were ideal for sheep farming.

Still nothing was known of the rest of Australia, except that Lieutenant Ball had sailed round it in 1790, and that Flinders, between 1801 and 1803, had explored the coast, surveying the Gulf of Carpentaria, the Spencer Gulf and the Australian Bight. Flinders was responsible for the adoption of the name Australia.

AUSTRALIS TERRA—THE LAND OF THE SOUTH-EAST

*iy

It was partly drought, but more particularly the energy of Governor Lachlan Macquarie, which first broke the barrier of mountains in the west of New South Wales, as he broke down the barrier between freed men and free or voluntary settlers. The eastern slopes of the Great Dividing Range were steep, and the mountains, rarely less than two thousand feet, in south-east Australia, reach a height of over seven thousand feet at Mount Kosciusko. In 1813 routes were found, and Evans discovered two rivers, which he named the Lachlan and the Macquarie, flowing away to the unknown west. Early attempts to trace the rivers were discouraging, for the rivers were found to lose themselves in stagnant swamps, but exploration continued. Under the governorship of Sir Ralph Darling, the river named after him was discovered by Charles Sturt, one of the greatest of the explorers, in 1828. Though two thousand miles in length the Darling has only a seasonal importance, and often dries into a string of salty pools.

In the following year, with soldiers, convicts and sheep, Sturt, beginning farther south, in the Australian Alps, followed the course of the Murrumbidgee. Leaving supplies and taking a small boat—he had had two but one sank—Sturt determined to trace to its outlet "the stream whose waters, foaming and eddying among the rocks, gave promise of a reckless course". Faster it sped until navigation,* in so small a craft, became dangerous. Then, joined by the Lachlan, it broadened, to enter the Murray. The Murray was a greater mystery, for coastal explorers had reported that no river estuary had been seen on the south coast of Australia. A crowd of natives, gesticulating wildly on the river bank, seemed to be trying to convey some warning, but Sturt continued. Suddenly the river narrowed, and six hundred natives, armed with spears, stood waiting. It was against this danger that the friendly natives had tried to warn Sturt. Fortunately they had followed the boat, and arrived in time to save him. At last the sea was reached and the mystery of its hidden estuary

explained. Great waves, breaking on reefs and sandbanks, not only hid the estuary but made it inaccessible from the sea.

Encouraged by reports of the fertility of the south-east corner of Australia and of the useful and extensive pastureland on the western slopes of the mountains, new settlers began to arrive. In 1836 Adelaide was founded on St.

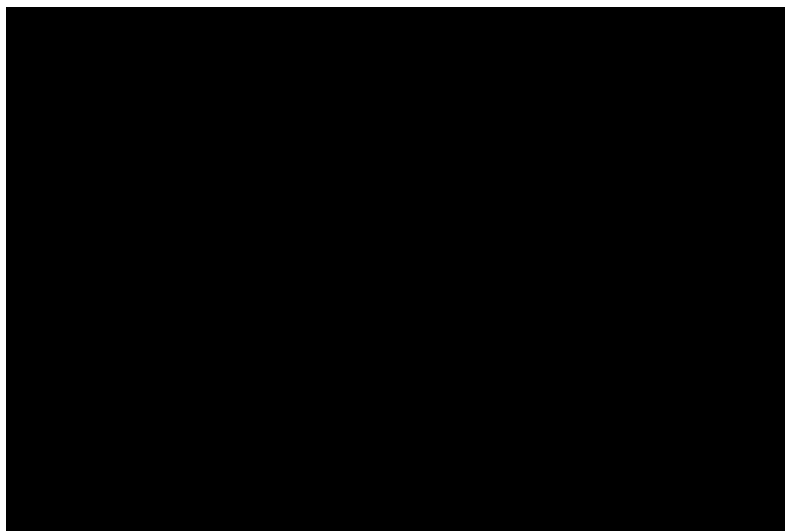


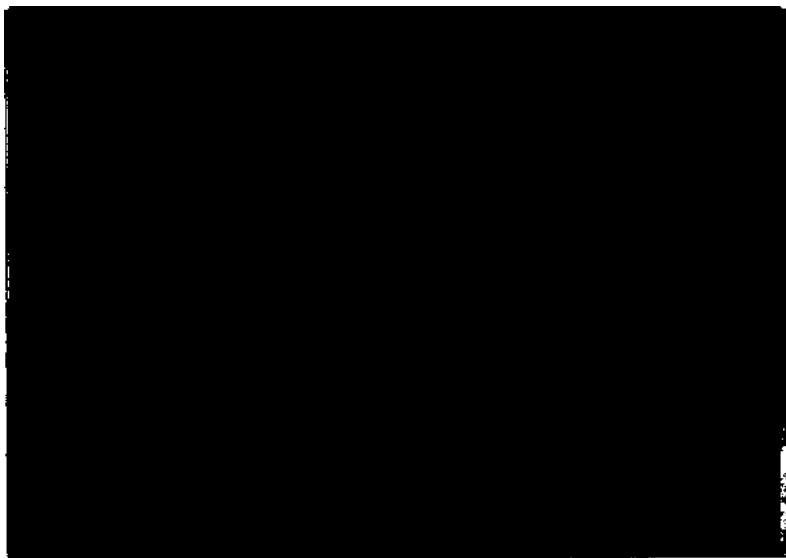
Fig. 117.—The Macdonell Range, near Alice Springs, Central Australia.

Vincent Gulf on the banks of the Torrens. The settlers, under Allen, were selected men, and no convicts were accepted. They had many difficulties at first, and Sturt, on one occasion, had to go to their rescue with cattle, driven the whole distance from New South Wales, along the bank of the Murray.

Meanwhile farmers had crossed from Tasmania and founded a settlement on the mainland. In 1837, the year of Queen Victoria's accession, this colony was named Victoria, and the coastal town from which the colony was to spread

was named Melbourne after England's Prime Minister. Farther north, a colony which had been founded at Brisbane in 1825 was now named Queensland.

With Victoria and New South Wales established in the east, Adelaide's only possible direction for expansion was north-west, into the heart of Australia's Central Plain. This development was further encouraged by the existence of



[By courtesy of Intelligence Branch, Australia House.
Fig. 118.—Crossing a dried-up river bed in Western Queensland.

Lofty Range and Flinders Range, which form the western wall of the region drained by the Darling-Murray river system. Unfortunately explorers from Adelaide soon discovered that the Central Plain consisted mainly of hot desert. Lake Eyre, named after the explorer who discovered it, is forty feet below the level of the sea, and consists of mud and salt pools. Into it "flow" four rivers, often dry, sometimes widening into shallow lakes which, in the hottest months, are dry depressions wherein a thin crust forms a

covering for bottomless slime. Miles of cracked, hot earth, of red sand and stony hills, stretch on and on, in an unbroken silence.

Settled life has been made possible in the desert heart of Australia by the boring of wells through the clay beneath the plain to the beds of sandstone, where water has accumulated at such high pressure that, once released, it rushes to the surface, sometimes hot, usually alkaline, frequently drinkable, and always suitable for cattle. In this way and

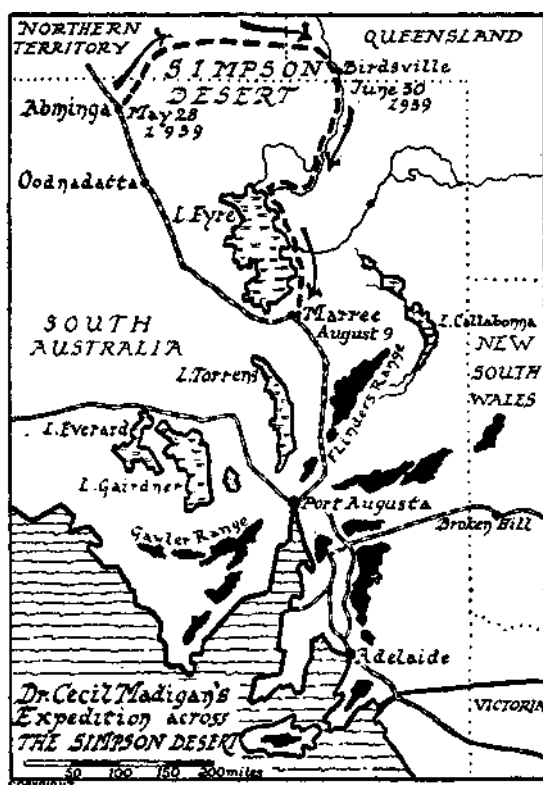


Fig. 119.—Madigan's Expedition across the Simpson Desert.

Even now more and more desert regions are being explored, and as recently as June 1939, Dr. Cecil Madigan conducted an expedition across the Simpson Desert, north of Lake Eyre.

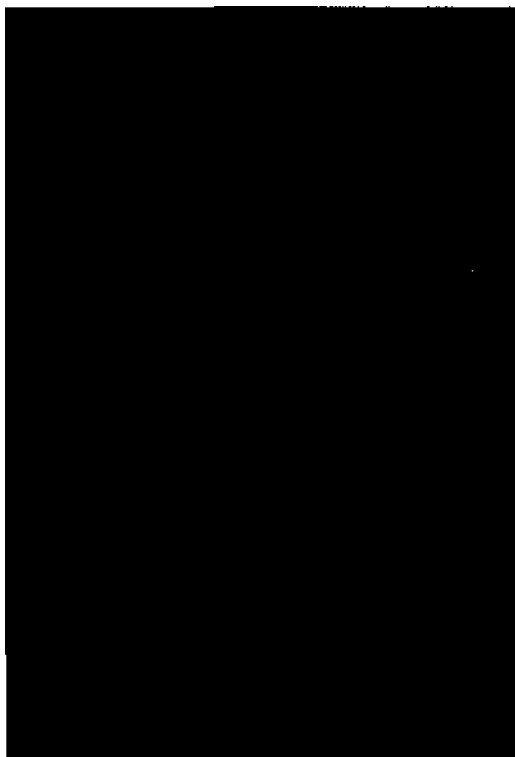
by the building of dams and canals Australian settlers have continued to reclaim more and more of the desert.

Northern Australia lies in the Torrid Zone, for the Tropic of Capricorn passes through the heart of Australia, and over the heated land, from November to April, the wet monsoons blow spirally, in a clockwise direction, bringing rain to the north. South-east Trade Winds similarly bring rain to the south-east and east. As the mountains of Australia are near the coast, the wet summer winds are soon drained of moisture, and the reason for the existence of the Central desert region becomes apparent. From May to October, when the sun "travels northwards", the land cools from south to north more quickly than does the sea, and the wind system is reversed. Then only the south-west and south-east receive rain-bearing winds.

In the tropical north, therefore, the deserts merge into tropical grasslands and, nearer the coast, into mangrove swamps and forests. In the east and temperate south-east they merge into the rich pastures of the mountain slopes and of Victoria, where the climate and vegetation are "Mediterranean".

Scarcity of rain long delayed the exploration of Western Australia, the interior of which is a dry plateau, varying from a thousand to two thousand feet, in height, with wide, undulating tablelands, rocky hills, with occasional long ranges, and valleys where sheets of mud and clay, or shallow salt lakes, are all that is left of a dried river system. In the Mediterranean region of southern West Australia are forests of karri and jarrah trees. For a long time development of "Westralia" was naturally confined to the southern "Mediterranean" extremity, and a colony was founded there in 1829. It founded the towns of Perth and Albany.

The first change in the peaceful development of Australia came with the discovery of gold in New South Wales and in Victoria in 1851. Nuggets weighing nearly a hundred-weight were found, and immediately there began a rush of immigration.



[By courtesy of the Intelligence Branch, Australia House.]

Fig. 120.—Some typical Australian trees.

In 1867 gold was found in Queensland, and in 1885 a new rush began when gold was found at Kimberley in Western Australia. The rapid exhaustion of the supply of surface nuggets led to the development of serious and capitalised gold mining, especially at Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie. Meanwhile silver, lead and zinc mining had begun at Broken Hill in New South Wales, and copper mining in South Australia.

The effect of these discoveries is most apparent in the rapid growth of Australia's white population. In 1800 the white population was five thousand; by 1820 it was thirty

three thousand ; in each successive ten years it continued rather more than to double itself until, in 1851, it had reached four hundred and thirty-eight thousand. In 1911 it was four and a half millions ; now it is seven and a half millions.

But even seven and a half millions is a small population for a land of three million square miles—there are over a hundred and ten millions of white people in the United States of America in approximately the same area. Moreover, three quarters of Australia's white population are in the east, and a third of them is concentrated in Sydney and Melbourne! Coloured immigration has been checked since 1866, and in 1921, 98 per cent, of Australia's population were white people.

It was in the same year, 1866, that a few rabbits were taken to Australia, and placed in Barwon Park, near Geelong in Victoria, either to provide subsequent " sport " or as pets. Their millions of descendants are now one of Australia's worst enemies. A wire fence two thousand miles long and three feet below the ground has failed to keep them out of Western Australia, and it is said that if the rabbits could be exterminated it would be possible to increase the number of sheep and cattle by a third. The annual export of millions of rabbit skins and frozen rabbits suggests, however, some little compensation.

The recent development of Australia is shown in the growth and modernisation of the great cities which have developed on the sites of the early settlements, as the cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane and Perth. Trams and 'buses run along shop-lined streets, and there are churches, universities and schools, museums and art galleries, libraries, swimming baths, theatres and cinemas, just as in our own cities at home. At Sydney, on the site of the earliest settlement, the houses of Australia's largest city spread away from her magnificent harbour into the distant wooded hillside suburbs. The great steel bridge at Sydney is one of the wonders of modern engineering.

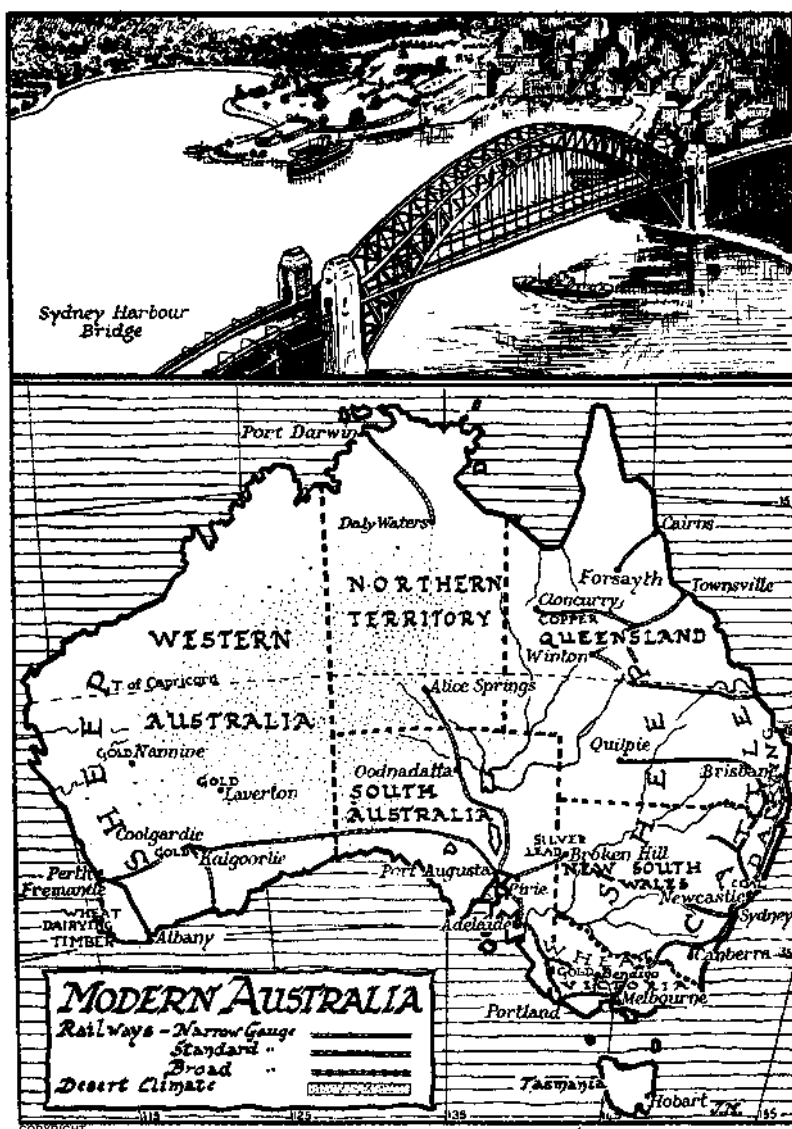


Fig. 121.—Modern Australia.

AUSTRALIS TERRA—THE LAND OF THE SOUTH-EAST HI

The widespread separation of Australia's colonies led them to develop an independent existence. In 1854 New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania were granted separate parliaments, and in 1859 Queensland was separated from New South Wales and became a separate province. Western Australia, inevitably more backward, did not receive a constitution until 1890. On January 1st, 1901, the separate States were united to form the Australian Commonwealth, which, in 1910, acquired territory for its new capital at Canberra, two hundred miles south-west of Sydney: The dominion government formally took up residence at Canberra in 1927.

The separate development of the colonies had one unfortunate result in that it led to the construction of a number of separate railway systems, differing even in the gauge or width of the railway tracks. The number of changes necessary in long distance transport involves considerable loss of time and money. The first transcontinental line, from Adelaide to Perth, was completed during the World War of **1914 to 1918**. Australia is still an empty continent, with enormous resources, including iron and almost inexhaustible coal. Though she still has many unsolved problems, Australia's energetic and rapid development has already made her one of the **very** important elements in the economic fabric of the modern world.

NEW ZEALAND

About twelve hundred miles due east of Bass Strait lie the wholly delightful islands of New Zealand, where both climate and scenery have often been described as the most desirable in the world. Exactly opposite to Spain on the globe, about twice the size of England, they combine the beauties of mountainous Switzerland and of the Norwegian fiords with the warmth of the Mediterranean. Yet their population is only one and a half millions, of whom a tenth live in Wellington, the capital city. Auckland, the chief **port**, has an even larger population.



Fig. 122.—New Zealand

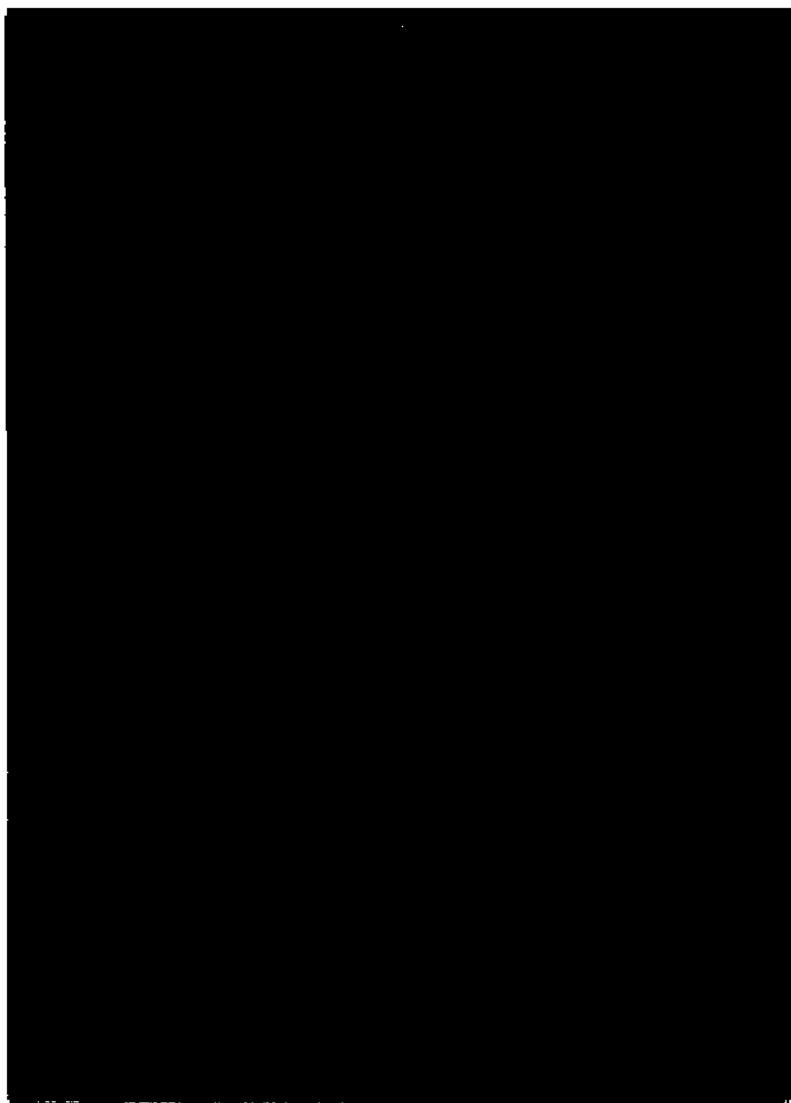


*[By courtesy of the High Commissioner for
New Zealand.]*

Fig. 123.—Maori Chief.

The first European settlers in New Zealand were escaped convicts, deserters from the regiments in charge of convict settlements, and adventurers who had failed in or tired of the life of whaling or sealing. In 1830 there were about a thousand of them, nearly all in North Island, mostly of a type that was brutal, ignorant and selfish. The natives, most of whom lived in North Island, were the courageous and intelligent Maoris, who loved fighting, and occasionally ate their conquered victims. In England, in the 'thirties, a wave of colonial enthusiasm inspired largely by Gibbon Wakefield sent thousands of colonists to New Zealand, and between them and the Maoris fighting was almost continuous.

Partly in response to the appeals of missionaries, who found finer qualities in the Maori than in the average colonist, and partly because France was looking covetously towards New Zealand, England formally annexed the islands in 1840, and sent out a Governor, who arrived a few days before a French squadron. The unfortunate strife continued, however, in North Island, while South Island remained relatively uninhabited. From 1845 to 1853 New Zealand was governed by a really great man, Captain (later Sir George) Grey, who



[By courtesy of the High Commissioner for New Zealand.]
Fig. 124.—New Zealand : Typical North Island Scenery

shared neither the colonists' belief that the Maoris were mere savages, nor that of the missionaries, who despised the lawless settlers. During his governorship peace was restored and a really constructive policy of development was begun, but after his recall the old troubles broke out anew, and continued until 1870, when both sides tired of the struggle.

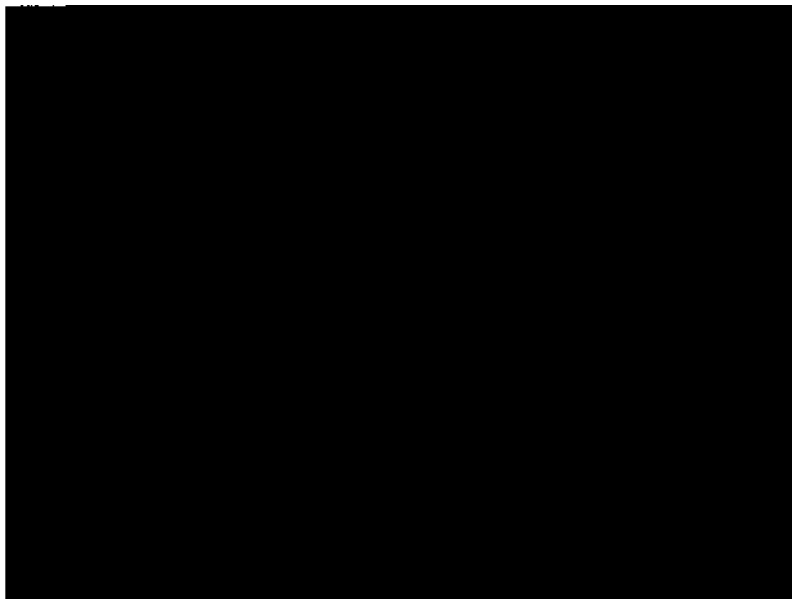
It was during the period of Grey's authority that two colonies were founded in South Island. One, founded at Otago, with its capital at Dunedin, was a Scotch Presbyterian Colony. The other was an Anglican Colony, founded by "the Canterbury Pilgrims". The discovery of gold at Otago and the perfect suitability of Canterbury's rich plains for sheep rearing not only led to the prosperity of both these colonies but to their mutual inter-dependence.



After 1870 the real development of the colony began. A constitution had been granted in 1852, and the colony had been divided into six administrative areas: Auckland, New Plymouth and Wellington were in North Island; Nelson, Otago and Canterbury were in South Island. In 1876 the six colonies were welded into a single Dominion. It retained the form of government granted in the earlier constitution, consisting of a Governor, a nominated Council, and a House of elected Representatives, in which Maoris had equal rights with the colonists. The Maoris had shown them-

[By courtesy of the High Commissioner for New Zealand.]

Fig. 125.—Maori Girl.



[By courtesy of the High Commissioner for New Zealand.

Fig. 126.—North Island Cattle Pastures.

selves capable of very rapid development, and soon began to compete on equal terms with the colonists in schools and university. The rapid growth of New Zealand is shown by the increase in population, which had leaped to half a million by 1881, and is now about a million and a half. The Maoris number over ninety thousand.

Both North and South Island are mountainous. In North Island the mountain backbone is near the eastern coast, sloping down to the south-western plain; the centre of North Island is volcanic. In South Island the mountain backbone, the Southern Alps, which rise to twelve thousand feet, is nearer the western coast, whence the mountains slope down to the eastern plains of Canterbury. As New Zealand lies

in the track of the rain-bearing " Westerlies " it follows that the greater part of North Island has heavy rain, with a comparatively dry eastern scrip, while South Island has heavy rain only on its western coast. North Island has, therefore, extensive cattle pastures, while South Island has forests in the west and millions of " Canterbury lambs " east of the Southern Alps. Consequently, New Zealand exports wool, mutton, butter and cheese, and has to buy iron, steel, machinery, textiles, oil and sugar.

The close economic relation between New Zealand and Britain is shown by the fact that eighty per cent, of New Zealand's exports go to Britain, which provides half of New Zealand's imports. It is difficult to realise that all this great development has taken place in three generations.



\Py courtesy of the High Commissioner for New Zealand. •

Fig. 127—On a South Island Sheep Farm,

CHAPTER XIV

CANADA AND THE U.S.A.

CAPTAIN COOK'S LAST WORK, on his third voyage of exploration, was to chart part of the north-west coast of North America, round about the island which Vancouver, a few years later, explored, and which bears his name. Due east, across five hundred miles of mountain and forest, across a thousand miles of prairie, and across another thousand miles of dense coniferous forests, is Quebec, which Cook, nineteen years before, had seen Wolfe capture for England in 1759.

Beyond the tree-covered mountains south-east of the St. Lawrence Valley were Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Prince Edward and Cape Breton Islands, which finally passed into British possession, with the French colony of Canada, by the Treaty of Paris, 1763. Newfoundland, the island which guards the entrance to the St. Lawrence had already done so by the Treaty of Utrecht. The white population of Canada, at this time, consisted only of about sixty thousand French farmers, who were quite content to pass under British rule, and about three hundred British. Along the banks of the St. Lawrence were scattered French farms, carved out of the forest which spread beyond the horizon into what seemed infinite distance.

Just as the English colonists farther south were demanding independence, the English settlers in Canada were demanding self-government, which meant, as the English had not yet conceded any political rights to Roman Catholics, that a handful of English settlers would have the monopoly of government in a region where sixty thousand people would have no political rights at all. Fortunately, the English

Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, had no sympathy with a demand so impudently selfish, and the Quebec Act of 1774 granted complete freedom to the Roman Catholics in Canada, with the retention of all their French customs and institutions, on to which the English jury system was grafted. This



Fig. 128.—Musi: Ox.

American army attacked Canada. Carleton succeeded in defending the little colony, and, though the American colonies were lost, Canada was saved.

Not all the American colonists had wanted independence, and, at the end of the war, thousands, preferring to remain British subjects, flocked into the English provinces. Thirty thousand crossed into the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and about ten thousand crossed the St. Lawrence and founded a new settlement at Kingston on Lake Ontario. Clearing the forest to make farms and homes, they laid the foundation of a new and English Canada. More and more "loyalists" followed, spreading along the banks of the St. Lawrence towards Montreal and the Ottawa until their separate existence had to be officially recognised. This was done in 1791, when Pitt's Canada Act recognised the separate existence of two Canadas, an Upper Canada which was the settlement founded by the English "loyalists", and a French or Lower Canada, spread round about Quebec.

Each was granted an elected Assembly, though French Canada did not particularly want one, so that there were now six separate colonies (Upper and Lower Canada, Nova

Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland), each with representative government, and all under the authority of a Governor General, who represented and was appointed by the English monarch.

The first shock to the peaceful development of the colonies came when the United States of America declared war on England in 1812. Napoleon's continental blockade of England and England's reprisals had made neutral trade dangerous if not quite impossible, and America, bluffed by Napoleon into believing that England was more to blame than France, declared war on England. England was not seriously disturbed, for in 1812 she was absolute mistress of the seas, but Canada was. The combined colonists now numbered about three hundred thousand, consisting mostly of scattered families of farmers, fruit growers and fishermen, and protected by about five thousand British troops against the United States, determined to incorporate the British colonies in the Union.

The unfortunate war lasted until 1814. 'An American army marched against Canada and burnt the little town of York, which afterwards became Toronto. This atrocity was foolishly avenged by an English army which invaded Virginia and destroyed Washington. In 1818 Castlereagh fixed the boundary between Canada and the United States, west of Lake-of-the-Woods, at the western tip of Ontario, as the 49th parallel of latitude. This boundary was to be left undefended by either side, a further example of "rather astonishing confidence and wisdom.

The distressed conditions of European States in the early nineteenth century led to extensive emigration, and thousands of families began annually to seek refuge and freedom either in the U.S.A. or in one or other of the Canadian provinces. The new immigrants soon found fault with the type of constitutional government which England had granted to the colonies, for though they had elected representative Assemblies the final authority was vested in the Governor

and his Council, and neither of these was responsible to the Assembly. In England the Cabinet and the Ministers are dependent on a favourable majority in parliament, and are, therefore, responsible to the country through parliament. When a Council is not so responsible the Assembly is little more than an advisory body, with no more power than a debating society. In French Canada the Council had become increasingly controlled by the English settlers, who now formed about a quarter of its population, and the predominantly French Assembly was consistently ignored.

In addition to these political grievances Upper Canada had an economic one, in that its exports had to pass through the ports which Lower Canada controlled before they could reach the sea. In 1837, the year of Victoria's accession, rebellion broke out in both colonies, and Lord Melbourne the Prime Minister sent out Lord Durham to investigate. His "Report on Canada", issued in 1839, is probably the most important document in the history of the British Commonwealth. It recommended the union of the two Canadas into a single colony, which was to enjoy fully responsible government in which the Ministers should be responsible to the Assembly, as in England, and the Governor should preserve the same impartiality as the English sovereign. The Act of Union of 1841 adopted the recommendations of the Durham Report and the first gift of a completely responsible self-government had been made.

The success of the Union and of the constitutional experiment was mainly due to the skill, tact and patience of Lord Elgin, the new Governor. The Union applied only to the two Canadas; the four other colonies still remained separate. Lord Elgin was responsible also for a commercial treaty between Canada and the United States, a treaty which helped to soften the hardship caused by the repeal of the Corn Law in England in 1846. Hitherto the colonies had enjoyed preferential treatment in the export of corn to England, for it was only *foreign* corn that was virtually prohibited. Now, threatened by foreign competition in the English

market, the Canadian farmers were saved by Lord Elgin's Reciprocity Treaty with the States, which permitted freedom of exchange of specified commodities across the border.

Canada's eyes were suddenly opened to the fact that she had remained isolated, defenceless and relatively backward, separated even from the maritime provinces, while the U.S.A. had spread westwards into a vast and ever increasingly powerful and wealthy confederation of States. The danger became very apparent when the United States broke into Civil War in 1861, and when, for the third time, there was a possibility of American invasion. America's abandonment of the commercial treaty was the first sign of deliberate hostility, and Canada began to think seriously of confederation and of westward expansion.

Federation is a unification of States in which each State retains a measure of independence and an Assembly of its own, but in which a Central Assembly, representing all the States, is responsible for all matters of common interest. The task of federation was difficult. Newfoundland, isolated and remote—it is a distance of a thousand miles from Toronto to Newfoundland—refused to join, and Nova Scotia was only with difficulty persuaded. But in 1867 the Dominion of Canada Act was passed and the Federal Union effected.

As yet Canada had not developed into the rich prairies west of the lakes, and Canadian farms were still being hacked from forests along the shores of the Great Lakes. One reason for this is that six hundred miles of rocky mountainous land separated Canada of the east from the central prairies, in a land so vast as North America, distances which appear negligible on a map would have meant, in the 'sixties, an almost impossible journey from known and controlled conditions into an unknown land. One such adventurous settlement had been made as early as 1811 in the Red River Valley by Lord Selkirk and a number of Scotch pioneers. Clearly, western development would become possible only if intercommunication could be established by means of a transcontinental railway.

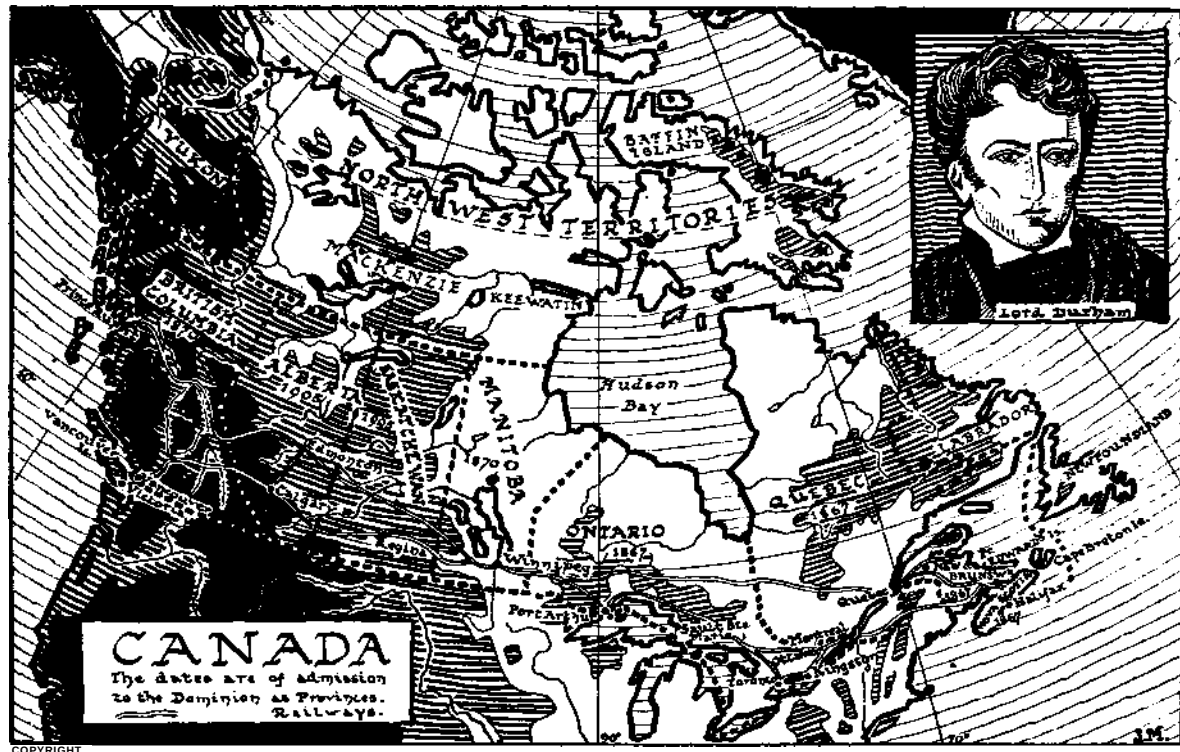


Fig. 129. Canada, showing Provinces and the dates of their admission to the Dominion

The project of such a railway was a dangerous gamble, especially as trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company had deliberately represented the interior of North America as desert land, incapable of development. The trappers feared that human intrusion into the central plains would drive the furry animals farther north into the forests and colder regions. Notwithstanding the opposition, however, the dream of such a railway gradually became a reality, mainly owing to the determined support of Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, and through the financial support of Donald Smith,



Fig. 130—Bear.

who later became Lord Strathcona. The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885. It connects the Pacific port of Vancouver with the Atlantic port of St. John, and thence by ferry with the line from Digby to Halifax in Nova Scotia. Three thousand seven hundred and seventy-two miles in length, the C.P.R. leaves the Rockies at Calgary, runs through the prairie cities of Regina and Winnipeg, through Port Arthur on Lake Superior, to continue north of the Great Lakes towards Montreal and Quebec.



