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THE BRITISH EMPIRE
AND
THE MODERN WORLD

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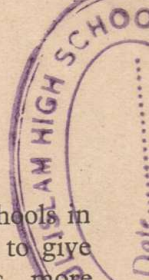

PREFACE

THIS book has been written for use in secondary schools in various parts of the British Empire. Its object is to give enough knowledge of recent world developments, more especially as they affect the British Empire, to enable the reader to obtain a background for a clear understanding of recent political, economic and social changes in his own country. A list of books for further reading in particular subjects will be found at the end of this book, together with a glossary of less common words and technical terms for the aid of those students who are not wholly familiar with the English language.

Some readers may feel that the treatment in the first four chapters of industrial, social and civic development in Britain is too detailed for a book primarily intended for use in the Empire overseas. The vast changes in Britain during the past hundred and fifty years, however, have already deeply affected the lives of people living in even the most distant parts of the Empire, and the influence of those changes has not yet fully been felt. Some understanding of conditions in modern Britain is therefore very necessary if the peoples of the Empire, more particularly those of the non-self-governing colonies, are to be able to understand what is now taking place among them, and where it may lead them.

I should mention that this book is also published in a special edition for African Schools, as Book IV of my *Tropical Africa in World History*.

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BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1783-1914

CHAPTER ONE

THE CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

1. INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES

Many far-reaching changes have taken place in the world during the last two hundred years, and among the most notable of these has been the great increase in world trade. Almost every country now has an import and export trade far greater than at any earlier age in world history. This is almost entirely due to the development of modern kinds of industry, first in parts of Britain, and later in parts of other countries such as France, Germany, Italy, the United States, and, later still, in Japan and India.

This growth of world trade has been accompanied by many other changes: in the methods of transport, in the spread of education and health services; and, not least important, in the ways of life of many different communities. In this book we shall examine those parts of modern history which help to explain why these changes occurred, and we shall pay particular attention to the changes that have taken place in the British Empire.

Why Europeans value trade with other countries

It may be difficult for us to understand exactly why Europeans want to buy great quantities of rubber, tin, groundnuts, cotton, palm oil, and other produce. Some

of them arrive in tropical colonies in the government service to advise farmers how best to take care of their farms and produce good crops ; others go to give herdsmen advice on looking after their cattle and goats. We may also hear that there is plenty of good farm ground in England, and that English cattle are among the best in the world. If the English, for example, really know a great deal about farming and cattle-raising, why don't they grow enough food for themselves ? Why do they wish to buy colonial produce ? The same questions could be asked about certain other European countries, and about the United States of America. The fact that colonial produce is grown in tropical or sub-tropical countries, and that most of the countries buying it are cool countries, affords a partial explanation, but other facts must also be considered.

The differences between life in industrial countries and elsewhere

The real answer to these questions can only be found by studying the history of Europe, particularly that of Great Britain, during the last hundred and fifty years. The conditions under which people live in many parts of Europe are quite different from those found in most parts of Africa. They are the result of events which have taken place in quite recent times. How great this difference has become can best be realized with the help of a few examples.

(i) *Food production.* There are only a few parts of the world where people do not grow enough food for themselves on their own farms. Most people in Asia and Africa farm or herd animals, even if they work at some other craft in their spare time, and they can produce enough food for themselves and the traders and craftsmen of the towns, and still have some left for export.

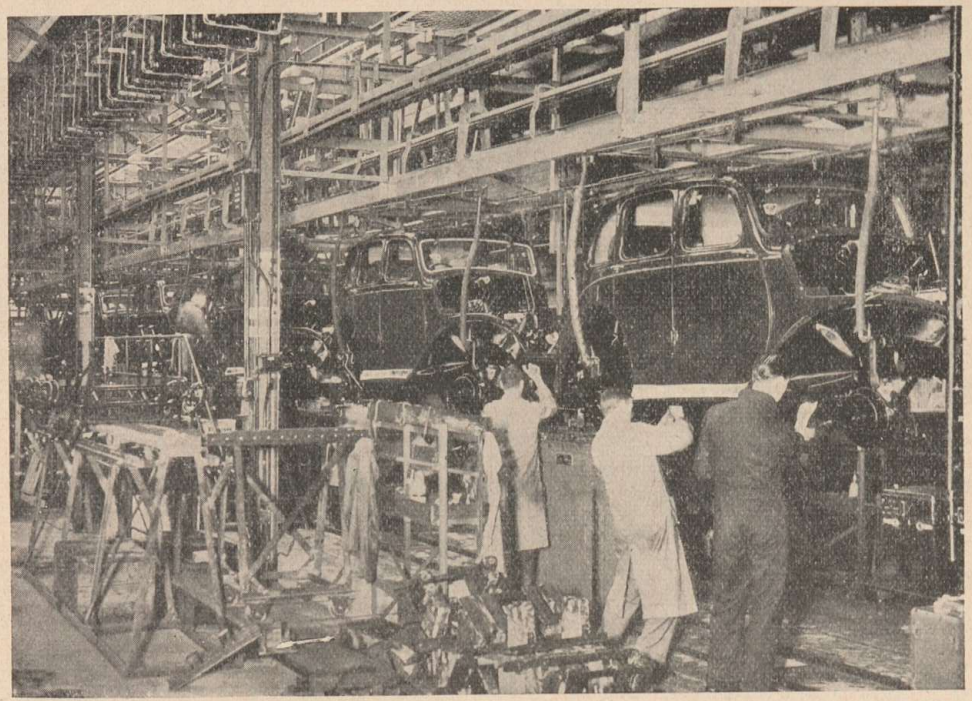
In Britain on the other hand only a small part of the people are farmers, and although they have the help of machinery

to do the heavy work of ploughing and harvesting, they can only produce a part of the food needed by the whole population. All the remainder has to be brought in from other countries. For example, meat is taken to England from Australia, New Zealand, the U.S.A., and the Argentine ; butter and cheese from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Denmark ; wheat from Australia, Canada, and the U.S.A. ; fruit of many different kinds from Canada, the U.S.A., South Africa, and Mediterranean countries, as well as from many places in the tropics.

(ii) *Clothing*. Fifty years ago nearly all Africans, and many people in Asia and America, wore clothing made from materials such as cotton, skins, leaves, and bark, which they could easily obtain locally. Even to-day it is still the most usual covering for great numbers of people, particularly those who do not live in towns or large villages. Locally grown cotton is spun and woven into cloth by hand ; soft goatskins are used as a covering in many parts of the world ; and the people of some primitive tribes still use leaves or bark cloth for this purpose.

Such conditions are widely different from conditions in England. For in England to-day it is very unusual for anyone to wear clothing made of local materials. Cotton and woollen clothes, indeed, are manufactured in large quantities, but the cotton is imported from tropical and nearly-tropical countries such as the Southern States of the U.S.A., Egypt, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, India, and some of Britain's African colonies. In the same way, most of the wool manufactured in England is imported from Australia. Artificial silk also is manufactured in England, but the wood pulp from which it is made may come from Canada or from the countries of northern Europe.

(iii) *Houses*. In most parts of the world, houses, except those in large towns, are simply built with local materials. In England, on the other hand, houses may be built of



MASS PRODUCTION OF MOTOR-CARS AT THE MORRIS WORKS

The line of cars is moved along as the various parts are fitted. Every man has his special piece of work to do on each car as it comes in front of him.

bricks from Holland, wood from the Baltic countries, and iron from Spain.

(iv) *Conditions of work.* It is clear from what has been said above that the people in industrial countries such as England, live far differently from most of us. This difference becomes still more plain when we consider also the conditions under which people work. In Africa and Asia most people are farmers or herdsmen, and many of them also work as blacksmiths, weavers, housebuilders, or tanners, when they are not busy on their farms. Most English people, however, have nothing to do with farming, but work in shops, factories, offices or mines. Each man has only one occupation, and becomes very skilful at the one particular kind of work. Thus one man will become a tanner, and do no other kind of work. Another man will become a weaver, another a coal miner, another a maker of parts of a motor-car, another a potter, and so on. In most of these various kinds of work the men are helped by machines, which enable them to produce far more goods than they could manufacture with the help of their hands alone. Another point to be noticed is that men not only practise one craft, but even one particular part of that craft. In the potter's craft for instance, some men work only at preparing the clay, others in shaping it, others in fixing on handles, others in firing the completed pots, others in painting the pots, and yet others do nothing else but pack the finished goods into boxes ready for sending them away to be sold. In addition to these, some men and women are occupied in office work, keeping accounts, and in writing letters either to the people who supply the materials for the potters, or to the buyers of the finished product.

Summary

Thus we observe that in many parts of the world the people themselves still produce most of the food, clothing

and other goods they require ; and they depend on trade with other countries to supply only a small part of their needs. On the other hand, in Britain and many other industrial countries people depend on trade with other parts of the world for most of the necessaries of life, as well as for the raw materials for their work. These industrial countries get from other countries the food and raw materials which they need in exchange for very great quantities of manufactured goods, made with the help of machines by men who are experienced in one particular kind of work.

Industrial countries are a recent development

There has not always been this great difference between the industrial conditions of countries such as Britain, and the simpler life led by other peoples. It has grown up during the last hundred and fifty years. In the eighteenth century, people in England grew so much food that after meeting their own needs they could sell some to other countries. They also produced most of the wool they needed to make their clothes. The majority of the people were village farmers who, like the farmers of present-day Africa, supplied most of their own needs with the help of village craftsmen.

The present difference therefore arose recently. In many ways the England about which we read in Book Two, the England which carried on the Slave Trade, which fought against France in Canada and India, and against which the American colonies successfully revolted, was not the same kind of country as that which gained control over a great part of the world in the nineteenth century. It was changed by the Industrial Revolution. The changes thus caused are still taking place. They have had, and are still having, a great influence on world history, and we have now to study how they were brought about.

2. Conditions necessary before the Industrial Revolution could begin

Very few of us do things without a reason. We like to sleep when we are tired and to eat when we are hungry. We go to school because either we or our parents know that it is going to help us in later life. Our forefathers were reasonable people like ourselves and had reasons for doing the important things recorded in history books. Thus the Industrial Revolution, which is one of the most important changes that has ever taken place in history, did not begin in the eighteenth century merely by chance. There were good reasons for the change, and there were equally good reasons why it took place first in Britain and not in any other country. We shall only be able to understand the Industrial Revolution fully if we first study the conditions which enabled it to take place.

(*a*) *Trade.* It is clear that no country could have become industrialized unless a very widespread trade had first grown up. We have seen that an industrial people needs both food and raw materials in extremely large quantities, and that the greater part of these has to be brought to them from other places. To pay for food and raw materials, great quantities of manufactured goods have to be given in exchange. Thus Great Britain imports each year several millions of tons of foodstuffs and materials for industry, and exports manufactured goods to the value of hundreds of millions of pounds. Most of this trade is with distant countries. If it became impossible for any reason, then British industries would stop, the British people would become poor, and then they would not be able to buy food. Industrial peoples are more dependent than any others on trade with other countries, and the Industrial Revolution could never have begun except in a country which already had an extensive trade.