Fig. 131.—skunk.

Modern Canada has grown along this strip. In increasing numbers immigrants flocked to the prairies, empty save for Red Indians and French and other trappers, and soon there were thousands of farms, often far apart, scattered along the sides of the railway, and spreading into the undulating plains which form the northern part of the finest wheat lands of the world.

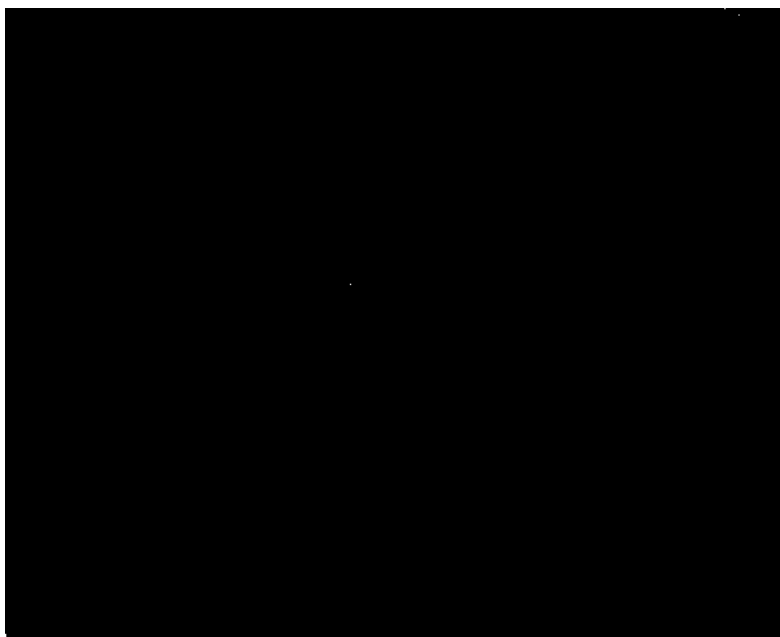


, Fig. 132—opossum,

From these scattered settlements grew the three Prairie Provinces : Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The last two were admitted to the Dominion in 1905 ; Manitoba in 1870. The rainfall gradually decreases from east to west,

as the land rises in its gradual approach to the Rockies, and consequently the type of prairie differs in each of the three provinces. The richest are the low prairies of Manitoba, west of Lake Winnipeg and around the Red River. The high prairies of the west are drier and form mainly a cattle-ranching region, though irrigation is developing the wheat-growing area.

In the Prairie Provinces towns are rapidly developing. Calgary, in Alberta, at the foot of the Rockies, is mainly a ranching centre ; farther north is Edmonton, which, like Regina and Saskatoon in Saskatchewan, is a grain depot. Winnipeg, largest of them all, and the capital of Manitoba, was a village of log cabins with a population of less than a



[Canadian Pacific Photograph]

Fig. 133.—The Canadian Pacific Railway. Constructing a Tunnel.

thousand people fifty years ago. Now it is a flourishing and growing city of nearly three hundred thousand people.

When the prairies have passed into the land of the cowboys the climb ceases to be so gradual, and the Canadian Pacific Railway enters the mountain region of the west. Once more there are forests clothing the mountain sides, and in the valleys are lakes and pools, filled from ever-flowing cascades and streams. In the valleys are also orchards, fruit gardens and vineyards, for here is the last province of all, British Columbia. Actually British Columbia is last only in that it is the most westerly of the nine provinces, for it was founded, from the Pacific, in 1858, and joined the Dominion in 1871, whereas it was not until 1905 that Alberta and Saskatchewan became provinces of the Dominion.

British Columbia is rich in gold, silver, lead and coal, and its mountain streams abound in salmon, so that it can supply minerals, timber, fish and fruit of almost every kind to the farmers and cattle ranchers of the prairies, who supply corn and meat in return.

While modern Canada has thus been rapidly developing towards the west, the maritime provinces of the east, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, have become of less relative importance. Their people live mainly by farming, forestry, fishing, and on the produce of hundreds of miles of apple orchards. Quebec, the original Canada, remains essentially French, and miles of farms, with their narrow frontages along the bank of the St. Lawrence, stretch away to the forest background. Every winter thousands of trees are cut down from the coniferous forests, dragged over snow and ice, and, when the snow melts, sent tumbling down the rivers either for exportation, or to the factories and paper mills of cities such as Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion. The region of the Great Lakes is, too, rich in minerals, so that the old provinces of Quebec and Ontario still remain the most densely populated parts of Canada. The use of water power, such as the use

of the Niagara Falls, to create electrical energy, has helped the industrial development of this region, and its manufactures are now of greater value than its agricultural produce.

Montreal, though a thousand miles by the St. Lawrence from the open sea, is a great port, with a population of a million people, and even great ocean liners can reach its quays. From Montreal smaller steamers pass through Lake Ontario, and, avoiding the Niagara Falls by the Welland Ship Canal, reach Lakes Erie and Huron; thence, by the "Soo" canals, they enter Lake Superior and steam along to Fort William and Port Arthur, when they are within reasonable railway distance of Winnipeg and the corn lands.

Not all Canada's exports leave by the eastern ports, for the St. Lawrence is ice-blocked for three or four months of the year, when Halifax and St. John remain the only large Atlantic ports. Considerable quantities of goods leave by

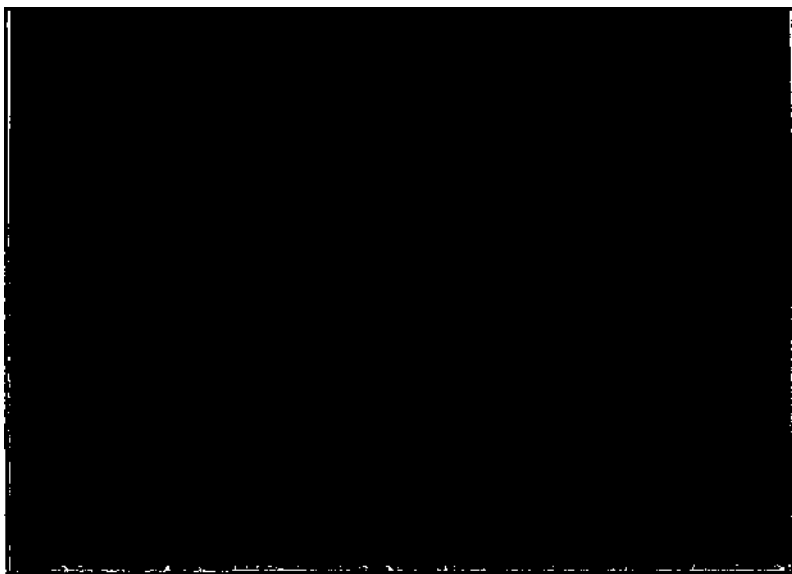


Fig. 134.—Reaping Oats in Alberta.

[Canadian Pacific Photograph]



Fig. 135.—Winnipeg, Portage Avenue.

Vancouver, not only for Asia, but for Europe by the Panama Canal. A second transcontinental railway, the Canadian National Railway, connects Quebec directly with Winnipeg, and thence goes to Edmonton and the west, helping to weld the scattered peoples of Canada into national unity.

The population of Canada is now about ten and a half millions, which means that Canada is still an empty land, with less than three people on an average to each square mile. But Canada's people are still concentrated in a long and relatively narrow strip, extending from coast to coast, and bounded on the north by forests and the subarctic and arctic regions of Yukon and North-West Territory. The presence of gold in Yukon has attracted some settlers, undeterred by eight months of severe winter. In the north and earlier in the north-east the forests become rarer and

gradually merge into the ever'frozen **lands of the Arctic world.**

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Canada's development seems to have been reasonably rapid until it is compared with that of the United States of America. Little more than a hundred and fifty years ago there were thirteen British settlements stretched along the Atlantic coast; now a great, independent Federation of forty-eight States, with a population of a hundred and twenty-three millions, extends from coast to coast. Though in area approximately equal to Canada, the United States have no sub-arctic region and no dense coniferous forests such as stretch across Canada. On the contrary, the territory of the States has a disproportionate share of the world's wealth.

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The prairies of the three Canadian provinces form the northern extremity of the vast triangle of temperate grassland which extends to an inverted apex on the Gulf of Mexico. This great corn belt, which except for river valleys is extraordinarily flat, supplies three quarters of the world's corn. Great rivers, including the Missouri, flow from the Rockies across the plain, to join the Mississippi. Along the valley of the Ohio and spreading northwards to the Great Lakes is a region rich in mineral wealth, supplying half of the world's iron and a third of the world's coal. The hot and wet south-eastern region supplies half the world's cotton and a third of its tobacco. Dotted over the continent are oilfields which produce three quarters of the world's petrol.

The wealth of North America was undefended, for it was practically an empty continent, and an additional attraction to immigrants was the democratic constitution established when the colonies won their independence. From the distressed countries of Europe, from Ireland, Italy, Germany, and later from Poland, Russia and the Balkans, thousands flocked annually, followed, by thousands more when early exiles had become successful and contented

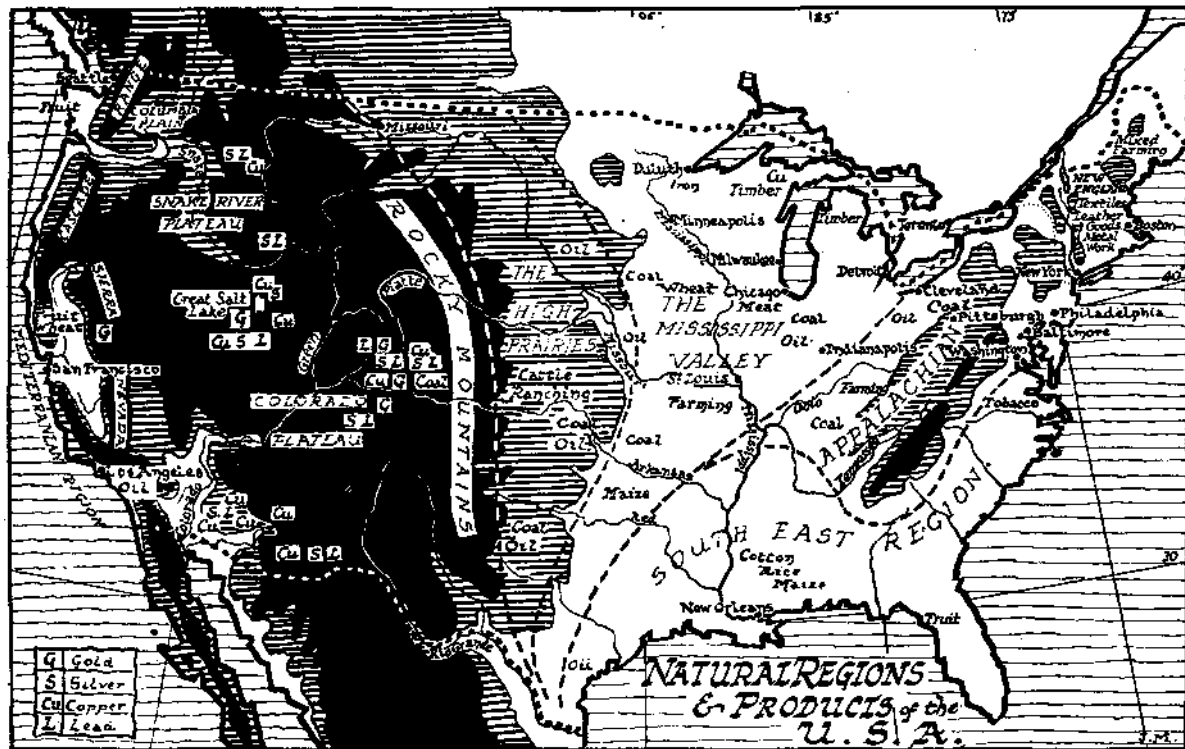


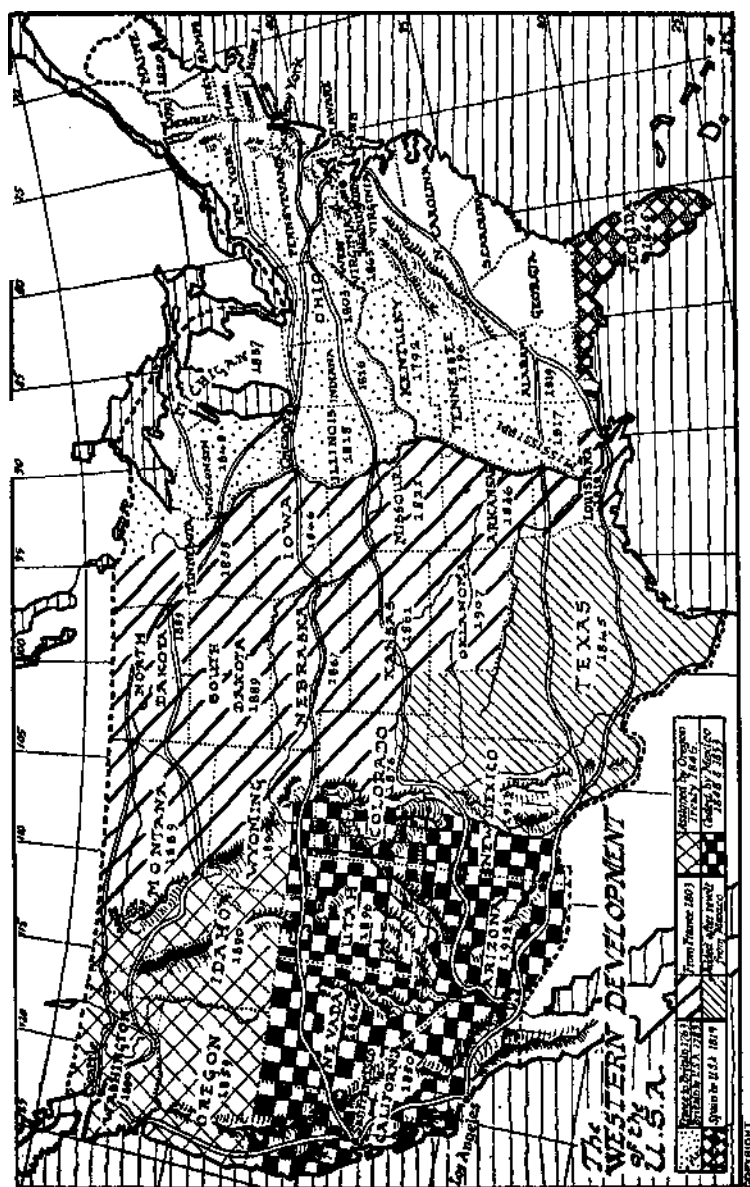
Fig. 136.—Natural Regions and Products of the U.S.A.

settlers. The early development of steamboat and railway helped the westward drift, and the subsequent development of the early railways, and of telegraphy and telephony, have helped to weave the cosmopolitan and scattered immigrants and their descendants into a single-minded people—a vast and conscious unity.

Though the actual western development of the United States has been gradual, it is possible to regard it as a series of developments, each of which followed an extension of territory.

At the conclusion of the American War of Independence, England granted to the victorious States all the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes, territory which England had gained from France during the Seven Years' War. West of the Mississippi lay the rest of the prairie triangle, still French, but of little use to France, for its only outlet to the sea, New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi, was wedged between territory for whose possession Spain and the States were disputing. Napoleon believed that he had made a good bargain for France when he sold to the States, in 1803, all the territory from the Mississippi to the Rockies, except Texas, which was Mexican. During the Peninsular War, Spain was England's ally, and England was drifting into war with America owing to the Continental Blockade. The United States took the opportunity to occupy the Spanish territory of Western Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico, and in 1819 Spain, in return for a money payment, abandoned all claims to Florida and all other territory east of Texas. Texas, as a part of Mexico, was still a Spanish colony, and Mexico stretched indefinitely northwards into the great mountain plateau, a thousand miles wide, between the Rockies and the Pacific coastal ranges of Sierra Nevada and Sierra Madre. The same Spanish treaty fixed the northern boundary of Mexico at latitude 42° N.

In 1821 the Spanish colonies in South and Central America rebelled, and Canning, at the Congress of Verona, 1822,



recognised their independence. Moreover, by the Monroe Doctrine, the United States and England joined to prevent European intervention in America. The independent colonies seemed incapable of settled development or of union, and Texas broke away from Mexico in 1835, became a republic in 1836, and in 1845 was added to the United States of America. During Peel's ministry, the long boundary dispute between western Canada and the States was becoming dangerously acute, and in 1846, by the Oregon Treaty, the southern boundary of British Columbia was pushed back from the Columbia River to latitude 49°. Two further cessions, by Mexico in 1848 and 1853, completed the direct territorial expansion of the States, and gave to the North American people the delightful "Mediterranean" region of California. The cold, isolated region of Alaska, in the extreme north-west of the continent was bought from Russia in 1867.

Gradually each new section was peopled and developed; new States formed, and a new star was added to the American flag as each new State was admitted into the Union. The forty-eight stars were completed when "Statehood" was conferred on the Indian province of Oklahoma (1901) and on New Mexico and Arizona in January and February, 1912.

The unity of the States was hampered and increasingly threatened by one dividing factor: the States of the south-east, the hotter and wetter land of the cotton and tobacco plantations, had always relied on negro slavery for the necessary labour; the northern States were opposed to slavery, and grew increasingly ashamed of its survival in a land which had based its constitution on the freedom of its peoples. In 1833 England made slavery illegal in her dominions, and in 1837 an Anti-Slavery Society began to demand its abolition in the United States. The question admitted of no compromise, and as each new State was admitted to the Union, its attitude to slavery became increasingly important.

In 1861 Abraham Lincoln, who hated slavery and opposed its extension, was elected President. Immediately

South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas seceded from the Union and formed a separate Union known as the Confederate States. Soon after, four of the "Border States", North Carolina, Arkansas, Virginia and Tennessee, joined them. Lincoln was determined to preserve the Union, and from 1861 to 1865 the tragic Civil War began to divide families, states and peoples. The first victories fell to the armies of the southern States, under such great commanders as " Stonewall " Jackson and Robert Lee ; but with the emergence of General Grant the northern States gradually gained ground. After the victory of Gettysburg, in 1863, there could be little doubt of the final success of the Northern States, but the war dragged on. Just before the end, when victory was in sight, Congress, still under Lincoln's presidency, abolished slavery. Lincoln's four years, the duration of presidency, expired two months later, in March, 1865, but he was re-elected. In April the defeated armies of the " Secessionists " surrendered, and at Appomatox General Lee surrendered his sword to General Grant, who returned it. This act symbolised the attitude of the victorious States after the war, for the preservation of the Union demanded that it should be based on generosity and good fellowship if it were to be secured against further shocks.

In Lincoln's own words, the Northern States had *f preserved the American Union and abolished a great wrong ", but five days after the news of JLee's surrender the great President was shot while attending a demonstration in his honour in a Washington theatre.

Union is very different from unity, and the unity of the States still more resembles a mixture than a compound. Nearly a tenth of the population has descended from the negro slaves, and the rest represents a century of immigration so world-wide in origin that a growing alarm led to the imposition of tests on immigrants seeking admission after 1892. Each of the forty-eight States retains its own laws, and consequently what is lawful in one State may be illegal

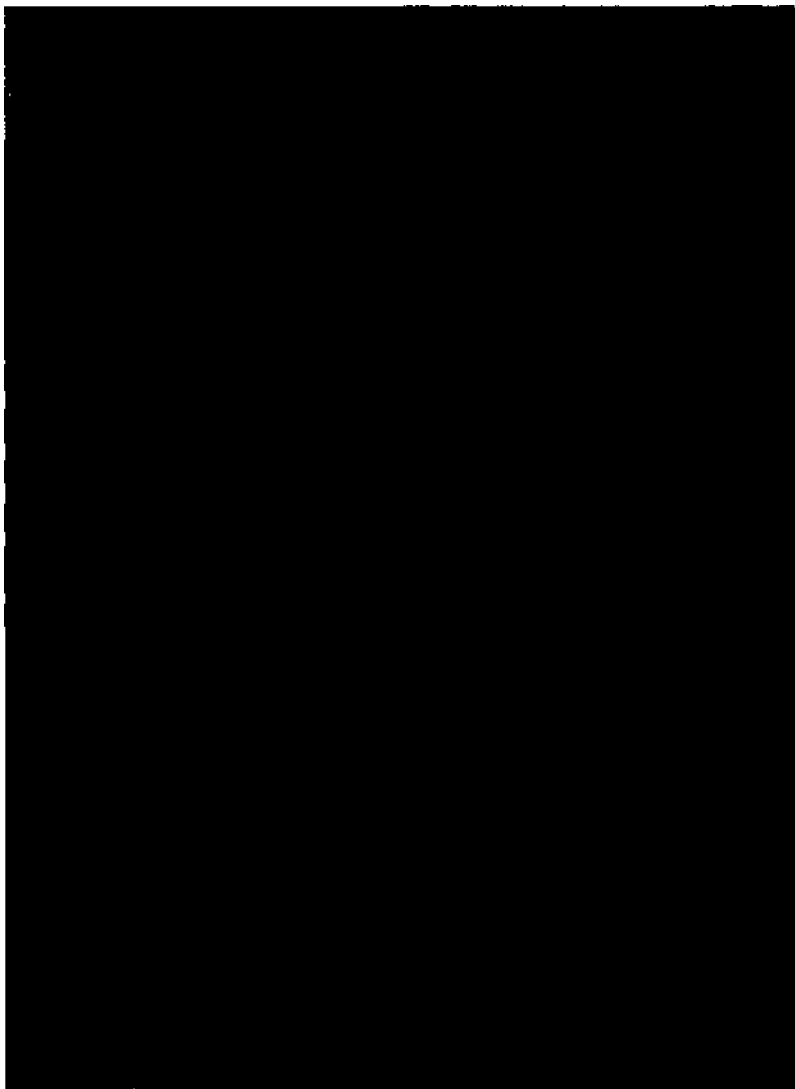


Fig. 138.—Abraham Lincoln.
The Lincoln Memorial, at Washington.

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across a State frontier, a situation which tends to lessen respect for law. The Federal Government has none of the elasticity of older forms of government, which have grown with the slower evolution of older nations, but was fixed by the original constitution so that changes can be made only with the approval of three quarters of the States.

Moreover, the land of the United States combines seven distinct geographical regions whose climate, resources and reaction on human life are specifically characteristic.

Facing the distant Pacific are two distinct coastal regions. The northern coastal region, with its wooded hills and fruit-laden valleys, is like British Columbia. The southern coastal region is the Mediterranean land of California, spread along a sheltered valley of its own, between the Sierra Nevada and the Coast Range. The Sacramento, which drains the valley from the north, and the San Joaquin which drains it from the south, break through the Coast Range to flow into a beautiful bay which makes a natural entrance to the valley. On the bay stands San Francisco. Farther south, on a separate little coastal plain about a hundred miles long are Los Angeles and San Diego. California is famed for its fruits, especially its peaches and apricots, but it produces also a sixth of the world's oil.

These two regions are separated from the rest of North America by the massive Rocky Mountain Plateaus, which, at their widest extent, spread across a third of the continent. The western rim of the plateaus is formed by the Cascade Range and the Sierra Nevada; the eastern rim is the main chain of the Rockies. The Rocky Mountain Region is rich in gold, silver, copper and lead, especially in the south, the Colorado Plateau, so that the main occupation of its peoples is mining. Right in the heart of the mountain region is Utah, with its famous Salt Lake City which was founded by the Mormons.

The interior grasslands form a fourth region, and they, like the Canadian prairies which form the base of the inverted



•A Cotton Plantation.

[G.P.A.]

triangle, are drier in the west than in the east, so that cattle-ranching gradually gives place to the production of corn. Texas is the main cattle-ranching district; wheat is the main crop in the northern valley of the Mississippi, and maize in the southern. The maize belt feeds half America's cattle and pigs. Large steamers can sail up the Mississippi from New Orleans to St. Louis, where the Missouri joins it.

The south-east is the region of the cotton, sugar and tobacco plantations, and of the rice fields. Between the Appalachian Mountains and the Great Lakes is concentrated a third of America's population, for it forms the main industrial region of America, and contains vast quantities of coal and considerable quantities of iron. The last region is that of the New England States. Much of it resembles the Maritime Provinces of Canada, in that it is still forested, with orchards and mixed farms in the valleys, and with rivers and streams tumbling in cascades down the mountain sides. The water power and a damp climate encouraged the development of the cotton industry, while the plentiful pastures made the growth of a woollen industry inevitable. Boston is America's chief wool market.

It is not surprising, therefore, that America suggests a mixture of diverse elements; the greater wonder is that so much unity, so much national consciousness, had already been welded from these various ingredients. Actually, America is rather like a great living organism, of which the several parts are interdependent, and whose separate existence depends on the harmonious working of the whole. Through this body, like veins carrying its life-blood to every corner, are a quarter of a million miles of railway lines—enough to girdle the earth ten times at the Equator.

There are few natural entrances into America from the sea, for it is protected, east and west, by mountain walls. As in the old colonial days New York still guards the Atlantic entrance into the interior of America, by way of the Hudson and by way of the Mohawk, and the great railways, therefore,

radiate from this centre. With a population of about seven millions, New York is second only to London in size of the world's cities. Incapable of further lateral expansion, for New York is built partly on the island of Manhattan, it is now expanding vertically, by means of its gigantic "sky-scrapers".

South of New York three rivers have carved gaps from the Appalachians to the sea : the Delaware enters the Atlantic at the port of Philadelphia; the Susquehanna is responsible for Baltimore, on Chesapeake Bay ; and the Potomac is guarded by Washington, the capital of the States, a city of beautiful buildings and of a refreshing air of tranquil dignity.

One line connects these Atlantic ports with Miami, in southern Florida; another connects them with New Orleans, the Mississippi port, whence a transcontinental line crosses to Los Angeles on the Pacific. The Pacific ports, Seattle and Portland in the north, San Francisco more or less in the centre, and Los Angeles in the south, are connected

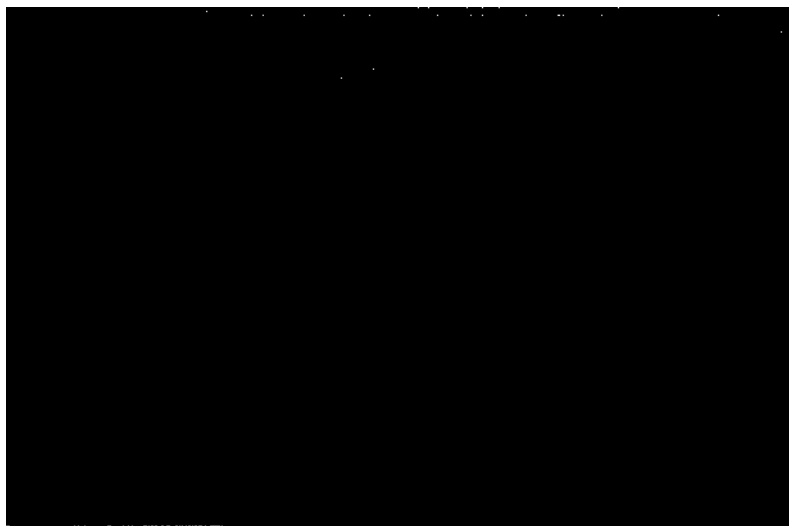


Fig. 140.—The Capitol, Washington,

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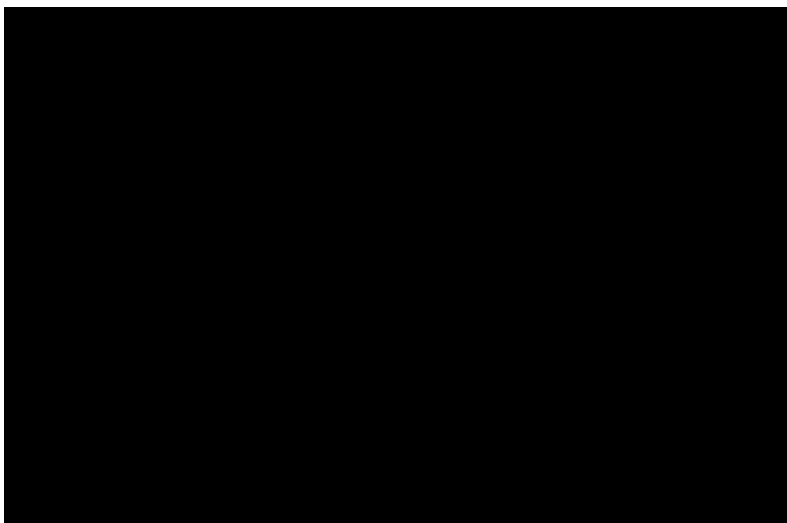


Fig. 141.—Panama Canal Locks.

Photographic Publications

with New York by three separate transcontinental lines, which converge at Chicago, on Lake Michigan. They are, too, directly connected with each other, and with the C.P.R.

The expense of long railway transport long hampered communication between the western States and the Old World, and the dream of a Panama Canal gradually took shape as a practical possibility. The success of the Suez Canal led to the formation of a Panama Canal Company, under the direction of the French engineer, de Lesseps, who had been responsible for the Suez Canal. Unfortunately, mismanagement, corruption, yellow fever and malaria, contributed to bring about the failure of the scheme, and in 1902 the United States bought the shares of the bankrupt company. In 1907 President Roosevelt took advantage of a rebellion in Panama to obtain for the States the strip of land, ten miles in width, where the French company had begun work. By destroying the mosquitos, which Sir Ronald Ross had proved to be the carriers of the malaria germ, and which America discovered

to be the carriers of yellow fever, the first difficulty was overcome. By building a dam, the " Gatun Dam ", nine thousand feet long and over two thousand feet wide, and by making enormous locks, the greatest technical obstacles were surmounted, and the Panama Canal was opened in 1914. One more means of communication had been opened between the Old World and the New.

It is important to remember that the Panama Canal, which is open to the ships of all countries, and America's ports, are not only of service to the United States for the *export* of her surplus wealth. America, like all nations and individuals, sells in order to buy, and the produce of other parts of the world comes into her ports in enormous quan-

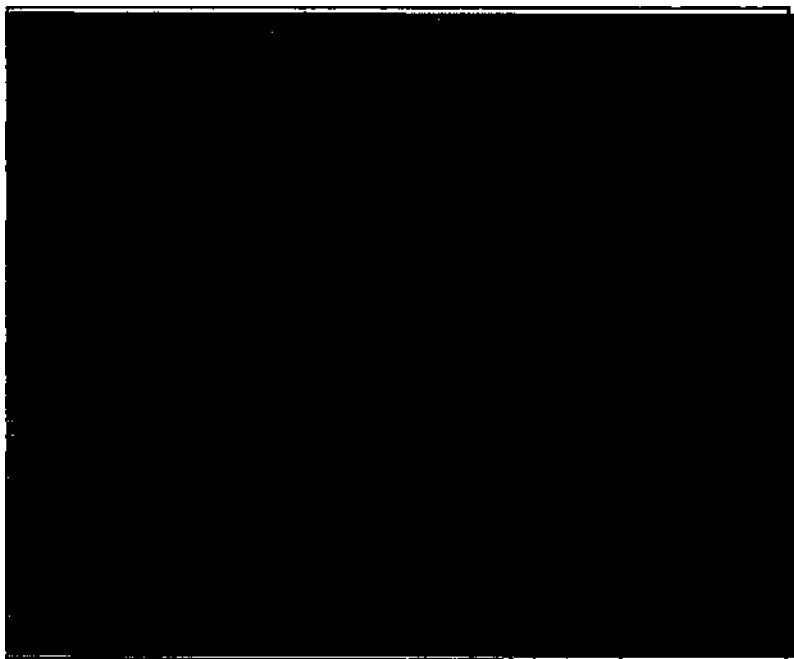


Fig. 142.—Modern New York.

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tities. Silk is imported from Japan, China and Italy; rubber, needed for the tyres of America's millions of motor cars, comes from Burma and the Malay Peninsula; jute comes from India and Dundee to be made into string, sacks, coat linings, carpets and linoleum; tea from India, coffee from Brazil, paper and wood pulp from Canada, come in exchange for American produce.

Thus man's world is continually growing, so that the remotest parts of it can contribute to his individual wealth, as his own labour, in turn, contributes to the wealth of the peoples of distant lands. The development of a new region not only produces goods which add to the wealth of older regions, but provides new markets for the goods of the older world, so that both receive the benefit of an increased economic environment. Perhaps, some day, the whole world will be "The World of All Men," in which every part is contributing something to the wealth of the whole, unspoilt by the retrogressive influence of international rivalry.

CHAPTER XV

THE DARK CONTINENT

IT IS EASY TO ADOPT towards the settlement and development of Australasia or of North America that calm, impartial and unemotional attitude which the scientific historian or geographer is supposed to cultivate—but with Africa it is different. Africa is terrifying, cruel and relentless ; a grim and primitive vastness, with thousands and thousands of miles of burning desert, of poisonous jungle, and of wet,, hot, black forest, stretching beyond mountain walls into apparently illimitable distance. Divided by the Equator, Africa extends between and beyond the Tropics, so that its northern and southern extremities smile a welcoming invitation to the stranger.

The Mediterranean coast of northern Africa, however, soon merges into the hot sands of the great Sahara desert, which stretches for three thousand six hundred miles, from coast to coast, broken only by the valley of the Nile, by patches of barren rock or mountain, or by an occasional oasis. Farther south, midway between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator, the desert gives *way to scrubby grassland; then the grass thickens and grows higher, with increasing numbers of tropical plants and trees, until it has merged into the tropical grasslands of the jungle. This is the land where the swift-running, grass-eating animals, with timid, frightened eyes, live in constant dread of the great flesh-eaters, the lion and the tiger, or of poisonous snakes like the python. It is the land of swamps and hidden pools; of mosquitos and the dreaded tsetse-fly; of malaria, sleeping sickness, dysentery and other tropical diseases.

As the North-east and South-east Trade Winds converge

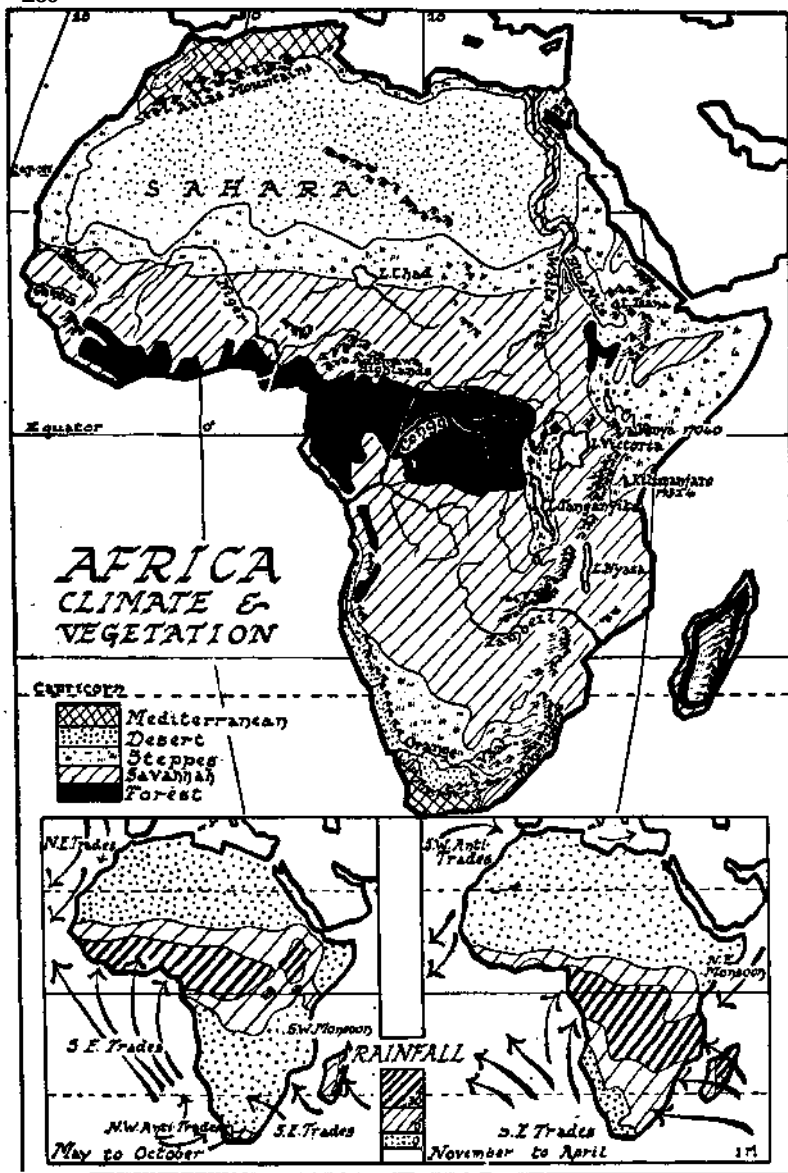


Fig. 143—Africa. Climate and Vegetation

towards the Equator, or to the tropical region north or south, wherever the scorching sun is overhead at noon, they pour down their torrential rains, so that the jungle has become almost impenetrable forest. In the dim gloom of the giant trees, wrapped by mighty climbing plants, trying to reach the light through the roof of dense foliage and interwoven branches, the struggle to exist goes on eternally, cruelly, so that the hunter of one moment becomes the hunted of the next. Dr. van Loon has written of the ceaseless struggle: "And so day and night and night and day creation devours itself beneath the high roof of the listless leaves. The most harmless-looking insect has the most deadly sting. The most beautiful flower carries its secret burden of poison. Every horn and hoof and beak and tooth is against every other horn and hoof and beak and tooth. The pulse-beat of existence is accompanied by the crunching of bones and the tearing asunder of soft brown skins/"*

The tropical forest does not extend, as does the Sahara, across Africa, for the land rises towards the east until it reaches the mountains which form the north-eastern extension of the great plateau of South Africa. The whole of South Africa is a vast table-land, which descends in great steps to the south and to the eastern coastal plain. For this reason there is less desert in South Africa than in the corresponding region in northern Africa, and, for the same reason, South Africa is more suitable for European settlement.

Except for the Nile, along whose narrow banks grew the ancient civilisation of the Egyptians, the rivers are, in general, equally unkind. After meandering gently through the swamps and jungle of the interior, they rush to the coast through the rocky gorges of the mountains, crashing over precipices in giant falls, which make navigation from the coast impossible. The Niger, which rises near the coast of Sierra Leone, flows inland in a north-easterly direction for over a thousand miles before it turns away from the

* Hendrik van Loon : *The Home of Mankind* ; pub : George G. Harrap ; 1933 ; p. 435.

desert, to flow in a south-easterly direction for nearly fifteen hundred miles more, reaching at last the Gulf of Guinea. The source of the Congo is little more than four hundred miles from the eastern coast, yet the river wanders through the heart of equatorial Africa for two thousand eight hundred and eighty miles before it reaches the sea on the western coast. Farther south is the Zambezi, which crashes over the Victoria Falls, to wander through the south-eastern highland valleys before it reaches the Indian Ocean.

Over this vast and generally unfriendly region roamed two thousand tribes of native or settled peoples—Moors, Arabs, Semites and Hamites in the desert north, and many kinds of negroes scattered over the rest of the continent.

What motives could have led European peoples to intrude into a land so little of which could ever become their home? From ancient days to modern times the first motive was the

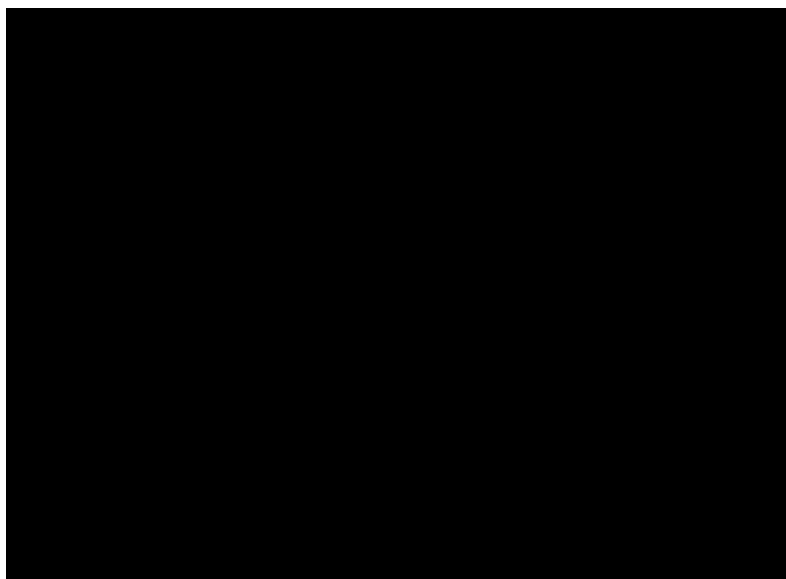


Fig. 144.—An African Native Kraal.

[Fox Photo

seizure of negroes for slavery. When the development of cotton and tobacco plantations in tropical America and the West Indies had exhausted local labour, negro labour provided an obvious solution of the planters' difficulties, and negro slaves became one of the most profitable commercial commodities.

Early in the Portuguese exploration of the African coast, in the attempt to find a sea route to India, a slave station was opened at Lagos. When the Portuguese and Spanish maritime pre-eminence passed to Holland and to England, the control of the slave trade passed too. Most of the wretched negroes were seized by Arabs, - marched across African jungle or desert in chains, and, if they survived so long, herded in "castles" on the coast to await the arrival of the merchants' vessels. There were women, too, among the slaves. Dr. Livingstone, the great explorer of South Africa, wrote in his Journal: "We passed a slave woman shot or stabbed and lying on the path: the people said that an Arab who passed early that morning had done it in anger at losing the price he had given for her, because she was unable to walk any longer." Again he wrote: "One of our men wandered and found a number of slaves with slave sticks on, abandoned by their master for want of food; they were too weak to be able to speak . . . Some were quite young." A slave stick was a cleft stick used to link two slaves together. Left round the necks of abandoned slaves it rendered them helpless. It has been estimated that of the thousands who were shipped annually, eighty per cent, died on the way.

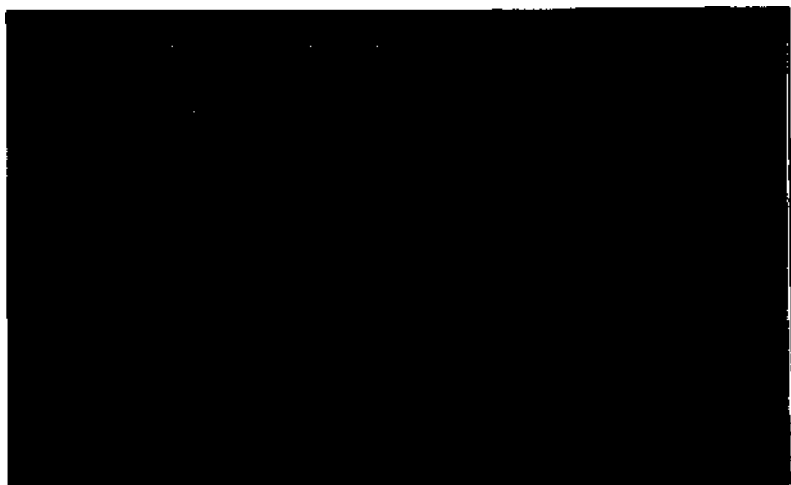


Fig. 145 Central African
Negro type.

The three old British colonies on the west coast of North Africa Gambia, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, were

originally English slave stations, and as late as the eighteenth century the merchants of Bristol, Liverpool and London owned a fleet of twelve hundred vessels which were regularly engaged in the slave trade. In 1807 England made slave trading illegal, and the growing humanitarianism fought to abolish slavery itself. It was abolished in the Argentine in 1813 and in Mexico in 1829. Slavery was abolished in the British dominions in 1833 by Lord Grey's reformed parliament, though it actually survived on a reduced scale in remote parts of the Empire until 1928. We have already described something of the bitter struggle which preceded the emancipation of slaves in the United States of America in 1865.

Of the three old slave stations of Great Britain in North-west Africa, Gambia is now occupied principally in the production of ground-nuts, from which oil is extracted for the manufacture of margarine. Sierra Leone produces palm nuts, from which oil is extracted for the manufacture of soap. The Gold Coast now exports more cocoa than gold.



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Fig. 146.—Table Mountain, South Africa.

The second motive which led Europeans into Africa was the utilisation of the Cape as a calling station for ships sailing to India, first by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch, who planted fresh produce there for the revictualling of their ships. Two English sea captains claimed the South African coast for England in James Fs reign, but the "wisest fool in Christendom" was not interested, and it was officially claimed by Holland in 1652.

The delightful Mediterranean climate of South Africa attracted Dutch settlers, who began to spread about in distant groups, moving frequently from one pasture land to a better with their cattle and ox waggons, living simple, hard, and rather unsociable lives, without organisation, rule or law other than that of the family, the father and the Bible. The



Fig. 147.—Bushman Chief.

religion of the Dutch or Boer settlers had all the hardness of the religion of the Old Testament patriarchs, and they used native peoples as slaves without scruple. Moreover, as there were some millions of tribal natives in South Africa, and only a few thousand Dutch settlers, the white settlement of South Africa assumed, from the very first, the form of a "racial aristocracy."

A small number of white intruders, with the strength that civilisation had given to them could exist so long as they could impose their will on the mass of ignorant and primitive natives, who had not evolved beyond the stage of Palaeolithic Man. The Kaffirs stole, destroyed or slew whenever they could, and were enslaved, flogged or slain in return.

During the Napoleonic Wars England seized Cape Colony, returned it when the Treaty of Amiens was signed, seized it again and kept it, paying £6,000,000 to the Dutch as compensation. As a result, about three thousand British

settlers sailed to the Cape in 1820, to add a new element to the South African problem. Already a wave of humanitarian feeling had begun to spread in England, and the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, and the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, were sending representatives into distant lands. The attitude of these missionaries, and of many of the English settlers, towards the natives was very different from that of the Boers, who believed that to show kindness to the natives was to display weakness, and that a few thousand white people could continue to live amongst millions of savages only by maintaining supremacy by brute force.

The growing hostility between the Dutch and British settlers was foolishly increased in 1828, when the British excluded the Dutch language from the Courts. The abolition of slavery in 1833 further angered the Boers, and though the British government granted compensation the money could not replace the slave labour. The final provocation came when the British Colonial *Office* refused to annex the territory of the hostile Kaffirs who had raided the frontier of the colony. The British Governor, Sir Benjamin d'Urban, who had defeated the Kaffirs, resigned, and the Dutch decided to withdraw from a region now held by a people so extraordinarily stupid as the British appeared to them to be.

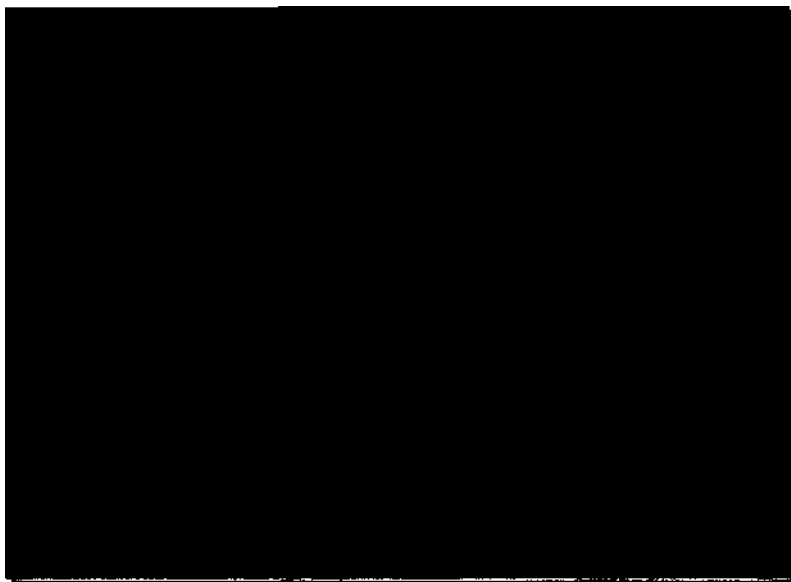
The western part of South Africa is the desert region, for the North-East Trade Winds shed most of their moisture when they reach the eastern edge of the South African Plateau. Consequently the eastern part is fertile and the Boers trekked towards the north-eastern lands.

The Great Trek of 1836 was not so much an organised movement as an extension of the nomadic Boer life. Families in small groups lumbered away in ox wagons, with their cattle and simple belongings, settling in relatively isolated groups often far apart. Some settled along the upper banks of the Orange, to form the nucleus of the Orange Free State. Others continued farther north across the Vaal, and from their scattered farms grew the Transvaal Colony. Others

trekked eastwards from the Orange Free State, across the Drakensberg Mountains into Natal. Many refused to leave their old homes in Cape Colony.

The Dutch who had left were still regarded as British subjects, and missionaries continued to plead with the British Government for protection for the natives in the new Dutch colonies. Accordingly Natal was annexed and declared a British Colony, and in 1846 a British resident was established in Orange Free State. But the opposition of the Dutch and the objection of the British Government to increase its oversea obligations to no purpose led to the recognition of the independence of the Transvaal in 1852, and to the withdrawal of the British garrison and representative from the Orange Free State in 1854.

It was during these years that Livingstone was exploring the southern jungle land of Africa. Born at Blantyre in



[Fox Photo

Fig. 148.—The Drakensberg Mountains. The Edge of the Great Plateau.

MAN AND HIS WORLD



Fig. 149.—The Exploration of Africa;

Lanarkshire in 1813, Livingstone had worked for a time in a cotton factory, educated himself in his spare time, and subsequently taken a degree in medicine at Glasgow University. In 1840, after joining the London Missionary Society, he sailed for South Africa and began the exploration of Bechuanaland, the region to the west of the Boer States. The Boers, who felt that the English were intent on creating further interference, destroyed his camp and burnt his papers.

In 1849 Livingstone discovered Lake Ngami, and two years later he reached the River Zambezi. Following the same route in 1853, he reached the Zambezi again and, after following its course upstream for some hundreds of miles, turned westwards towards the rising jungle. In 1854 he reached the coast of Loanda, south of the Congo estuary.



Fig. 150.—The Victoria Falls, *on the River Zambezi.*

[Fox Photo

This territory was officially Portuguese, but no white man had ever before travelled in the interior. Through jungle and desert Livingstone returned to the Cape, with records of his journeys, and of the nature of the land.

His next project was to trace the Zambezi to the sea, and in 1856, while attempting the task, he discovered the majestic waterfalls, which were named Victoria after the English queen. For sixteen years Livingstone had been wandering through jungles and swamps, along river valleys and across mountain tracks, fearless amongst savages taught to hate the white man or any stranger. On reaching the coast at the mouth of the Zambezi he returned to England, to speak of the horrors of the slave trade. Retiring from the London Missionary Society in order to have greater freedom of action, Livingstone set out on his second period of exploration in 1857. Using the Zambezi as a base, he spent seven years in Africa, exploring the valley of the Shire, Lake Nyasa, and the valley of the Rovuma. He left England for the third time in 1865, never to return alive. With health undermined by the climate, by tropical fevers, and by the wearing nature of his task, with no white companions and with natives who were not all trustworthy, often with little food and frequently in danger from native tribes, his medicines stolen by deserters, he struggled on for seven more years. Beginning from the Rovuma and Lake Nyasa, Livingstone explored the region of the Lakes of Tanganyika, where he nearly died, Moero and Bangweolo, an unhealthy, boggy region. Now so ill that he had to be carried, he returned to Tanganyika, where he expected supplies and medicines.- *Most of them had been stolen by Arabs, but he recovered sufficiently to set out again, to escape death by a miracle when a native tribe ambushed his party, believing it to be that of Arab slave traders. Finding the source of a river which was actually the Congo, Livingstone believed it to be the Nile.

For years no news of Livingstone had reached the white world, and the proprietor of the New York Herald sent our

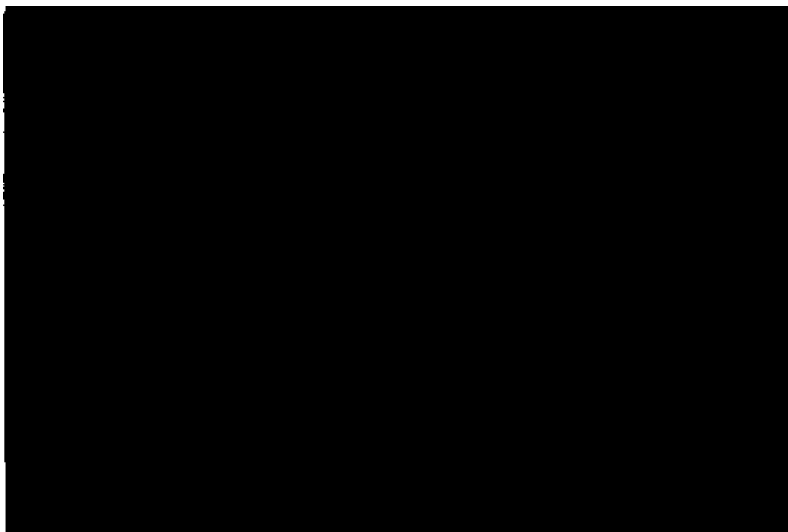


Fig. 151 —The Meeting of Stanley and Livingstone.

From the " Illustrated London News" August 10th, 1872.

A note which appeared beneath the newspaper reproduction read as follows :

" This engraving, for which I supplied the materials, represents my meeting with Dr Livingstone at Ujiji, Lake Tanganyika, and is as correct as if the scene had been photographed. Henry M. Stanley.*"

The Meeting actually took place on the 10th November, 1871.

Henry Morton Stanley to find the old explorer. He did so, and they spent six months together before Livingstone, determined to carry on his work, set out again for the unknown interior. It was to be his last attempt. In 1873, on the banks of the Molilamo, he died. His native helpers embalmed his body and carried it back to the coast. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on April 18th, 1874.

Meanwhile Cape Colony had been progressing; its Dutch and British populations were increasing and settling into a closer friendship; sheep rearing and ostrich farming had replaced cattle farming, and in 1854 Cape Colony was granted a Legislative Assembly in which black and white peoples had equal rights. In 1872 the colony was granted responsible self-government. The British Governor, however, though

responsible to the Colonial Assembly for matters relating to Cape Colony, was responsible to the British Government for affairs outside the colony, as High Commissioner of South Africa. This responsibility began to bring him increasing worries. Difficulties began in the Orange Free State when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley. The Dutch claimed that Kimberley was within their State, but the British decided that it lay outside Dutch territory. They could not have been very certain of the justice of the decision, however, for they awarded the Dutch £90,000 compensation.

There was greater trouble in the Transvaal. Tribes from Bechuanaland in the west, and the savage Matabele in the north, were imploring British protection against the Boers, while the Zulus, the most warlike of the Kaffir tribes, were threatening to invade the Transvaal from the east on their own account. In 1877 the British Government annexed the Transvaal, to "protect" it, and a British army defeated the Zulus, though not without first suffering defeat. Now that the Zulus were no longer a danger, the Transvaal Boers demanded their independence, and, when the British Government delayed, they attacked and defeated a British force at Majuba Hill. Gladstone, never an imperialist, refused to listen to demands to avenge Majuba and returned the Transvaal to the Boers in 1881.



England might then have left the Transvaal to itself, but in 1885 gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand, or "the Rand," in the heart of the Transvaal, and within an incredibly short time a cosmopolitan crowd of adventurers from Europe, America, Asia and Australia, - miners, engineers, and speculators, had invaded the Boer republic. Soon this mixed population of the Rand, the "Uitlanders", outnumbered

the Boer population of the Transvaal, and the town of Johannesburg, which they had created, rapidly grew into South Africa's largest town.

The Transvaal had developed a kind of government, consisting of a little Assembly known as the Volksraad and a President, who was now the stern, hard and shrewd Paul Kruger. Under his guidance the Volksraad levied heavy taxes on the Uitlanders, but refused to concede any political or civil rights to them. They were not permitted even to control their own town of Johannesburg, which had neither water-works, nor adequate drainage. When the Uitlanders grumbled, Kruger's attitude was that they had not been invited to the Transvaal, that they were not wanted in the



Fig. 154.—Surface work on a Rand Gold Mine,

Transvaal, and were free to leave if they objected to the treatment they received.

The gold of the Rand had to be mined, which involved the use of capital, and many of the directors of the gold companies were never actually present in the Rand. One of the wealthiest and most influential of these "absentee Uitlanders" was Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, and one of the most vigorous of British imperialists.

Cecil John Rhodes was born at Bishop* Stortford in Hertfordshire in 1853, and joined an elder brother in Natal, for his health's sake, at the age of seventeen. For a year he worked on a cotton plantation, then sold it, and journeyed to the distant diamond mines of Kimberley where he made a fortune. At intervals between 1873 and 1881 Rhodes returned to England to attend Oxford University, where he took a degree. Elected a member of Cape Colony's parliament, Rhodes began to dream of an "all British Africa." In 1884 some Transvaal Boers trekked into Bechuanaland, thus blocking British expansion northwards. It was through Rhodes' influence that a British detachment invaded Bechuanaland, which was annexed in 1885.

North of Bechuanaland and the Transvaal lay the land of the Matabele, extending to the Zambezi—the land of "King Solomon's Mines," a land more fertile and generally healthier than Bechuanaland. The Germans, who had been intriguing with Kruger, were preparing to occupy it, as were the Transvaal Boers, when Rhodes in 1888 obtained from Lobengula, the king of the Matabele, the monopoly of the mining rights in his territory. The British Government refused to declare the region a Protectorate, but permitted the formation of a Chartered Company with extraordinary powers. Immediately, under Rhodes' chairmanship, the Company began to open mines, to build roads and railways, to introduce engineers and other settlers, and to maintain a standing army, "to preserve order." This was more than the Matabele had bargained for, and they resisted in 1893, but

were easily subdued. The whole territory from the Transvaal to the Zambezi became the colony of Southern Rhodesia. Not content, Rhodes pushed on northwards, bridging the river for his railway near the Victoria Falls, and extending it into the tropical land now known as Northern Rhodesia. He had hoped to reach Cairo, but the Germans had blocked his path by the seizure of Tanganyika.

Now that the Boer republics (the Orange Free State and the Transvaal) were surrounded by British territory, a conflict was inevitable, but it developed in an unfortunate way. In 1890 Rhodes was made Prime Minister of Cape Colony ; he was already Chairman of the Company which was responsible for the development of Rhodesia, and the most influential of the financiers behind the Uitlanders of the Rand. No one paid much attention to the grievances of the Uitlanders, and Kruger's persecution continued. In 1895 the Uitlanders determined to act for themselves, and invited the co-operation of the mounted troops of the Chartered Company under Dr. Jameson. Rhodes made the great mistake of his life in consenting to the conspiracy, but, realising that the British Government must of necessity disapprove of so piratical an act, he regretted his consent—too late. Dr. Jameson had already set out, with five hundred mounted police, to invade the Transvaal. He was surrounded and forced to surrender.

Rhodes, as Colonial Prime Minister, and Dr. Jameson were disgraced, and the British Government, although it had had no responsibility for the affair, shared in the general discredit. The Kaiser took the opportunity to congratulate Kruger and to express friendship towards the Boers. The outcome was still more disastrous, for Kruger took up the cause of all the Boers in South Africa, and the local quarrel between the Transvaal Boers and the cosmopolitan Uitlanders rapidly grew into a struggle between the Dutch and the English for the possession of South Africa. A long series of futile negotiations followed between Kruger and the British Government, while Kruger was busily occupied importing

guns and ammunition from Prussia and preparing for war. In 1899 Kruger suddenly issued an ultimatum, and the war began.

The British had not yet awakened from their self-complaisant lethargy, and believed the Boers to be uncouth simpletons who would be beaten in a few weeks. They were surprised to find them magnificent horsemen, marvellous shots, masters of the art of hiding and scattering and of all the tricks of guerilla warfare. They found them, too, to be equipped with guns which outfired the British ones, until the British field guns were replaced by those taken from the ships. Defeated and besieged, the British troops had to be reinforced in 1900, but actually the end was always sure, for behind England were all the resources of the rapidly growing British Empire. The war was really won in 1900, under the guidance of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, when the besieged forces were relieved and the Transvaal was invaded. But for two more years the war dragged on, a dull relentless struggle, in which Kitchener defeated the guerilla tactics of the Boers by burning their farms, by erecting miles of barbed wire fences, and by crushing the Boer resistance in sections.

The Peace of Vereeniging was wise in its generosity. The Boers were compensated for the loss of their farms; the Dutch and English languages were to be taught in the schools, and the Transvaal and the Free State, which became part of the British Empire, were to receive responsible government as soon as possible. The promise was fulfilled in 1905, and a young generation of Dutch arose, anxious for a genuine reconciliation.

In 1908 an Act of Union was drawn up, to come into operation in 1910, when the four colonies formed the Union of South Africa. It was a real union, and not a federation, for there was but one parliament, and it is a significant fact that the first Prime Minister of the Union was General Botha, a Boer soldier. Southern Rhodesia refused to join and

formed a separate colony which was granted responsible self-government in 1923. Northern Rhodesia remained a Protectorate.

While Britain had been extending her authority in Africa northwards from Cape Colony, she had, at the same time, been extending her control southwards from Egypt, just as a great bridge is constructed, from each end, to meet in the centre*. Egypt is not, and never has been, part of the British Empire, but was part of the Turkish Empire when European Powers began to take an active interest in it.

Under the dust of Turkish Egypt, as in a shabby, neglected museum, lay buried the forgotten relics of her ancient civilisation. Since the Turkish conquests had turned European eyes towards the west and the south to find new routes to India, Egypt had been forgotten. It was Napoleon who first interested France and England in the potential value of Egypt, and when he invaded it in 1798 the Sultan of Turkey sent an insubordinate vassal named Mehemet Ali to defend it. After the withdrawal of the French troops, Mehemet Ali established himself as the ruler of Egypt, founded an hereditary dynasty, and captured the eastern Sudan, which extended south of Egypt towards the Equator.

Mehemet Ali's successors were content to loll in the luxurious ease Mehemet's energy had made possible, and Ismail, after the manner of an Oriental despot, borrowed money to finance his lavish expenditure. This included the purchase of a large portion of the shares of the French Company which he had permitted to construct a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. As Ismail made little effort to repay his debts, English creditors amongst many others grew increasingly alarmed, and it was to safeguard their interests that a third motive was provided for European intervention in Africa. In 1875 Disraeli bought, for England, Ismail's Suez Canal shares, just in time to save them from France, and in 1876 France and England took over the Dual Control of Egypt's finances. Three years later Ismail was deposed and succeeded by the pliant Tewfik.

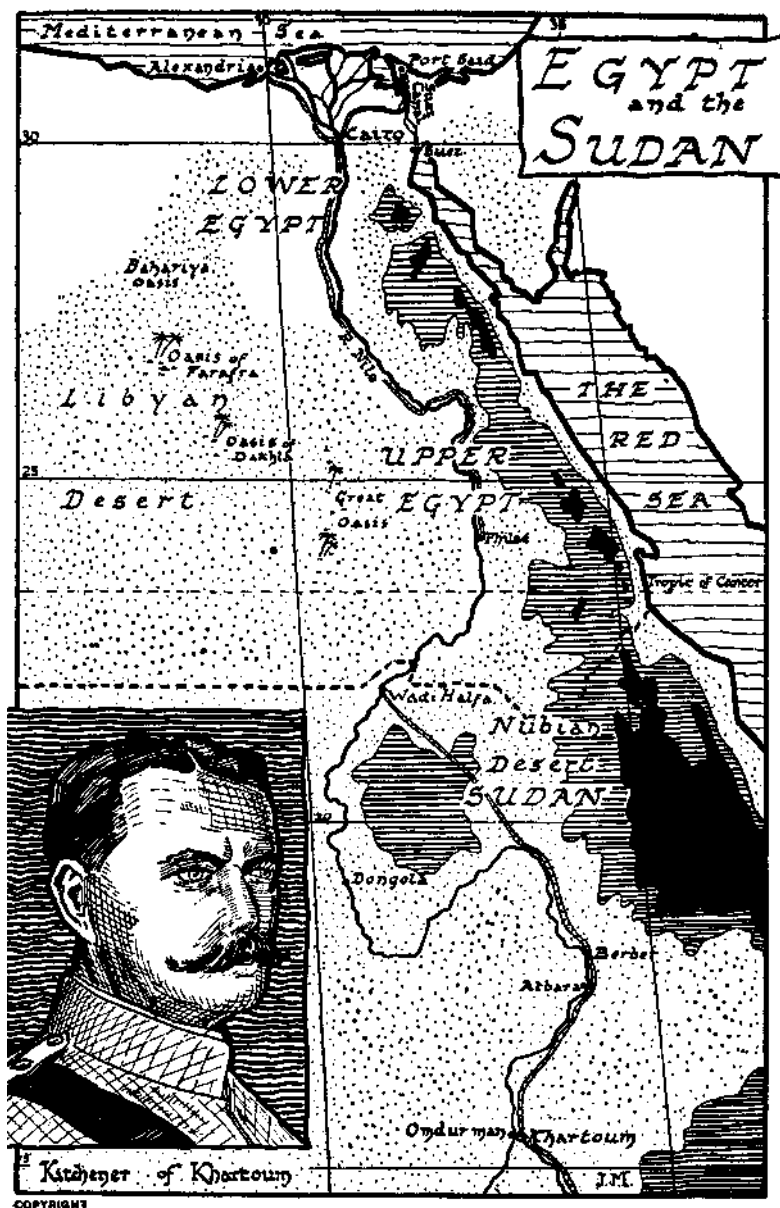


Fig. 135.—Egypt and the Sudan.

The control of Egypt by European financiers created great resentment and led to the development of an Egyptian national sentiment which was focussed under the leadership of Arabi Pasha. When the lives and property of Europeans in Egypt were threatened France and England sent a combined fleet to bombard Alexandria, but a change in the French government and the rapid development of the rising led to the withdrawal of French support, and England was left to restore order alone. Arabi was defeated at Tel-el-Kebir, in 1882, by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and in 1884 Sir Evelyn Baring, better known by his subsequent title of Lord Cromer, went to Egypt as Consul-General. Till 1907 he was the real ruler of Egypt, though nominally Egypt was still under Turkish suzerainty,

During Lord Cromer's consulship he abolished the slave trade and the use of the whip on Egyptian peasants, though without it they were with difficulty persuaded to do even the dredging necessary to save themselves from death-dealing drought. He developed a scientific system of irrigation and created an efficient Egyptian army under English officers. This took some time, as in 1884 the Egyptian army consisted of mutinous conscripts and corrupt officers.

Meanwhile a revolt had broken out in the Sudan, where the natives had been plundered and enslaved by their Egyptian conquerors. The revolt was led by a fanatic who claimed to be the Mahdi or Messiah, and he rapidly gained control of the Sudan. In 1883 he destroyed a section of the Egyptian army under Hicks Pasha, an English officer, and as Gladstone was unwilling to reconquer it on behalf of Egypt, and as the Egyptian army was not yet ready for the task, the Sudan was abandoned to the tyrannous and fanatical rule of the Mahdi and his Dervishes. There were, however, in the Sudan, a number of Egyptian garrisons which had to be brought back, and General Gordon, who had helped to complete the conquest of the Sudan for Ismail, was given the task of rescuing them. Gordon delayed at Khartoum,

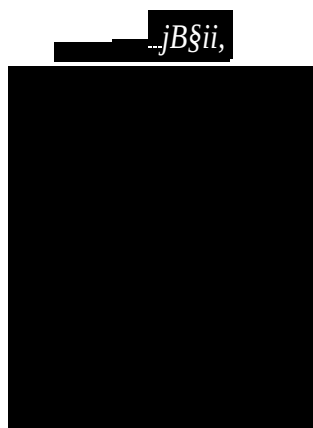


Fig. 156.—The Death of General Gordon.

From the Painting by G. W. Joy.

[E. H. Gooch, Ltd.]

the Sudanese capital, through unwillingness to abandon the province, and was himself besieged. Now Gordon had to be rescued! A long time elapsed before the government decided to send out an expedition. It arrived at last, too late. Gordon, after having held out for a year, with failing provisions and weakening men, was killed on January 26th, 1885. The British Government recalled the expeditionary force and left the Sudan to the Mahdi, who almost immediately died of smallpox. His successor and his fanatical followers began a Reign of Terror over the Sudan.



Fig. 157.—Sudanese Youth.



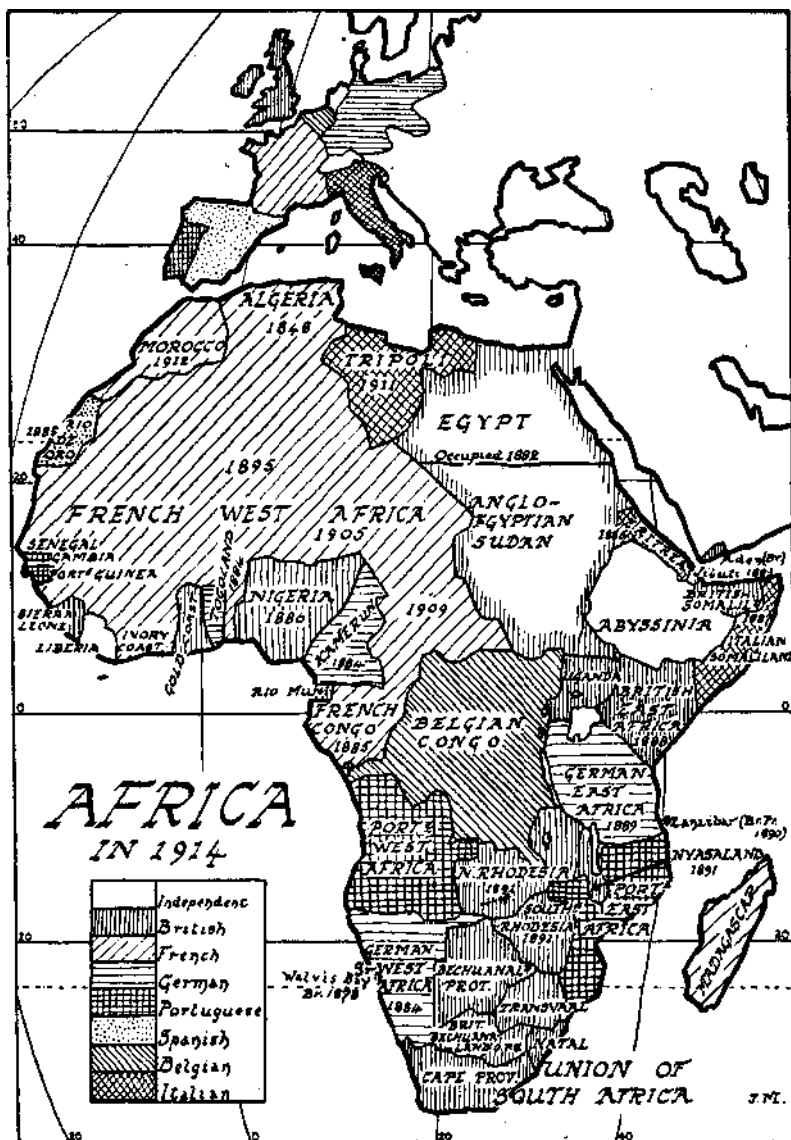
Fig. 158.—Bishareen, "Fuzzy Wuzzy".

An officer who had served with the expeditionary force, Sir Herbert Kitchener, remained in Egypt, and eight years later was appointed Sirdah or Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army. In 1896 Kitchener was entrusted with the task of reconquering the Sudan. He had made most careful preparations, he knew the precise strength and disposition of the Dervish forces, the position and number of wells and tracks, and advanced by constructing a railway into the heart of the desert. It was a "slow but sure" progress, rendered increasingly difficult by the attacks of Dervish detachments as Omdurman, the new capital, was approached. In 1898 Kitchener, reinforced by fresh British troops, and

using for the first time the new magazine rifle, defeated the Dervish advance guard on the banks of the River Atbara, and advanced to meet the main body. The Dervishes, in mass formation, fell in thousands. The Khalifa fled and Kitchener entered Khartoum. A year later the Khalifa and the last remnants of his forces were captured and slain in the desert, and the long reign of tyranny, which is said to have reduced the Sudanese population from eight or ten millions to less than two millions, was over. The Sudan returned to the joint protection of Egypt and Great Britain.