(*b*) *Cheap transport.* This leads us on to another important point. Trade cannot take place unless goods are carried from one place to another, and in the case of industrial countries many goods have to be taken very great distances. For such countries to do well they must therefore be able to receive the goods they wish to buy, and send the goods they wish to sell, quickly and cheaply. It would be quite impossible for modern industry to grow up in a country where all kinds of goods had to be carried on people's

TRANSPORT BY PACK-HORSE

heads, for example, or even on the backs of animals. Such transport would be too slow and too expensive for long journeys. Transport on water is usually cheapest, and therefore it was not until people had learned to make good use of waterways and sea-routes that one important condition necessary for industrial development was created.

(*c*) *Knowledge and inventions.* Next we must notice that people in industrial countries depend on wonderful machines to help them to manufacture goods more cheaply and quickly than the people of other countries can. Before these machines could be used they had first to be invented, that

is, people had to think out better methods of making things than those which had been used in the past. The machines which enabled the Industrial Revolution to take place could not have been invented unless people had already gained much scientific knowledge, and desired to use that knowledge in improving methods of manufacture. Knowledge and the desire to use it were both necessary before modern industry could develop.

(*d*) *Wealth.* One other important point must also be noted. The Industrial Revolution could never have begun in a poor country. Many of the machines invented were very expensive, and yet several such machines might be necessary for the manufacture of one article. Even to produce ordinary iron or steel of good quality cheaply and in large quantities, many buildings and machines are required, and much money has to be spent in getting these ready before any iron or steel can be produced. Thus the Industrial Revolution could not take place until there were a number of rich people who had both the wealth and the desire to buy machines and build factories.

3. Why the Industrial Revolution began first in England in the Eighteenth Century

We have just seen that four conditions had to be created before it was possible for a country to be industrialized. These were :

(a) a large trade with other countries,
(b) ways of carrying goods easily and cheaply,
(c) scientific knowledge and the will to use it in the service of industry, and
(d) wealth which could be used for industrial purposes.

Several times in the history of the world some of these conditions were right for a revolution in industry, but it did not take place. A short study of these occasions will

help us to understand why in fact it took place in the eighteenth century and in England.

Industry in the Roman Empire

In many ways the conditions were right for industrial progress in the Roman Empire. At the height of its power many different countries were grouped together under the government of Rome. These countries were kept at peace with one another by fear of the Roman armies, and trade could safely be carried on within the Empire, and even with many countries outside it.[1] Communications were also better than for many centuries after the break-up of the Empire. The Mediterranean Sea lay at the centre of the lands ruled by the Romans, and ships could thus carry goods easily and cheaply between the various parts of the Empire. Transport to inland places was simplified by a fine system of roads, which made it possible to use carts with wheels for the carrying of heavy loads, a much cheaper method than the use of pack animals.

Knowledge and wealth in the Roman Empire

It will be remembered that the Greeks were among the peoples of the Empire, and that they were much interested in scientific and mathematical problems. In fact, the Greeks had discovered quite enough to enable them to invent better methods of manufacture if they had wished to do so. Among the Romans were wealthy men who could have afforded expensive industrial machinery if it had been

[1] 'Ostia was crowded with merchant fleets. Ships brought corn from Africa or Sicily; but they brought also luxuries from all parts of the known world: furs from Scythia, carpets from Babylon, silks, precious stones and spices from Arabia and India. Every year a fleet sailed from Myos Hormos, a port in Egypt, to the coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon, where merchants awaited them from all parts of Asia.' Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 6. Ostia was the seaport of the city of Rome.

invented. To Rome came the plunder of the rich countries of Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. Many Romans became extremely wealthy through trade, just as the English merchants did who traded with India and America in a later age. But the Romans, unlike the English, did not use their wealth and knowledge to develop industry. Why was this?

The Romans looked down upon industry

The chief reason was that the Romans had no desire to invent and use machines. They looked down upon industry as an occupation unfit for free men. This attitude was summed up by a Greek writer, Xenophon, who wrote that crafts

'wholly ruin the bodies of workers and managers alike, obliging men to lead quiet lives, and stay indoors, or in some cases to spend the day by a fire. Then, as men's bodies become lazy, so their souls become sicklier. These crafts give men no free time, and make them bad friends and poor citizens.'

Most educated men in the Roman Empire thought the same as Xenophon, and it is therefore not surprising that they made no important industrial inventions. They had plenty of slaves and did not trouble to find ways of lessening their labour. Knowledge was desired for its own sake, and although, for example, the power of steam was discovered by Hero about 100 B.C., it was not applied to any industrial purpose.[1]

No revolution in industry therefore took place in the Roman Empire. Trade remained chiefly a trade in luxuries, and did not develop into trade such as we have to-day which meets the needs of common people. Most of the ships

[1] Steam is said to have been used in Alexandria to open the temple doors in order to make the people fear their gods. As the doors seemed to open themselves, people thought this was magic worked by the god in the temple.

which sailed to Ostia carried goods which were paid for, not with other goods made by the Romans, but with plunder taken from conquered countries, and with the tribute which those countries had to send yearly to Rome.

The effects of the Crusades on trade and industry

After the fall of the Roman Empire, western Europe suffered a long period of disorder during which industry and trade remained in a very backward condition.[1] However, as conditions gradually improved, crafts once again began to develop. Their progress was quickened very much by the Crusades, which brought the countries of Europe into touch with the more advanced civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean. A valuable trade grew up between East and West, and as it was largely in the hands of the people of such Italian cities as Venice and Genoa, the wealth of Italy rapidly increased.

This trade differed from that of the Roman Empire because it did not depend on force. The goods bought from the East were not paid for with plunder or tribute, but with manufactured goods. Because of this, great industrial progress was made in Europe, particularly in Italy and southern France. The woollen industry grew rapidly in importance, for much woollen cloth was exported to pay for the spices, carpets, glass, precious stones and other goods brought to Europe by the Venetian galleys. The art of silk-weaving was learnt from the peoples of Asia, and as the weavers of Europe became more skilful, silks were also sent to the East. Various machines were invented at this time to enable work to be done more quickly; factories were built; and water-power was used in some places to help in the manufacture of cloth and paper. Once again, as at the time of the Roman Empire, many conditions seemed favourable to a revolution in industry.

[1] See Book Two, chapters 1 and 2.

Trade still mainly in luxuries for the few

But although progress was made, large-scale industry did not develop very far. The main interest of the people of each country was still farming or trade, and industry did not become very important. The reason for this was that trade, although many countries were employed in it, was still small in quantity. The goods brought to Venice from Asia were luxuries for the rich, and most of the people could not afford to buy them. Only a general exchange of goods used by everybody would bring about the development of industry on a scale large enough to cause a 'revolution' or complete change in the lives of the people of any country.

Need for cheap transport

Trade in luxuries could never have developed into a trade in goods which everybody would buy, unless cheaper methods of transport had been discovered. Many of the goods brought to Europe in Venetian ships came from India, and they were brought to the Mediterranean either by a difficult and expensive overland route, or by sea as far as the Isthmus of Suez. There they had to be unloaded and carried across to the Mediterranean ports. The peoples of Europe could not trade direct with India until after the discovery of the Cape route to the East, and it was chiefly this discovery, together with the discovery of America, which made possible the changes which we call the Industrial Revolution.

The discovery of the sea-routes to India and America

The voyages of Vasco da Gama and Columbus had a far-reaching effect on trade. Goods can be carried more cheaply by water than over land, and therefore the discovery of the Cape route cheapened the products of Asia in European markets, because European peoples could then trade direct with India, and thus cut out the profits made by the

middlemen of the countries which lay between. The discovery of America was very important because it opened up a whole new continent to European trade and development.

Spain and Portugal

Spain and Portugal were the countries which carried out most of the work of exploration, but they did not use their discoveries to the full. Portugal was satisfied to enjoy the profits of the trade with the East which had formerly been the monopoly of the cities of Italy : Spain, having conquered the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, was chiefly interested in obtaining as much gold and silver as possible from the mines. Spain took by force the wealth of Central America and made no attempt to send back goods in exchange. Her empire in America did not therefore cause her to develop her industries.

Holland, France, and England

By the end of the sixteenth century Spain and Portugal had lost their monopoly of the sea routes across the Atlantic; and England, Holland, and France took the opportunity to share in the advantages of settling in and trading with other continents. Thus in the seventeenth century there was close trade competition between England and Holland, and several wars which ended in victories for England. In the eighteenth century France became England's chief trade rival, and wars were fought between the two countries in America and India, as well as in Europe. England's success in these wars left her supreme in North America and India, and by 1763 she had become the chief trading country in the world.[1]

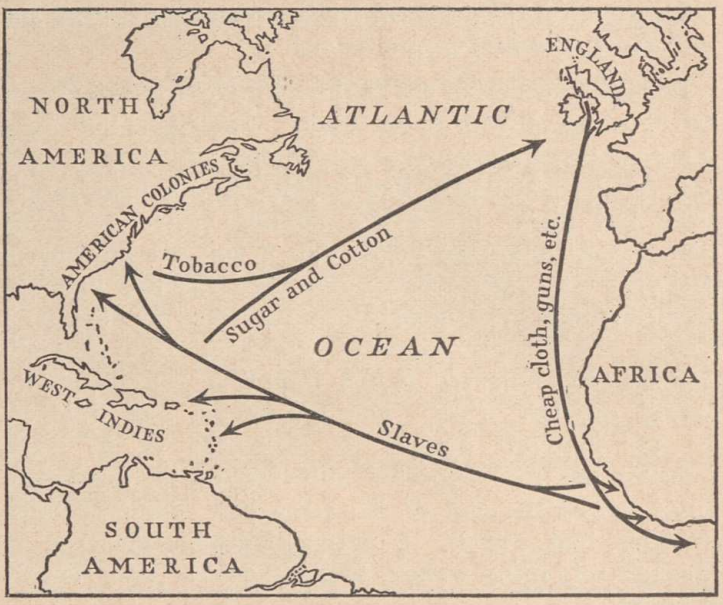
[1] It is worth noting here the great advantage the English gained through living on an island. France and Holland both had to fight many wars in Europe and were open to invasion by land. England was free from this danger of invasion as long as she had a strong navy, and was thus able more successfully to fix her attention on developing her trade across the seas.

The growth of English trade in the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century

England's success in her rivalry with Holland and France led to a huge growth in her trade. The success of ocean trade cheapened the goods which till then had been luxuries only for the rich, and as they became cheaper more people could buy them. Trade was not only being carried on over a wider area than before, but it was also growing in volume. Tea, sugar, tobacco, rice, once expensive luxuries, gradually came to be thought necessary even by quite poor people. Thus sugar, scarce and expensive in the sixteenth century, was imported to the weight of 160,000,000 lb. during the year 1782. The use of tea rose from nil in the sixteenth century to 36,000,000 lb. in 1832. Tobacco was first imported into England in Elizabethan times, but by the end of the eighteenth century tobacco smoking had become a common habit. The use in England of many other foreign goods also largely increased.