South of the Sudan the combined zeal of Joseph Chamberlain and the Imperial British East Africa Company had established the British Protectorate of Uganda and the colony of Kenya, whose high lands made white settlement possible. The importation of Indian labour for the construction of a railway through Kenya, the presence of a white minority and the existence of a considerable native population have created, in Kenya, the same problems which still exist in South Africa. As Nyasaland, a Scotch colony on the border of Rhodesia, had been declared a British Protectorate in 1890, British influence extended from Egypt to the Cape in a long line broken only by the German colony of Tanganyika, or German East Africa. On the west coast, in addition to the old slave stations of Gambia, Senegal and the Gold Coast, Nigeria had been made a British Protectorate. Though an unhealthy region of damp coastal forests and a dry interior, Nigeria, under the administration of Lord Lugard, has undergone extraordinary development, and has a growing export trade in cocoa, cotton, hides and oil-producing nuts. Due east, on the south coast of the Gulf of Aden, is the isolated territory of British Somaliland, occupied during the Mahdi's reign of terror, and eventful only because the Mad Mullah of Somaliland, a Holy Man of the interior, obstinately refused to be beaten until, in 1920, a squadron of aeroplanes completed the task.

Thus Great Britain emerged from the "Scramble for Africa" with a protective authority over, *or* in colonial



relation with, the most productive African areas. France had advanced from Algiers and established a claim over the Sahara desert, the western and central Sudan, and the western equatorial region of forest and fever. The Congo was claimed for Belgium by Leopold II, who revived the slave trade with the Portuguese colony of Angola. Italy, too, had spread across the Mediterranean into Tripoli, or Libya, and was advancing from the borders of British Somaliland into Abyssinia.

The most unfortunate element in this long story is the tendency of nations to develop their own interests to the exclusion of the interests of other nations. This is a short-sighted policy, based on an antiquated mercantilism, in that it fails to recognise that individual prosperity depends on general prosperity. Moreover, it paved the way for the Great War of 1914-1918, and in 1939 was again partly responsible for plunging the world into another such catastrophe. Egypt had grown increasingly restive under British control and was demanding independence. With reservations this was granted in 1922. The Suez Canal, the protection of European residents in Egypt, and the control of the Sudan, where the waters of the Upper Nile are used for the irrigation both of Egypt and of the Sudan, provide a residue of unsolved problems. By the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, Germany lost her African colonies, of which Tanganyika passed under the protection of Britain, thereby fulfilling Cecil Rhodes' dream of a continuous line of territory under the control or partial control of Britain. While, perhaps, this idea was natural enough in the 'nineties, it may have become clear by now that "there is something wrong with it somewhere"

CHAPTER XVI

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

SOMETHING OF THE LAND and people of India, and of the way in which the British East India Company became the chief power in that mysterious land, has already been told—sufficient at least to show how different is the story of the growth of British authority in India from all other stories of oversea development by European peoples. In Canada, the U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand, white people found almost empty lands where they could settle without very serious opposition from natives. In Africa, the geographical factors which made any general European settlement impossible had prevented the majority of the varied native tribes from developing beyond a primitive barbarism. In India about one hundred and fifty thousand British people, officers, Civil servants, traders, and soldiers, spend a few

□ **BRITISH : about 150,000**

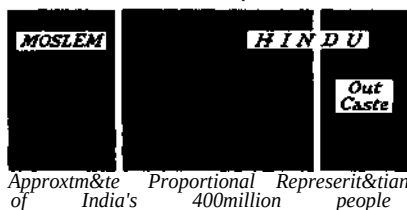


Fig. 160.—The Population of India.

years of their lives amongst about four hundred million native peoples, a fifth of the human race, jealous of their own peculiar and ancient culture, and developing rapidly a sentiment of nationalism.

When Clive left India in January 1767, he left the East India Company in control of the revenues of Bengal, a company exercising sovereign power, but a sovereign power without responsibility and with every temptation to abuse it. The company's servants were corrupt, and both England and the company were hated as tyrants.

It was one of the very greatest of Englishmen, Warren Hastings, who first adopted the revolutionary principle that the policy of the British in India should be based on the consideration of the natives' interests. In 1772 Warren Hastings was Governor of Bengal. Two years later, by Lord North's Regulating Act, he was appointed Governor-General, with authority over the Governors of Madras and Bombay. The abuses inherent in Clive's system of Dual Control, of sovereign power without responsibility, worried him. In a letter written in 1772 he said : " Will you believe that the boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country . . collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice, and rulers, heavy rulers of the people ? "* Though opposed by members of the Council, by members of the Company who profited from the system, and by enemies in England, Hastings succeeded in purifying the system of its worst abuses, in establishing*an equal and impartial system of justice, and in creating a sense of responsibility towards the people of India. From his private purse he financed schools and built a music gallery.

He hated war, and once wrote : " Those who have seen, as I did, in a time of profound peace, the wretched inhabitants of the Carnatic, of every age, sex, and condition, tumultuously thronging round the walls of Fort St. George, and lying for many successive days and nights on the burning soil, without covering or food, on a casual rumour, falsely excited, of an approaching enemy, will feelingly attest the truth of the contrast which I have exhibited."! But though Hastings " professed the doctrine of peace," he " refused to make sacrifices to it," and felt compelled to declare war against the wild Mahrattas of central India, and Hyder Ali of Mysore, with whom they had formed an aggressive alliance. These wars necessitated increased exactions from subject princes, and, mainly on these grounds, Hastings' enemies charged

* To Jbsias Dupre, March 26, 1772. See Ramsay Muir: *Making of British India: Longman, 1917, p. 109.*

† Ibid: p. 158.

him before the House of Commons with having abused his authority. How unjust were the charges is shown by the spontaneous petitions sent on his behalf by Indian peoples themselves. The inhabitants of Benares wrote "He laid the foundations of justice and the pillars of the law. In every shape, we, the inhabitants of this country, during the time of his administration, lived in ease and peace ... In every way he cherished us in honour and credit."*

The main result of this tragic persecution of so great a man was that it aroused the British Government to the necessity of taking more direct control of Indian affairs, and in 1784 Pitt's India Act created a new Department of State, the Board of Control, which was to supervise the actions of the Company's Directors. After 1793 the President of the Board was made directly responsible for the government of British India.

The attitude of the British Government was that the Company should avoid any further territorial responsibilities, and Pitt's Act stated that "the extension of dominion" was "repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation." But this policy of non-intervention, occurring at the time when Napoleon's dreams of the East had restimulated French intrigue in India, led the native princes to believe that England was a waning Power, and encouraged them to join the French. Hyder Ali's son, Tipu Sahib, the "Tiger of Mysore", invited French officers to reorganise his armies, signed a treaty with the French, and formed an aggressive alliance with the Mahrattas and with the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Further non-intervention was obviously impossible, and Lord Mornington, later the Marquess of Wellesley, and elder brother of the Duke of Wellington, determined to make the British power supreme in India, once and for all. "Citizen" Tipu and the Nizam were crushed and forced to sign treaties of "subsidiary alliance," which meant that they had to maintain, at their expense, British armies of

* Ibid: pp. 164-5.

occupation. In the same way Lord Mornington established British authority along the whole of the Ganges valley. Between these two groups of subordinate States lay the great confederacy of Mahratta princes, and, profiting by their quarrels, Mornington restored the deposed Head of the Confederacy, the Peshwa, in return for another "subsidiary alliance."

Alarmed at this sudden creation of what was, in fact, a British Empire of India, the Company's Directors recalled Wellesley in 1805, and instructed his successor that there must be no more conquest and no more interference with the Mahrattas. However determined a Governor-General may have been, when in England, to avoid war, as soon as he reached India he found that he had little choice, for

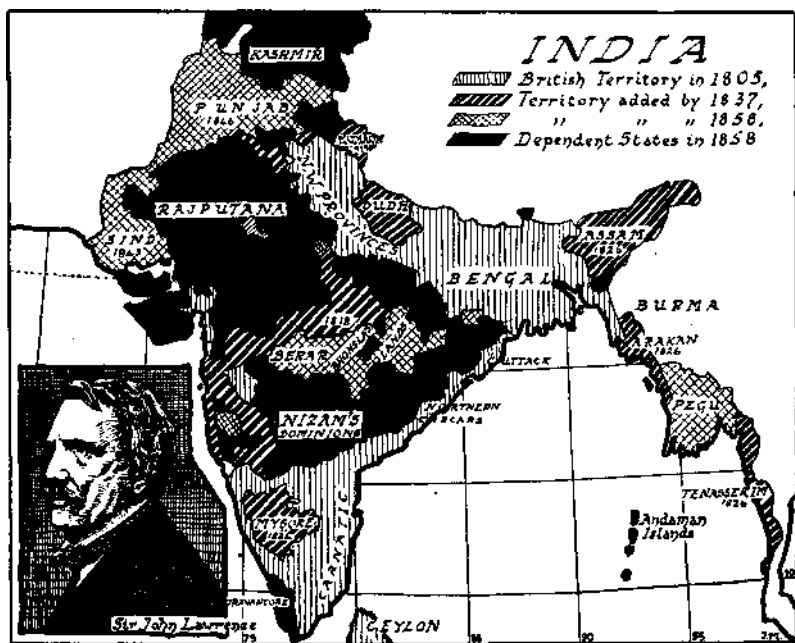
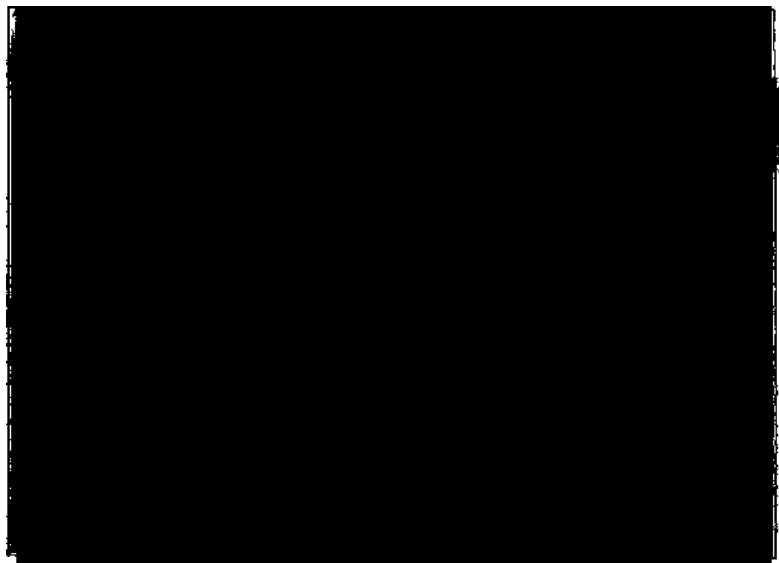


fig. 161.—India before the Mutiny

aggressive and hostile tribes had to be subdued in self-defence, if the Company were to remain in India at all. Lord Moira, afterwards the Marquess of Hastings, finding the hostility of the Mahrattas intolerable, crushed them, thereby extending British power to the Indus. Similarly his successor, Lord Amherst, was compelled to attack the Burmese, who had conquered Assam and who, in 1823, were attacking Bengal. The Burmese War added Assam, the coastal strip of Arakan and that of Tenasserim to the British responsibilities.

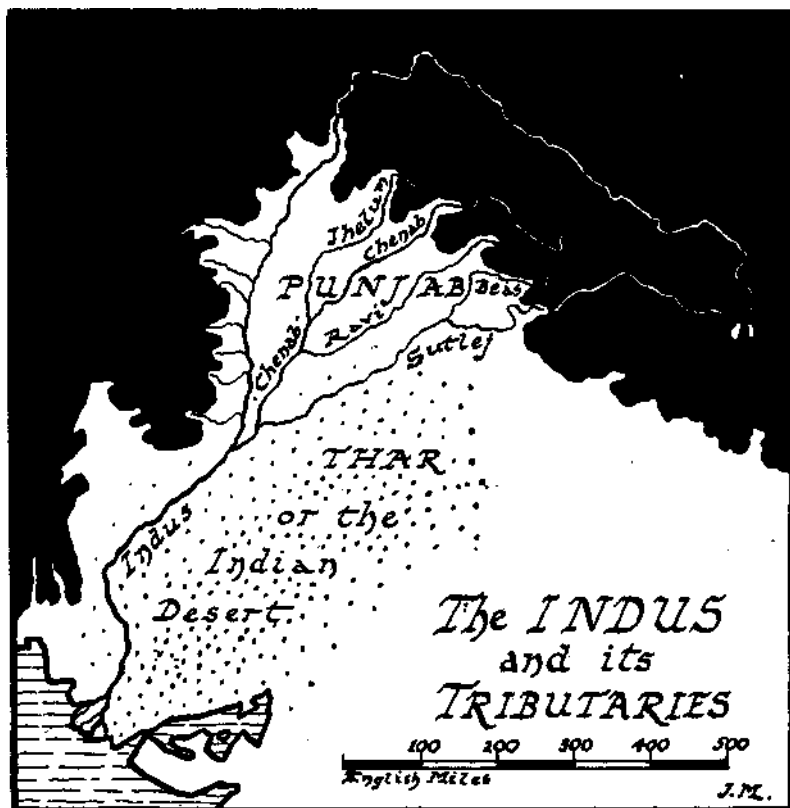
From 1826 to 1841 was a period of peace. A new India Act, passed in 1833 by the Reformed Parliament, ended the trading function of the East India Company and converted it into an instrument of government. The growing humanitarianism of England was reflected in the principle that "the interests of native subjects are to be preferred to those of Europeans whenever the two come in conflict." Moreover, by the Act, "natives were not to be debarred from any office"



[By courtesy of Mr. F. Deaville Walker]

Fig. 162.—Himalayan Scenery.

Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, expressed the spirit of the Act by vigorous reforms. A single system of law, mainly the work of Macaulay, was established, and encouragement was given to the teaching of English instead of Indian languages. Bentinck also had the courage to attack certain ancient Hindu practices which were abhorrent to the European, Sutte (or Sati), the burning alive of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres, was declared illegal, and the Thugs (or Thagi), who regarded murder as a religious rite, were attacked.



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Fig. 163.—The Indus and its Tributaries.

This peaceful introduction of European civilisation into India was interrupted by trouble on the North-West Frontier. The Indus and its tributaries reach the sea through three contrasted regions, each of which has its characteristic people. The mountain regions of the north and north-west were the home of the wild Afghan tribes ; the fertile Punjab, watered by the Indus and its four great tributaries, was the home of the Sikhs, and there Ranjit Singh had created a formidable army under European adventurers; leaving the Punjab the Indus flows through the Sind, which was inhabited by Mohammedan desert dwellers.

Disturbed by Russian intrigues in Afghanistan, Lord Auckland, in 1838, replaced the Afghan ruler, Dost Mohammed, by a friendly prince named Shah Shuja, and to maintain him in power established a British Resident with troops at Kabul. In 1841 the Resident was murdered, and the fifteen thousand British, including women and children, with insufficient food or clothing, began the long journey from Kabul, in a snow storm. Exposure in the mountains and rifle fire from hidden Afghans destroyed the whole company save one solitary survivor.

This tragic disaster had almost incalculable results in that it destroyed the Hindu belief in the invincibility of British troops. Immediately the Sindis rose in revolt, and Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded Auckland as Governor-General in 1842, sent Sir Charles Napier against them, and Sind was annexed. Lord Ellenborough was recalled and the old command was issued to his successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, that this aggressive policy must cease. The order was as useless as ever, for Hardinge landed to find the Sikhs of the Punjab invading British territory. He fought four battles against them, and annexed the Punjab, which became a Protectorate with Sir Henry Lawrence as British representative. The Sikhs rebelled again in 1848, but in that year there arrived in India a Governor-General destined to bring the power of the East India Company to its climax.

Fig. 164.—The River Indus at Kalabagh in the Punjab.

To Lord Dalhousie the conception of an Indian Empire was something splendid and magnificent, an ideal which could bring peace and prosperity, protection and unity, to a divided and distressed people. Lord Dalhousie had all the energy of the enthusiast and the idealist, together with the practical vision of a great administrator, and he believed that the fulfilment of his ideal involved three practical policies. These were the extension of British authority over the whole of India; the bringing of all Indian States into equal relation with the central British authority; and the increased introduction of western civilisation into India. Dalhousie's very zeal was unfortunate in that his attempt to bring about a Golden Age in India in the eight years of his administration created a feeling of unrest and fear.

Dalhousie began by crushing the Sikh revolt, definitely annexing the Punjab, and beginning to reform and develop it. John Lawrence, brother of Sir Henry, was made responsible for its rule, and under him the Sikhs rapidly became Britain's most trusted friends in India.

In 1852 Dalhousie waged a second war, this time against the "most arrogant and overbearing" Burmese, and Lower Burma was annexed. It was impossible, however, for Dalhousie to carry out completely his first and second objects, of bringing the whole of India directly and equally under British rule, as the independence of many Indian princes had been guaranteed by the Company, and these princes were loyal and friendly to Britain. Nor could they all be deposed on the grounds of misgovernment. But wherever any circumstances afforded Dalhousie an excuse for annexation, he acted. He refused, for example, to recognise the custom whereby princes had adopted heirs, and regarded the territory of any prince who had no direct heir to have "lapsed" to the British authority.

Great progress was made in the suppression of suttee, of the Thugs, and of the "Meria" sacrifices, "a horrible rite, which consisted in the sacrifice, with every circumstance of atrocity, of young human victims."

Of Dalhousie's many western innovations, the improved methods of speed of transport and communication, together with the increased use of the English language, did most to create a sense of unity in India. A postal system was organised throughout India, as a single department, with cheap rates of postage, and four thousand miles of electric telegraph wires were erected and placed in working order in little over two years. Canals for irrigation and navigation were opened. Of the Ganges Canal, which is five hundred and twenty-five miles in length, it has been said that it is "a work which stands unequalled in its class and character among the efforts of civilised nations." New industries were developed, scientific methods applied to forestry, ports and harbours reconstructed, and an attempt was made to produce a surplus of food in fertile regions to avoid the hardship of famine in others. How much India benefited from these improve-

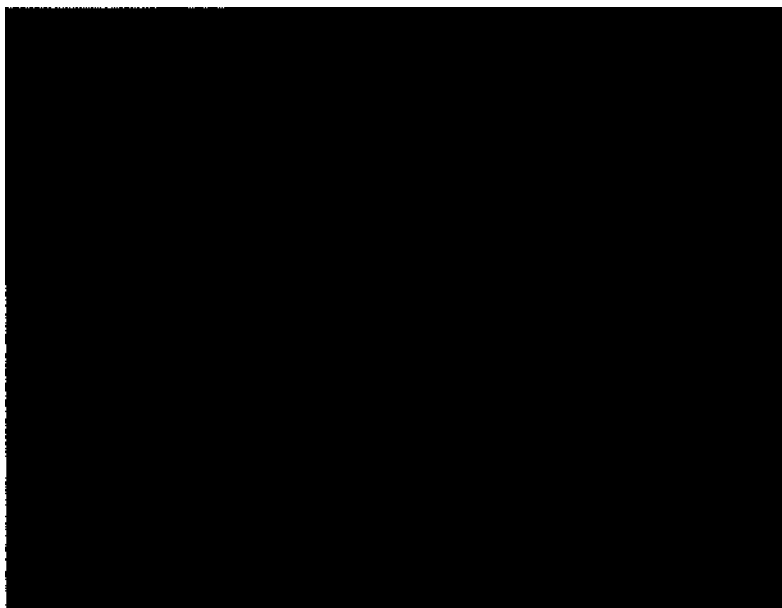


Fig. 165.—Street scene in Peshawar.

TFox Photo

ments is shown by the fact that her exports and imports were doubled. In the Minute or final report which Dalhousie wrote at the conclusion of his Governor-Generalship in 1856, he expressed the hope and belief that India would continue to develop peacefully. Yet almost immediately occurred the tragic catastrophe of the Indian Mutiny, and the East India Company, which had achieved so much, "expired in the flames."

The extent and the speed of Dalhousie's reforms had created a restless feeling of alarm in India, not amongst the millions of hungry peasants, but amongst the educated Hindus who were jealous of India's own and ancient civilisation. Moreover, his annexations, especially that of Oudh, appeared unjust to the natives and created a class of dispossessed princes and officials eager for the restoration of their power. Actually, however, the revolt was mainly a sepoy mutiny, confined at first to the Upper Ganges but spreading later into Central India.

The sepoys had objected to fighting in Burma, they outnumbered the English by eight to one, and, since the Afghan disaster, had lost faith in British invincibility. The use of a new rifle, with a greased cartridge, created a useful opportunity for the spreading of discontent, for the Mohammedan believed that the grease was made from the fat of the pig, and he dared not even pronounce the word. The Hindu believed it to contain the fat of the cow, which was to him a sacred animal.

The first outbreak occurred on May 10th, 1857, when three regiments at Meerut murdered their British officers and marched to Delhi, where they were joined by the native garrisons. In a desperate act of heroism a number of British soldiers blew up the powder magazine. One of them, before he died, just had time to telegraph news of the mutiny to the Punjab, along Dalhousie's new telegraph wires. As soon as news reached the Punjab, John Lawrence disarmed the sepoys, and, relying on the loyalty of the Sikhs, began

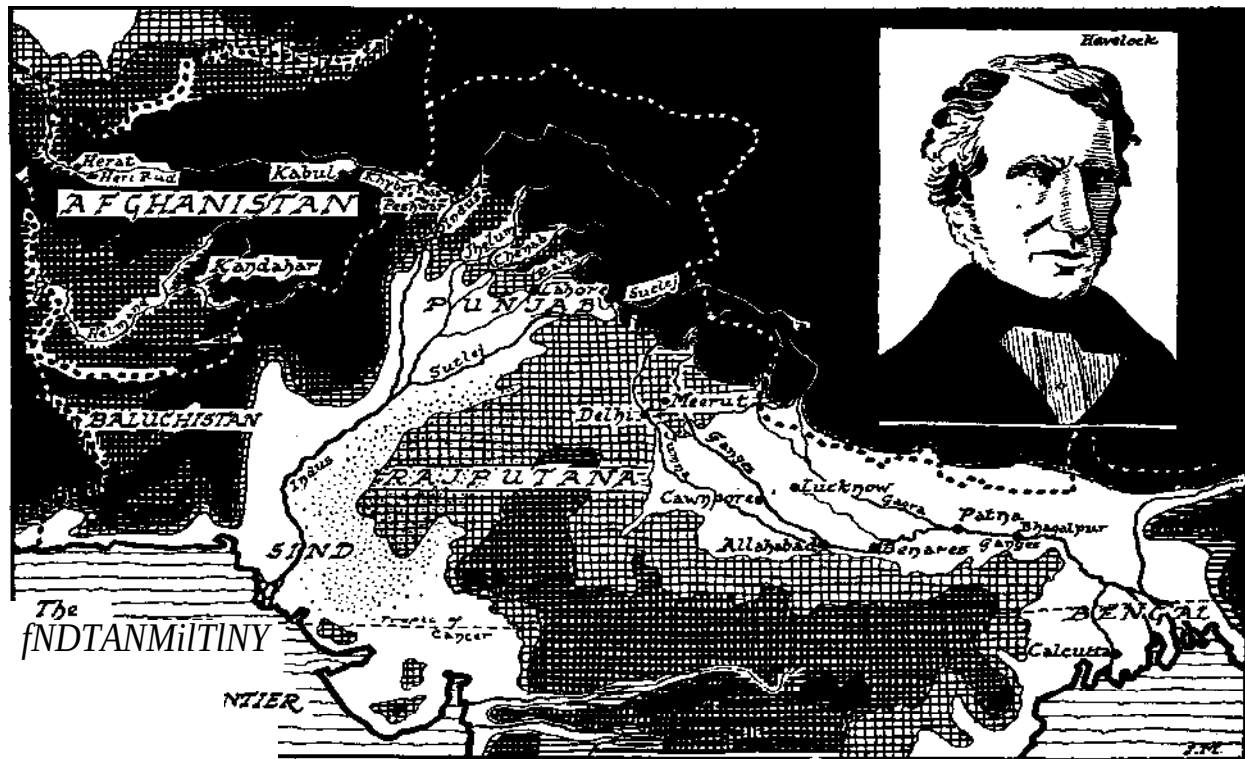


Fig. 166.—The Indian Mutiny and the North West Frontier.

the long and dangerous march to Delhi at the head of a Sikh army. But already the revolt had begun to spread along the Ganges valley, and a small British force at Cawnpore, with women and children, after a brave attempt to defend themselves, accepted the offer of a safe retreat—only to be treacherously murdered. The bodies of the women and children were thrown into a well.

At Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, the garrison of two thousand, including loyal sepoys and a thousand civilians with their families, was besieged. Meanwhile John Lawrence, reinforced by another body of Sikhs under John Nicholson, recaptured Delhi. Nicholson was amongst the slain. At the same time a force was advancing from Bengal, under Havelock, to relieve Lucknow. After fighting four desperate battles, Havelock reached Cawnpore, to find that the women and children had been massacred on the previous day. Lucknow had to endure two more months before Havelock hacked his way into it; but his weary and scanty troops were powerless against the masses of native rebels and he, too, was besieged in turn.

At last help arrived from England under Sir Colin Campbell and the Ganges valley was recaptured. But the revolt had spread to the Mahrattas of Central India. Not until 1858 was it finally crushed. The Governor-General, Lord Canning, refused to permit the continuance of the savage atrocities which had marked the struggle on both sides, and was called, in mockery, "Clemency Canning."

The mutiny ended the long career of "John Company"; it was abolished by the India Act of 1858. -The Indian Empire was at last brought under the direct control of the British Government; all religions of India were to be protected and natives were declared eligible to all offices.

For twenty years India enjoyed unbroken peace. The railway system was extended and new schemes of irrigation were developed. The ability to bring rapidly surplus food to famine-stricken areas began to reduce the severity of India's worst peril, and the population began to increase



[Fox Photo

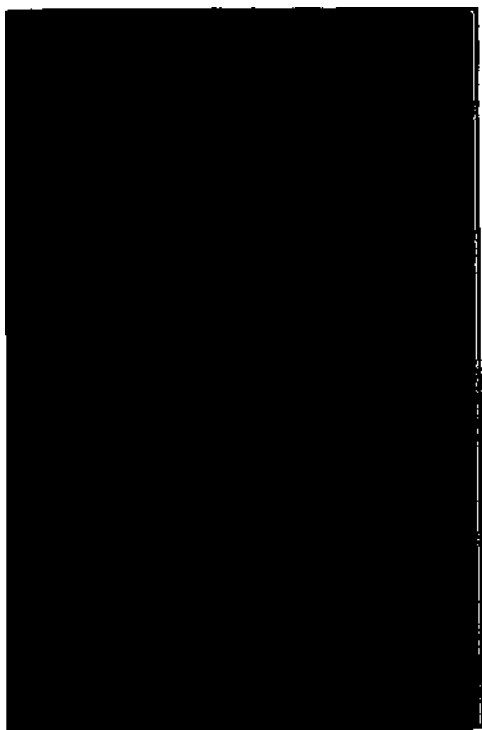
Fig. 167.—The Khyber Pass.

rapidly in consequence. Universities were founded at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which quickly grew into cities on the European model.

This peaceful development was interrupted by two entirely different kinds of trouble : the revival of hostilities on the North-West Frontier, and the development of a national sentiment in India itself. Disraeli, full of zeal for the Empire, sent out Lord Lytton to establish British control over Baluchistan and to establish military controls at the Bolan Pass and at Quetta, to ensure the safety of that section of the North-West Frontier.

This action stirred the Afghans into revolt, but a Second Afghan War reduced their country to a vassal State, and a British Resident was appointed. The Afghans replied by murdering him and they had to be reconquered, this time by General (afterwards) Lord Roberts, in 1880. Afghanistan was abandoned, but the British retained control of the main frontier passes. In the east, fear inspired by French advances from Indo-China led to the acquisition of Burma, after the Third Burmese War, and after this the only vulnerable part of India was the North-West Frontier,

SO long as Britain



(Photo by Elliott & Fry)

Fig. 168.—Lord Roberts, in 1880.

retained command of the sea. Consequently Lord Kitchener, in 1903, reorganised the Indian army with the defence of this frontier as the main consideration.

The second trouble, the growth of nationalism, was and is the most formidable problem of British India. The development of means of communication between distant parts of India and the ability to use a common language inevitably developed a sense of unity which had never before existed in India, and this feeling was strengthened by acquaintance with English literature, which had so often spoken the language-of freedom. Five hundred years before, an English poet, John Barbour, sang :

Fredome, mar to prise
Than all the gold in warld that is.

The movement was necessarily restricted to the educated minority of the Indian peoples, and to the Hindus, for the Mohammedans, less numerous, feared the loss of British protection. The movement was, further, divided between those who were purely nationalist, hoping for an independent India and for the survival of Indian culture, and those who merely wanted self-government, after the western fashion, such as had been granted to British colonial settlements.

In 1877 Queen Victoria, on the advice of Disraeli, assumed the title of Empress of India, and a magnificent Durbar of Indian princes was held to do her'homage. Another was held in 1903 to celebrate the accession of Edward VII, in 1901, as King-Emperor, but the elaborate pageantry failed to hide the fact that the national movement had become formidable, and was expressing itself in a campaign of assassination.

Pageants !—Let the world revere us
For our people's rights and laws,
And the breasts of civic heroes
Bared in Freedom's holy cause.*

* Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) : Men of England.

Still the mass of the Indian people remained loyal to the British, so much so in fact that during the Great War most of the British forces were withdrawn from India, and the British armies were reinforced by troops offered by the independent Indian princes. But if the Indian people were capable of fighting for the Empire and for democracy it seemed apparent to them that they were capable of exercising the rights of citizenship, and in 1917 the Montagu-Chelmsford Report propounded a scheme which found expression in the New India Act of 1919. The scheme introduced an experimental system of Dyarchy or Dual Monarchy in the provincial States, whereby the administration of agriculture, education, public health and public works was "transferred" to the Indian authority, while the maintenance of order and the control of the greater portion of the finances were "reserved" to the authority of the British Governor of the Province. The Central Government of India remained entirely with the British, and the Indian Legislative Assembly had power only to debate and to vote.

The scheme was both unsatisfactory in itself and doomed by events which embittered the attitude of the peoples of India. Serious riots broke out in Amritsar, in the Punjab, in which many people lost their lives. A meeting which afterwards took place, in defiance of orders, was dispersed by gunfire. The officer responsible, however, was recalled to England and an enquiry was held.

Before this event neither the national nor the political movement had influenced the mass of Indian peasants, who continued to live their squalid lives in relative indifference. But the Amritsar tragedy roused Gandhi, and Gandhi, a saint, a scholar and a genius, rapidly became a power amongst the millions of India's poor. Gandhi preached a crusade of passive resistance, and practised himself the rigorous self-denial which he taught was necessary in the individual before India could deserve self-government as a nation. Gandhi took up, too, the cause of the millions of "untouchables", and himself wore the garb of the poorest of the peasants.

Regarding as "the problem of problems" the enforced idleness of India's peasants during the season when the fields needed no attention, Gandhi encouraged the development of home industries, with the result that many markets began to be closed to British goods.

The experimental system of Dyarchy, established in 1919, was to be revised at the end of ten years, and in 1928 Sir John Simon became chairman of a Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of Indian unrest. No Indian had been invited to sit on the Commission, which was doomed therefore from the start. It completed its report in 1930 and Gandhi was invited to attend a Round Table Conference for the revision of the system of government. The aim of the Conference was to turn India into a Federation of selfgoverning States, on the model of the U.S.A., and the first task, therefore, was to create a Federal Assembly, to include representatives of the British and Indian States.

No agreement was reached and Gandhi returned to India to find that Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, had taken a firm stand against the leader of the Indian Nationalist movement. Gandhi himself was imprisoned, but in prison



[Central Press.

Fig 169.- -Mahatma Gandhi.

he* Remained a power, and the repression merely increased the hostility to Britain. When finally the scheme of federation was published in the famous White Paper, the Central Government was made responsible to the Indian Legislative Assembly, instead of being responsible, as before, to Westminster. But eighty per cent, of the revenues of India were still reserved to the British authority for the army and the Civil Service.

The fundamental problem of India remains, however, an economic one. There are still millions of starving peasants in India, and millions of dirty huts and hovels, with the



Fig. 170.—A Mountain Village.

earth as a floor, and where a straw bed, a wooden box and littered oddments constitute the only furniture. Great and wealthy cities have risen with the development of industry, but this development has not improved the lot of India's hungry millions. In the cities children work for long hours for a mere pittance, to return at night to crowded rooms in fever-ridden slums, where two out of every three children die in their first year. Yet India has abundant natural wealth and abundant storage of coal and electric power. There can be little doubt that the future of India depends on an unselfish economic development of India even more than on the successful working of the new federal constitution established by the Government of India Act of 1935.

Two years later a further step was taken towards Dominion Status, that is, towards the recognition of the actual independence of India, when parliamentary government was established in the eleven provinces of British India. The first elections revealed the astonishing growth of the Indian Nationalist Party. With the outbreak of the war against Nazi-Germany in 1939 the problem of Britain's relation to India entered on a more difficult phase and became a matter of world interest. Could Great Britain, who with France had entered the war to win for nations the right to live their own lives in peace and in their own way, so long as such freedom did not interfere with the liberty of others—could Great Britain with such an aim deny the same privilege to India when India was demanding it with such vehemence? The many who held this view were strengthened in their attitude by the fact that India was contributing so wholeheartedly to Britain's war effort. In addition to the contribution made by the regular army of 150,000 men, volunteers "from every caste, community, and walk in life"* came forward so rapidly that they could not all be immediately absorbed. The Indian States offered men and money; the Nizam of Hyderabad provided a complete squadron for the British Air Force; His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior placed his troops at the disposal of the king-emperor and appealed to his subjects for help in every possible way. It was easy for critics of Britain to suggest that India was worthy to fight for freedom but not considered worthy of liberty herself.

Unfortunately the problem was not so simple, and to have granted independence to India in 1939 would almost certainly have plunged India into a confusion and strife which would have left her defenceless against any nation anxious to usurp Britain's control. The body most vehement in its demands for independence, the Congress Party, though the most powerful organisation in India, and supported at the 1938

* L. F. Rushbrook Williams : *India To-Day* , *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Jan, 1940, p. 44.

elections by two-thirds of Britain's Indian subjects, could not claim to speak for the 400,000,000 peoples who make up India's mixed population, with "its medley of races, creeds, religions and languages ; its conflicting social systems ; its caste system ; the differences which separate both ends of the scale of its cultural standards, stretching as they do from the primitive aboriginal tribes to the highly-cultivated inhabitants of great modern cities."* Fifty millions of the poorer classes have denied the right of Congress to speak for them. The AMndia Moslem League, representing the majority of India's ninety millions of Mohammedan people, have similarly repudiated the claim of the Congress. Clearly a completely Hindu State would hardly appeal to the Moslem minority. Moreover, the independent Indian States, with a population of eighty millions, prefer the relative security and stability afforded by British protection to the uncertain future of an India left to its fate. The appointment of a Moslem President by the Congress in March, 1940—Maulana Abul Kalam Asad—was an astute move, but not one which affects the truth that the majority of the Moslems are opposed to the aims of the Congress party.

Actually the Congress Party itself was not united. The more moderate of its leaders were increasingly alarmed at the violent excesses of its extreme members. To gain the support of the masses, mostly illiterate and certainly in need of help, the Congress had made the most reckless election pledges. These, by their very impracticability, have served only to create dangerous unrest and violence amongst the disappointed and impoverished masses. Even Mr. Gandhi has confessed "how uncertain is the control of the Congress Government over the forces of disorder."***

Clearly Great Britain's problem in India was a difficult one, nor at the time of writing has it yet been solved. The question is no longer ^a whether England has the right to keep India, but rather whether she has the right to leave it."†

* Ibid : p. 48.

** Sir Michael O'Dwyer: *The Indian Congress Claim for Independence ; The Nineteenth Century and After*, March 1940, p. 295.

| Ibid : p. 296.

CHAPTER XVII

CHINA AND JAPAN

ONE OF THE LEAST PLEASANT attributes of history is that it sometimes tears down the veil of make-believe to reveal a much less attractive reality. Unfortunately this is true of China, even more than it is true of India; yet it may be well for a moment to gaze at the veil.

When Marco Polo returned from China in 1295 he told of a land of beauty and colour; of fairy-like cities fabulously wealthy, with quaint buildings, and the most beautiful women in the world, a land of "almond trees and flowers, of silks and jewels and perfumes. China, to Europeans, has always seemed something like that, a willow-pattern land of quaint beauty, a dream-world of unreality. Nor has this view been entirely dispelled for those who have looked more closely at China through her art. Her beautiful silks on

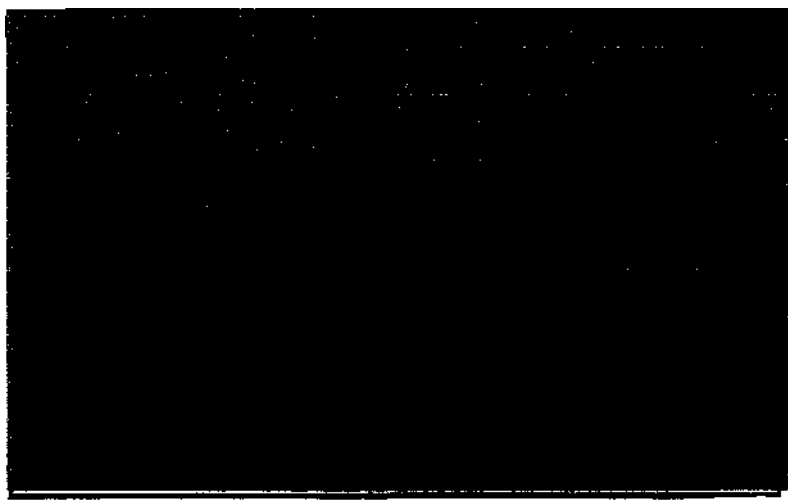


Fig. 171.—A Chinese Farmer, ploughing in his Rice Field.

[E.N.A.]



Fig. 172.—China and Japan.

which impossible dragons "gyre and gimble," and her fanciful paintings show reality as the handmaid of design, as when mountains and trees seem to float away into a whimsical patterning. More than anything else Chinese poetry, even in translation, reveals the calm dignity, the self-control, the patient courage, the deep feeling and the sense of superior forcefulness which are characteristics of a civilisation so much older than our own and which Bertrand Russell has



[From a 12th century painting in the British Museum.

Fig. 173.—Chinese Art.

described as "superior to ours in all that makes for human happiness."

It is not that this picture of China is wholly imaginary or untrue; in itself a veil is a reality, but it hides the much less pleasant truth that there are four hundred million Chinese, of whom over three hundred millions depend on the land for a scanty existence; that in times of drought millions dig for roots in a dried and dusty soil, and that millions die then

of starvation; that misery and poverty, like grim spectres, haunt the cities; that China, torn by rebellion and civil war, betrayed by her leaders, robbed by military tyrants, exploited by Europeans, bombed and shelled by Japanese invaders, has had to endure an overwhelming accumulation of tragic evils.

The Chinese always hated foreigners and despised merchants, and though they had, for centuries, traded with the distant west, they had rigidly excluded foreign intrusion. With the development of the English East India Company Chinese trade, mainly centred in Canton and dealing chiefly with the export of tea, silk and porcelain, had become a monopoly of the Company, which sold opium in return. In 1796 the importation of opium into China was forbidden, but the prohibition was evaded. In 1833 the East India Company lost its trading function *and the Chinese trade passed into the hands of private traders, uncontrolled by



[A Reproduction of a portion of an old rice-paper print.
Fig. 174—Chinese Art.

any such regulations as those which had disciplined the 'Company's trade. Open defiance of the opium ban by these traders led to action by the Chinese, who ordered the surrender and destruction of all the opium stores, valued at various estimates up to £5,000,000. The British Superintendent agreed to the destruction of the opium but rejected the further demand that future traders should be executed. The quarrel was more than a question of opium, for the Chinese were determined to exclude foreign traders and the traders were equally determined not to be excluded. From 1840 to 1842 China and England were at war. By the Treaty of Nanking, which ended the "Opium War," China had to cede the island of Hong Kong to Britain and to admit European traders to five "Treaty Ports": Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Shanghai and Ningpoo.

The Treaty opened China to European traders and rapidly representatives of foreign Powers opened depots in the Treaty ports. In 1857 the Chinese crew of a small coasting" schooner, the *Arrow*, was seized for piracy, in the Canton river. The *Arrow* had been flying the British flag, and the British consul demanded the release of the crew and reparation. The former demand but not the latter was granted, and the British fleet began to bombard Canton and some forts on the Canton river. The Chinese replied by murdering a number of British and French sailors, whereupon the British sent out a force, which, however, had to be diverted to assist in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. The war ended in 1858, when by the Treaty of Tientsin the Chinese had to permit the establishment of a British Embassy at Peking, to open the river Yangtse and eight more ports to foreign trade. The refusal of the Chinese to carry out the terms of the treaty led to the renewal of the war, with outrages on both sides, and, in 1860, to the opening of the port of Tientsin to British trade.

European influence, especially that of Britain who controlled the Yangtse Kiang, rapidly increased in China, and the more important of the Treaty ports soon began to look

MAN AND HIS WORLD



Fig. 175 '—China and the Great Powers.

like European cities. France, by the conquest of Indo-China, Annam and Tong-king, had created a subject State in the south. In the north Russia extended her frontier by the seizure of the Amur Province, in the south of which she built the port of Vladivostock.

Meanwhile Japan, consisting of a group of mountainous islands and about five hundred volcanic fragments, had been the scene of the most amazing transformation in history. Forced in 1858 to admit American traders, and impressed by the superior efficiency of American and European methods, the Japanese decided to discard their age-old customs and to adopt the newer technique of the west. Voluntarily opening her ports to European and American traders, inviting English, French, German and American experts to introduce their methods of defence, industry, transport, education and finance, Japan *in a single decade emerged from mediaevalism into a modern industrial State. In 1894 Japan, too apt a pupil, startled Europe by the ease with which she wrested from China the Liao Tung peninsula,



(Reproduced from an old print)

Fig. 176.—Old Japan. A street in Tokio.

which guards the approach to Peking by sea, the island of Formosa, and a recognition of the independence of Korea.

Then occurred one of those unfortunate series of incidents which have done so much to destroy European prestige in the East. Russia, France and Germany, after posing as champions of Chinese independence, and after forcing Japan to restore the Liao Tung peninsula, displayed their selfish hypocrisy in an undignified scramble for Chinese territory. Russia seized Port Arthur, part of the territory she had denied to Japan ; Germany seized the harbour of Kiau Chau, with mining and railway rights ; France seized the harbour of Kwang Chow in the south. Britain protested, but finding her protests ignored, she joined in the scramble by seizing Wei Hai Wei, opposite to Port Arthur, and by developing it as a naval base. Chinese resentment at the threatened partition of their lands led to risings, known as the Boxer Rebellion, but European armies restored order and the crushed Chinese had to watch the growing fortifications at Shantung and Port Arthur, the growth of railways, and the unchecked exploitation of their land.

Japan had learned a bitter lesson and was eager for revenge against Russia. She was powerless to act alone, however, against a combined Europe. In 1902 Britain, seriously disturbed either by conscience or by the rapid development of German, French and Russian influence in China, signed a treaty with Japan, to check further exploitation and, in effect, to prevent French or German intervention should Japan and Russia go to war.

The Russo-Japanese War began, and ended, in 1904, and Japan's rapid and complete victory was one of the most influential events of modern times. That an eastern Power should so easily defeat a western quickened the loss of European prestige in Asia and encouraged the growing nationalism in India and amongst other non-European peoples. Russia, further weakened by revolution, ceased to alarm English statesmen, encouraged Germany and Austria

to develop their Balkan schemes, and frightened France, Russia's ally, into seeking British friendship.

The lesson was not lost on China where the increasing resentment against European exploitation was being welded into a national revolution by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. The Chinese revolution of 1911 was national, political and economic, in that it aimed at the complete exclusion of foreign influence, the formation of a democratic state, and the raising of the standard of life in China by a fairer distribution of the national wealth. This idealistic three-fold scheme was the programme of the revolutionary party which called itself Kuomintang.

The revolution succeeded in establishing a republic, but the power had simply been transferred to the army, and "war-lords" established themselves as independent provincial princes, who increased the burdens of their already impoverished "subjects" in order to make war on each other.

The Great War proved a shock to China and a godsend

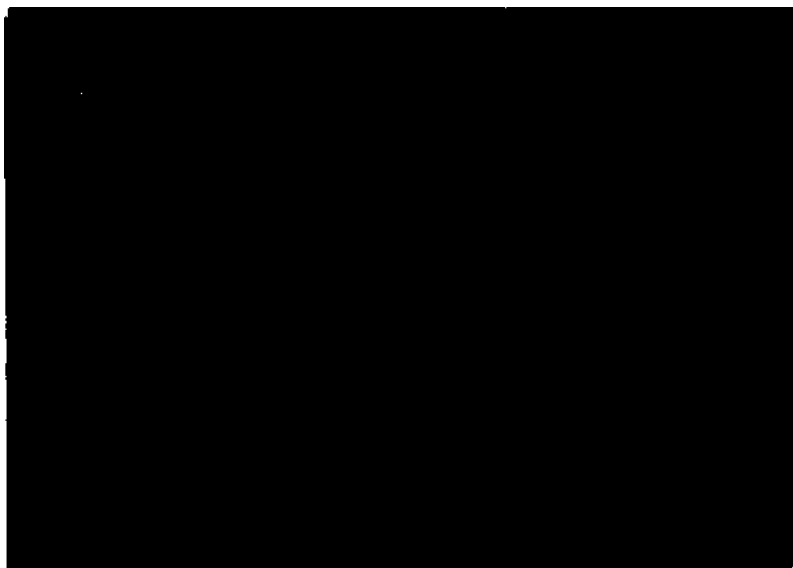


Fig. 177 —Modern Tokio. A street in Ilonjo, the industrial quarter.

[EA-A.]

to Japan. Both countries joined Britain and her allies, though China not until 1917, and Japan used the opportunity to amass a fortune by supplying munitions and by acting as the carrier of Asiatic trade. At the Peace Congress China asked for the restoration of Shantung, a province which Germany had seized, and for the revision of the treaties on which the European exploitation of China was based. Neither request was granted, but instead Shantung was given to Japan, together with a mandate of Germany's Pacific islands north of the Equator and a permanent seat on the League of Nations.

China's only hope was in Russia, which had overthrown its feudal and mediaeval regime and replaced it by a Communist organisation in which all labour, all national resources, all profit, were to be controlled for the benefit of the State. Accordingly, the Kuomintang was reorganised on the lines of the Russian system and an army was created, under Russian guidance, and equipped with Russian material.

While this movement was developing in southern China the war-lords in the north were fighting amongst themselves for the possession of Peking. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, though suffering from cancer, went north to try to gain the support of one of them, in 1925, but the brave old leader died in Peking. The leadership of the national movement fell to Chiang Kai Shek, a young officer who had been the Principal of the military college where the officers of the new Kuomintang army had been trained. He determined to act, and seized Hankow which held an invaluable position at the junction of the Han and the Yangtse, and was the terminus of a railway to Peking.

At the very moment of its initial success, the nationalist party split! Communism, on the Russian model, had been invaluable in helping to convert the Kuomintang into a disciplined body and in attracting workers and peasants from industry and the fields, but a communistic China was not what the merchants, or any who profited from the existing economic system, wanted. Neither Chiang nor

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen had ever approved of the application of communism to China, nor did Chiang intend to substitute Russian domination for that of a general foreign commercial control. Realising the Russian predominance in the party at Hankow, Chiang used the army he controlled to set up a rival government at Nanking. He then attacked the Hankow government, drove out the Russian leaders, and by means of terrorisation he proceeded to destroy the remnants of Chinese communism.

In 1927 Chiang completed his control by capturing Peking, whereupon he declared himself President of the Chinese Republic, with Nanking as his capital. He married Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's sister-in-law and declared himself the leader of the party of Kuomintang. In fact, however, he had betrayed every one of the three principles of that idealistic policy. Chiang's policy was not national, in that it looked to foreign alliances and to foreign loans for the development of China; he encouraged Europeans to buy Chinese land, and invited foreign industrialists into China. It was not a democratic movement but a military tyranny, far more ruthless, exacting and severe than any China had known. Finally, it was a betrayal of the economic policy of Kuomintang in that it was devoted to the interests of the land-owners, merchants, and industrial capitalists.

Such a betrayal could not hope to continue unchallenged, and it was inevitable that the main challenge should come from the communists whom Chiang had first used and then persecuted. Young Chinese went to Moscow to study Soviet organisation, and then returned to bring large areas of distressed China under the communist regime. Into this unfortunate and distressed land, where a fifth of the world's people were torn by civil war, oppressed by a corrupt and selfish commercialism, betrayed by a government based on principles which expressed the hope of a "New Life," for such is the meaning of Kuomintang, taxed to pay for the wars of rival war-lords and robbed by their soldiers, crushed by persecution—into this distressed land came Japan, knowing

exactly what she wanted, and taught by western Powers how to obtain it.

In 1931 Japan suddenly invaded Manchuria, rich in coal, iron and oil, in forests and pasture land, and in agricultural possibilities. There was, too, in Manchuria an important railway which Russia had built to connect the Trans-Siberian Railway, by a direct route from Chita to Vladivostock and by a branch line from Harbin, with Port Arthur.

After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan had obtained a lease of the branch line, and had begun the rapid development of a general railway system and of factories and ports, using Chinese labour for the enterprise. The Chinese war-lord who had established himself as ruler of Manchuria quarrelled with the Japanese, and was killed by a bomb as his train passed under a bridge guarded by Japanese soldiers. His successor continued the quarrel and the Japanese replied by invading and conquering Manchuria, by renaming it Manchukuo, and by declaring it an independent state under

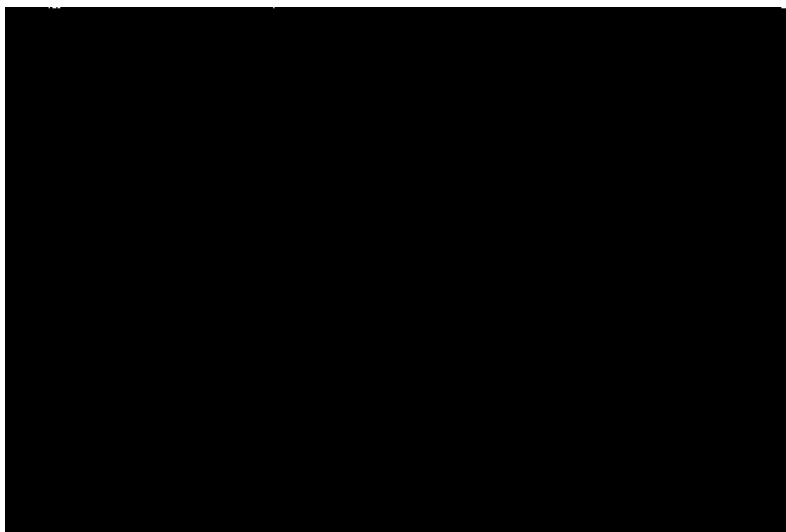


Fig. 178—An oil-prospecting station in Manchukuo.-

Japanese protection. Its independence was, of course, merely nominal,

All that the Chinese outside Manchuria had done had been to boycott Japanese traders, and in 1934 Japan sent a fleet to Shanghai to insist on the removal of the boycott. On the refusal of the Chinese, the Japanese bombarded Shanghai which, in addition to a million Chinese, had a large European population, and was under the consular government of nineteen foreign powers. When the League of Nations protested Japan gave notice of withdrawal from the League and proceeded to conquer Jehol.

To many Chinese, including Chiang, the Japanese menace was less serious than the Communist menace, and he made no resistance even when the Japanese captured Peking itself. Chiang's own control had shrunk to that of a few eastern provinces, while the Communists had rapidly developed in the west and centre of China. The south recognised neither Chiang nor the Communists and was governed from Canton. In 1937 Chiang, compelled by the Communists to take action, and believing that his territory would be the next to fall to Japan, joined the Communists and prepared for real resistance.

Determined and relentless the Japanese-advance continued. Before the end of the year Nanking and Shanghai had fallen and, in 1938, the north and east were captured. Advancing from the old haunt of pirates, Bias Bay, in the south-east, the Japanese captured Canton in October, hoping to isolate the British Colony of Hong Kong and to shut off China's main source of supplies.

Here, for a time, the story must end, in the middle, or perhaps at its beginning. Behind the tragic story of disunion and betrayal which made China an easier prey for the Japanese, was another and less noticeable revolution, in Chinese thought. Undet Hu Shih's guidance a new literature, written not in the classical Chinese language which few could learn to read or to write but in the spoken language of the people, has developed. With the acceptance of the spoken form of

words as the medium of literary expression, a new literature and a new philosophy have been brought within the reach of millions of people, whereas before the vast majority of Chinese people was wholly illiterate. The same developing freedom has begun to destroy many of the age-old customs and social conventions and to replace them with freedom of action and a new independence of outlook.

Both the developing nationalism and the steady advance of Japanese conquest produced a situation increasingly complicated by the presence of foreign elements in positions of authority in Chinese towns. Twenty-seven of the towns have been opened to foreign traders and in many these exercise considerable power. The foreign "concessions" have given to the United States and to the European Powers specific areas in the most important towns, which areas are controlled as separate municipalities. The concessions, foreign investments, and foreign banks remain as evidence of a more durable invasion than that of arms.

Hu Shih had taken no part in the political revolution, believing that no development of China could be possible so long as the people remained ignorant. When it is remembered that China has a population of four hundred millions, and that she is only just beginning to emerge from the dust of the centuries, there can be no doubt that the end of the story has not yet been told.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHANGES IN THE MOSLEM WORLD

BETWEEN NORTH-WEST INDIA and the Eastern Mediterranean lie the desert lands which were the home of Islam—the world of Turks, Arabs, Persians, Jews, Kurds and Iraqis. The ancient overland trading routes to India and China gave these lands a European interest during the Middle Ages, and this interest has been reawakened in recent times by the development of aerial routes and by the presence of valuable oil deposits there.

Europe has never lost interest in this overland route to India, and the existence of a Christian population in the Balkan peninsula, subject to the tyrannous rule of a Turkish and Mohammedan minority, had provided reasonable excuse for interested Powers to intervene in Turkey's dominions. Russia under Catherine II had captured territory from Turkey and claimed to be the protector of the Greek Christians. Napoleon had invaded Egypt and Syria and interested France in the Near East. When in 1821 the Christians of the Morea had risen against the Turks and claimed an independent Greece the sympathy which the British people felt for the revolution found little support from the government, afraid lest little independent kingdoms in the Balkans might fall a prey to Russia.

Suspicion of Russian ambition seemed justified in 1833. Mehemet Ali, an Albanian subject of the Porte or Turkish Government, who had been sent to protect Egypt from Napoleon, had settled there virtually as an independent sovereign. In 1830 he claimed actual independence as a reward for his help to Turkey in the Greek War of Independence, and Turkey's refusal provided Russia with

in

another opportunity for interference. The main result of the intervention was the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, in 1833, an arrangement which would have made the Black Sea little more than a 'Russian Lake'. England, whose foreign interests were now in the care of the fiery Palmerston, intervened, and the offending treaty was torn up.

As the century advanced the national spirit which had been so active in Europe and which had created the kingdom of Greece began to stir amongst the Serbs, Bulgars and kindred peoples who were numbered amongst Turkey's twenty million Christian subjects. After the Crimean War the Danubian Provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia became virtually independent states and in 1861 united to form Roumania. In 1875 a rising in Herzegovina spread to Bosnia and Bulgaria and once more Turkey's power in Europe seemed threatened with collapse. The revolutions provided a new opportunity for Russia, whose troops in 1878 had captured Adrianople and begun to advance towards Constantinople. England, under the imperialist Disraeli, sent a fleet to protect Turkey, and Russia, while all was well, hastened to sign the Treaty of San Stefano, the terms of which would have made Russia supreme in the Balkans. European Powers, thoroughly alarmed, determined that the treaty should be submitted to a congress, which met at Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck. Russia had to abandon the most extravagant of her claims, but the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, left the Turkish dominions in the Balkans broken into many fragments. Bulgaria, Eastern-Roumelia, Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro emerged as independent or practically independent states, while Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the "protection" of Austria.

Unfortunately the troubles of the Balkans were not yet ended. Austria, excluded from the Germanic Confederation in 1866 and with Italy permanently closed to her, had begun to look to the east as a possible area for expansion. The new Italian kingdom watched with growing suspicion Austrian interventions on the east of the Adriatic. Germany,

beginning to look on British imperialism with envy, saw in the Balkans an opportunity to be troublesome by posing as the friend of the Mohammedans. Turkish armies were drilled by German officers and provided with modern equipment. Turkey began to revive rapidly. In 1908 a nationalist organisation known as "The Young Turks", enthusiastically patriotic and inspired equally by religious fervour, began to threaten the continued independence of the Christian kingdoms. Greece and Bulgaria, which had absorbed Eastern Roumelia, joined with Serbia and Montenegro to form the Balkan League, which in 1912 declared war on Turkey. The Greeks overran Macedonia and Thrace; the Serbs and Montenegrins advanced into Albania; the Bulgars captured Adrianople and threatened Constantinople itself.

The intervention of the Powers could hardly have had a more unfortunate result. By the Treaty of London, May 1913, Greece obtained Macedonia, Crete and the port of Salonika; Serbia, compelled by Austria to abandon the territory for which she had fought, was compensated at the expense of Bulgaria. As though to make it quite certain that the members of the Balkan League should begin to quarrel amongst themselves, so that Germany's revival of Turkey should not be wasted, the London Treaty left the precise settlement of the new boundaries to the States themselves. Within a month Bulgaria, encouraged by Austria, was at war with Serbia, Roumania and Greece, while Turkish troops were reoccupying Adrianople. To the annoyance of Austria the war ended with Serbia's territory increased and in September Austria suggested to Italy a joint attack on Serbia. To the Serbs it seemed certain that Austria had determined on the annexation of their State as she had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and, arising from this fear and hatred, the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and of his wife, occurred in Serajevo the capital of Bosnia on June 28th, 1914. It was this tragic event which led to the actual outbreak of

the Great War of 1914 to 1918. Austria accused Serbia of complicity in the crime and, after sending an ultimatum which Serbia could not possibly have accepted, declared war on her on July 28th. On the following day Russia began to mobilise her armies, and Germany on August 1st declared war on Russia. France mobilised her forces and on August 3rd Germany declared war on France and prepared to invade Belgium whose neutrality England, France and Germany had guaranteed. On August 4th England declared war on Germany, and the "Great" War which was to end wars had begun its tragic course.

It was inevitable that the Turks should have joined Germany against Britain and her allies. Russia and France were old enemies and Britain was not very popular in the Moslem world, whereas Germany, under Kaiser William II, had done everything possible to convince the

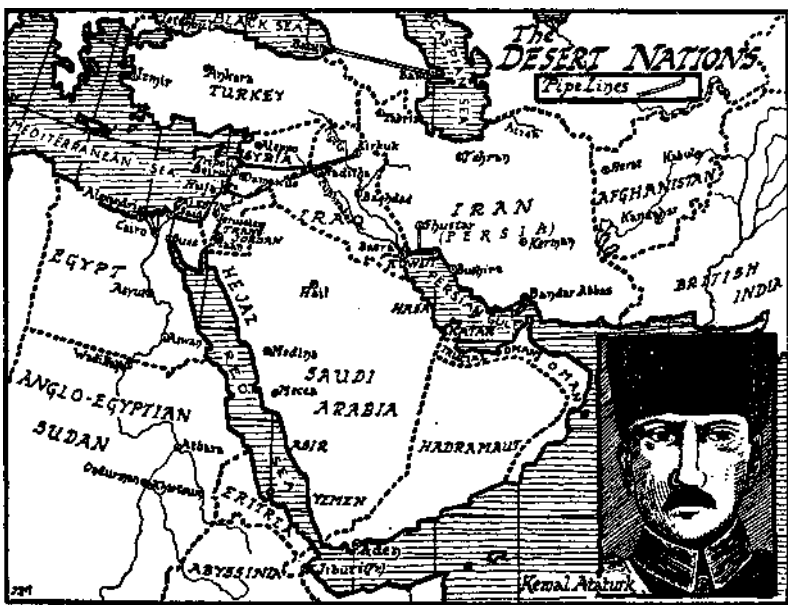


Fig. 179.—The Desert Nations

Turks that they could look to the Empire for friendship and help. The nationalist movement in Turkey, led by Mustapha Kemal, had stimulated a similar movement amongst the Arabs under Hussain, and Britain, assisted by "Lawrence, of Arabia", made the greatest possible use of this Arabian sentiment.

At the end of the war Turkey was forced to abandon all claim to Egypt and to all her Arabian dominions, but Turkey was no longer the "Sick Man of Europe", but an Asiatic frontier Power, full of renascent vigour. A new nationalist rising was inspired by the determined Mustapha Kemal, and gained many supporters when Britain, France and Italy encouraged Greece to make war against the Turks from 1920 to 1922. The Turks won the war, and at the Conference of Lausanne in 1923 they "won the peace". Turkey emerged as a genuinely independent nation, with a republican form of government in place of the ancient Caliphate, and with Mustapha Kemal as President. He was in fact dictator, with unlimited powers which he intended to use to carry out a startling, revolutionary policy.

The new Turkey was to be thoroughly westernised, socially and economically. The abolition of the fez, the little red peakless cap which was always worn during any religious ceremony, was far more than a change of characteristic head-dress. Had men to wear, when at prayer, the curious assortment of peaked caps and hats which they hurriedly improvised to escape the penalty of disobedience, or were they to risk the wrath of Allah by disobedience to the Koran by praying bareheaded? It was, moreover, impossible for a Moslem to touch the ground with his forehead while wearing a peaked hat. Mustapha insisted that women should appear unveiled, and the partitions behind which they had been secluded in public vehicles and theatres, where they had sat behind a latticed screen, were removed. The sudden attempt to create a social and economic equality between women and men in a land where women had been subordinated from time immemorial was the most

disturbing of the reforms. Mustapha himself lectured on the use of the western script, and he changed surviving Greek names to Turkish ones. Constantinople, for example, was renamed Istanbul.

A revolution, equally drastic, was planned in Turkey's economic life. Exhausted by long wars and by revolution, under-populated, with a primitive agricultural system, with no developed industries, a mediaeval system of transport, and no commercial experience—for commerce had been left to the Greeks and Armenians who were now exiled—Turkey had to begin at the beginning. She was not without natural wealth. She had good climate, rivers, mineral and forest wealth in her mountains, and fertile land in the valleys. Mustapha Kemal began by introducing scientific methods of agriculture and by encouraging the peasants to buy their land. The development of railways and the improvement of roads not only helped internal trade, but made specialised

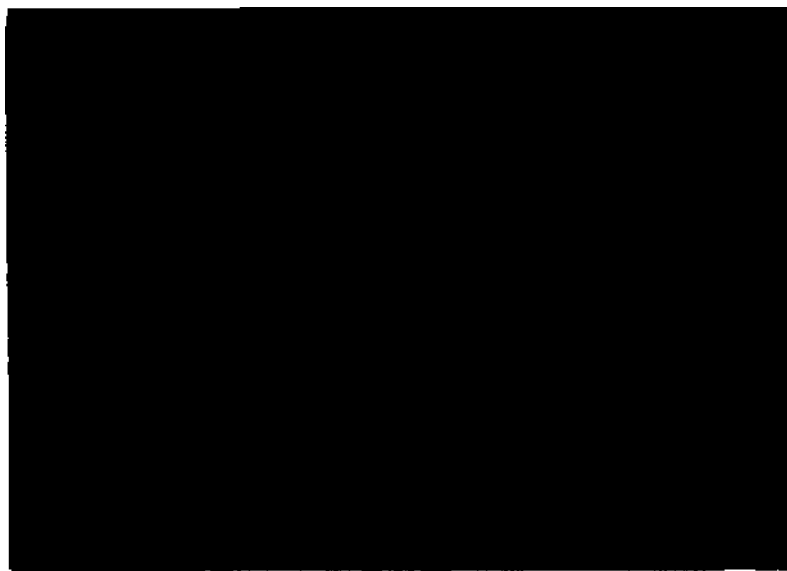


Fig. 180.—Turkish women wearing the veil.

[E.N.A.]

industry possible, and Turkish goods, especially carpets and textiles, have begun to find foreign markets, side by side with Turkey's natural products, of which olives, figs, cotton and tobacco are the most important.

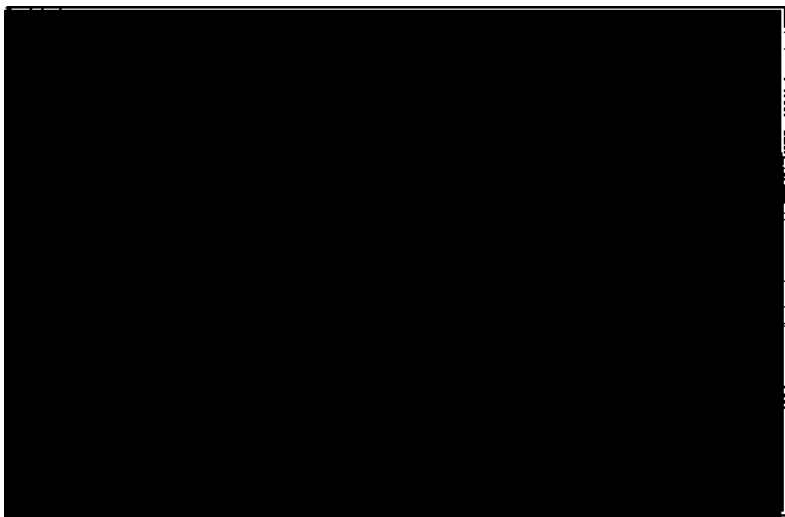
Meanwhile Britain had involved herself in an unfortunate dilemma in Arabia. In return for the help of the Arabs during the war Sir Henry MacMahon had promised that Britain would recognise and support the independence of the Arabs throughout the Arabian peninsula except in Aden. This promise was incompatible with the "Balfour Declaration", which promised the restoration of Palestine to the Jews as their "National Home", for Palestine was included in the territory promised to the Arabs. Moreover, Britain and France had signed a secret treaty, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, by which Mesopotamia and Syria were to pass respectively under British and French control, with other Arabian districts as "spheres of influence" and Palestine as "an international zone".

Hope that this partition, the arrangement for which was not so secret that the Arabs were unaware of it, would be abandoned was revived after the end of the war, when France and Great Britain declared that their object was the "complete and definite liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments" based on the free choice of the inhabitants.

The invention of the Mandate System seemed to offer at least a temporary solution of the more urgent problem. Those States which were "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" were to be handed over to the care of the "more advanced nations". Accordingly Mesopotamia, now known as Iraq, became a Mandate of Great Britain; Syria became a Mandate of France, while Great Britain accepted responsibility for Palestine and for a frontier desert strip known as Transjordan. The people of Syria had no wish for the tutelage of France and rebelled. French troops crushed the rebellion and Syria was divided into five separate

States which were administered and controlled directly by France. Continued resistance was answered by the French shelling of Damascus and the subsequent strengthening of French control.

In Palestine Britain still hoped to find some means of fulfilling her irreconcilable promises to Jews and Arabs, but her attempts to be impartial merely angered both peoples



[Fox Photo

Fig. 181.—Arabs of Transjordan.

and led to further loss of British prestige. Immigration by Jews and Arabs continued and the Jews began to develop the land. The Arabs, who formed about two-thirds of the population, were rapidly becoming convinced that British interest was with the Jewish minority. Actually British interest was very largely concerned with the construction of an oil-pipe line from Iraq to the reconstructed port of Haifa and in the development of air routes.

Though the Arabs felt justly aggrieved, resistance was difficult, especially as they were isolated from the Arabs of the deserts by the British controlled State of Transjordan.

In North-west Arabia Hussain had been rewarded for his services by being made king of Hejaz. He had become an arrogant tyrant, claiming to rule the whole of the peninsula and, in 1924, he refused to recognise the authority of the Mandate countries. His claims were challenged by an Arabian giant, Ibn Saud, who had founded a pure sect of Islam and created a kingdom by welding together the tribes

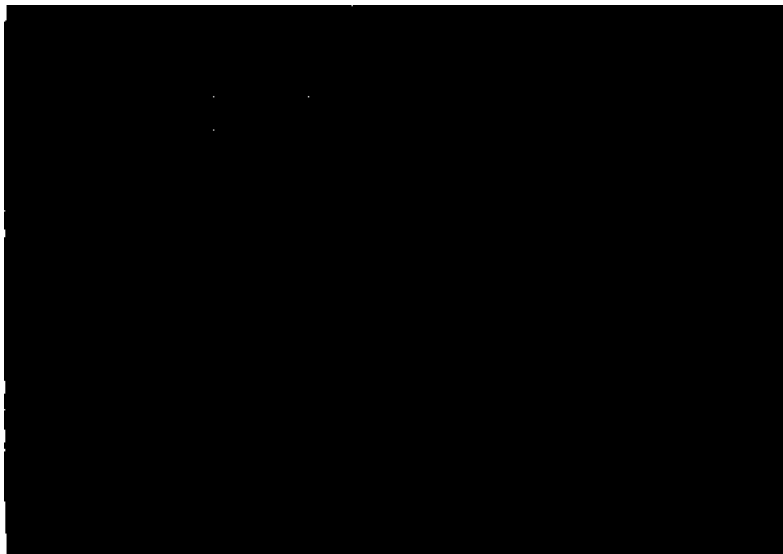


Fig. 182.—Tents of the Arabs of Transjordan.

of the central Arabian deserts. Ibn Saud conquered Hejaz and established an Arabian kingdom from the Red Sea to the frontier of Iraq. There were, however, British controlled States on every one of his frontiers, so Ibn Saud expressed friendship towards Britain and was recognised as the king of Saudi Arabia, a completely independent kingdom.

Iraq, extended in the north to include the conquered territory of the Kurds, had resisted British control, and in 1923 was recognised as an independent kingdom "in treaty with Great Britain". Its king, Feisal, was in fact a British nominee, and Iraq was thoroughly westernised. In 1932

it was admitted to the League of Nations and in the following year the British Mandate ended. The continuance of European interests, however, particularly in the pipe lines from Kirkuk to Haditha, whence they forked to Haifa in Palestine and to Tripoli in Syria, acted as a check to Iraq complete independence.

Clearly the Arabs of Palestine could expect little help from anywhere and in despair they rebelled in 1936. For six months there was, in Palestine, a reign of terror. In 1937 the Peel Commission recommended the partition of Palestine between Arabs and Jews, and the surrender of the British Mandate. Such a recommendation amounted to an admission of failure, for partition was no sort of solution, and the withdrawal of the British would merely have surrendered the Jewish minority to massacre by the Arabs. The League of Nations approved of the scheme of partition, but recommended the continuance of British authority until the new States should be ready for self-government. The attempt to work out plans for the partition merely increased the disorders and more British troops had to be dispatched. In October 1938 the failure of the partition scheme had to be recognised and the creation of a united State under British control was recommended. The hope still survived that in such a State Arabs and Jews would ultimately live peacefully together. The basic trouble is an old one, and similar to that which has so long torn Ireland : the external support of a minority in a land where the majority of the inhabitants, inspired by national sentiment, desires an independent and united country.

Between Iraq and Afghanistan lies the ancient land of Persia, important because of its oil and because of its strategic position on the north-west frontier of India. With the collapse of the ancient order in Russia, Britain had expected to extend her control throughout Persia without serious opposition, but the new Russia was as interested in Persia as the old Russia had been, and invaded it in 1920.

Roused by foreign intrusion, national hopes began to develop in Persia. The movement was led by Riza Khan, who, with three hundred adventurers, made himself military dictator of Persia in 1921. British interest in Persia, or in Iran, to give it its new name, was mainly in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in the construction of a railway, and in the opening of a new air route to India. Russia was anxious

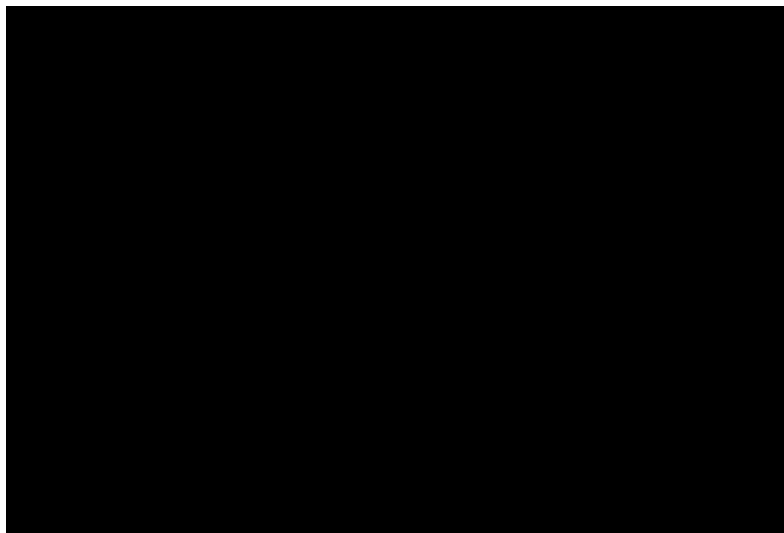


Fig. 183.—A modern street in Teheran.

for controlled access to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. While Riza Khan was anxious for the economic development of Iran and willing for foreign capital to be used in the development of a system of inland communication, he was determined that there should be no foreign political control. In carrying out this difficult task Riza Khan very largely succeeded. From scattered peoples who were still living, in many districts, undeveloped and nomadic lives, a national and independent State has been evolved, preserving the essentials of its own culture, excluding foreign intrusion into its social and political lives, but adopting western methods

and western guidance in its economic development. Iran is dependent on imports for machinery, cotton and sugar. In addition to an increasing exportation of oil, Iran has a developing carpet industry, and an export trade in fruit and opium.