Great increase in the wealth of England

The growth of England's trade greatly increased her wealth. India was at first mainly important as a source of supply of goods needed in England, and she was not at the beginning an important market for English manufactures. But a most profitable trade, and one that had an important effect on English industry, grew up along what has been called the *Great Triangle*. The three sides of this ' triangle ' were formed by the sea routes from England to West Africa, from West Africa to America, and from America to England. Ships sailed to the West Coast with cloth, beads, guns and gin. These articles were exchanged on the coast for negro slaves who were taken to America and sold for work on the sugar, cotton, and tobacco



THE GREAT TRIANGLE

plantations. The ships then returned to England carrying sugar, tobacco, and cotton. This three-cornered trade was extremely profitable, and the merchants of London, Liverpool and Bristol grew very rich.

How English trade helped English industry

It will be noticed that England in the eighteenth century, unlike Rome and Spain in earlier times, did not owe her prosperity to plunder or tribute, but to increased trade. The Elizabethan explorers, indeed, had hoped to find countries rich in gold and silver, and it was a happy accident for England that they had failed to do so. England's most valuable possessions were the sugar-producing islands of the

West Indies and her colonies on the eastern coast of North America.

Because their wealth depended not on plunder but on trade, and because their demand for goods from overseas was rapidly increasing, it soon became very necessary for the English to improve their methods of manufacture. All the goods brought into England had to be paid for either in precious metals or in goods, and as the English had no rich gold or silver mines they had to pay in goods.

The spinning and weaving industries

One of the chief exports from England was cloth, made either of wool or of a mixture of wool and cotton. As English trade increased, more and more cloth was required for export: cheap cloth made of wool and cotton for the West African and West Indian trade, and woollen cloth of good quality for sale to the British settlers in North America. The growing demand for cloth played an important part in bringing about the Industrial Revolution.

Joint-stock companies and banks

Earlier in this chapter, wealth and scientific knowledge were mentioned as well as trade and easy communications as necessary conditions of any revolution in industry. These were both present in eighteenth century England. Rich merchants used to form joint-stock companies for trading on a big scale; each man put an amount of money into the company, and each year he took his due share of the profits earned by it. Thus money could easily be found for large undertakings, the cost of which might be too heavy for one man. This idea was first used for trade, but it was easily applied to industry, and when new machines were invented, companies were formed for industrial purposes on the same model as those formed for trade.

During the eighteenth century, banking had also made much progress in England, and money was stored up in banks for lending to trading or industrial businesses.

The development of joint-stock companies and banking ensured that the necessary money for important industrial progress was at hand when required.

The progress in scientific knowledge

The Renaissance indirectly played an important part in bringing about the Industrial Revolution in two ways. We saw in Book Two how it renewed men's interest in geography and science and thus helped on the work of the explorers. These in turn, as we have just seen, brought about the great increase in trade which was to change industrial methods. The Renaissance had an additional importance, for, by turning men's thoughts towards the study of scientific subjects, it prepared the way for the inventions which changed industry.

England's natural advantages

England had also several natural advantages which helped on the Industrial Revolution. Her position on an island off the coast of Europe placed her very favourably for trade with other countries across the sea ; her long and irregular coastline provided many good harbours for ships : her small size saved her the expense of carrying goods overland for long distances from their place of manufacture to the sea coast : the climate of Lancashire was excellent for the spinning of cotton, and plenty of the coal and iron necessary for the making and working of machines was to be found close to where they were needed.

The effect of the European wars, 1793-1815

The Industrial Revolution began first in England, but France was quick to follow England's lead. Her chance of

becoming a serious rival to England, however, was lost to her when she was drawn into war in Europe from 1793 to 1815. During this period England was her determined enemy, and because she controlled the sea, was able to keep France's trade and industries in check. Thus the quick progress, though not the beginning, of the Industrial Revolution in England was largely due to the effect of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Questions on Chapter One

1. In what respects do most people of your country differ from the English in regard to (*a*) food production, (*b*) clothing, and (*c*) working conditions? How far have the people of your country been affected by imports from industrial countries of food and clothing?

2. Read carefully the second part of this chapter. Then write a short note about the probability or improbability of great industrial development among your people during the next fifty years.

3. Describe in a few words the conditions favourable to industrial progress in the Roman Empire and in thirteenth century Venice. Explain why really large-scale production was not begun till a later age.

4. Explain the importance of trade with (*a*) the American colonies, and (*b*) India in bringing about the Industrial Revolution.

5. What natural advantages favoured English progress in industry during the eighteenth century?

Chapter Two

THE INVENTIONS, AND THE CHANGES THEY CAUSED IN INDUSTRY

1. The Cloth Industry

We saw in Chapter One that the growing trade of English merchants with West Africa, the West Indies, and the southern States of the North American colonies, had led to a great increase in the demand for a cheap kind of cloth made of cotton and wool. The cotton used for this cloth was imported into England and spun into thread in Lancashire, where the damp climate is the best possible for cotton spinning. Spinning and weaving were still done by hand, and by the middle of the eighteenth century the people of Lancashire had much difficulty in producing enough cloth to meet the demands of the merchants who exported it. The shortage was due chiefly to the want of thread, for five spinners were required to keep one weaver busy.

The first inventions in cotton spinning

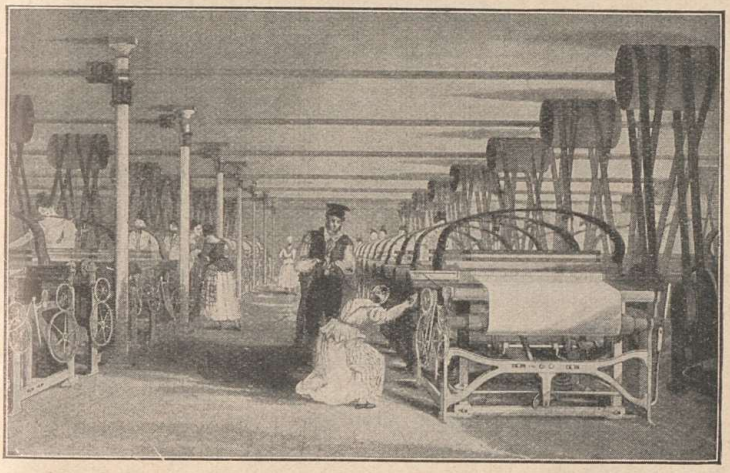
The trouble was overcome by a number of inventions, all of them by Lancashire men. In 1764 Hargreaves invented his *spinning jenny*, a machine which made it possible for one person to spin eight threads at the same time.[1] In 1769 Arkwright produced his *water-frame* which could make a stronger thread than the spinning jenny. Then, in 1779, a Lancashire spinner named Crompton invented a machine called a *mule* which included both the advantages of the two previous inventions. It made a very

[1] The number of threads which could be spun by one person was afterwards increased to a hundred.

fine, strong thread which could be used in the weaving of an all-cotton cloth of very good quality.

The results of the inventions

One result of the inventions was that the weavers could then be supplied with all the thread they needed at much lower prices than before, and although weaving was still carried on for a time on hand-looms, English cotton cloth



POWER LOOM WEAVING, ABOUT 1830

became cheaper, better and more plentiful. The fact that England had to import four times as much raw cotton in 1790 as in 1775 shows the value of the inventions to the cloth industry.

A second result was that cotton spinning was no longer carried on in the home but in factories, or cotton mills as they were called. The new machines were expensive and cost too much for the ordinary spinner to be able to buy them. Rich men therefore built factories, bought spinning

machines to put in them, and paid wages to workpeople to look after the machines. At first some of the machines were turned by horses, but very soon water-power was found to be more satisfactory. Most of the factories were built on the banks of the fast-flowing streams which come down from the Pennines through Lancashire to the sea.

The power-loom

The invention of spinning machines had made it possible for the spinners to produce more thread than the weavers could weave as long as they continued to use the old hand-loom in their homes. Thus the next invention concerned weaving, and in 1785 Cartwright invented a *power-loom.* It was not successful at first, but it was soon improved. Power-looms were then set up in factories, and home weaving, like home spinning, was soon to become a thing of the past.[1]

The woollen industry

The changes which had taken place in the spinning and weaving of cotton were gradually applied also to the woollen industry, with the result that English woollen cloth also became cheaper and more plentiful.

The saw-gin

One other important invention must be mentioned in connection with cotton. Those of you who live where cotton is grown and spun into thread will know that the work of separating the cotton from the cotton seed is very troublesome. This was especially difficult with the kind of cotton which grew best in North America. Because of this, most of the cotton used in England in the eighteenth century came, not from the United States of America, but

[1] In 1813 there were 2,400 power-looms in England; in 1820, 14,150; in 1829, 55,000; and in 1833, 100,000. (See Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 183.)

from the West Indies, from French, Spanish and Dutch colonies, and from Turkey. Towards the end of the century, when the inventions began to have their effect, there was a serious shortage of the best cotton for the spinning industry. This state of affairs was put right by Whitney, an American schoolmaster, who invented the *saw-gin* in 1793. This was a machine which could quickly and easily remove the seed even from American cotton, and because of it cotton soon became one of the chief exports from the U.S.A. The importance of this invention to the cotton growers of America can easily be realized from the fact that American exports of cotton rose from less than 500,000 lb. in 1793 to 6,000,000 lb. in 1795, and to over 300,000,000 lb. in 1832.

Summary

The inventions in the cotton industry therefore had far-reaching effects. First, England largely increased her imports of raw cotton and her exports of cotton cloth. To India alone, England's export of cloth rose from 800,000 yards in 1815 to 45,000,000 yards in 1830. Secondly, cloth was no longer made in people's homes, but on machines in factories owned by rich men. Around these factories, towns grew up to house the work-people, increasing numbers of whom were leaving their village homes to work in the factories for a weekly wage.

2. The Steam Engine. Coal and Iron

The problem of finding power to turn machines

Most machines are worked by the turning of a wheel, the movement of which is passed on to the other parts of the machine by various kinds of toothed wheels. From very ancient times man has tried to find ways of driving the machines he has invented, other than by the strength of

his own body. Machines for raising water for irrigation purposes, and for grinding corn, were invented a very long time ago, but up to the time of the Industrial Revolution only three kinds of power were generally used: the power of animals, the power of the wind, and the power of water. Each of these has its own disadvantages. Animals such as horses and oxen get tired just as men do, and their strength, although greater than a man's, like his is limited. The wind is useful and costs nothing, but it does not always blow strongly enough, and when the air is calm the machines which depend upon it cannot move. Water-power is the most satisfactory of the three, for streams flow night and day and can be depended upon more than the wind; but even they are not always satisfactory. A shortage of rain may cause them to dry up, or too heavy a rain may cause them to flood and destroy the machines on their banks. Also, machines driven by water-power must be placed on river banks, and not where it might be more convenient to put them for other reasons.