The western world of Europe has had its Renaissance, its Reformation, its national inspirations and rivalries, its economic revolutions, spread over the centuries. In the near and distant East, in the Moslem lands, in India, and in distant China and Japan, all these revolutionary developments have occurred almost simultaneously and in little more than a single generation in some of them. When it is realised that there is still much that is feudal even in English thought today, it is less difficult to understand something of the conflicting elements in revolutionary changes which have occurred so suddenly amongst peoples whose mode of life has been for ages as unchanging as the desert landscape or their home.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WORLD TODAY.

THE LAST FIVE CENTURIES have seen an extraordinarily rapid development of world interests, of Welt Politik, and an increasing tendency for the world to become an economic unit. With such a development it could hardly have been possible for any lands or peoples capable of contributing anything to the world's wealth to have been left undisturbed. Moreover the growth of modern methods of transport and communication have opened up the dark places of the earth, linked together the scattered and isolated fragments, and created a new sense and possibility of unity.

Responsibility for this development lies with the peoples of Western Europe, and looking at it through European eyes it is possible to argue that the peoples of hitherto undeveloped and relatively backward lands have benefited therefrom at least as much as have the European Powers. Great cities have appeared where villages stood, connected by a network of railways, telegraph and telephone wires, by motor-car and aeroplane transport, and by wireless telephony. Artificial irrigation has brought water to the desert places, increasing with the application of scientific method the productivity of the land, and reducing the hardships and risk of famine. The building of schools and universities and the encouragement of learning have helped to counteract the evils of superstition and ignorance, and to soften some of the inhumane practices characteristic of so many forms of primitive life and of ancient **civilisations**.

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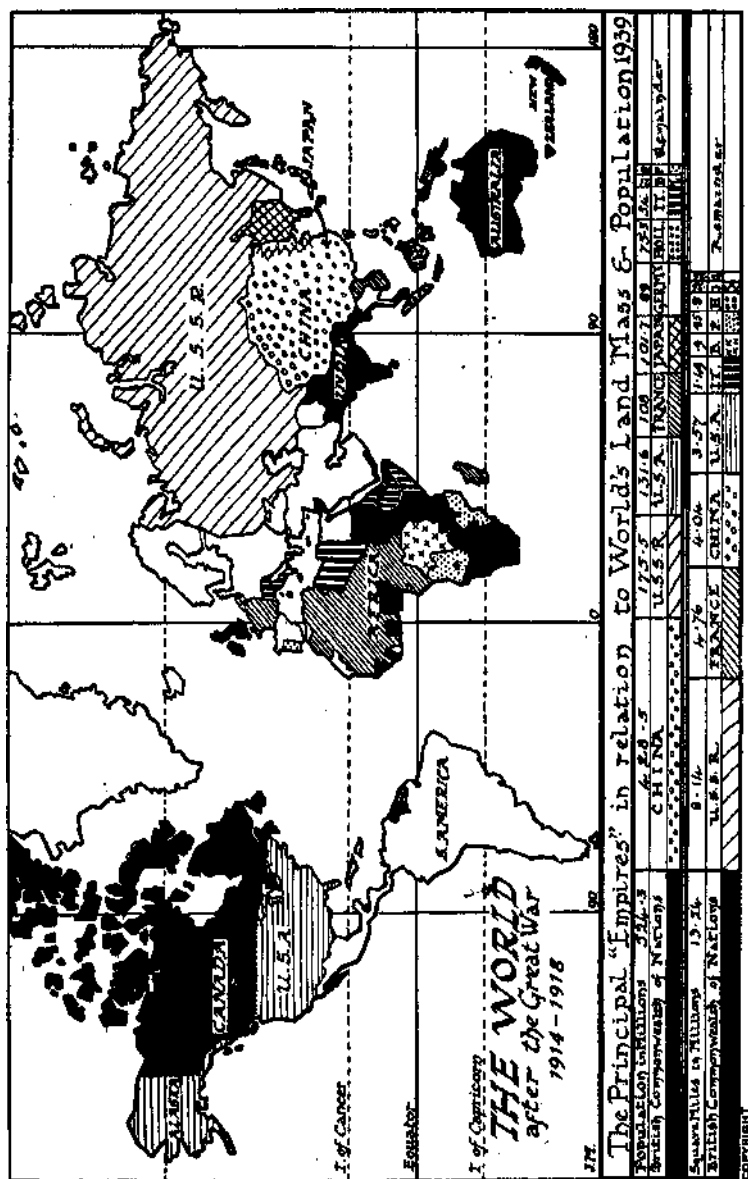
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When such overseas development has occurred in thinly populated and very primitive regions, so that a white



population could be planted, to become in time the established inhabitants of the land, there is a mere transference of the civilisation of the Old World overseas and no subsequent clash of cultures. But when there already exists a considerable native population, and when climatic conditions are opposed to general European settlement, there is an inevitable problem. How does such foreign intrusion appear to native eyes ? The actual Europeans seen are usually either soldiers or merchants, the one representing domination and conquest, the other representing exploitation. The European element, representing a minority, has to be maintained by force, and a native is hardly likely to be persuaded by a regiment or a factory of merchants that they are present in order to improve his lot from some purely charitable motive.

Great Britain has been mainly responsible for this overseas development, for she was far ahead of the rest of Europe politically and economically. The mechanical revolution and the subsequent industrial revolution took place in England when the rest of Europe was still predominantly feudal. When in the nineteenth century Europe was shaking off its mediaeval garments, the new industrial England was spreading her commerce and influence all over the world, almost unchallenged.

So long as the old Mercantile Theory prevailed, for one country to possess colonies and commercial controls in distant lands gave that country an unfair advantage which it could use to accumulate wealth at the expense of its colonies and of its neighbours. But Great Britain had outgrown this theory. Her colonies of English speaking peoples had become self-governing nations, virtually independent, and increasingly conscious of their mutual economic interdependence. Many British statesmen dreamed of a vast economic unit, in which the liberal exchange of goods would lead to a generally increasing prosperity.

It was possible to conceive this ideal in two ways—either as a world-wide unit, in which all peoples exchanged

their products with all other peoples, in peaceful harmony, to the general prosperity, or to think of the British Empire as an economic unit, in which preferential treatment was given to imperial trade, while foreign goods were admitted only on payment of a heavy tariff. This idea, really a development of Mercantilism, which was the scheme of the British Imperialists of the 'nineties, was manifestly unfair to other Powers, as Great Britain had the direct or indirect control of the main productive areas of the world.

The newlycreated European Powers, especially the German Empire, had adopted the new industrial processes, and everywhere there was feverish activity in the construction of railways, roads, and other systems of transport and communication, in the development of industries, and in the scramble for overseas territory. Whereas Great Britain had developed, from her colonial, experience, a genuine regard for the interests of native peoples, a humane consideration supported by the experience that the more contented and prosperous were her distant peoples the more British goods were they likely to buy, other Powers had neither these scruples nor this experience. The old national rivalries began to reappear, but far more seriously and dangerously than before, because of the application of science to modern methods of warfare.

We have already seen the growing rivalries which turned Europe, at the beginning of the twentieth century, into two armed and hostile camps, and which plunged the world into the tragic war of 1914 to 1918. Sufficient of the tragic aftermath of the Great War has been indicated, in the preceding chapters, to show that the war solved no problems but, instead, created new ones and greater hatreds which found expression in the destructive war which began in 1939 to devastate Europe.

The fundamental problem of modern civilisation is: What still prevents the world, with its wealth ample for the needs of the whole human race, a world in which the mass



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Fig. 185.—Rhcims Cathedral, 1918.

[E.N. A.

of mankind wants to live peaceably, from developing into a harmonious unity? In the rapid journey made through Time and Space in the last few chapters of this book, some reasons for the continued and ever-developing unrest will have, perhaps, become apparent. It is easy to understand and to sympathise with a new sense of nationalism and a desire for independence in a people who have never known unity, who believe themselves to have suffered from an alien domination and a foreign commercial exploitation, and who have awakened to the fact that such domination is not invincible once the methods it employs have been adopted by themselves. But national independence is the greatest enemy of world unity, and of national wealth and prosperity. Man's wealth has increased as his economic world has grown from the immediate environment from which he satisfied his wants by his own skill and labour. Similarly a nation absolutely independent and self-supporting would have to pay for such independence by denying herself all the wealth she could not herself produce.

For the same reason, but looking at it through European eyes, the problem of dealing sympathetically with these national aspirations, in India, in Egypt, or in the desert lands, is complicated by the existence of European economic interests and by the desire to retain control of ways of transport and communication.

It is unlikely that any of these problems would remain unsolved for long if Europe as a whole were prepared to deal with them equally sympathetically and equally unselfishly, as a united international and economic unit. It is the greatest of modern tragedies that Europe herself is divided and torn by national rivalries and hatreds. To understand the national point of view, the relation of each nation to the world today as each nation conceives it, is the first essential to the understanding of the present world situation, and no solution can be found which is not based on such a general understanding.

Another, and perhaps greater problem, is that of the relation of Man, as an individual, to the world's wealth—the social problem. The story of human development has seen slavery, serfdom and the wretchedness of millions in a world of plenty ; it has seen revolutions, dreams of liberty, tyrannies and democracies, oligarchies and monarchies, dictatorships and republics. It has known too the Christian doctrine of Love, yet, nearly two thousand years after the life of Christ, Europe is full of hatred, selfishness and poverty, and is expending its energy on the production of guns, bombs and poison gases, while in the Holy Land has run the blood of Arab and Jew. It is to try to discover why these problems have so far baffled solution that the remaining volume in this series has been written.

BOOKS SUGGESTED FOR FURTHER READING

*Books of fiction inauded are marked with an asterisk**

PART ONE

- Builders of Europe, Book II . Priestley. (Dent)
- Europe since the Renaissance : Brett. (Murray.)
- Europe in Renaissance and Retormation : Hoi lings. (Methuen)
- A Short History of the British Commonwealth, Books 1 and 11
Ramsay Muir. (Philip.)
- Philip II of Spain : Hume. (Macmillan.)
- Sea Kings of Britain, Parts I and II : Callender. (Longmans.)
- Drake: Bell. (Duckworth.)
- Sir Walter Raleigh: Buchan. (Nelson.)
- Queen Elizabeth: Williams. (Duckworth.)
- Elizabeth: Beesly. (Macmillan.) *
- English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century: Froude. (Silver Library >
- Cardinal Wolsey: Creighton. (Macmillan.)
- Windsor Castle : Ainsworth.
- *The Sea Hawk : Sabatini.
- Westward Ho ! : Kingsley.
- The Queen's Quair : Hewlett.
- The House of the Wolf : Weyman.
- Coun., Hannibal : Weyman.
- A Gentleman of France : Weyman.
- Kenilworth : Scott
- A Knight of Spain : Bowen.
- Captain John Smith : (Macmillan).
- The Age of the Benevolent Despots : Johnson. (Methuen.)
- Richelieu: Lodge. (Macmillan.)
- Mazarin: Hassell. (Macmillan.)
- Oliver Cromwell: Harrison. (Macmillan.)
- William III: Traill. (Macmillan.)
- The Fortunes of Nigel: Scott.
- The Three Musketeers : Dumas.
- Twenty Years After; Dumas.
- The Refugees: Doyle.
- Lost Endeavour: Masefield.
- The Splendid Spur: Quiller Couch.
- The Children of the New Forest: Marryat.
- The Black Tulip: Dumas.

- The British Empire and Commonwealth : Vol. 1. Williamson.
(Macmillan.)
- The Expansion of England, Course 1: Seeley. (Macmillan.)
- America in Pictures : Barnard. (Black.)
- Clive : Wilson. (Macmillan.)^v
- India in Pictures : Barnard. (Black.)
- Maria Theresa: Bright. (Macmillan.)
- Walpole: Morley. (Macmillan.)
- Chatham: Harrison. (Macmillan.)
- Wolfe: Bradley. (Macmillan.)
- *The Deerslayer: Fennimore Cooper.
- *The Last of the Mohicans : Fennimore Cooper.
- *The Pathfinder: Fennimore Cooper.
- *The Seats of the Mighty: Parker.
- *A Soldier from Virginia : Bowen.
- *The History of Henry Esmond : Thackeray.
- *The Bride of Lammermoor : Scott.
- *Rob Roy: Scott.
- *The Heart of Midlothian : Scott.
- *Kidnapped: Stevenson. •

PART TWO

- Piers Plowman History, Junior Series, Book V. (Philip.)
- England : A Social and Economic History, Books IV-VII. (Philip.)
- The Economic History of England, 1760-1860 : Redford. (Longmans.)
- *The Roger de Coverley Papers : from Addison's Essays.
- Barnaby Rudge : Dickens.
- Joseph II : Bright. (Macmillan.)
- Mirabeau: Willert. (Macmillan.)
- *Les Miserables : Hugo.
- *A Tale of Two Cities : Dickens.
- Napoleon: Fisher. (Home University Library.)
- Pitt: Petrie. (Duckworth.)
- Nelson: Tunstall. (Duckworth.)
- Nelson: Southey. (Everyman.)
- Wellington: Crutwell. (Duckworth.)
- Sea Kings of Britain, III. Callender. (Longmans.)
- The Naval Side of British History: Callender. (Christophers.)
- *The Queen's Necklace : Dumas.
- The Red Cockade: Weyman.
- *The Red Sultan: Cobban.
- *Mr. Midshipman Easy: Marryat,
- The Remaking of Modern Europe: Marriott. (Methuen.)
- The Modern World: Marvin. (Longmans.)

- Cavour: Cesaresco. (Macmillan.)
 Garibaldi: Scudder. (Duckworth.)
 Bismarck: Grant Robertson. (Constable.)
 A Short History of Russia : Milyoukov. (Plome University Library.)
 Nineteenth Century England: Rayner. (Longmans.)
 The Nineteenth Century: Victor Cohen: (Biographical). (Murray.)
 Cobbett's Rural Rides
 Peel: Thursfield. (Macmillan.)
 Cobden: Owen. (Duckworth.)
 Palmerston : Malcolm Smith. (Duckworth).
 Disraeli: Seely. (Duckworth.)
 From Feudalism to Democracy: Rennard. (Wheaton.)
 W. E. Gladstone: Paul. (Nelson).
 •Oliver Twist: Dickens.
 *Alton Locke : Kingsley.
 *Yeast: Kingsley.
 * Sybil: Disraeli.
 The Life of Parnell: O'Brien. (Nelson.)

PART THREE*

- Australia : A General Account: Browne. (Nelson.)
 Captain Cook: Gould. (Duckworth.)
 Captain Cook : Besant. (Macmillan.)
 High Climbs in the New Zealand Alps: Fitzgerald. (Fisher Unwin).
 Cobbers: Thomas Wood. (Oxford.)
 Australia, New Zealand and Oceania in Pictures : Barnard. (Black.)
 A Geography of Australasia and New Zealand : Wallis. (Macmillan.)
 Canada: Bradley. (Home University Library.)
 America in Pictures : Barnard. (Black.)
 Abraham Lincoln: Brogan. (Duckworth.)
 A Short History of America : Tyler. (Chambers.)
 The Epic of America: Adams. (Routledge.)
 An Historical Atlas of U.S.A. (Everyman.)
 The American* Political Scene : (Darvall). (Nelson.)
 U.S.A. : Brogan. (Oxford University Press.)
 Livingstone: Somerville. (Duckworth.)
 Stanley: Symons. (Duckworth.)
 Cecil Rhodes: Lockhart. (Duckworth.)
 The Opening Up of Africa : Johnston. (Home University Library.)
 The Great Boer War : Conan Doyle. (Nelson.)
 Making of Modern Egypt: Colvin. (Nelson.)
 Life of General Gordon: Boulger. (Nelson.)
 With Kitchener to Khartum: Steevens. (Nelson.)
 •The Four Feathers : A. E. W. Mason.

- King Solomon's Mines: Rider Haggard.
- England in Egypt: Milner. (Arnold.)
- Africa in Pictures: Barnard. (Black.)
- Warren Hastings: Lyall. (Macmillan.)
- Havelock: Forbes. (Macmillan.)
- The Making of a Frontier: Colonel Durand. (Nelson.)
- Peoples and Problems of India: Holderness. (Home University Library.)
- The Oxford Students' History of India: Smith. (Oxford.)
- The Making of British India: (Documentary): Ramsay **Muir**.
(Manchester University Press.)
- India in Pictures : Barnard. (Black.)
- Europe and China: Hudson. (Arnold.)
- The Civilisation of China: Giles. (Home University Library.)
- 170 Chinese Poems : translated by Arthur Waley. (With an excellent introduction) (Constable.)
- Eastern Asia: Hannah. (Fisher Unwin.)
- The British Empire: Lucas. (Macmillan.)
- The British Empire: Somervell. (Christophers.)
- The Home of Mankind:* Loon. (Harrap.)
- The Story of Mankind: Loon. (Harrap.)
- Geography and World Power : Fairgrieve. (London University Press.)
- General and Regional Geography: Unstead and Taylor. (Philip.)
- Philips' New School Atlas of Universal History: Ramsay Muir and George Philip. (Philip.)

SUGGESTIONS TO THE FORM OR CLASS

CHAPTER I

i. Arrange a play to be called " Columbus ", and act it in the Class Society. Scene i could be the priory of La Rabida, and Columbus could arrive, ragged, hungry and footsore. Later the prior could overhear his conversation and call him to talk to him about his ideas of the world's roundness. In the second scene he might be trying to convince the Spanish court. He must be prepared with reasons to prove that the world is round, and that the adventure is worth while. Scene 3 might be on board the Santa Maria, with the crew preparing to mutiny, and finally quelled by Columbus. Arrange the other scenes for yourselves.

2. Imagine that you were a member of Cortes' expedition. Write an account of the part you played in it, inventing characters if you wish, but keeping to the main facts. Try to picture the scenes and to describe them vividly. You may use an atlas. •

3. Study all the maps in this chapter. Learn to draw from memory the map of Central and South America,

CHAPTER II

1. Arrange a Picture Miscellany illustrating the Sixteenth Century, with special reference to Tudor England. ' The pictures should illustrate costumes, buildings, and life generally. As was explained in Book I a Picture Miscellany is a meeting of the Class Society to which every member brings a suitable picture, which may be in a book. One picture is placed on each desk, and the Chairman, after each two minutes, calls " Change ! ". The pictures are then changed" in a prearranged manner so that every desk has each picture in turn. From time to time the Chairman asks for a brief discussion of interesting things discovered. The Chairman also passes and receives a picture in turn.

2. Write a composition on one of the following topics:—

- (a) Sir Francis Drake.
- (b) How England became Mistress of the Seas.
- (c) Queen Elizabeth.

Try to include facts you have learned from other books.

3. Draw from memory the map illustrating Drake's voyage round the world.

4. Draw a picture map of your own illustrating the story of* the Armada.

CHAPTER III

i. In the Class Society imagine that you are meeting in the year 1642 and that you have to decide whether to support the Cavaliers or the Roundheads in the coming civil war. On the rebel side arrange to have representatives of the Puritan, the parliamentarian and the merchant points of view.

2. Arrange a Picture Miscellany illustrative of seventeenth century England and Europe.

3. Write a composition, without reference to notes, on one of the following :—

(a) My impression of seventeenth century Europe.

(b) France under the first three Bourbon kings.

(c) Reasons for the maritime and commercial supremacy of England at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

4. Learn to draw from memory the map of England on page 49.

CHAPTER IV

1. In the Class Society discuss one or both of the following motions :
(a) That England had no sort of claim on the American colonies ; (b) That the employment of negro slaves on the tropical plantations was justifiable.

2. Write a composition outlining the main physical features, climate and vegetation of North America.

3. Learn to reproduce from memory all the maps in this chapter.

4. Revise the maps of Central and South America and learn to draw a sketch map illustrating the main physical features of the whole of America.

CHAPTER V

1. Arrange a Picture Miscellany illustrating life in different parts of India.

2. Read as many stories as you can, from other books, about the life of Clive. Possibly there is a life of Clive in the School Library. Then arrange a meeting of the Class Society at which some of these stories can be told. Arrange the meeting in four parts, relating to Clive's early life, his work in the Carnatic, and his work in Bengal, firstly as a soldier, then as an administrator.

3. Imagine yourself to have been a native of the Ganges valley, and to have been born about 1730. Possibly you may have become a sepoy in Clive's army, or you may have fought for Surajah Daulah, or

had other quite different adventures. Write an imaginative story of your life, bringing into the story as much geographical interest as you can.

4. Draw from memory a map of India, illustrating its main physical features, and marking, with their names, all the places in India mentioned in this chapter, and which you can remember.

CHAPTER VI

1. Read all you can about Wolfe and George Washington. Discuss their lives in the Class Society, dividing the time available into two equal parts.

2. Write a composition on "The Hudson-Champlam Valley".

3. Draw from memory the map on page 98.

CHAPTER VII

1. Frequently men have broken machines, but you have never heard of anyone breaking a "labour-saving device" such as a vacuum-cleaner. Thrash out this problem in the Class Society.

2. Write a composition on one of the following subjects :—

The Mercantile Theory ; Money ; The Agricultural Revolution ;
The Cotton Industry in Eighteenth Century England.

3. Draw from memory the map on page 123.

CHAPTER VIII

1. In the Class Society discuss the motion "That England ought to have supported the French Revolution". Remember in the discussion England's commercial and colonial rivalry with France, and think of eighteenth-century and not of twentieth-century England.

2. Arrange a Picture Miscellany illustrative of eighteenth-century Europe and of the French Revolution in particular.

3. Write a composition on "The causes and the first few years of the French Revolution".

4. Draw from memory the map on page 130.

CHAPTER IX

1. In the Class Society arrange for a member to open a debate in defence of the work of the Congress of Vienna, mainly on the grounds that it gave Europe peace for forty years, and that it is difficult to imagine by what other policy, in the circumstances, it could have achieved this end.

2. Alternatively, discuss Tocqueville's verdict upon Napoleon, that " He was as great as a man can be without virtue ".
3. Describe, without reference to notes, the work of the British navy in the wars against revolutionary France and Napoleon.
4. Draw from memory the maps on pages 142 and 151.

CHAPTER X

1. In the Class Society discuss one or more of the following motions :
 - (a) That Castlereagh was not to blame for his apparently reactionary policy in 1815 and 1818.
 - (b) That Metternich never really understood the European situation.
 - (c) That liberalism was a more powerful force than nationalism in the history of nineteenth century Europe.
 - (d) That behind every tragedy of history lurks the spectre of Selfishness.
2. Write a composition on one of the following, introducing simple sketch maps into your composition wherever possible or desirable:
 - (a) Metternich and the system of joint intervention.
 - (b) The creation of Italian unity.
 - (c) Prussia in the nineteenth century.
 - (d) The evolution of modern Russia.
 - (e) The spirit of Caesardom.
3. Learn to reproduce from memory the maps on pages 163 and 169.

CHAPTER XI

1. In the Class Society arrange a disscission of the advantages and disadvantages of Free Trade. Some of the members should pretend to be manufacturers whose goods are being threatened by foreign competition, others should be agriculturists, others merchants, and others just working people.
2. Find out as much as you can about the industries and occupations of your own town or district, its public services, and anything that might help to illustrate the story of this chapter. Then write a composition about it and invent your own title.
3. Draw from memory the map on page 180.

CHAPTER XII

1. Find from the School or Town Library some books of Irish legends, such as the great tales of Cuchulain, the House of Usna, Mananan, or Lugh the Sun God, and arrange for these to be read aloud at a meeting

of the Class Society. Include if you can some Irish poetry, or read in parts one of the poetic dramas by Fiona Macleod. You will find them at the end of a little book called "Selected Poems and Plays by Fiona Macleod", published by Macmillan.

2. Write an imaginative story, inventing as many characters as you like, and introducing some real ones, based on any part of the story told in this chapter.

3. Begin a careful revision of this book, revising one chapter each week.

4. Draw from memory the map on page 197.

CHAPTER XIII

1. Divide the Class Society into four parts, representing respectively men or women living in Australia about 1840, their children living about 1870, their children living about 1900—each representing people about thirty years of age—and present-day girls or boys. Each "generation" is to tell the story of the Australia of that period, with as much description as possible. Arrange for one member of each section to draw a map on the blackboard, illustrating anything that is said. Do not use an existing wall map, but draw your own. If there should be time, do the same for New Zealand.

2. Make a date chart, in which the most important events mentioned in the last four chapters are placed side by side in suitably labelled columns.

3. Write a composition on "How the geographical features of Australia and New Zealand have influenced their historical development".

4. Learn to draw from memory all the maps in this chapter.

5. Continue the revision suggested at the end of Part II.

•CHAPTER XIV

1. Arrange a Picture Miscellany illustrating life in different parts of North America.

2. Add two new columns to your date chart, one for Canada and one for the United States of America, and enter the main facts mentioned in this chapter.

3. Write a composition on "The Main Factors which have influenced the Development of British Canada". Add sketch maps.

4. Draw from memory the maps on pages 239 and 248.

5. Continue your revision.

CHAPTER XV

1. Arrange a Picture Miscellany illustrative of life in different parts of Africa.
2. In the Class Society examine and discuss the arguments for and against the British Imperialist Policy.
3. Add to your date chart a column for Africa.
4. Either write a composition on "The Geography of Africa in relation to its historical development", or choose from this chapter the section which has interested you most and write an account of it. In either case add sketch maps.
5. Learn to draw from memory all the maps in this chapter.
6. Continue revision on the lines suggested.

CHAPTER XVI

1. Turn the Class Society into a Round Table Conference for the discussion of the modern problems of India. Arrange for the British representatives to include politicians, soldiers, and men with commercial interests, and include Gandhi and other Indians whose names you may invent.
2. Write a composition on "Ought India to be grateful to Britain?"
3. Draw from memory all the maps which have been included in this chapter.
4. Add a column on India to your date chart.
5. Continue your revision, and revise as many of the maps as you can.

CHAPTER XVII

1. Discuss the motion that "The East ought to be grateful to the West".
2. Arrange a Picture Miscellany relating to China and Japan. If possible include some photographs of scenery, towns, and people.
3. Tell the story of China since the revolution of 1911. Add any important facts that have happened since this chapter was written.
4. Draw from memory the maps included in this chapter.
5. Revise your date chart.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Imagine that the Class Society is a Royal Commission entrusted with the task of finding a solution of the British problems in Palestine. Draw up a Report embodying a recommended policy.
2. Arrange a Picture Miscellany illustrative of the lands and peoples of the regions discussed in this chapter.
3. Draw from memory the map on page 324. Add concise notes to show how each of the States shown on the map have been formed.
4. Write a composition on "The British Problem of Palestine".

INDEX

- ABERCROMBY, 101, 102.
 ABOUKIR BAY, 144.
 ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 249, 250, 251.
 ABRAHAM, PLAINS OF, 103
 ABYSSINIA, 285.
 ACRE, 145.
 ACT OF FAITH, 25, 26.
 ACTS OF PARLIAMENT (see under separate titles).
 ADELAIDE, 220, 221, 225, 227
 ADEN, 327, GULF OF, 283
 ADRIANOPLE, 822, 323.
 ADRIANOPLE, TREATY OF, 164
 ADRIATIC, 322.
Adventure, The, 214.
 AFGHANISTAN, 75, 292, 290, 300, 330.
 AFRICA, 4, 5, 6, 18, 20, 33, 36, 68, 101, 108, 112, 158, 193, 218, Chap. XV, 286.
 AFRICA, SCRAMBLE FOR, 174, 283.
 AGRA, 83.
 AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION, 114 sqq
Agriculture, Annals of, 117.
 AILLY, PIERRE D' 7.
 AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, CONGRESS OF 160. TREATY OF, 97.
 AKBAR THE GREAT, 83.
 ALABAMA, 250
 ALASKA, 249.
 ALBANIA, 323.
 ALBANY, 223.
 ALBERTA, 241, 242, 245.
 ALBUQUERQUE, ALFONZO D' 7
 ALEMBERT, D', 134.
 ALEXANDER I OF RUSSIA, 150, 154, 155, 164, 165, 175.
 ALEXANDER II OF RUSSIA, 175.
 ALEXANDER III OF RUSSIA, 175.
 ALEXANDER VI, POPE, 13.
 ALEXANDRIA, 280
 ALGIERS, 285.
 ALGOA BAY, 5, 7.
 ALICE SPRINGS, 220.
 ALLEGHANIES, 7, 57, 97.
 ALLEGHENY RIVER, 97.
 ALLEN, 220.
 ALLIANCE, QUADRUPLE, 158, 161, 162, QUINTUPLE, 161, 162, 165, TRIPLE, 174.
 ALPS, AUSTRALIAN, 219.
 ALPS, SOUTHERN (NEW ZEALAND), 232, 233
 ALSACE, 173.
 AMAZON, 18, 71.
 AMBOYNA, 84.
 AMERICA, 11, 17, 18, 19, 29, 35, 54, Chap. IV, 86, Chap. VI, 108, 112, 133, 161, 162, 201, 202, 210, 214, Chap. XIV, 263, 264, 272, 313.
 AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 250.
 AMERICAN IRISH, 203, 204
 AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 133, 235, 247.
 AMERIGO VESPUCCI, 11.
 AMHERST, COLONEL, 101, 102.
 AMHERST, LORD, 290.
 AMIENS, TREATY OF, 146, 148, 265.
 AMOY, 311.
 AMRITSAR, 302.
 AMSTERDAM, 67.
 AMUR, 313.
 ANDES, 18, 19, 60.
Anglesey, The, 143.
 ANGLICAN CHURCH IN IRELAND, 200, 203
 ANGLO-AMERICAN WAR, 236.
 ANGLO-DUTCH WARS, 84.
 ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL COMPANY, 331.
 ANGOLA, 285.
 ANNAM, 313.
 ANNE BOLEYN, 30, 32.
 ANNE, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, 46, 53, 54, 91.
 ANTARCTIC, 18, 60, 214.
 ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE, 189.
 ANTIGUA, 71.
 ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (U.S.A.), 249.
 ANTILLES, 71.
 ANTOINETTE, MARIE, 133, 136.
 APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS, 57, 61, 254, 255.
 APPLE ORCHARDS, CANADIAN, 243.
 APPOMATOX, 250.
 ARABIA, 327, sqq.
 ARABIA, LAWRENCE OF, 325
 ARABIA, LORD OF THE COMMERCE OF, 7.
 ARABIAN SEA, 75.
 ARABI PASHA, 280.
 ARABS, 6, 7, 83, 262, 263, 270, 321, 325, 327 sqq.
 ARAGON, FERDINAND OF, 9, 10, 21, 22, 30.
 ARAKAN, 290.
 ARCTIC, 88.
 ARCTIC, 18, 60.
 ARGENTINE, 264.
 ARKWRIGHT, RICHARD, 119, 120, 121.
 ARMADA, THE, 36, 37, 39, 43, 61.
 ARMED NEUTRALITY OF THE NORTH, THE, 146.
 ARMENIANS, 326.
Arrow, The, 311.
 ART, CHINESE, 307 sqq.
 ARTHUR YOUNG, 117.
 ARTOIS, DUKE OF, 164.
 ARYANS, 81, 82.
 ASIA, 3, 7, 11, 13, 27, 55, 74, 84, 196, 315, (see separate headings).
 ASIA MINOR, 3, Chap. XVIII.
 ASQUITH, 206.
 ASSAM, 290.
 ASSEMBLY, INDIAN LEGISLATIVE, 302, 304. LEGISLATIVE OF CAPE COLONY, 271, 272.
 NATIONAL, 135, 136. POLISH, 129.
 ASSIENTO TREATY, 93.
 ATBARA, RIVER, 283
 ATLANTIC, 4, 10, 11, 12, 27, 29, 54, 118, 196, 198, PORTS, 255.
 TRADE ROUTES, 93.
 AUCKLAND, LORD, 292.
 AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND, 231
 AURUNGZEBE, 86.
 AUSTRERLITZ, 150.
 AUSTRALIA, 84, Chap. XIII, 227, 272, 286.
 AUSTRIA, 3, 22, 96, 97, 99, 136 sqq., 146, 150, 154, 155, 157, 158, 161, 167, 168, 170, 171, 173, 174, 314, 322, 323, 324.
 AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION WAR, 96 sqq.
 AUTO DA FE, 25, 26.
 AZAD, MAULANA ABUL KALAM, 306.
 AZTECS, 13, 15, 16, 18.
 BAGDAD, 174.
 BAHAMA ISLANDS, 71.
 BAKER, (SIR SAMUEL WHITE), 268
 BAKEWELL, ROBERT, 117.
 BALFOUR DECLARATION, 323.
 BALKANS, 8, 163 sqq., 170, 173, 174, 245, 315, 321 sqq.
 BALKAN LEAGUE, 323
 BALL, LIEUTENANT, 218.
 BALLOT ACT, 191.
 BALTIC, 128, 129, 151.
 BALTIMORE, 255.
 BALTIMORE, LORD, 66.
 BALUCHISTAN, 300.
 BANGWELO, 270.
 BANK OF ENGLAND, 111 sqq.
 BANK NOTES, 112.
 BANKS, SIR JOSEPH, 213, 214.
 BARBADOS, 71 72
 BARBOUR, JOHN, 301.
 BARING, SIR EVELYN, (LORD CROMER), 280.
 BARRIER REEF, GREAT, 213.
 BARTHOLEMEW DIAZ, 6.
 BARWON PARK, 225.
 BASS STRAIT, 227.
 BASTILLE, 136, 138
 BASTILLES (WORKHOUSES), 186.
 BATTLES (see under separate titles).
 BEAUHARNAIS, JOSEPHINE DE, 140, MARQUIS DE, 140.
 BECHUANALAND, 269, 272, 275.
 BEETHOVEN, 156.
 BELGIUM, 158, 165, 285, 324.
 BENARES, 288.
 BENGAL, 85, 86, 89, 101, 103, 286, 287, 290, 298.
 BENGAL, BAY OF, 75. BENGAL, NAWAB OF, 88.
 BENTINCK, LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH, 291.
 BERKELEY, LORD, 68.
 BERLIN, 150. CONGRESS OF, 322. DECREES, 150 sqq.

- BERLIN TO BAGDAD RAILWAY, 174.
 BERNADOTTE, 153.
 BERTRAND RUSSELL, 309.
 BIAS BAY, 319.
 BIGHT, AUSTRALIAN, 218.
 BILBAO, 11.
 BISHOP STORTFORD, 275.
 BISMARCK, 171 sqq., 322.
 BLACK SEA, 128, 129, 322.
 BLACK DICK, 141.
 BLANTYRE, 267.
 BLOCKADE, CONTINENTAL, 151, 152, 154.
 BLOODY SUNDAY, 176.
 BLUCHER, 157.
 BLUE MOUNTAINS, 218.
 BLUE SHIRTS, 207, 208.
 BOARD OF CONTROL, INDIAN, 288.
 BOERS, 193, 266 sqq.
 BOER WAR, 277.
 BOHEMIA, 166, 167.
 BOJADOR, CAPE, 5.
 BOLAN PASS, 300.
 BOLIVAR, GENERAL, 161.
 BOLIVIA, 19.
 BOLTON, 121.
 BOLSHEVIKS, 176.
 BOMBAY, 85, 287, 300.
 BONAPARTE, JOSEPH, 150, 152.
 BONAPARTE, LOUIS, 150.
 BONAPARTE, LUCIEN, 145.
 BONAPARTE, NAPOLEON, *see* Napoleon).
 BORNEO, 84.
 BOROUGH-MONGERING, 185, 201.
 BOROUGH, ROTTEN AND POCKET, 185.
 BOSCAWEN, ADMIRAL, 99, 101.
 BOSNIA, 174, 322, 323.
 BOSTON, 66, 105, 254.
 BOTANY BAY, 213, 214.
 BOTHA, GENERAL, 277.
 BOULOGNE, 148.
 BOULTON, MATTHEW, 123.
 BOUNDARY BETWEEN CANADA AND U.S.A., 236.
 BOURBONS, 38, 72, 133, 166, 157, 164, 168.
 BOURDONNAIS, LA, 87.
 BOXER REBELLION, 314.
 BRADDOCK, GENERAL, 97, 100.
 BRADFORD, WILLIAM, 64.
 BRAHMANS, 81, 82, 83.
 BRAHMAPUTRA, RIVER, 75, 81.
 BRANDENBURG, 95.
 BRANDYWINE, 106.
 BRAZIL, 29, 151, 258.
 BRED, TREATY OF, 69.
 BREST, 151, 152.
 BRIDGE, SYDNEY, 225, 226.
 BRIGHT, JOHN, 189.
 BRISBANE, 221, 225.
 BRISTOL, 27, 264.
 BRITAIN (*see under separate headings and Contents*).
 BRITISH EMPIRE, 85, 159, 193, 277, 323, 336, *also under separate headings*.
 BRITISH ISLES, 1 sqq.
 BROKEN HILL, 224.
 BUBBLE, SOUTH SEA, 113.
 BUDDHA, GAUTAMA, 77.
 BULGARIA, BULOAXS, 822, 328.
 BULGING CAPE (BOJADOR), 5.
 BURGOYNE, GENERAL, 106.
 BURKE, EDMUND, 90, 138, 140.
 BURKE, UNDER-SECRETARY AT DUBLIN, 204.
 BURMA, 258, 290, 294, 296, 800.
 BURMESE WARS, 290, 294, 800.
 BYNG, ADMIRAL, 100.
 BYRON, 162.
 CABOT, JOHN, 27.
 CADIZ, 36, 148.
 CAILLIE, 268.
 CAIRO, 276.
 CALAIS, 39.
 CALCUTTA, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 300.
 CALCUT, 5, 6, 83, 86.
 CALIFORNIA, 249, 252.
 CALONNE, 134.
 CAM, DIEGO, 6.
 CAMPBELL, SIR COLIN, 298.
 CAMPERDOWN, 143.
 CAMPO FORMIO, TREATY OF, 140.
 CANADA, 55 sqq., Chap. VI, 103, 106, 132, 214, Chap. XIV, 286.
 CANADA ACT, PITT'S, 235.
 CANADA ACT, DOMINION OF, 238.
Canada, Report on, (Lord Durham), 237.
 CANADA, POPULATION OF, 244.
 CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY, 244.
 CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, 240, 241, 242.
 CANALS, 125. GANGES, 295.
 PANAMA, 244, 256, 257.
 "Soo", 243. SUEZ, 256, 278, 285. WELLAND SHIP, 243.
 CANARY ISLANDS, 12.
 CANNBERA, 227.
 CANCER, TROPIC OF, 75, 259.
 CANNING, GEORGE, 151, 161, 162, 164, 183, 247.
 CANNING, LORD, ("Clemency"), 298.
 CANTERBURY (NEW ZEALAND), 231, 232, 233.
 CANTON, 310, 311, 319.
 CAPE BRETON ISLAND, 103r2o4.
 CAPE COD, 64.
 CAPE COLONY, 159, 267, 270 sqq.
 CAPE OF STORMS, 6.
 CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 5, 6, 218, 264, 265, 283.
 CAPE PALMAS, 5, 6.
 CAPE ST. VINCENT, 142.
 CAPE VERDE, 5, 6.
 CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, 12, 13.
 CAPRICORN, TROPIC OF, 228.
 CARIBBEAN SEA, 11, 71.
 CARLETON, SIR GUY, 235.
 CARLSBAD DECREES, 161.
 CARNATIC, 85, 86, 87, 88, 103, 287.
 CAROLINAS, 66, 67, 104, 214, 250.
 CARPENTARIA, GULF OF, 218.
 CARTARET, SIR GEORGE, 68.
 CARTIER, JACQUES, 55, 56.
 CARTWRIGHT, DR. EDMUND, 121.
 CASCADE RANGE, 252.
 CASEMENT, SIR ROGER, 206.
 CASPIAN SEA, 81.
 CASTES, 80, 81, 82.
 CASTILE, ISABELLA OF, 7, 9, 10, 21, 22, 30.
 CASTLEREAGH, 156, 160, 161, 162, 183, 236.
 CATHERINE II (THE GREAT) OF RUSSIA, 129, 131, 321.
 CATHERINE OF ARAGON, 29.
 CATHOLICS, ROMAN, IN CANADA 198, 200, 234, 285.
 CATHOLICS, IRISH, 200 sqq.
 CATO STREET CONSPIRACY, 181.
 CATTLE, 117, 200, 242, 254, 271.
 CAVENDISH, LORD FREDERICK, 204.
 CAVOUR, 168, 170.
 CAWNPORE, 298.
 CELEBES, 84.
 CEYLON, 158, 159.
 CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH, 193, 283.
 CHAMPLAIN, 56, 57.
 CHAMPLAIN FORTS, 102.
 CHAMPLAIN-HUDSON GAP, 57, 58, 100.
 CHAMPLAIN, LAKE, 57, 97, 100, 101, 103.
 CHANDERNAGORE, 86, 88.
 CHARLEMAGNE, 95, 147.
 CHARLES I OF ENGLAND, 45, 46, 47, 48, 64, 66, 71, 85, 198.
 CHARLES II OF ENGLAND, 46, 48, 50, 52, 66, 67, 68, 85, 199, 200.
 CHARLES V OF THE EMPIRE, 22, 23, 24, 41.
 CHARLES VI, EMPEROR, 95.
 CHARLES VIII OF FRANCE, 21.
 CHARLES X OF FRANCE, 164, 165.
 CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN, 128, 129.
 CHARTISTS, 188.
 CHATHAM, WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF, 105, 285.
 CHESAPEAKE BAY, 62, 66, 106, 255.
 CHANG, LI HUNG, 308.
 CHIANG KAI SHEK, 316 sqq.
 CHICAGO, 256.
 CHILE, 19.
 CHILD LABOUR, 125, 179, 185, 186, 192.
 CHILDREN OF THE SUN, 18.
 CHINA, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 27, 61, 81, 258, Chap. XVII, 821, 332.
 CHINA, POPULATION OF, 320.
 CHINESE ART AND POETRY, 807, 309, 310.
 CHINESE REVOLUTION, 315 sqq.
 CHINESE WARS WITH BRITAIN, 311.
 CHITA, 318.
 CHOISEUL, DUKE OF, 102.
 CHURCH, THE, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 80 sqq., 43, 131, 132, 134, 147, 196.
 CHURCH, ANGLICAN IRISH, 200, 203.
 CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 266.
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 31, 82, 63.
 CHURCH TIPU, 288.
 CIVIL WAR, ENGLISH, 47 sqq., 67, 91, 198.
 CIVIL WAR, AMERICAN, 288, 260.

INDEX

III

- CLAN-NA-GAEL, 204.
CLIMATE, 67, 69, 79, 198, 222 sqq., 231 sqq., 259 sqq., 265.
CLINTON, 105, 100
CLIVE, 76 87, 88, sqq., 101, 286, 287.
COAL, 122, 123, 124, 189, 191, 195, 227, 242, 245, 254, 818.
COALITIONS AGAINST NAPOLEON, 141, 145, 148.
COAST RANGE, 252.
COBBETT, 184, 185
CORBEN, 181
COD, CAPE, 64
CODE, FIRST SIGNALLING, 141.
CODE NAPOLEON, 147.
CODRINGTON, ADMIRAL, 164.
COKE, THOMAS WILLIAM, 117
COLLINGWOOD, ADMIRAL, 148
COLONIES, NORTH AMERICAN, Chap. IV, Chap. VI, 200, 201, 214, 234, 235
COLONIES, SPANISH, 72, 161, 162.
COLORADO PLATEAU, 252.
COLUMBIA, BRITISH, 242, 249, 252
COLUMBIA, RIVER, 249.
COLUMBUS, 7 sqq., 21, 27
COMBINATION ACTS, 184.
COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY, 138.
COMMONWEALTH, AUSTRALIAN, 227
COMMUNISM IN CHINA, 316, 317, 319.
COMPANIES, TRADING AND JOINT STOCK, 112 sqq.
COMPANY, EAST INDIA (see East India).
COMPANY, SOUTH SEA, 112, 113 " COMPANY, JOHN ", 298.
CONCERT OF EUROPE, 161, 168.
CONCESSIONS, CHINESE, 320.
CONDORCET, 147.
CONFEDERACY, MAHUATTA, 289.
CONFEDERATE STATES, U.S.A., 250
CONFEDERATION, GERMAN, 158, 171, 173. NORTH GERMAN, 173.
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, 150, 158.
CONFERENCES, IMPERIAL, 193.
LAUSANNE, 325. ROUND TABLE, 803.
CONGO, 6, 18, 262, 269, 270, 285.
CONGRESS OF LAIBACH, 161.
CONGRESS OF PARIS, 155, 170.
CONGRESS OF TROPPAU, 161.
CONGRESS OF VERONA, 162, 247.
CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES, 316.
CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 155-160, 168.
CONGRESS PARTY, INDIAN, 305, 306.
CONNECTICUT, 66.
CONQUISTADORES, 17.
CONSTANTINOPLE, 8, 5, 128, 146, 151, 164, 322, 323, 326.
CONTINENTAL SYSTEM (BLOCK-ADE), 150, 151, 152, 154, 236.
CONVICTS, TRANSPORTATION OF, 187, 214.
COOLGARDIE, 224.
COOK, CAPTAIN, 211-214, 234
COOTE, SIR EYRE, 89.
COPENHAGEN, 146, 151.
CORN LAW, 179, 189, 287.
CORNWALL, 1.
CORNWALLIS, 106.
COROMANDEL COAST, 79, 84.
CORUNNA, 182.
CORT, 123.
CORTES, FERNANDO, 13, 15, 18, 19.
CORUNNA, 152.
COSGRAVE, 206, 207.
COSSACKS, 166, 176;
COTTON, 18, 67, 93, 118, 121, 245, 249, 253, 254, 263, 283, 327, 332.
COUNCIL, ORDERS IN, 152.
COVILHAM, 6.
CRETE, 323.
CRIMEA, 129.
CRIMEAN WAR, 170, 322.
CROMER, LORD, 280.
CROMPTON, SAMUEL, 120-121.
CROMWELL, 48, 52, 67, 71, 198* 199.
CROSS, RICHARD, 192.
CROPS, ROTATION OF, 115-116.
CROWN POINT, 100.
CUBA, 10, 12, 69, 71.
CUSTOMS UNION, GERMAN, 171.
CUSTOMS UNION, IMPERIAL, CONCEPTION OF, 336.
CZECHS, 160.
DAIL EIREANN, 206, 207.
DALHOUSIE, 294, 295, 296
DAMASCUS, 328.
DAMPIER, WILLIAM, 211.
DANTON, 138.
DANUBE, 173.
DARBY, ABRAHAM, 122.
DARDANELLES, 3.
DARIEN, ISTHMUS OF, 11.
DARK CONTINENT, THE (see Africa).
DARLING, RIVER, 219, 221.
DARLING, SIR RALPH, 219.
DAULAH, SURAJAH, 88, 89.
DECLARATION, 77, 78, 79.
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (U.S.A.), 105.
DECLARATORY ACT, 105.
DECREES, BERLIN, 150, 152.
DECREES, CARLSBAD, 161.
DECREES, FONTAINEBLEAU, 152
DECREES, MILAN, 152.
DEFOE, DANIEL, 118.
DELAGO BAY, 5, 7.
DELAWARE, RIVER, 255.
DELHI, 296, 298.
DEMARCATION, LINE OF, 13.
DENMARK, 42, 128, 146, 151, 158.
DERBY, 96.
DERG, LAKE, 196.
DERVISHES, 280, 282, 283.
DESAIX, GENERAL, 146.
DESERT, AUSTRALIAN, 222.
DESERT NATIONS, Chap. XVIII.
DESERT, SIMPSON, 222.
DE VALERA, 206-9.
DEVON, 40, 51, 181.
DIAZ, BARTHOLEIKW, 6.
DIDEROT, 134.
DIEGO CAM, 6.
DIET (FRANKFORT), 158.
DIEMEN'S LAND, VAN, 211.
DIRECTORY, THE, 139, 140, 144, 145, 170, 175, 177.
DISRAELI, 191, 192, 198, 278, 80G, 301, 322
Diu, 83.
DIVINE RIGHT, 44, 50
DOMINICA, 12, 71, 103.
DOMINICAN FRIARS, 25.
DOMINION OF CANADA ACT, 288.
DONEGAL, 198, 199.
DORSET, 66, 118, 187.
DOST MOHAMMED, 292.
DOUBLE RIVALRY, WARS OF, 96-99.
DRAKE, FRANCIS, 33-39, 61
DRAKENSBERG MOUNTAINS, 267.
DRAVIDIANS, 81.
DUAL CONTROL (IN EGYPT), 278, 287
DUAL CONTROL (IN INDIA), 90, 287.
DUBLIN, 196, 198, 200.
DUD DUDLEY, 121.
DUNCAN, 143.
DUNDALK, 196.
DUNDEE, 258.
DUNEDIN, 231.
DUPELIX, 86, 87, 88, 96.
DUQUESNE, FORT, 97, 100, 102.
D'URBAN, SIR BENJAMIN, 260.
DURBAR, 301.
DURHAM, LORD, 237.
DURHAM REPORT, 237.
DUTCH, 24, 51, 52, 53, 55 sqq. 67, 68, 71, 73-84, 136, 139, 148, 265, 266, 267, 271, 272, 274, 276, 277.
DUTCH WARS, 67-69, 84.
DUTCH EAST INDIES, 85.
DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 67, 84, 211.
DYARCHY, 802, 303.
DYER, GENERAL, 302.
EANNFS, GIL, 5.
EAST, FAR, Chap. XVII. NEAR AND MIDDLE, 147, Chap. XVIII, 321, 332.
EAST INDIA COMPANY, DUTCH, 67, 84, 85, 112.
EAST INDIA COMPANY, ENGLISH, 84, 85, 89, 90, 112, 286 sqq., 310-311.
EAST INDIA COMPANY, FRENCH, 86, sqq.
EAST INDIES, 10, 67, 82, 83, 84, 108, 112.
EASTERN GHATS, 77.
EASTERN ROMELIA, 322, 323.
EASTER WEEK REBELLION, 206.
ECUADOR, 18, 19.
EDICT OF EMANCIPATION (or RUSSIAN SERFS), 175.
EDMONTON, 241, 244.
EDUCATION, ENGLISH ELEMEN-TARY, 185, 191, 196, 203.
EDWARD I OF ENGLAND, 200.
EDWARD VI OF ENGLAND, 28, 32.
EDWARD VII OF ENGLAND, 190, 193, 195, 801.
EDWARD VIII, 190.

- EGYPT, 3, 81, 119, 144, 278 sqq., 821, 325, 338.
- EGYPTIANS, ANCIENT, 3, 4, 261.
- EIRE, 208 (see Ireland).
- ELBA, 154.
- ELGIN, LORD, 237, 238.
- ELGIN'S. RECIPROCITY TREATY, 238.
- ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND 28, 32, 33, 85, 86, 37, 89, 44, 45, 81, 88.
- ELLENBOROUGH, LORD, 292.
- ELLIOTT, SIR GEORGE, 106.
- EMIGRE'S, 187, 146.
- EMPIRE, BRITISH (see unde separate headings).
- EMPIRE, HOLY ROMAN, 22, 24, 41, 42, 43, 67, 91, 131, 150.
- EMPIRE, MOGUL, 83.
- EMPIRE, TURKISH, 128, 278.
- EMPLOYMENT or CHILDREN, 185, 186, 192.
- ENCLOSURE, 114, 115.
- ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 134.
- Endeavour, The*, 213.
- ENGLAND (see contents and separate headings).
- ENTENTE CORDIALE, 174.
- ENTENTE, TRIPLE, 174, 176.
- EQUATOR, THE, 6, 84, 259, 261, 278.
- ERIE, LAKE, 58, 243.
- EUCALYPTUS TREE, 215, 217.
- EUROPE (see contents and separate headings).
- EVANS, 219.
- EVEREST, 74.
- EVICTON, IRISH TENANT, 202 sqq.
- EYLAU, 150.
- EYRE, LAKE, 221.
- FACTORY ACTS, 185, 192.
- FARMER GEORGE (III OF ENGLAND), 117.
- FARMING, BRITISH, 64, 114 sqq.
- FEDERAL UNION OF CANADA, 238.
- FEDERATION, INDIAN, SCHEME OF, 304.
- FEISAL, 329.
- FEMALE LABOUR, 192.
- FENIAN SOCIETY, 203.
- FERDINAND OF ARAGON 9, 10, 21, 22, 30.
- FERDINAND OF AUSTRIA, 166.
- FERDINAND OF NAPLES, 156, 161.
- FERDINAND OF SPAIN, 156.
- FERNANDO CORTES, 13.
- FERNANDO PO, 6.
- FEUDAL SURVIVAL IN EUROPE, Chap. VIII.
- FLAG, UNITED STATES, 249.
- FLETCHER, 81.
- FLINDERS, 218.
- FLINDERS RANGE, 217, 221.
- FLORIDA, 66, 71, 247, 250, 255.
- FONTAINEBLEAU, DECREES OF, 152.
- FONTENOY, 90.
- FOOCHOW, 811.
- FORBES, 101.
- FORDE, COLONEL, 89.
- FORESTS, CONIFEROUS, 248.
- FORMOSA, 314.
- FORSTER, W. E., 204.
- FORT DUQUESNE, 102.
- FORT ST. GEORGE, 85, 287.
- FORT ST. DAVID, 87.
- FORT WILLIAM, 243.
- FORT WILLIAM HENRY, 101.
- FRAME, ARKWRIGHT'S, 121.
- FRAME, CROMPTON'S, 120, 121, 122.
- FRANCE, 22, 40, 42, 48, 45, 53, 54, 57, 67, 72, 86, 87, 88, 98, 96, 99, 106, 108, 131, sqq., 165 sqq., 161, 194, 201, 247, 278, 280, 285, 305, 813, 314, 315, 321, 324, 325, 327, 328.
- FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, 178.
- FRANCIS I OF FRANCE, 22.
- FRANCIS FERDINAND, ARCH-DUKE, 323.
- FRANCIS, JOSEPH, 166.
- FRANKFORT, 166.
- DIET OF, 155, 161, 171.
- TREATY OF, 173.
- *FREDERICK, ELECTOR PALATINE, 45.
- FREDERICK II (THE GREAT) O> PRUSSIA, 94, 95, 97, 99, 101, 131.
- FREDERICK WILLIAM T OF PRUSSIA, 95.
- FREDERICK WILLIAM IV, 166, 167.
- FREDERICK WILLIAM HQHEN-7OLLERN, 95.
- FREE STATE, IRISH, 206, 207, 277.
- FREE TRADE, 188, 189, 192.
- FRENCH, 31, Chap. IV, Chap. V, 86, 87, 89, 97, 135 sqq. (see also under separate headings).
- FRENCH FACTORIES* IN WEST AFRICA, 101.
- FRENCH IN INDIA, Chap V, 132.
- FRENCH AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 278, 327, 328.
- FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA Chap. IV, 96, 97, 99 sqq.
- IRENCH REVOLUTION, 135 sqq. 183.
- FRENCH WEST INDIES, 113.
- FRIEDLAND, 150.
- FROBISHER, 39.
- *t
- FRONTIER, INDIAN NORTH-WEST, 292, 301.
- FUR TRADE, COLONIAL, 113.
- GABELLE, 183.
- GAG ACTS, 181.
- GAGE, GENERAL, 105.
- GAMA, VASCO DA, 6, 83.
- GAMBIA, 6, 263, 264, 288.
- GAMBIER, 151.
- GAME LAW, 179.
- GANDHI, 302, 303.
- GANGES, 73, 75, 77, 81, 85, 86, 89, 90, 289, 296, 298.
- GANGES CANAL, 295.
- GARIBALDI, 170.
- GATUN DAM, 257.
- GEELONG, 225.
- GENOA, 158, 168.
- GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS OF NORTH AMERICA, 252.
- GEORGE I, OF ENGLAND, 54, 91, 92.
- GEORGE II OF ENGLAND, 92, 96, 101.
- GEORGE III OF ENGLAND, 92, 103, 104, 105, 117, 181, 202, 218.
- GEORGE IV OF ENGLAND, 92, 183.
- GEORGE V OF ENGLAND, 190, 195.
- GEORGE VI OF ENGLAND, 190.
- GEORGE, LAKE, 57, 97, 100.
- GEORGE, LLOYD, 195, 206.
- GEORGIA, 214, 250.
- GERMAN CONFEDERATION, 158, 171, 173, 322.
- GERMAN EAST AFRICA, 283, 285.
- GERMANY, 43, 181, 156, 161, 165, 166, 167, 191, 195, 206, 245, 275, 285, 305, 313, 314, 816, 322, 323, 324.
- GETTYSBURG, 250.
- GnATS, EASTERN, 77.
- GHATS, WESTERN, 77, 79.
- GIBRALTAR, 53, 54, 106.
- GILBERT, SIR HUMPHREY, 61.
- GIL LANNES, 6.
- GLADSTONE, 189, 191, 203, 204, 272, 280.
- GLADSTONIAN LIBERALS, 192.
- GLASGOW, UNIVERSITY OF, 269.
- GLENCOE, 52.
- GLOUCESTER, 118.
- GOA, 5, 7, 83.
- GOLD, 13, 29, 68, 71, 101, 108, 109, 223-224, 231, 243, 252, 264, 272, 275.
- GOLD COAST, 263, 264, 288.
- Golden Hmd, The*, 35.
- GOLDEN SECTION, 'THE, OF IRELAND, 198.
- GOOD HOPK, CAPE OF, 5, 6, 213, 264, 265.
- GORDON, GENERAL, 280, 281, 282.
- GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935, 304.
- GRAND CONSOLIDATED NATIONAL TRADES UNION, 187.
- GRANT, GFERAI, 250.
- GRASSLANDS, TEMPERATE, 245.
- GRASSLANDS, TROPICAL, 259.
- GRATTAN, 201, 202.
- GREAT BARRIER REEF, 213.
- GREAT BRITAIN (see separate headings and contents).
- GREAT DIVIDING RANGE, 219.
- Great Harv, The*, 31.
- GREAT LAKES, THE, 58, 60, 101, 102, 238, 240, 242, 243, 245, 247, 254.
- GREAT TREK, THE, 266.
- GREAT TRIANGLE OF TRADE, THE, 93.
- GREAT WAR (see World War of 1914-1918).
- GREECE, 158, 164, 321 sqq.
- GREEK CHRISTIANS AND CHURCH, 162, 164, 321-323.
- GREEK REVOLT, 162 sqq., 321, 322.
- GRENADA, 103.
- GRNVILLE (CHANCELLOR OF EXCHEQUER), 104.
- GRENVILLE, SIR RICHARD, 61.

INDEX

V

- GREY, CAPTAIN, LATER SIR GEORGE, 229.
 GREY, EARL, 184.
 GREY'S REFORMED PARLIAMENT, 264.
 GUADALOUPE, 71, 103.
 GUIANA, 159.
 GUILLOTINE, 139.
 GUINEA, 6, 7, 29, 68.
 GUINEA, GULF OF, 262.
 GUINEA, NEW, 213.
 GWALIOR, H. H. THE MAHARAJA SCINDIA OF, 805.
 HABSBURG, CHARLES, 22, 23, 24, 41.
 HABSBURG, HOUSE OF, 22, 41, 42, 43, 133, 154.
 HADITHA, 330.
 HAIFA, 328, 380.
 HAITI, 10.
 HALIFAX (CANADA), 240, 243.
 HAMITES, 262.
 HAN, RIVER, 816.
 HANKOW, 316, 317.
 HANOVER, 91, 95, 96, 99.
 HANOVERIANS, 92.
 HANOVER, GEORGE ELECTOR OF, 54.
 HARBIN, 318.
 HARDINGE, HENRY, 292.
 HARGREAVES, JAMES, 119, 120, 121.
 HASTINGS, LORD MOIRA, MAR-QUESS OF, 290.
 HASTINGS, WARREN, 96, 287, 288.
 HAVELOCK, 297, 298.
 HAYRE, 32.
 HAWKINS, JOHN, 33, 35, 39.
 HAWKINS, WILLIAM, 29, 33.
 HEJAZ, 329.
 HELIGOLAND, 158.
 HENRIETTA MARIA, 66.
 HENRY IV OF FRANCE, 38, 40, 41, 57.
 HENRY VII OF ENGLAND, 21, 27, 200.
 HENRY VIII OF ENGLAND, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.
 HENRY OF NAVARRE (see Henry IV of France)
 HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, 4, 5, 6.
 HERRICK, 50.
 HERZEGOVINA, 322, 323.
 HICKS PASHA, 280.
 HIMALAYAS, 74, 75, 290.
Hind, The Gwden, 35.
 HINDUS 77 81. 90. 291, 296, 801.
 HISPANIOLA, 7L.
 HOGARTH, 50.
 HOHENLINDEN, 146.
 HOHENZOLLERN, THE, 155.
 HOHENZOLLERN FREDERICK WILLIAM, 95.
 HOLLAND, 24, 48, 51, 52, 63, 07 106, 150, 158, 159, 263, 265.
 HOLSTEIN, 171, 172.
 HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 22, 91, 131, 150.
 HOME RULE, 204-206.
 HONG KONG, 311 319.
 HOOGHLI, 85, 86.
 HOWARD, 87, 39.
 HOWE, ADMIRAL, 141.
 HUDSON BAY COMPANY, 240.
 HUDSON, THE, 29, 67, 64, 66, 67, 100, 101, 102, 254.
 HUDSON, HENRY, 29, 67.
 HUGENOTS, 40, 41, 43, 95, 118.
 HUNDRED DAYS, THE, 157.
 HUNGARY, 3, 96, 127, 166, 167, 173.
 HURON, LAKE, 58, 66, 67, 243.
 HU SHIH, 319, 320.
 HUSKISSON, 183.
 HUSSAIN, 325, 329.
 HYDERABAD, 288. NIZAM OF, 305.
 HYDER ALI, 287, 288.
 IBN SAUD, 329.
 ILLINOIS, RIVER, 58.
 INCAS, 18, 1*.
 INDEPENDENCE, AMERICAN WAR OF, 133, 235, 247.
 INDIA, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 61, Chap. V, 93, 108, 112, 132, 144, 158, 159, 174, 258, 265, 278, Chap. XVI, 306, 307, 321, 330, 331, 832 338.
 INDIA ACTS, 288, 290, 298, 302, 304.
 INDIA COMPANIES, EAST (see separate headings).
 INDIA, MUSLIM LEAGUE, 300.
 INDIA, POPULATION OF, 286.
 INDIAN COMMISSION, 303.
 INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 302, 804.
 INDIAN MUTINY, 296 sqq., 811.
 INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, 303-305, 314.
 INDIAN OCEAN, 6, 36, 84, 211, 240, 262, 331.
 INDIANS RED, 19, 55, 64, 97, 100, 240.
 INDIES, EAST, 10, 67, 82, 83, 84, 108, 112.
 INDIES WEST, 10, 33^ 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 93, 96, 103 104, 106, 108, 113, 132, 148, 158, 263.
 INDO-CHINA, 300, 313.
 INDUS, 75, 77, 290, 291, 292.
 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 117 sqq., 335.
 INQUISITION, THE, AND N-QUISITORS, 24, 25, 27, 83 45 156.
 IONIAN ISLANDS, 158.
 IRAN 331 (see Persia)
 IRAQ, 321 327, 328, 329, 330.
 IRELAND, 29, 39, 52, 189, Chap XI, 245.
 IRELAND, ANGLICAN CHURCH IN 200, 203.
 IRISH IN AMERICA, 202, 203 201.
 IRISH LAND ACT, 203, 204.
 IRON AND IRON SMELTING, 121 sqq., 189, 191, 245, 254, 318.
 ISABELLA OF CASTILE, 7, 9, 10 21, 22, 30.
 ISLAM, 321, 329, Chap. XVIII.
 ISMAIL, 278, 280.
 ISTANBUL, 326 (see Constantinople).
 ITALY, 2A, 22, 140, 141, 156, 161, 166-171, 174, 245 258, 285, M22 325, 384.
 ACKASS, LAUGHING, 214.
 ACKSON, PORT, 214.
 JACKSON, * STONEWALL " 250.
 JACOBINS, 137.
AFFA, 145
AMAICA, 71.
 JAMES I OF ENGLAND, 44, 46, 46, 61, 71, 265.
 JAMES II OF ENGLAND, 46, 50, 51, 52, 199.
 JAMES, DUKK OF YORK, 68.
 JAMESON, DR 270.
 JAMES, RIVER, 62.
 AMESTOWN, 62.
 APAN 17ft 258. Chap. XVII 332.
 JARRAH TREES, 223.
 JAVA, 84 158, 211.
 JEHOI, 319.
 JENA, 150.
 JENKINS, CAPTAIN, 93.
 JENNY, SPINNING, 119-120.
 JERVIS, ADMIRAL, 142, 143.
 JETHRO TULL, 115.
 JEWS, 321, 327, 328, 880, 339.
 JOHANNESBURG, 274.
 JOHN I OF PORTUGAL (OF GOOD MEMORY) I
 JOHN II OF PORTUGAL, 6, 7.
 JOINT STOCK COMPANIES, 112.
 JOSEPHINE DF BEAUHARNAIS, 140, 154.
Judith, The, 38.
 JULY REVOLUTION, THE, 165.
 JUANA OF SPAIN, 22.
 IUAN PEREZ, 7.
 JUNOT, 151.
 KABUL, 292.
 KAFFIRS, 265, 260, 272.
 KAISER WILLIAM II, 173, 174, 193 276, 324.
 KALGOORLIE, 224.
 KARRI TREES, 223.
 KAY, JOHN, 119, 120.
 KEMAL, MUSTAPHA, 325.
 KEMPENFELT, ADMIRAL, 141.
 KENYA, 283.
 KERENSKY, 177.
 KHALIFA, 283.
 KHAN RIZA, 331.
 KHARTOUM, 280, 283.
 KHYBER PASS, 299.
 KIAU CHAU, 314.
 KIMBERLEY (AFRICA), 272, 275.
 KIMBEULEY (AUSTRALIA), 224.
 KINGSTON (ONTARIO), 235.
 KIRKUK, 330.
 KITCHENER, 277 282, 283, 301.
 KLEBER GFNERAL, 145.
 KOOKABURRA, 214.
 KOUAN, THE, 325.
 KOREA, 314.
 KOSCIUSKO, 219.
 KOSUTH, LOUIS, 166.
 KOTZBUE, 161.
 KRUGER, 274, 275, 276, 277.
 KSHATRYAS, 81.
 KUOMINTANG, 315, 316.
 KURDS, 321, 329.

- KWANG CHOW, 814.
 LABOUR, CHILD, 126, 179, 186, 192.
 LABOUR, FEM ALE, 192.
 LACHLAN MACQUARIE, 219.
 LACHLAN, RIVER, 219.
 LAGOS, 5, 6, 263.
 LAIBACH, CONGRESS OP, 161.
 LAISSER-PAIRE, 179.
 LAKES, THE GREAT, 101, 102, 238, 240, 243, 247, 254.
 LALLY TOLLENDAL, 89.
 LANCASHIRE, 118, 119, 121, 122, 181, 288, 240, 243, 247, 254.
 LAND ACT, IRISH, 203, 204.
 LAND LEAGUE, IRISH, 203, 204.
 LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS, 75.
 LA SALLE, 58.
 LAUD, ARCHBISHOP, 45, 64.
 LAUSANNE, CONFERENCE OF, 325.
 LAWRENCE OF ARABIA, 325.
 LAWRENCE, JOHN, 294, 296, 298.
 LAWRENCE, SIR HENRY, 292.
 LAWS (see separate headings).
 LEAGUE, ALL-INDIA MUSLIM, 306.
 LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 316, 319, 330.
 LEAGUE OF THE THREE EMPERORS, 174.
 LEE, ROBERT, 250.
 LEICESTER ABBEY, 30.
 LEIPSC, 154.
 LEOPOLD II OF BELGIUM, 285.
 LENIN, 177.
 LESSEPS, DE, 256.
 LEXINGTON, 105.
 LEYDEN, 63.
 LIAO TUNG, 813, 314.
 LIBERATION, WAR OP, 154.
 LIBYA, 285.
 LIGNY, 157.
 LIMERICK, 196, 198. TREATY OP, 199.
 LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, 249, 250, 251.
 LISBON, 5, 6, 7, 151, 152.
 LIVERPOOL, 264.
 LIVINGSTONE, 263, 267 sqq.
 LLOYD GEORGE, 195, 206.
 LOANDA, 269.
 LOBENGULA, 275.
 LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARDS, 191.
 LOFTY RANGE, 221.
 LOMBARDY, 168, 170.
 LOMBARDY, IRON CROWN OP, 147.
 LONDON, 48, 50, 90, 181, 255, 264, 266.
 LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 266, 269, 270.
 LONDON, TREATY OP, 323.
 LONDONDERRY, 199.
Londonderry Air, 202.
 LOON, DR., 261.
 LORD OF THE COMMERCE OF PERSIA, ARABIA AND INDIA, 7.
 LORRAINE, 173.
 Los ANGELES, 252, 255.
 LOUIS XIII, 38, 41, 42.
 LOUIS XIV, 38, 42, 48, 44, 51, 52, 54.
 LOUIS XV, 38.
 LOUIS XVI, 38, 133, 136, 189, 156, 165.
 " LOUIS XVII ", 156.
 LOUIS XVIII, 88, 156, 157, 158, 164.
 LOUIS BONAPARTE, 150.
 Louis PHILIPPE, 38, 165.
 Louis NAPOLEON, 166, 167 (see also Napoleon III).
 LOUISBURG, 87, 96, 97, 101, 213.
 LOUISIANA, 250.
 LOWER BURMA, 294.
 LUCKNOW, 298.
 LUGARD, LORD, 283.
 LUTHER, 22, 131, 161.
 LYTTON, LORD, 300.
 MACARTHUR, CAPTAIN JOHN, 218.
 MACAULAY, 291.
 MACDONALD, BM JOHN, 240.
 MACDONELL RANGE, 220.
 MACEDONIA, 323.
 MACMAHON SIR HENRY, 327.
 MACQUARIE, LACHLAN, 219.
 MACQUARIE, RIVER, 219.
 MADAGASCAR, 5, 6.
 MADIGAN, 222.
 MAD ^MULLAH OF SOMALILAND, 283.
 MADRAS, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 96, 97, 287, 300.
 MADRID, 152.
 MAGELLAN, 11, 14, 210. %
 MAGELLAN STRAIT, 11, 35.
 MAGENTA, 170.
 MAGNA CARTA, 105.
 MAGYARS, 166, 167.
 MAHDI, THE, 280, 282, 288.
 MAHE, 86.
 MAHRATTAS, 287-290, 298.
 MAIN, THE, 173.
 MAINE, 66.
 MAJUBA HILL, 272.
 MALABAR, 78, 79.
 MALACCA STRAIT, 84.
 MALARIA, 71, 256, 259.
 MALAY PENINSULA, 84, 258.
 MALTA, 147, 158.
 MANCHESTER, 125, 181, 186.
 MANCHURIA (MANCHUKUO), 318, 319.
 MANDATE SYSTEM, 327-330. "
 MANHATTAN, 255.
 MANITOBA, LAKE, 238. PROV-
 INCE, 240, 241.
 MAORIS, 229, 230, 231, 232.
 MARCO POLO, 7, 307.
 MARENGO, 146.
 MARIA THERESA, 95, 96, 99, 181.
 MARIE ANTOINETTE, 133, 136.
 MARIE DE MEDICI, 41, 44.
 MARIE LOUISE, 154, 156.
 MARINA, 15.
 MARLBOROUGH, DUCHESS OF, 53.
 MARLBOROUGH, DUKE OF, 53, 54.
 MARITIME PROVINCES, 254 (see also under separate headings).
 MARQUETTE, 58.
 MARTINIQUE, 71, 103.
 MARYLAND, 66.
 MARY STEWART, 36, 44, 46.
 MARY TUDOR, 28, 32, 40.
 MARY II OF ENGLAND, 46, 51.
 MASSACHUSETTS, 66, 96, 105.
 MASULIPATAM, 84.
 MATABELE, 272, 275*
Matthew, The, 27.
 MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD, 306.
 MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR, 21, 22.
 MAYA, 16.
Mayflower, The, 63, 64.
 MAZARIN, 42, 43.
 MAZZINI, 166, 168.
 MECHANICAL REVOLUTION, THE, 118 sqq., 179.
 MEDICI, MARIE DE, 41.
 MEDINA SIDONIA, DUKE OP, 37.
 MEDITERRANEAN, THE, 3, 4, 64, 100, 101, 142, 144, 145, 148, 154, 321. .
 MEDWAY, THE, 68.
 MEERUT, 296.
 MEHEMET ALI, 278, 321.
 MELBOURNE, 221, 225.
 MELBOURNE, LORD, 221, 237.
 M^{AC}CANTILISM, Chap. VII, 183
 189, 193, 200, 335, 336.
 MERIA SACRIFICES, THE, 294.
 MERINO SHEEP, 218.
 MESOPOTAMIA, 327 (see Iraq).
 METTERNICH, 155, 160, 161, 164, 166, 181.
 MEXICO, 13, 15, 18, 247, 249, 264
 MEXICO, GULF OP, 60, 69, 245, 247.
 MIAMI, 255.
 MICHAEL, GRAND DUKE, 177.
 MICHIGAN, LAKE, 58, 256.
 MIDLANDS, 124, 125.
 MILAN, 168.
 MILAN DECREES, 152.
 MILDENHALL, SIR JOHN, 88.
 MILTON, 50.
 MINORCA, 54, 100, 103.
 MIQUELON, 103.
 MIRABEAU, 135, 137.
 MIR JAFFIR, 89.
 MISSISSIPPI, THE, 58, 60, 103, 245, 247, 250, 254.
 MISSOURI, THE, 58, 245.
 M^I TLA, 16.
 MODENA, 165, 168, 170.
 MOERO, 270.
 MOGUL EMPIRE, 88.
 MOHAMMED II, 3.
 MOHAMMEDANS, 83, 162, 174, 296, 301, 306, Chap. XVIII.
 MOHAWK RIVER, 250.
 MOIRA, LORD, 294.
 MOLASSES, 104. MOLASSES ACT, 118.
 MOLDAVIA, 322.
 MOLILAMO, THE, 271.
 MOLUCCAS, 84.
 MONEY, 81, 108-113, 139.
 MONGOLS, 3, 81, 127.
 MONONGAHELA, RIVER, 97.
 MONROE DOCTRINE, THE, 162, 249.
 MONSOONS, 8* 216, 223.
 MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT, 802.
 MONTCALM, MARQUIS DE, 100, 101, 102, 103.
 MONTENEGRO, 322, 323.
 MONTESQUIEU, 134.
 MONTEZUMA, 13, 15, 16, 18.