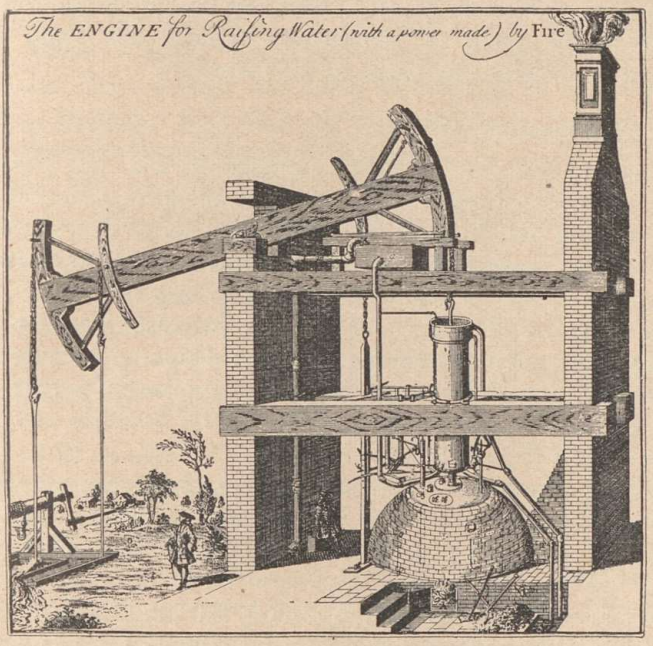
The steam engine

The invention of machines for the cotton and woollen industries made the problem of power more important than it had ever been before. We saw in Chapter One that at first water-power was used to work them. Before long, however, another important invention provided a different source of power—the steam engine.

The driving power of steam had been known for many centuries,[1] but little use had been made of this knowledge until towards the end of the seventeenth century. Then an Englishman called Savory invented an engine which he named 'The Miners' Friend or an engine to raise water by fire'. This was a steam engine which could be used for pumping out water which had collected in mines. It was

[1] See ch. I, p. 11.

soon followed by an improved engine invented by a blacksmith called Newcomen at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This valuable invention was made use of in all the mining districts of England.



NEWCOMEN'S STEAM PUMP, 1717

James Watt

The first steam engines were only useful for pumping water. Further improvements were necessary before they could be used in other branches of industry. These did not come till 1780, when James Watt invented a better type of engine which could turn a wheel and thus drive almost any kind of machine. Watt had little faith in the usefulness

of his invention to the cotton industry,[1] but in spite of this one of his engines was used in a cotton-mill as early as 1785. By 1800 eighty-four were in use, as well as many more in other kinds of industry. The steam engine soon proved its worth and was generally looked upon as the most satisfactory source of power. Factories no longer had to be built on the banks of 'powerful' streams, but could be placed anywhere convenient to the owners.

The importance of coal

England has very plentiful supplies of coal, but before the middle of the eighteenth century it was little used except for cooking and heating in people's houses. The success of the steam engine was one of two causes which increased the demand for coal, for it was used to heat the boilers to raise steam. The demand for coal increased rapidly as more steam engines were made, and coal-mining became an important occupation employing large numbers of people.

The manufacture of iron

Equally important in increasing the demand for coal were changes which took place in the iron industry. Before 1760 the only satisfactory method of separating iron from iron ore was by heating the ore with charcoal. The charcoal was made by burning wood, but England's forests were rapidly being used up, and it was difficult to get enough charcoal for the requirements of the iron-smelters. The English, therefore, had to import iron from Spain and Sweden. However, improved methods were discovered by which it was possible to produce good quality iron by heating the ore with coal instead of charcoal. England had good

[1] In a letter to a friend he wrote, 'If you come home by way of Manchester please not to invite orders for cotton-mill engines, because I hear that so many mills are being built on powerful streams in the North of England, that soon no more will be needed, and so our work may be wasted.'

iron and coal mines, and by using the new methods she could make iron in much greater quantities than before.

Iron required for machines

The changes in the manufacture of iron were particularly welcome because they were made just in time to meet a hugely increased demand. The first machines invented for the cotton industry were made largely of wood, but iron and steel[1] were stronger and better for building into machines. Later, machines were made of iron, and both the coal and the iron industries gained by the change.

3. The First Improvements in Transport

Most people in Africa, if they were asked what they considered the most useful invention brought by Europeans to their country, would probably choose the railway train, the motor-car, or the bicycle. Some, if they lived in a town on the sea-coast, might choose the steamship. All these familiar methods of transport are recent inventions, and the industrial changes which have been described earlier in this chapter took place without them.

Transport in England about 1750

Sailing ships, by which we mean ships that make use of the wind, were invented in very early times. By 1750 they had developed into a very useful way of carrying goods and people across the sea, and England's trade with other countries was carried on entirely in this kind of ship until well into the nineteenth century. But inland transport was much less satisfactory. There were no roads as we know them to-day. It was much more difficult to travel about the country then than in the time of the Romans, many centuries ago. This was because the good roads built by the Romans had not been kept in good condition

[1] Steel is a specially hard form of iron.

and no other roads had been built. When possible, heavy goods were carried from one port to another by sea, and some use was also made of rivers. In other cases, journeys between towns had to be made along tracks which were often impassable because of the mud.[1] Goods were still transported chiefly by packhorses. Transport in England in 1750 was therefore not much easier than it is in certain parts of Africa at the present day.

Roads

The changes in industry which took place during the second half of the eighteenth century made it very necessary to improve methods of transport, and this led to efforts being made both to improve the roads and to make more use of waterways.

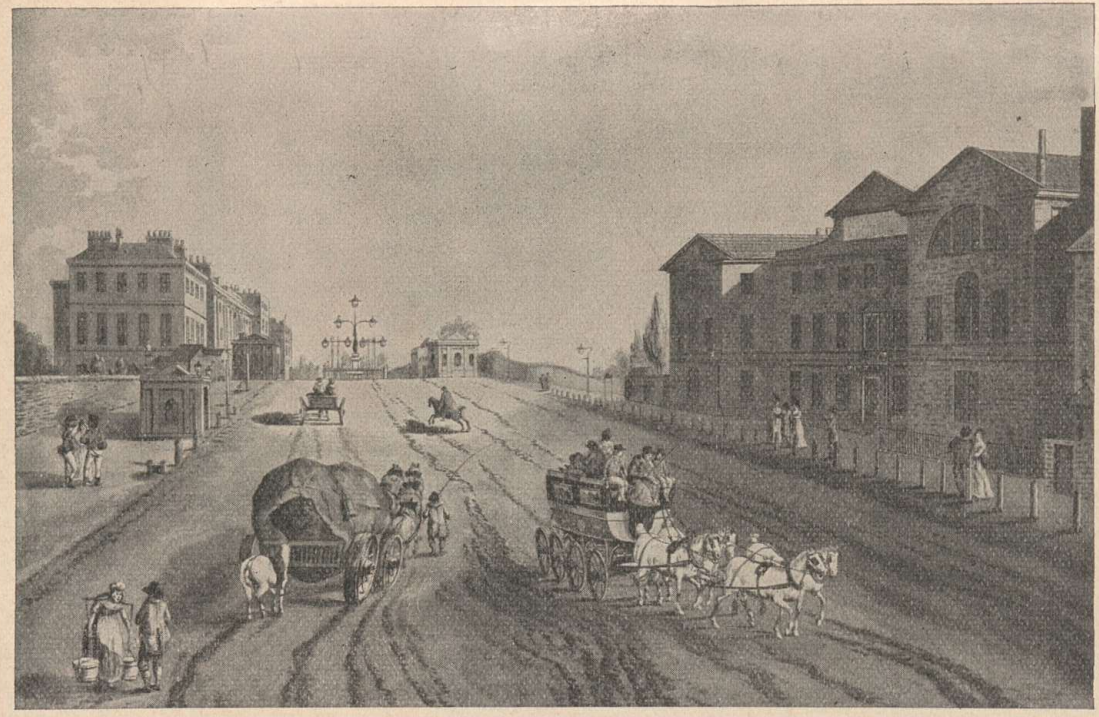
During the second half of the century three men in England became famous for their success in making roads. They were Metcalfe, Telford, and Macadam. All were responsible for making many good roads. Macadam's system of road-making was so good that it was copied in many other countries. The movement of heavy goods in horse-drawn carts along these new roads was easy, and light coaches for carrying mails and passengers were able to travel very much faster than ever before.[2]

Canals

The transport of cheap, heavy goods like coal by road could never be really satisfactory over long distances,

[1] Defoe, writing of a great highway early in the century, says that it 'is not passable except just in the middle of summer, after the coal carriages have beaten the way . . . after rain the water stands as in a dish, and the horses sink in it up to their bodies.' (Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 70.)

[2] 'In the year 1754, a Flying Coach was advertised as follows: "However wonderful it may appear, this coach will actually (except for accidents) arrive in London in four days and a half after leaving Manchester!!" The mail coaches now usually travel that distance in thirty hours.' (Ashton's *Picture of Manchester*, published in 1816.) The distance is not quite 200 miles.



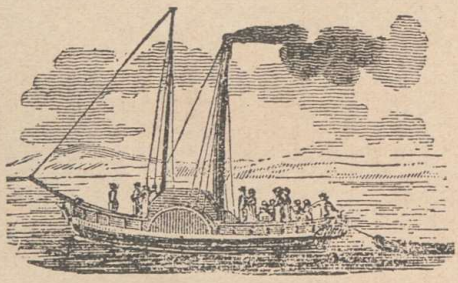
A London Street, 1798, after the Improvement of Road Transport

because the cost of transport was too large in relation to the value of the goods. On the other hand, the invention of the steam engine made it necessary to carry coal easily and cheaply from the mines to the factories. The difficulty was met by the digging of waterways or canals. The first of these canals was built by Brindley in 1759 at the very beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and it was so successful in providing cheap transport for coal that by 1800 there were nearly 3,000 miles of canals in England. By this method the cost of transporting heavy goods was at least halved.

For sixty years after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution England depended almost entirely on roads and canals for the inland transport of goods, and on sailing ships for her increased trade overseas.