INDEX

VII

- MoNI*ERRAT, 71.
MONTREAL, 57, 102, 103, 235, 240, 243.
MOONLIGHTERS, 204.
MOORE, SIR JOHN, 152.
MOORS, 7, 262.
MORAL PENTARCHY OF EUROPE, THE, 161.
MOREA, THE, 162.
MORE, THOMAS, 31.
MOREAU, GENERAL, 146.
MORMONS, 252.
MORNINGTON, LORD, 288, 281).
Moscow, 128, 154, 317.
Moscow, GRAND DUKE OF, 128.
MULE, CROMPTON'S, 122.
MUNRO, MAJOR, 90.
MURRAY, RIVER, 219, 220, 221.
MURRUMBIDGEE, THE, 219.
MOSLEM LAEOUE, THE ALL' INDIA, 306.
MUSTAPHA KEMAL, 325, 326.
MUTINY, THE FIRST INDIAN, 90.
MUTINY, THE INDIAN, 296 sqq., 311.
MYSORE, HYDER ALI OF, 287.
MYSORE, TIGER OF, 288.

NANKING, 317, 319.
NANKING, TREATY OF, 311.
NAPIER, SIR CHARLES, 292.
NAPLES, 150, 152, 156, 161.
NAPOLEON, 139, 140, Chap IX, 166, 201, 236, 247, 278, 288, 321.
" NAPOLEON II ", 167.
NAPOLEON III, 167, 170, 173.
NAPOLEON, LOUIS, 166, 167 (see also Napoleon III).
NAPOLEONIC WARS, Chap. IX, 188, 265.
NATAL, 5, 6, 267, 275, 277.
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE, 135 sqq.
NATIONAL DEBT, THE, 111, 112, 181.
NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES 111.
NATIONALIST PARTY, THINDIAN, 305.
Nations, The Wealth of, 183.
NAVARINO, 164.
NAVIGATION ACTS, 67.
NAVY, THE BRITISH, 106, 139, 141 sqq.
NAVY, THE FRENCH, 106, 142 sqq., 148.
NAZI-GERMANY, 305.
NEAGH, LOUGH, 198.
NECKER, 133, 134.
NEGRO SLAVES, 20, 68, 72, 93, 101, 185, 249, 250, 263, 264, 206.
NELSON, 143 sqq.
NELSON (N. Z.) 231.
• NETHERLANDS, 22, 24, 32, 36, 41, 52, 165.
NEUTRALITY OF THE NORTH, THE ARMED, 146.
NEVA, 129.
NEVIS, 71.
NEW AMSTERDAM, 67, 68, 69.
NEW BRUNSWICK, 234, 235, 230, 240, 242.
NEWCOMEN, 121, 122.
NEW ENGLAND, 63 sqq., 103, 106, 254.
NEWCASTLE, DUKE OF, 101.
NEWFOUNDLAND, 27, 54, 55, 61, 72, 103, 158, 213, 234, 236, 238.
NEW GUINEA, 213.
NEW HAMPSHIRE, 66.
NEW HOLLAND, 211.
NEW HAVEN, 66.
NEW JERSEY, 68.
NEW LANARK, 186.
NEW NETHERLANDS, 67.
NEW ORLEANS, 103, 247, 254, 255.
New PLYMOUTH (NORTH AMERICA), 66.
NEW PLYMOUTH (N. Z.), 231.
NEWPORT, CAPTAIN, 61, 62.
NEW SOUTH WALES, 213 sqq.
NEW YORK, 68, 105, 106, 254, 255, 256, 257.
NEW ZEALAND, 213, 227 sqq., 286.
NGAMI, LAKE, 269.
NIAGARA FALLS, 58, 243.
NICE, 170.
NICHOLAS I OP RUSSIA, 164, 165, 166, 175.
NICHOLAS II, 176, 178.
NICHOLSON, JOHN, 298.
NIEMEN, RIVER, 150.
NICOLLS, COLONEL, 67.
NIGER, RIVER, 261.
NIGERIA, 283.
Nihilists, 175.
NILE, RIVER, 144, 261, 270, 285.
Nina, The, 9, 10.
NINGPOO, 311.
NIZAM OF HYDERABAD, 305.
NOMBRE DE DIOS, 35.
NORE, THE, 142.
NORFOLK ROTATION OF CROPS, 115, 116.
NORTHERN RHODESIA, 276, 278.
NORTH ISLAND, NEW ZEALAND, 227 sqq.
• •
NORTH GERMANIC CONFEDERATION, 173.
NORTH, LORD, 235.
NORTH SEA, 39, 142, 194.
NORTH'S REGULATING ACT, LORD, 287.
NORTH, ROGER, 71.
NORTH-WEST PASSAGE, 29, 67, 214, 300.
NOTABLES, MEETING OF FRENCH, 134.
NOTTINGHAM, 120, 123.
NOVA SCOTIA, 27, 54, 72, 103, 234, 235, 236, 238, 240, 242.
NUNO TRISTRAM, 6.
NYASA, LAKE, 270.
NYASALAND, 283.

OATH OF THE TENNIS COURT, 135.
OCEAN, ATLANTIC, 4, 10, 11, 12, 27, 29, 119, 196, 198.
OCEAN, INDIAN, 6, 36, 84, 240, 262, 331.
OCEAN, PACIFIC, 11, 84.
O'CONNELL, DANIEL, 202.
OHIO, 58, 97, 101, 245.
OIL, 245, 252, 264, 283, 318, 321, 328, 330, 331, 332.
OIL COMPANY, ANGLO-PERSIAN, 331.
OIL PIPE LINES, 328, 330.
OLD AGE PENSIONS, 195.
OLD JARVIE, 142.
OMDURMAN, 282.
ONTARIO, LAKE, 68, 102, 285, 242, 243.
OPEN FIELDS SYSTEM, 114, 118.
OPIUM WAR, 311.
ORANGE FREE STATE, 266, 267, 272, 276, 277.
ORANGE RIVER, 266.
ORANGE, WILLIAM OF, 51, 52, 199.
ORDERS IN COUNCIL, 152.
OREGON TREATY, 249.
ORLEANS, DUKE OF, 138, 165.
ORLEANS, ISLE OF, 102.
ORMUZ, 5, 7.
ORSINI, 170.
ORTHODOX CHURCH, CREEK, 164.
OTAGO, 231.
OTTAWA, 235, 242.
OTTOMAN TURKS, 3.
OUDH, 298.
NAWAB OF, 90.
OWEN, ROBERT, 186, 187.
OXFORD UNIVERSITY, 275.

PACIFIC, THE, 11, 29, 35, 36, 84, 210, 213, 242, 255, 316.
PALAEOLITHIC MAN, 265.
PALE, THE, 198.
PALESTINE, 827 sqq.
PALMAS, CAPE, 5, 6.
PALMERSTON, 165, 170, 191, 322.
PALMYRA PALM TREES, 79.
PALOS, 7.
PAMIR KNOT, 74.
PANAMA CANAL, 244, 256, 257.
PANAMA, ISTHMUS OF, 18, 35.
PANKHURST, MRS., 194.
PAPAL AUTHORITY, 20, 21, 24, 80, 32.
PAPAL STATES, 165, 168.
PARIS, 136, 137, 154, 173.
PARIS, CONGRESS OF, 155, 170, TREATY OF, 103, 234.
PARKER, 142.
PARKER, ADMIRAL, 146.
PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, 184, 185, 188, 191, 193, 204.
PARMA, DUKE OF, 36, 39.
PARMA, 165, 168, 170, 369.
PARNELL, 203-205.
PATERSON, WILLIAM, 111.
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER, 171.
Patriot King, The, 10*.
PAVIA, UNIVERSITY OF, 7.
PEEL COMMISSION, THE, 33f.
PEELERS, 183.
PEEL, ROBERT, 183, 188, 189, 249.
PEKING, 311, 314, 316.
PENN. ADMIRAL, 60, 71.
PENN. WILLIAM, 66.
PENINSULAR WAR, 152 sqq.
PENNINKS, 118.
PENNSYLVANIA, 66, 71.
PPRE7, JUAN, 7.
PERSIA AND PERSIANS, 83, 321, 830, 331.

- PERSIAN EMPIRE, 33d.
 PERSIAN GULF, 7, 331.
 PERSIAN OIL COMPANY, ANGLO-331.
 PERTH (AUSTRALIA), 228, 226, 227.
 PERU, 18, 35.
 PERUVIAN MINES, 108.
 PESHWA, THE, 289.
 PETER I (THE GREAT) OF RUSSIA, 128 sqq.
 " PETERLOO ", 181, 182.
 PHILADELPHIA, 100, 106, 255.
 PHILIP, LORD OF NETHERLANDS, 22.
 PHILIP (BOURBON), 53, 54.
 PHILIP II OF SPAIN, 24, 82, 83, 35, 36.
 PHILIPPINES, 11, 211.
 PHOENIX, CAPTAIN, 214.
 PHOENIX PARK MURDERS, 204.
 PIEDMONT, 158, 161, 168.
 PIERRE D'AILLY, 7.
 PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE, 31.
 PILGRIM FATHERS, 64 sqq.
Pinto, The, 9, 10.
 PITTSBURG, 102.
 PITT, THE ELDER, 90, 100, 101, 105, 235.
 PITT, THE YOUNGER, 138, 183, 201, 202, 235, 288.
 PITT'S CANADA ACT, 235.
 PITT'S INDIA ACT, 288.
 PIPE LINES, 328, 330.
 Pius VII, POPE, 147.
 PIZARRO, 19.
 PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, 103.
 PLIMSOLL ACT, 192.
 PLASSEY, 89, 101.
 PLASSEY, LORD CLIVE OF, 89.
 PLYMOUTH, 29, 63, 213.
 Po, THE VALLEY OF THE, 140.
 POCAHONTAS, 62.
 POLAND, 127, 128, 129, 131, 138, 166, 168, 245.
 POLITICAL REFORM, 139, 184, 185, 188, 191, 193, 204.
 POLITICAL REGISTER, THE, 184.
 POLO, MARCO, 7, 307.
 PONDICHERY, 86, 87.
 POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION OF, 191.
 POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 185, 187.
 POOR MAN'S ROBBERY BILL, 187.
 POPACATAPETL, 15, 16.
 POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA, 224, 225; CANADA, 244; CAPE COLONY, 273; CHINA, 319, 320; ENGLAND, 180; INDIA, 286, 306; NEW YORK, 255; NEW ZEALAND, 227, 232; PALESTINE, 328; U.S.A. 245, 250, 254.
 PORT ARTHUR, 243, 314, 318.
 PORTE, THE, 321.
 PORTLAND, 255.
 PORTO RICO, 71.
 PORTSMOUTH, 31, 141.
 PORTUGAL AND PORTUGUESE, 3-13, 20, 27, 29, 36, 71, 83, 84, 151, 152, 263, 265, 270, 285.
 POTOMAC, 255.
 POTSDAM GUARDS, 95.
 POWER LOOMS, 121.
 POWER, STEAM, 121 sqq.
 POWHATAN, 62.
 POYNING'S ACT, 200.
 PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 241, 242.
 PRESSBURG, TREATY OF, 150.
 PRIDEAUX, COLONEL, 102.
 PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 234, 236, 242.
 PROTESTANTS, 24, 27, 31, 32, 40, 42, 50, 52, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202.
 PRUSSIA, 91, 95, 96, 99, 131, 136, 137, 138, 139, 146, 150, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 166, 167, 168, 170 sqq., 189, 192, 194, 277 (see also Germany), 336.
 PUBLIC HEALTH ACT, 192.
 PUDDLING, CORT'S PROCESS, 123.
 PULTAWA, 129.
 PUNJAB, THE, 75, 292, 294, 296, 302.
 PURCELL, 50.
 PURITANS, 45, 47, 50, 63 sqq.
 PYRENEAS, 154.
 QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE, 158, 161, 162.
 QUAKERS, 66, 71, 180.
 QUEBEC, 57, 101, 102, 103, 107, 213, 234, 235, 242, 244.
 QUEBEC ACT, 235.
 QUEENSLAND, 221, 224, 225, 227, 244.
 QUETTA, 300.
 QUINTUPLE ALLIANCE, 161, 162, 165.
 RABBIT, L.A., 7.
 RABBITS IN AUSTRALIA, 225.
 RAILWAYS, 189, 227, 254, 318, 331.
 RALEIGH, SIR WALTER, 61.
 RAND, THE, 272, 2<6.
 RANGIT SINGH, 292.
 REBELLION OF 1798, IRISH, 201.
 RED INDIANS, 55 sqq., 97, 100, 104, 105.
 REDMOND, JOHN, 205.
Redoubtable, The, 148.
 RED RIVER, 241.
 RED SEA, 6, 329. -- <.
 REFORM ACT (1832), 184, 185, 188.
 REFORM ACT (1867), 191.
 REFORM ACT (1884), 193, 204.
 REFORMED PARLIAMENT, GREY'S, 264, 290.
 REFORMATION, 22-26, 30, 31, 32, 198.
 REFORM. POLICY OF, 139, "184, 185, 188, 191, 193.
 REGINA, 241.
 REGIONS OF NORTH AMERICA, GEOGRAPHICAL, 252.
 REGULATING ACT. LORD NORTH'S, 287.
 RENAISSANCE, 21, 332.
 REPEAL OF THE CORN LAW, 189, 237.
 REPORT ON CANADA, DURHAM'S, 237.
Resolution, The, 214.
 REVOLUTION, AGRICULTURAL 114 sqq., 181.
 REVOLUTION, CHINESE, 316.
 REVOLUTION, DIPLOMATIC, 59.
 REVOLUTION, ECONOMIC, IN TURKEY, 326.
 REVOLUTION, FRENCH, 181 sqq., 183, 201.
 REVOLUTION, INDUSTRIAL, 117 sqq., 176, 181, 335.
 REVOLUTION OF 1848, 167, 1**.
 RHINE, CONFEDERATION OF T.K., 150, 158.
 RHODES, CECIL, 275-276, 285.
 RHODESIA, SOUTHERN, 276, 277.
 RHODESIA, NORTHERN, 276, 278, 283.
 RHODE ISLAND, 66.
 RICE, 67, 77, 79, 104, 200, 2*4.
 RICHELIEU, 41, 42, 45.
 RICHELIEU, RIVER, 57.
Rights of Man, The, 136.
 RIZA KHAN, 331.
 ROBERTS, LORD, 277, 300.
 ROBESPIERRE, 138, 139.
 ROCHEFORT, 148.
 ROCKY MOUNTAINS (also ROCK-IES), 240, 241, 245, »#7, 252.
 ROCKY MOUNTAIN PLATFAU, 252.
 RODNEY, ADMIRAL, 142, 148.
 ROMAGNA, 168, 170.
 ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 24, 27, 30, 147 156 (set-also The Church).
 ROMAN CATHOLICS, 31, 32, 42, 50, 51, 52, 198, 200, 201, 202, 234, 235.
 ROMAN CATHOLICS, IRISH, 199, 200, 201, 202.
 ROME, 166, 170, 171.
 ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT, 266.
 ROOT CROPS, 115-117.
 ROSES, WARS OF, 21.
 ROSS, RONALD, 256.
 ROTTEN BOROUGHS, 185.
 ROUMANIA, 162, 322, 323.
 ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, INDIAN, 303.
 ROVUMA, 270.
Royal George, The, 141.
 ROYAL SOCIETY, THE, 213 214.
Royal Sovereign, The, 148.
 RUBBER, 258.
 RUHR, THE, 189.
 RUSSELL, BERTRAND, 309.
 RUSSELL, LORD JOHN, 184.
 RUSSIA, 127 sqq., 146, 150, 161, 154, 157, 160, 164, 166, 108, 170, 171, 174, 178, 245, 249, 292, 313-316, 321, 822, 824, 330, 331.
 RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 314, 318.
 ROUMELIA, 322, 323.
 ROUSSEAU, 134.
 SAAR COALFIELDS, 189, 191.
 SACRAMENTO, RIVER, 252.
 SACRED MONTH, 'I HE, 187.
 SAHARA, 259, 261, 285.
 ST. CHRISTOPHER, 71.
 ST. HELENA, 158.
 ST. JOHN (CANADA), 243.
 ST. KITTS, 71.

INDEX

IX

- ST. LAWRENCE, 56 sqq., 68, 64,
 W, 72, 101, 102, 111H, 234,
 236, 242, 243, 244-
 ST. LOUIS (U.S.A.), 254.
 ST. LUCIA, 71.
 ST. PETERSBURG, 129, 131, 177.
 ST. PETER'S FIELDS, 181, 182.
 ST. PIERRE, 103.
 ST. VINCENT, CAPE, 142.
 ST. VINCENT, EARL, 143, 144,
 148.
 ST. VINCENT'S GULF, 220.
 SAINTS, BATTLE OF THE, 106, 142.
 SALISBURY, LORD, 193.
 SALONIKA, 323.
 SALT LAKE CITY, 252.
 SAN DIEGO, 252.
 SAN DOMINGO, 10.
 SAN FRANCISCO, 252, 255.
 SAN JOAQUIN, RIVER, 252.
 SAN SALVADOR, 9.
 SAN STEFANO, TREATY OF, 322.
Santa Maria, The, 9, 10, 12.
 SARATOGA, 106, 201.
 SARDINIA, 168.
 SASKATCHEWAN, 240, 241, 242.
 SASKATOON, 241.
 SATI (SUTTEE), 291, 294.
 SATPURA HILLS, 77.
 SAUDI ARABIA, 329.
 SAUD, IBN, 329.
 SAUNDERS, ADMIRAL, 102.
 SAVERY, 121.
 SAVINGS CERTIFICATES, 111.
 SAVOY, 170.
 SAVOY, HOUSE OF, 168.
 SAXONY, COALFIELDS OF, 189,
 191.
 SAXONY, GERMAN DUCHY OF, 128.
 SGHLKSWIG, DUCHY OF, 171, 172.
 SCIENTIFIC FARMING, 115 sqq.
 SCOTCH PRESBYTERIAN COLONY
 IN NEW ZEALAND, 230.
 SCOTLAND, 36, 39, 58, 96, 186,
 201.
 SCOTTISH HIGHLANDERS, 91.
 SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 283.
 SCROOBY, 63.
 SEA OF DARKNESS, 7.
 SEATTLE, 255.
 SECESSIONISTS, 250.
 SECTION, THE GOLDEN, 198.
 SELKIRK, LORD, 238.
 SEMITES, 262.
 SENEGAL, 6, 283.
 SEPARATISTS, 63.
 SEPOYS, 86, 88, 90, 296.
 SERAJEVO, 323.
 SERBIA AND SERBS, 174, 322, 323,
 324.
 SEVEN WEEKS' WAR, 173.
 SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 88, 99, 213,
 247.
 SEYMOUR, 39.
 SHAFESBURY, LORD, 192.
 SHAH SHUJA, 292.
 SHANGHAI, 311, 319.
 SHANNON, 196, 197, 198, 205, 207.
 SHANTUNG, 316.
 SHEEP, 114, 117, 118, 200, 218,
 219, 225, 231, 232, 271.
 SHEK, CHIANG KAI, 316, 317.
 SHIP'S COMPASS, 9.
 SHIRE, 270.
 SHIRLEY, WILLIAM, 166.
 SHROPSHIRE, 87, 122.
 SIBERIA, 167, 175, 176.
 SICILIES, THE KINGDOM OF THE
 Two, 156, 168, 170.
 SICK MAN OF EUROPE, THE, 325.
 SIDMOUTH, LORD, 183.
 SIERRA LEONE, 261, 263, 264.
 SIERRA MADRE, 247.
 SIERRA NEVADA, 247, 252.
 SIGNALLING CODE, KEMPEN-
 FELT'S, 141.
 SIKHS, 292, 294, 296, 298.
 SILESIA, 95, 96, 97, 191.
 SILVER, 13, 35, 71, 108, 109, 225,
 242, 252.
 SILVER MINING (AUSTRALIA), 224.
 SIMON, SIR JOHN, 803.
 SIMPSON DESERT, 222.
 SINDIS, 292.
 SINGH, RANJIT, 292.
 SINUS FEIN, 205, 206.
Sinn, The, 214.
 SIX COUNTIES, THE, 208.
 SLAVERY, NEGRO, 19, 67, 72, 93,
 101, 185, 249, 250, 263, 264,
 266, 285.
 SMITH, ADAM, 183.
 SMITH, CAPTAIN JOHN, 61 sqq.
 SMITH, DONALD (LORD STRATH-
 MORE), 240.
 SMITH* SYDNEY, 145, 151.
 SMITHFIELD, 117.
 SMOKING MOUNTAIN, THE, 16.
Smol Contract, The, 134.
 SOCIETY, ANTI-SLAVERY, 249.
 SOCIETY, CHURCH MISSIONARY
 266.
 SOCIETY, LONDON MISSIONARY,
 266, 269, 270.
 SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN,
 211.
 SOCIETY, THE ROYAL, 213, 214.
 SOCIETY, ROYAL AGRICULTURAL
 117.
 SOHO, BIRMINGHAM, 123.
 SOLFERINO, 170.
 SOLOMON'S MINES, KING, 275.
 SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT, 22.
 SOMALILAND, BRITISH, 283, 285.
 SOMERSET, 117.
 "Soo" CANALS, 243.
 SOUTH AFRICA, 6, 193, Chap. XV.
 (see Africa).
 SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, 193, 277.
 SOUTH AMERICA, 18-20, 93, 108,
 112, 161, 162, 249.
 SOUTHAMPTON, 63.
 SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 224, 227.
 SOUTH CAROLINA, 104, 250.
 SOUTHERN ALPS (NEW ZEALAND)
 232, 233.
 SOUTHERN RHODESIA, 276, 277.
 SOUTH ISLAND (NEW ZEALAND),
 229 sqq.
 SOUTH SEA BUBBLE, 113.
 SOUTH SEA COMPANY, 112, 113.
 SPAIN AND SPANIARDS, Chap. I,
 Chap. II, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 52,
 54, 62, 71, 72, 98, 96, 99, 106,
 108, 142, 143, 148, 152, 153,
 166, 162, 218, 227, 247, 263.
 SPANISH SOUTH AMERICAN
 COLONIES, 54, 93, 161, 162, 249.
 SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR, 53,
 95 sqq.
 SPANISH ULCER, THE, 153.
Speedwell, The, 63.
 SPENCE GULF, 218.
 SPICER ISLANDS, 84, 211.
 SPINNING MACHINES, 117 sqq.
 SPIT, THE, 32.
 SPITHEAD, 141.
 STAMP ACT, 104, 105.
 STANLEY, 271.
 STATES GENERAL, 133, 134, 135.
 STATES, PAPAL, 168, 170.
 STEAM POWER, 123 sqq.
 STEEL, 191.
 STEIN, 153.
 STEWART, CHARLES EDWARD, 96.
 STEWART, JAMES EDWARD, 91.
 STEWART, MARY, 36, 44, 46.
 STEWARTS, 46, 91, 96, 198, 199.
 STONEWALL JACKSON, 250.
 STOURBRIDGE, WORCESTERSHIRE,
 118.
 STRAFFORD, EARL, 198.
 STRATHCONA, LORD, 240.
 STRUTT, 120.
 STUART, CHARLES, 219, 220.
 SUDAN, 278, 280 sqq.
 SUDRAS, 81.
 SUEZ CANAL, 256, 278, 285.
 SUGAR, 72, 104, 113, 132, 159,
 233, 254, 332.
 SULAIMAN MOUNTAINS, 75.
 SUMATRA, 83, 84.
 SUNDA STRAIT, 84.
 SUN YAT SEN, DR., 315, 316, 817.
 SUPERIOR, LAKE, 58, 240, 243.
 SURAT, 84, 85.
 SURAJAH DAULAH, 88, 89.
 SUSQUEHANNA, 255.
 SUTPURA HILLS, 27.
 SUTTEE (SATI), 291, 294.
 SWEDEN, 42, 62, 128, 146, 153, 154.
 SWITZERLAND, 227.
 SYDNEY (AUSTRALIA) 214, 225.
 SYRIA, 144, 321-327, 330.
 SYSTEM, THE CONTINENTAL, 150,
 151, 152, 154.
 SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT, 327.
 TAGUS, THE, 152.
 TAHITI, 213.
 TALavera, 152.
 TALavera, VISCOUNT WELLING-
 TON OF, 152.
 TALLEYRAND, 156, 157.
 TANGANYIKA, 276, 283, 285.
 TANGANYIKA LAKE, 270.
 TARTARS, 83, 127.
 IASMAN, 211.
 TASMANIA, 211, 220, 227.
 I EHERAN, 831.
 TEL-EL-KEBIR, 280.
 TENASSERIM, 290.
 TENNIS COURT OATH, 135.
 TERRITORY, NORTH-WEST, 244.
 TERRORISTS, 175.
 ERROR, RUSSIAN REION OF,
 178.
 TERROR, THE, 138.
 TEWFIK, 278.
 TEXAS, 247, 249, 250, 254.
 THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 42, 67, 95.
 THORNHILL, SIR JAMES, 50.

- THRACE, 823.
 THUGS (THAOI), 291, 284.
TIBET, 75.
TICONDEROGA, 100, 102.
 TIENSIN, PORT OF, 811.
 TIENSIN, TREATY OF, 811
 TIERS ETAT, 135.
 TIGER OP MYSORE, 288.
 TILSIT, TREATY OF, 150.
 TIPPERARY, 198.
 TIPU SAHIB, 288.
 TOBACCO, 10, 67, 71, 72, 93, 104,
 245, 249, 254, 263.
 TOBAGO, 69, 71, 103.
 TOKIO, 815.
TOLLENDAL, LALLY, 89.
TOLPUDDLE, 187.
 TONE, WOLFE, 201.
 TONG-KING, 313.
 TORDESILLAS, TREATY OF, 13.
 TORRES, 213.
 TORONTO, 236, 288.
 TORRID ZONE, 223
 TOULON, 148.
 TOWNSHND, " TURNIP ", 115.
 TRADE AND TRADERS, 3, 4, 6, 60,
 " 83, 84, 85, 89, 101, 110, 112,
 131, 144, 150, 191, 310, 312,
 316, 827, 336.
 TRADE UNIONS, 184, 187, 188, 192.
 TRADE WINDS, 12, 223, 259, 266.
 TRAFALGAR, 148-150.
 TRANSJORDAN, 327-828.
 TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY, 318.
 TRANSPORT, 125.
 TRANSVAAL, 266, 272, 274, 275,
 276, 277.
 TREATIES (see separate headings)
 TREATY PORTS, 311.
 TRIANGLE OF TRADE, 93, 112.
 TRICHINOPOLI, 87, 88.
 TRINIDAD, 12, 71.
 TRIPLE ALLIANCE, 174.
 TRIPLE ENTENTE, 174, 176.
 TRIPOLI, 285, 330.
 TROPPAU, CONGRESS OF, 161.
 TROPICS, 75, 223, 259.
 TROTSKY, 177.
 TSETSE FLY, 259.
 TUDOR, MARY, 28, 32, 40.
 TUDORS AND TUDOR ENGLAND,
 27, 28, 82, 83, 114, 198.
 TUILERIES, 137.
 TULL, JBTHRO, 115.
 TURGOT, 133, 134.
 TURIN, 170.
 TURKESAN 3.
 TURKISH EMPIRE, 128, 278.
 TURKS AND TURKEY, 3, 22, 62,
 88, 129, 144, 162, 164, 174,
 321-827.
 TUSCANY, 168, 170.
 " TWOPENNY TRASH " COB-
 BETT'S, 184.
 UGANDA, 283.
 UTILANDERS, 272 sqq.
 ULM, 150.
 ULSTER, 198, 206.
 UMBRIA, 168, 170.
 UNION OF ENGLAND AND IRE-
 LAND, 201-202.
 UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOT-
 LAND, 201.
 UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, ACT
 OF, 277.
 UNION OF UPPER AND LOWER
 CANADA, 237.
 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
 106, 162, 225, Chap. XIV, 264
 286, 320.
 UNKARI SKELESSI, TREATY OF,
 322.
 UNTOUCHABLES, 81, 82, 302.
 URBAN, BENJAMIN D', 266
 UTAH, 252.
 UTRECHT, TREATY OF, 54, 72, 93,
 95, 96, 234.
 VAAL, 266.
 VAISYAS, 81.
 VALERA, DE, 206, 209.
 VANCOUVER, 234, 240, 244, 257.
 VATICAN, 185, 137, 140, 170.
 VENICE, 166, 168, 171
 VERA CRUZ, 13
 VERDE CAPE 6. ISLANDS, 11,
 13.
 VEREBNIGING, TREATY OF, 277.
 VERONA, CONGRESS OF, 162, 247.
 VESPUCCI, AMERIGO, 11.
 VERSAILLES, 43, 106, 135, 186,
 137. TREATY OF, 285.
 VICTOR EMMANUEL II, 168-170.
 VICTORIA (AUSTRALIA), 220, 221,
 223, 225, 227.
 VICTORIA FALLS, 262, 270, 276
 VICTORIA, QUEEN, 188, 190, 193,
 220, 237, 270, 301.
Victory, The, 148, 149.
 VIENNA, 3 22, 150, 155, 156, 158,
 166.
 VIENNA, CONGRESS AND TREATY
 OF, 156-160, 168, 171.
 VIKINGS 196.
 VILLAFRANCA, 170.
 VILLENEUVE, 148.
 VIMEIRO, 151.
 VINDHYA MOUNTAINS, 77.
 VIRGINIA, 61 sqq., 66, 67, 91
 214, 236.
 VIRGINIA COMPANY, 61-63.
Vittoria, The, 11.
 VLADIVOSTOCK, 313, 318.
 VOLKSRaad, 274.
 VOLTAIRE, 134, 155.
 VOTES FOR WOMEN, 194, 195
 WAKEFIELD, GIBBON, 229.
 WALLACHIA, 322.
 WALPOLE, ROBERT, 91, 93, 113,
 179, 200.
 WANDEWASH, 89.
 WARNER, THOMAS, 71.
 WAR (1939), 285, 336.
 WARP, 118.
 WARREN HASTINGS, 287, 288
 WARS (see separate heading!)
 WARTBURG, 161.
 WASHINGTON, GEORGE, 17, 100
 105, 106, 201.
 WASHINGTON (U.S.A.), 286, 255.
 WATER-FRAME, ARKWRIGHT'S.
 122.
 WATERLOO, 157, 158.
 WATT, JAMES, 121, 128.
Wealth of Nations, The, 188.
 WEFT, 118.
 WEI HAI WEI, 314.
 WBLAND SHIP CANAL, 248.
WELLBSLEY, MARQUESS OF, (LORD
MORNINGTON), 288, 289.
 WELLINGTON, DUKE OF, 151
 152, 154, 157, 164, 184, 288.
 WELLINGTON, N. Z., 227, 281.
 WELLS, AUSTRALIAN, 222.
 WELLS, H. G., 145.
 WELT POLITIK, 833.
 WESTERLIES, 2, 238.
 WESTERN DEVELOPMENT or
 CANADA, 243.
 WESTERN DEVELOPMENT OF
 U.S.A., 247.
 WESTERN GHATS, 77, 79.
 WEST INDIES, 10, 38, 68, 69, 70,
 71, 72, 93, 96, 103, 104, 106,
 108, 113, 132, 148, 158, 268
 WESTMINSTER, 202.
 WESTMINSTER ABBEY, 271.
 WESTPHALIA, PEACE OF, 42.
 WESTRALIA, 223
 WEST RIDING, 118
 WEXFORD, 198.
 WHIFF OF GRAPESHOT, 140.
 WIGHT, ISLE OF, 31.
 WILBERFORCE, 185.
 WILLIAM II (KAISER), 173, 174,
 192, 193, 824.
 WILLIAM III OF ENGLAND, 46
 51, 52, 57, 110, 199, 200.
 WILLIAM IV OF ENGLAND, 92,
 188.
 WILLIAM HENRY, FORT, 101.
 WILLINGDON, LORD, 303
 WILTSHIRE, 118
 WINDSOR, 218.
 WINDS, TRADE, 12, 223, 259. 2fth
 WINNIPEG, 241, 243, 244.
 WINNIPEG, LAKE, 236, 241
 WINTHROP, JOHN, 66.
 WITWATERSRAND, 272.
 WOLFE, 101, 102, 103, 218, 234
 WOLFE TONE, 201
 WOLSEY, 30.
 WOLSELEY, SIR GARNET, 280.
 WOOF, 118.
 WOOL, 114.
 WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE, 117-
 118, 200, 254.
 WORCESTERSHIRE, 118, 119.
 WORKMEN'S 'DWELLINGS ACT,
 192.
 WORLD WAR OF 1914-1918, 160,
 176, 195, 206, 227, 285, 302,
 315, 324, 336.
 WREN, CHRISTOPHER, 50.
 YANGTSE KIANG, 311, 316.
 YEOMAN FARMERS, 115.
 YORK, JAMES, DUKE OF, 68.
 YORK CANADA (TORONTO), 236
 YORKSHIRE, 118, 121.
 YORKTOWN, 106.
 YOUNG, ARTHUR, 117.
 YOUNG ITALY, 166, 168.
 YOUNG TURKS, 323.
 YUCATAN PENINSULA, 69
 YUKON, 244.
 ZAMBEZI, RIVER, 262, 269, 270
 275, 276.
 ZOLLVEREIN, 171.
 ZOLLVEREIN, IMPERIAL, 198.
 ZULUS, 272.