The steam engine applied to land and sea transport. Steamships

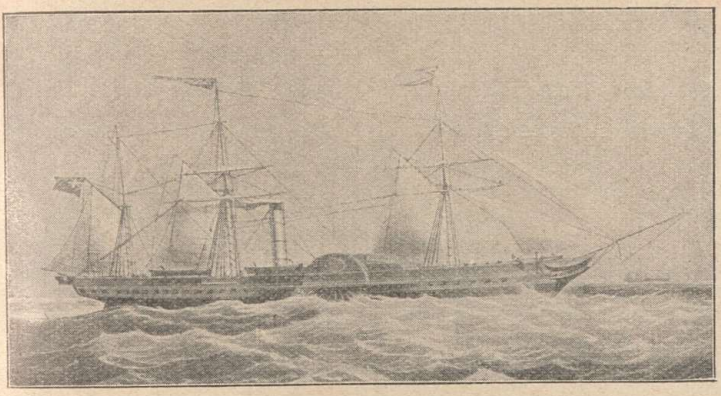
One other development must be noticed before we end this chapter. The steam engine had quickly proved its



ONE OF THE FIRST RIVER STEAMERS

usefulness for driving industrial machines, and men now began to turn their attention to using it to transport their goods. In 1802 the first steamboat, that is, a boat driven by a steam engine and able to move

without the help of oars or sails, was seen in Scotland, on the Clyde. The idea was gradually taken up by ship-builders and ship-owners. By 1883 the tonnage of Britain's steamships equalled that of her sailing ships, and after that date very few big sailing ships were built. At first the steamships were pushed forward by means of paddle-wheels, usually placed one on either side of the ship, but after 1837, when the screw-propeller was invented, paddle-



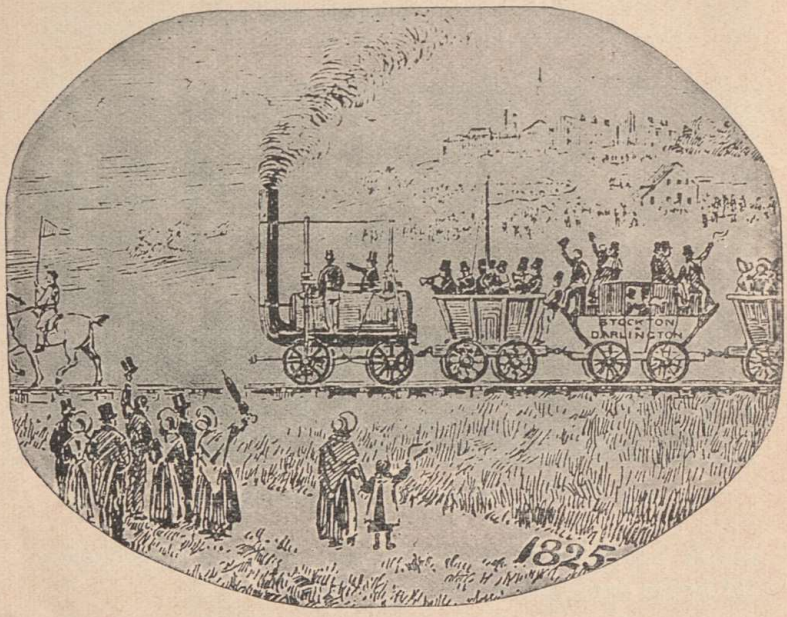
AN OCEAN-GOING PADDLE STEAMER, ABOUT 1840

wheels went out of use on sea-going ships. The propeller did better work and took up less room.

Railways

The difficulty of moving very heavy loads on land had been partly solved by the building of canals, but roads still had to be used in some places, and it was found that even good roads were very soon harmed by heavy carts. Therefore people tried laying down rails made of wood or iron for the wheels of the carts to run on. The carts or 'wagons' on these 'rail-ways' were drawn by horses.

Men also had the idea of using the steam engine to pull the carts, but the first attempts about 1800 were not very successful. However, in 1825, on the Stockton and Darlington Railway[1] George Stephenson drove the first satisfactory locomotive. His engine, which he called the 'Rocket', succeeded in pulling thirty-four wagons weighing



STEPHENSON'S ROCKET

drawing a train on the Stockton-Darlington Railway in 1825. Notice the guard on a walking horse. He carries a red flag as a sign of danger

ninety tons at a speed of fifteen miles an hour. The people looking on were struck with wonder, for they had not believed that such a thing was possible. Now that railway transport was shown to be both cheap and speedy, many

[1] This railway was originally built for horse-drawn wagons.

companies were formed to build railways which soon joined up all the large towns in England.

Thus by 1840 the steam engine had become very important both in making goods and in carrying them from one place to another. It remained supreme for many years and only now in the present century is it beginning to lose its supremacy.

4. The First Improvements in Farming

Farming in England before the eighteenth century

The years which saw great changes in the methods of industry and communication, also saw changes in the old methods of farming. For many hundreds of years before the beginning of the eighteenth century these methods had changed very little. Most English farmland was held in common by the members of village communities. Men were not free to farm by any method they wished, but were controlled by the decision of the whole community. The farmland of each village was usually divided into three large fields. Each year one field was set aside for the growing of wheat and one for the growing of barley. The third field was left unsown so that it might become fertile again after the cultivation of the two earlier years. Each villager held several strips of land in each of these fields. He also had the right to send his cattle, sheep, and pigs to feed on the waste land which lay beyond the village farmland.

The evils of this system

This was a wasteful system, for men did not own farms on which they might grow what crops they liked by what methods they liked. They had to follow the custom of their village, and it was difficult to change this for the better. Little manuring was done, and the food crops were

therefore poor. Besides, little attempt was made to grow foodstuffs to feed to the cattle, sheep, and pigs; and thus, although the animals were able to find enough to eat during the summer on the lands around the village, in the winter there was little food to give them. Many had to be killed, and the meat had to be salted to keep it good, while the animals left alive became thin and hungry.

English farming was only just good enough to provide food for the village people, and to leave a little extra which could be sold to provide money to buy salt, iron, and a few other materials which could not be obtained locally.

The changes in farming. Root crops and clover

One of the most important results of the Industrial Revolution was that many men left the villages and went to work in the great towns which grew up around the new factories. Those who remained on the land therefore had to produce food, not only for themselves, but also for a greatly increased town population.[1] Under the old system this would have been impossible.

Happily, during the eighteenth century several men succeeded in finding newer and more scientific methods of farming. One of them, George Townshend, a wealthy man interested in farming, experimented with various crops. He discovered that the land was improved by growing turnips or clover after wheat or barley, so that if these new crops were grown it would no longer be necessary to leave land unplanted every third year while it became fertile again.

[1] Note also that the population of England was increasing rapidly. It is believed to have been as follows:

In 1700 about 5,000,000
1750 about 6,000,000
1800 about 9,000,000

In 1800 therefore, food had to be found for a population nearly twice as large as in 1700.

This discovery had important effects. It meant that more use could be made of farmland by abolishing the 'resting' period. It also meant that animals need no longer be killed off before the winter, for the new crops were valuable animal foods. Keeping the flocks and herds alive during the winter had the effect of increasing the supply of manure, and this also helped farmers to keep their fields fertile.

At the same time attention was paid to improving methods of manuring and to producing better farm tools.

Improvements in the breeding of cattle and sheep

Townshend's discoveries were important to owners of sheep and cattle in helping them to feed their animals during the winter months. Bakewell and Collins made discoveries which were almost equally important. At the beginning of the eighteenth century cattle and sheep were small and thin, and their bodies gave little meat when they were killed. Bakewell experimented with the breeding of sheep, and found that by choosing good animals for breeding purposes, and by better feeding, he was able to grow a flock of sheep much heavier than the average, and therefore much more valuable as food when killed. Collins had a similar success in the breeding of cattle. Thus not only were there many more cattle and sheep in England in the nineteenth than in the eighteenth century, but the animals themselves were of a better and more valuable type.

Enclosures

The methods outlined above could not be carried on successfully under the old system of common fields. Rich men interested in the new methods, therefore, asked permission of Parliament to enclose common land so that they could have farms of their own on which they could do as they liked. Between 1760 and 1800 over 1,500 *Enclosure Acts* were passed by Parliament and about 3,000,000 acres

of land were enclosed and handed over to private ownership. Further Acts, enclosing yet more land, were passed during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. These Acts caused hardship to many poor people because they were forced to give up their rights in the land for very little in return. Some of those who lost their land went to the towns to work in the new factories ; others remained in the villages to work as labourers for the men who now owned the farms. But on the enclosed lands the new farming methods were generally used, and the supplies of food grown in England thus increased very greatly. While the villagers under the common field system had been satisfied to grow little more food than they needed for themselves, the new type of farmer aimed at making a profit by supplying food to the population of the towns.

Questions on Chapter Two

1. Name the chief inventions in the spinning and weaving industries, and write short notes about the importance of any two of them.

2. What was the value of the invention of the saw-gin (a) to England, and (b) to the U.S.A. ?

3. What are the advantages of the steam engine over the sources of power known earlier ?

4. Explain in a few words why England's coal and iron mines became very much more valuable to her towards the end of the eighteenth century.

5. Compare the methods of transport in England before 1750 with those in your own country before the arrival of the British. In which country was transport easier ?

6. Describe how the steam engine was applied to transport by sea *or* on land.

7. What improvements were made in English farming during the eighteenth century ? Why was some change in the old system of farming especially necessary at that time ?

Chapter Three

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

1. More and better Machines for Industry

The events described in the last chapter marked only the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and many further changes were made during the nineteenth century. New machines were invented for hundreds of different purposes; improvements were made in some of the earlier machines; and, most important of all, other countries began to copy Britain and developed the same industries for themselves. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain alone had become a great industrial nation. By the beginning of the twentieth century, she had serious rivals in the U.S.A., Germany, France, Belgium, and several other countries.

Even before 1800 many important inventions had been made in addition to those already described in the last chapter. For example, new methods of making and glazing pots had been discovered, which greatly improved and cheapened the production of pottery. After 1800 further progress took place, and it is impossible to give even the shortest account of the thousands of inventions of all kinds which improved almost every craft. All we can do is to take examples from one or two industries to show how greatly they were influenced by new inventions.

Carpentry

Let us take carpentry as our first example. This craft was known in very early times. The peoples of Ancient Egypt were familiar with the use of mallets, chisels, saws and nails, which they used in cutting and fitting together pieces of wood to make chairs, tables, beds and many other

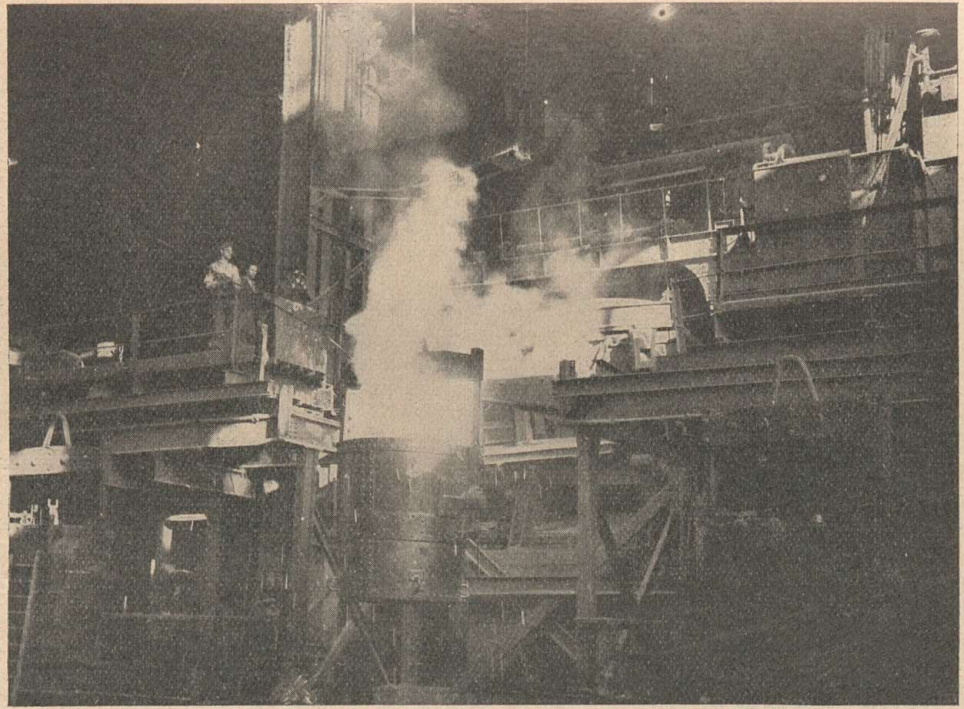
articles. During the several thousands of years which passed between their time and the eighteenth century, men had increased their skill at this craft and improved their tools, but they still worked the wood by hand in much the same way as the Ancient Egyptians. During the nineteenth century, however, the craft of carpentry was changed by the use of machinery, just as the crafts of spinning and weaving had been changed in the earlier century. Power-driven circular saws were invented which could easily and quickly cut into planks huge trees which formerly had been slowly sawn by hand. Machines were invented to smooth the rough surface left by the saw. Other machines made it possible to cut holes of the size and shape required, quicker and better than by hand labour. Soon, all those things which had once been made slowly by hand by local carpenters were more quickly and cheaply made in quantity in factories provided with machinery.

The manufacture of clothing

The making of clothes was also changed by the use of machinery. At the end of the eighteenth century clothes were made by hand, but by the end of the nineteenth century most clothes were made with the help of machines. In a modern clothing factory a machine is used which can cut into pieces of the required shapes as many as forty thicknesses of cloth at a time. The various pieces required for each article are then quickly sewn together by power-driven sewing machines. In the clothing trade, as in carpentry, machines are able to save time and labour.

Engineering

Only two examples of modern factory production, or 'mass production' as it is called, have been given, but in nearly every branch of industry machines have been brought in to lessen the amount of hand labour. The result



POURING LIQUID STEEL
A scene at a steel-works in England

has been the growth of a quite new industry which we call ' engineering '. By engineering is meant the work of making and mending machines and the engines which drive them. Engineering is now one of the largest industries in England.

The great growth of the engineering industry in the nineteenth century led to an ever-increasing demand for coal and iron ore, first in Britain, and later on in other countries as well. Some of the most important inventions of the century were made in order to improve the production of iron and steel. In particular, the introduction of a new method of making steel, invented by Bessemer in 1856, greatly cheapened the price of steel. Steel, which is stronger and harder than iron, was soon used for making many articles which till then had been made of iron. Steel took the place of iron in the manufacture of all kinds of engines and machinery. The British railways changed from iron to steel in the 1870's and ship-builders began to build steel instead of iron ships. Much of the manganese nowadays exported from the Gold Coast is used in the manufacture of high quality steel.

2. Britain's Supreme Position in Industry, 1850-1870

Between 1850 and 1870 Britain was far in front of all other countries in industry and trade. British manufacturers were able to claim with some reason that Britain was ' the workshop of the world '. There were many reasons for Britain's success.

Britain's long start

One of Britain's greatest advantages was her long start over all her rivals. The inventions which had led to the Industrial Revolution were British inventions, and the British Government tried to prevent the new machines, and the workmen who knew how to make them and use them, from being taken to other countries. In fact, until 1824

there was an English law which forbad skilled workmen to accept work outside the country.

We have also seen how the industries of France, Britain's chief competitor in the eighteenth century, had been seriously checked by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, so that both her industries and her trade were in a worse condition in 1814 than in 1793.[1] Industry in Britain, on the other hand, had made very great progress during these years, and the further inventions which took place in the nineteenth century, such as the railway engine, the steamship, and improved methods of producing iron and steel, established British supremacy still more firmly. Soon, to the profits of her huge trade in the sale of cloth and other goods, Britain added more profits from the sale to other countries of the machinery to make them.

Railways

Good transport was just as necessary to industrial progress as the machine-production of goods. Britain, the country that invented the railway engine, was the first to build a complete railway system joining her industrial towns with each other and with the great seaports. Other countries such as Germany, France, and the United States of America, were larger than Britain and needed, even more than she did, good transport by which to develop their industries. Yet Britain had completed her railway system nearly thirty years before any other great country.

Railway building went on rapidly in other countries after 1850, but for a time even this added to the extent of Britain's industrial leadership, for it was to Britain that other peoples

[1] France's foreign trade is seen to have dropped in value very greatly during these years. The following figures have been quoted :

1792 1,732 million francs.
1814 585 " "

Thus France's trade in 1814 was only just over a third of what it had been in 1792.

came for their rails, engines, and coaches. Britain even supplied the engineers to build the railways in some other parts of the world.

Ships

In shipbuilding, Britain also led the way. In 1800, ships had been built wholly of wood, but gradually other materials were added. The first change was to use iron as well as wood in building them. The iron was used for the framework of the ship, although wood was still used for the sides and the decks. But after 1860 many sailing ships and nearly all steamships were built of iron only, and twenty years later steel began to take the place of iron, just as iron had formerly taken the place of wood.

Coal

Thus iron first, and then steel, was used in the making of the industrial machines, railway engines, and steamships of the nineteenth century. Both iron and steel were produced from iron ore, which had to be smelted with coal. The machines in the factories were driven by engines which used steam produced by heating water over coal-burning fires. Railway engines and the steam engines in ships also depended on coal to make the steam which worked them. Thus enough coal for all these purposes was very necessary to any nation's success in industry, and Britain was luckier than any other country in having plenty of coal in convenient places. Countries such as France and Germany were less happily placed, for their coal and iron mines were far inland, and much of their iron ore was not fit for smelting into good iron until a new method, discovered in 1879, got over the difficulty.

The effect of wars and revolutions in other countries

Britain's long start over her rivals and her plentiful supplies of coal were not her only advantages. We have

already seen the bad effect on the trade of France of the wars at the beginning of the century. Until towards the end of the century Britain's chief industrial rivals were checked by such causes. Until 1870 Germany was divided up into a number of small almost independent states. She was several times unsettled by revolutions, and in 1866 and again in 1870 she was at war. In France there was a revolution in 1830, another in 1848, and a very serious war with Germany in 1870. The United States of America were upset by the quarrels which led to the American Civil War and to the abolition of slavery. Italy did not become a united nation until 1871, and it was not until after that date that she began to take any large part in industry. Britain, on the other hand, was untroubled by revolution and was at peace during nearly the whole of the century. She was therefore able to set herself to build up her industries and her trade and to increase her early advantage over other countries.

The British Empire a valuable market

Britain had one other great advantage over the rest of the world. The events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and her successful wars with France had left her supreme over a great empire across the sea. The British were already firmly established in India, and during the nineteenth century large numbers of British people emigrated to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. No other nation had any oversea possessions which could compare with this widespread empire either in area or importance. It should be noticed that Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa were 'new' countries even then in the course of being settled. Most of their peoples were farmers or miners. They looked to Britain for their manufactured goods, for the railways to open up their countries, and for the ships to bring them

British goods and to take back to Britain their farming and mineral products. India, with her much greater population, was still more important as a buyer of manufactured goods such as cloth; and she, too, required railways, machinery, iron and steel for bridges, and also other British exports.

Some facts about Britain's industrial supremacy, 1850-1870[1]

We have seen already that the Industrial Revolution had led to a very great increase in the use of coal and iron, and we should therefore expect, if Britain were really supreme in industry during these years, that she would produce more coal and iron than any other country. She did, for until 1871 she made more pig-iron each year than all the other countries of the world. Also, the output of her coal mines was greater than that of any other country.

3. How Britain lost her Industrial Supremacy

Britain did not obtain her supreme position in industry without causing some other countries to wish they had her success. Several of them began to try to develop their own industries as she did, so that they, too, might share in the wealth brought by the recent inventions. We have seen that other countries had fewer advantages than Britain for making quick industrial progress; but after 1870, Germany, France, the United States and Italy, as well as several smaller countries, made great progress in industry, and began to compete seriously with Britain. Their attempt was made easier in several ways.

[1] Britain's foreign trade was much greater than the foreign trade of any other country. This is shown by the following figures for 1870.

	£ millions.
United Kingdom	547
France	227
Germany	212
United States	165
Belgium and Holland	136
Italy	66

The British export of machinery

At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, Britain had wished to keep her inventions for her own use.[1] But British manufacturers of machines were not satisfied to make machines for use in Britain only when men from other countries were willing to pay high prices for them. Thus, after 1824, when the law forbidding English workmen to go abroad was abolished, many machines were sold to people in other countries, and workmen were sent with the machines to teach foreign workmen how they should be used. The first result of this policy, of course, was to make British manufacturers still more wealthy, for the profits made on the machines were large. But the sale of the machines had another effect as well, for other countries were then able to manufacture goods as cheaply as Britain, and they began to compete seriously with her trade in various parts of the world.

Railways

Britain also gradually lost another of her advantages. We have seen that Britain was the first country to have a complete railway system joining together her great towns. Britain was first, but other countries were quick to follow her example. By 1880 most other important countries had built railways for themselves, and many of them had bought their railway engines, wagons, and rails from Britain.

Self-satisfaction in Britain

Yet another reason why Britain began to lose the big lead she had won was that British manufacturers had become self-satisfied. They had lived all their lives during a time when Britain was in front of every other country in industrial

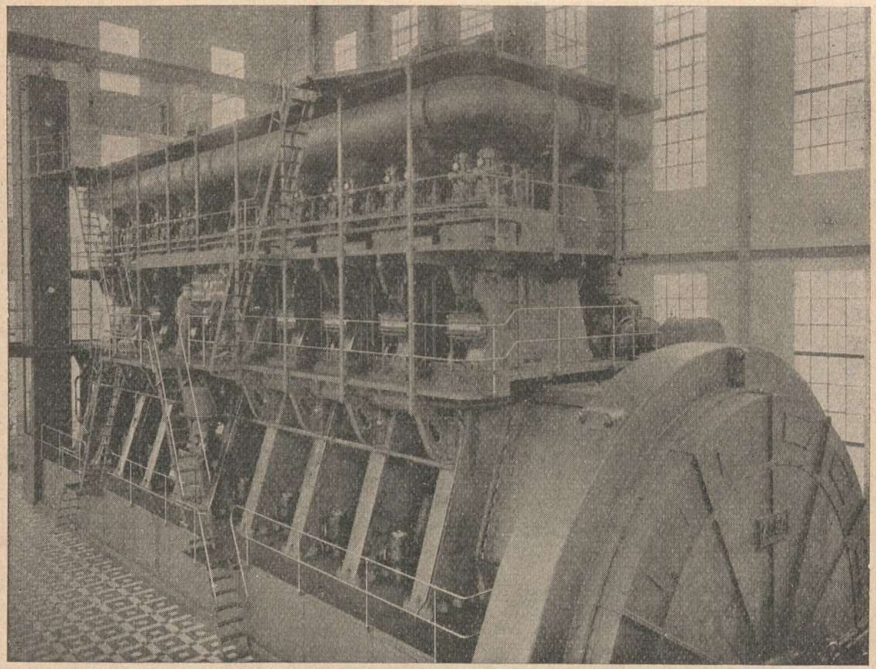
[1] Arrangements were made, for example, to imprison two of Watt's workmen if they attempted to leave England. It was discovered that they had been invited to go to Russia to set up steam engines there.

progress, and many of them thought that, to keep their advantage, they had only to go on using the same machines and methods which they had inherited from their fathers. Thus they thought they knew enough, and they did not try very hard to make further improvements or to gain new knowledge.

In Germany and America, on the other hand, were many men who saw that they could only win trade from Britain by carefully studying science and by finding out yet newer and better methods of making things. Their scientific study soon brought results, and for some time after 1870 nearly all the important inventions took place in countries other than Britain. The Germans discovered many new dyes which they were able to keep secret for their own use, and thereby take the lead in the dyeing industry. Americans invented many new kinds of farming machinery in order to lessen work on the farms. The sewing machine, the typewriter, and the gramophone were also mainly the work of American inventors. The first successful aeroplane flights were made in France and the United States. Marconi, the inventor who succeeded in making possible long-range wireless communication, was an Italian. During the second half of the nineteenth century Britain was losing not only her lead in industry, but also her lead in the making of new discoveries.

New sources of power. (1) *Oil*

When we were discussing Britain's industrial supremacy between 1805 and 1870, we saw that one of the reasons for this was the fact that she had plentiful supplies of coal, without which at that time no country could play an important part in industry. The coal was needed to produce iron from the ore, and to make steam for factory engines, railway engines, and steamship engines. While coal remained the only source of power, Britain, with her limitless supplies,



A LARGE OIL ENGINE
Note the size of the engineer who is looking after it

was still in a happy position compared with that of other countries.

The discovery of two other sources of power, however, helped to lessen the advantage given to Britain by her supplies of coal. A German called Daimler invented the high-speed Internal Combustion Engine[1] in 1885. Engines of this type use petrol, kerosine, or some other product of mineral oils. They therefore created demand for a new source of power, oil, which has rivalled and even beaten coal in importance. All aeroplanes and motor-cars, as well as many engines in ships and factories, are now driven by power gained from oil. Oil is thus becoming more important every year, but Great Britain has to buy all the oil she needs from other countries, for she has no oil supplies of her own. France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy suffer from the same disadvantage. The United States, however, have plenty of oil as well as coal within their own territory.

(2) *Electricity*

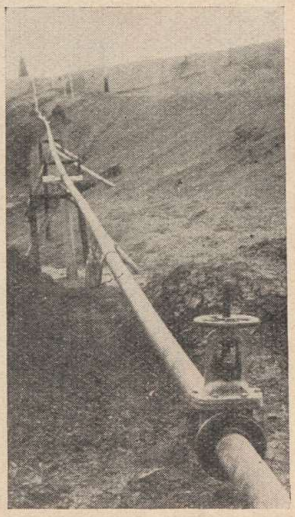
During the nineteenth century yet another source of power was discovered. Even before that time something was known about electricity, and then the scientific studies of such men as Faraday, Morse, Swan, and Edison led to great developments in using it. The first electric lamps, for example, were invented by an Englishman named Swan in 1878, and by Edison, an American, in 1879. But more important for industry was Faraday's invention of the dynamo in 1831. This was a machine for producing an electric current which could be used to turn an electric motor.

The advantage of electricity over coal and oil

Electricity is a much cheaper form of power than coal or oil, especially when it needs to be sent from one place to

[1] A name given to petrol or oil engines which are driven by the burning or explosion of petrol or oil inside them.

another. Coal is a solid, and has to be carried from the coal-mines to the engines which need it. The loading of coal into wagons, its transport to the factories or ships, and the unloading of the coal-wagons at their journey's end, cost a great deal of money. That is the reason why manufacturers liked to build their factories as close to the coal-fields as possible. Oil is a liquid and can be transported more cheaply, for it can be pumped along pipes from one place to another and does not have to be lifted and carried. But electricity is the cheapest power of all to send about, because it is neither carried nor pumped, but travels along wires.



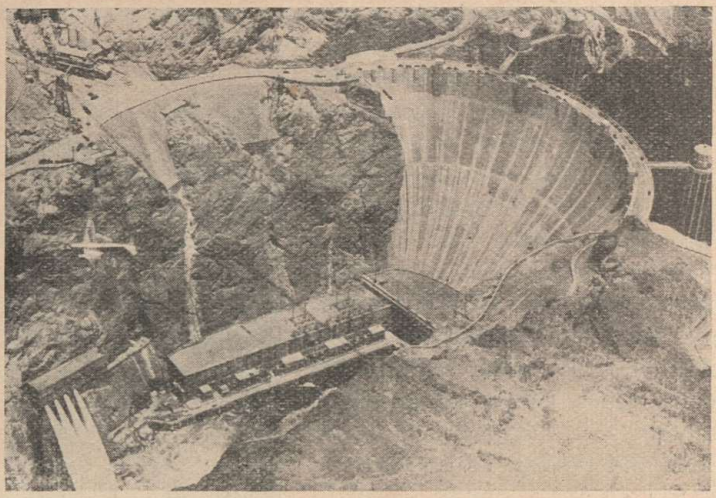
OIL PIPE-LINE

Hydro-electric power

The dynamo has to be turned before it can produce electricity, and in England, when electric power is required, the dynamo is usually turned by a coal-burning steam engine. But in the United States and Canada, and to a certain extent also in Germany, France, and other European countries where there are big, fast-flowing rivers, the dynamo can be turned much more cheaply by water-power. Britain has no rivers which can be used for this purpose, and therefore has still to depend on coal. Thus with electric power, as with oil, Britain is at a disadvantage compared with some of her competitors, especially with the United States.

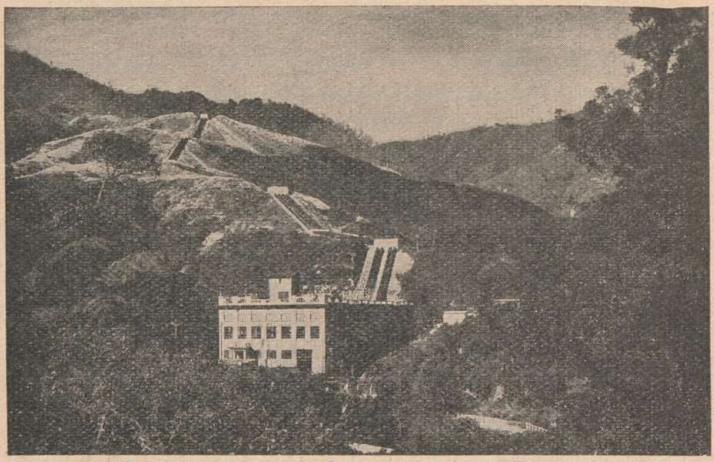
Britain and her rivals in industry, about 1900

The changes described in the last part of this chapter left Britain no longer supreme in industry, as she had been



HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER STATION BELOW THE BOULDER DAM, COLORADO RIVER, U.S.A.

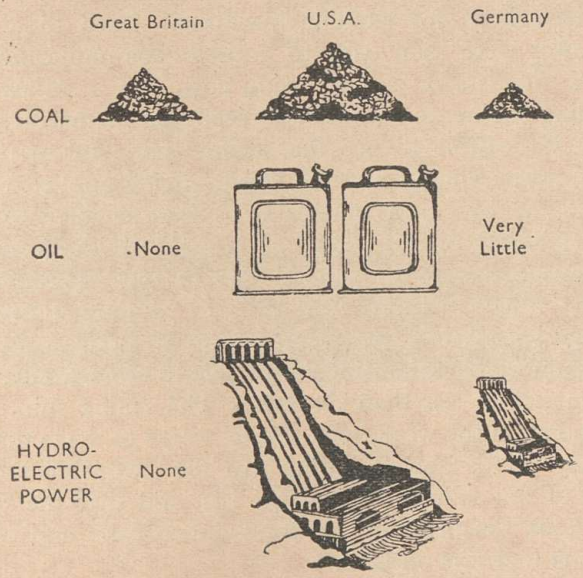
Notice how much of the force of water passes through the power station and flows away after producing electricity



A HYDRO-ELECTRIC STATION IN NEW ZEALAND

Observe the pipes through which the water is brought from the mountains

before 1870, and by 1900 she had had to take second place to the United States. The United States is a very large country with a very much bigger population than Great Britain's, and it has not only great coal and iron fields, but also many oil fields, as well as great rivers which can be used to produce hydro-electric power. Britain has also a very serious rival in Germany. In steel production, for example, Britain increased her output between 1890 and



COMPARATIVE OUTPUT OF THE LARGEST PRODUCERS OF COAL, OIL, AND HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

1900 from $3\frac{1}{2}$ million to 5 million tons. But during the same period Germany increased hers from just over 2 million to $6\frac{1}{4}$ million tons, and the United States from $4\frac{1}{4}$ million to over 10 million tons. Meanwhile Britain's export of manufactured cotton goods became less, mainly because other

countries were now manufacturing their own and were competing with her in oversea markets. Britain's total trade, however, was still increasing, but at the same time the trade of other countries was increasing more rapidly than hers.

4. Modern Developments in Communications

We have seen above that two of the most important happenings during the later part of the nineteenth century were the development of two new sources of power, oil and electricity, for working machines. Both these kinds of power were soon used to improve communications.

The first steam engine, using coal, was a *stationary* or standing engine, but we have noticed that further inventions made it possible to use the steam engine for transport.[1] The railway engine was the steam engine applied to land travel, and by steam engines ships were enabled to travel independently of the wind. By 1900 both these methods of transport were in general use in most parts of the world. Railway trains were able to go long distances at average speeds of forty or fifty miles an hour, while large and comfortable steamships were able to cross from Europe to America in less than six days. The sailing ship, which depended on the wind, took several weeks to make the same journey. It is not surprising that the steamship took the place of the sailing ship on the sea, and that the railway train took the place of the horse-drawn carts and coaches for long journeys on land.

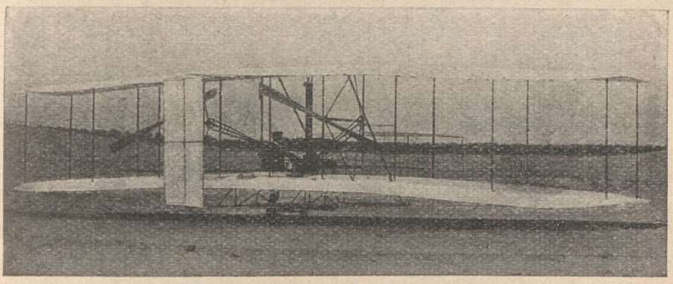
The motor-car and the aeroplane

The invention of the internal combustion engine made yet further improvements possible. The first of these was the motor-car, and it is a surprise to remember, now that we are so used to seeing them, that hardly fifty years ago the motor-car had not been invented. Even more recent

[1] Page 30.

is the invention of the aeroplane, for it was not till 1903 that an American called Wilbur Wright made the first successful flight. His aeroplane came to earth again after travelling in the air for less than 300 yards.

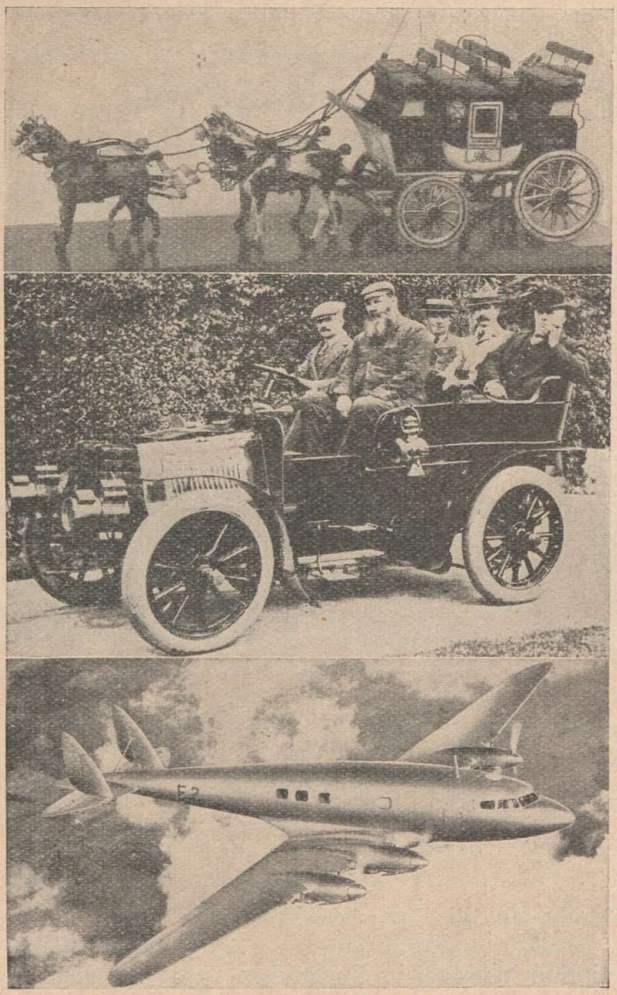
The first aeroplane and the first motor-car were very different from those of to-day. At first they could not be trusted, for they did not travel far without breaking down. But improvements have been made year by year until now we have motor-lorries which can carry goods weighing several tons more than two hundred miles in a single day. Aeroplanes are even faster than the motor-lorry, for the modern air-liner can carry several tons of passengers and



WILBUR WRIGHT'S AEROPLANE

goods at speeds of over two hundred miles an hour. Thus it is now possible to travel from London to Khartoum in two days, to Calcutta in five days, to Malaya in seven days, to Lagos (Nigeria) in four days, or to Cape Town in six and a half days. Faster journeys even than these have been made. For example, in 1938 Clouston and Ricketts flew from England to New Zealand and back, a distance of 26,500 miles, in eleven days. If this is compared with the description of travel in England in 1754,[1] we shall be able to realize how greatly the speed of communication has increased since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

[1] See note on p. 28.



DEVELOPMENT IN COMMUNICATIONS
An English mail-coach (1800); one of the first motor-cars (1902); a four-engined flying boat (1937)

The telegraph and wireless

For the sending of messages, however, even the aeroplane is slow compared with the telegraph and wireless. These are two methods of communication which depend on electricity. In 1844, Samuel Morse, an American, sent the first long-distance message between Washington and Baltimore, by means of an electric current travelling along a wire. He called his invention the electric *telegraph*, and it was so successful that by 1866 messages could be sent by telegraph from Europe to America. Soon most countries were joined by telegraphic wires or cables. It is now possible to send a message in a few seconds from any place where there is a post office to almost any other part of the world.

Yet another invention, made by an Italian called Marconi at the beginning of the twentieth century, has made possible a system of electrical communication without joining the places with wires. This system is, therefore, known as *wireless*. From this invention has developed the broadcasting of music and news, but it is even more important to travellers in ships and aeroplanes, for with its help they are able to send and receive messages while on the sea or in the air.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER THREE

1. What is meant by engineering? Why did it become very important in the nineteenth century? On what kinds of work are engineers employed in your country?

2. Give as many reasons as you can to explain Britain's industrial supremacy before 1870.

3. What new forms of power have been applied to industry between 1770 and the present day? Discuss the importance of any one of them.

4. Explain why Britain was no longer the chief industrial country in the world by 1900. Which countries had become her chief rivals?

5. Discuss the importance of Daimler's invention of the high-speed internal combustion engine.

Chapter Four

SOME SOCIAL CHANGES IN GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

1. The First Results of the Industrial Revolution on the Life of the People

The events described in the last two chapters led to great changes, not only in industry, but also in the social life of the people of the new industrial countries. Though it is impossible to describe all these changes fully in this book, some of the chief changes which took place in Great Britain will be mentioned in this chapter, together with an explanation of how they took place.

Population

One of the biggest of these changes was the great increase in population between 1750 and 1900. The population of Great Britain is judged to have been about 6,000,000 in 1750. In 1800 it had risen to more than 9,000,000. In the nineteenth century the population continued to increase rapidly, and in 1901 it totalled 37,000,000. After then the rate of increase was slower, the latest figures showing a total of about 45,000,000.

There was another change during the nineteenth century besides the rapid increase in population. In the eighteenth century the south and east of England were more closely populated than any other parts of the country because they included the best areas for farming. The hilly country in the west and north was less fit for farming, and the lands there were comparatively empty of people. The effect of

the Industrial Revolution was to make the north of England more important. The change began when the cotton factories were built on the banks of the fast-flowing streams of Lancashire, where the damp climate was good for cotton-spinning. The invention of the steam engine, and the development of the coal, iron, and engineering industries further increased the importance of the north and the midlands: for the factories were built near the coal and iron mines. The change was a gradual one, but by 1870 the south was no longer the most thickly populated part of England. More than a million and a half people were occupied in the cotton and woollen industries and nearly all of them lived in factory towns. Miners numbered more than half a million. Nearly 800,000 people were employed in the metal, engineering, and ship-building industries. There were nearly 200,000 iron-workers. Most of these people worked in the industrial north. Farming still employed more workers than any other industry, but it had long since failed to give employment to the majority of the people of Great Britain.

Factory life

This movement of population from the farms to the factories led to great changes in the way in which people worked. In the eighteenth century there were few employers of more than fifty workmen. British industries were mostly carried on in the villages as a spare-time occupation of the farm-workers. Most of the people were very poor and had to work very hard, but they were working for themselves in their own homes, and not for an employer in a factory. Under the new conditions, however, great factories were built in which hundreds and sometimes thousands of people were employed as paid labourers. Wages were often terribly low. Women, and children at a very early age, had to work long hours for a few shillings weekly in order to increase

the family income. How long the hours of work for children were, may be realized from an Act passed in 1819 which forbad the employment of children under nine years of age. It also limited to twelve hours a day the work-time of children from nine to sixteen years old, but even this did not include their meal-times, and the Act only applied to the cotton mills. No inspectors were appointed to see that it was obeyed.

Town life

The factories changed conditions of work. They also changed the workers' lives outside working hours. The people in the factories worked from early morning till late at night, and therefore they were obliged to live as near as possible to their place of employment. Thus the towns where the factories were built grew rapidly. Between 1801 and 1831 the population of Leeds grew from 53,000 to 123,000; of Manchester and Salford from 95,000 to 238,000; and of Liverpool from 82,000 to 202,000. Sheffield, Birmingham, and many other industrial towns doubled their populations during the same period, and during the rest of the century the town population still continued to grow.

The life of the poorer class of people in these new factory towns was not happy. Many such towns were so big that the people living in them could not easily reach the open country. They were dark places, crowded with houses, dirtied with the smoke from the factories, and usually with no open spaces where people could enjoy fresh air and sunshine. In some towns hundreds of families had to live in underground rooms[1] where fresh air and daylight were unknown. It is not surprising that the children who grew up under such conditions were usually pale and sickly.

[1] In 1832 there were 20,000 dwellings of this type in Manchester alone.

The idea of ' laisser faire '[1]

The landowners, the wealthy traders, and the factory owners saw little wrong in the conditions in the towns and factories, and as these were the people who had most influence in the government of the country, it was a long time before the new industrial system was reformed. Those who were against reform could point to the fact that Britain as a whole was much richer than she had ever been before. They declared that the workers in the factories were, if anything, better fed and better clothed than their fathers had ever been. They declared that Britain's well-being depended on the people's long working hours, and said that in any case it would be bad to give working people much free time. In fact, one of the objections to the Factory Act of 1819 was that regular employment for long hours prevented young people from developing evil habits !

' Laisser faire ' summed up the opinions of those against reform. They believed that it was best for everybody if the government did not interfere. They said that every man should be allowed freedom to carry on his business as he pleased so long as he did not break the law. Hours, wages, and conditions of work were a matter for arrangement between each employer and each of his workmen, not matters for government action. Only thus, they said, could industry be carried on effectively and Britain's success made certain.

The weakness of this argument from the point of view of the ordinary working man was that he was not usually able to make terms with his employer on an equal footing. He had no reserve of money to keep himself and his family if he was out of work. Usually he had no choice but to accept the conditions offered by the employer, who, because of that fact, was able to keep the wages low and the hours of work long.

[1] ' Laisser faire ' (French) means ' to let things go on as they will '.

Trade Unions

The first attempt of factory workers to better their conditions of work was by forming *trade unions* or associations of workmen who agreed to act together to improve their position. Such unions, if they were large and powerful enough, could make terms with employers more successfully than single workmen. If a union failed to reach a satisfactory agreement with an employer it could call a *strike*, which meant that all men belonging to the union would refuse to work for him until conditions of work were changed for the better. Such action might cause a stoppage of work in the factories and a serious loss to the employer. Bargaining through trade unions was one important method by which workmen were able to improve the conditions under which they worked.

The Combination Acts, 1799-1800

Unhappily the Government was at first afraid that the unions might become a danger to the country. Therefore, during the years 1799 and 1800 Acts were passed which made trade unions illegal. These Acts left the factory workers almost without hope. The Government had taken away their chief weapon in bargaining with their employers. Even the social workers, who were trying to bring the African slave-trade to an end, and who might have been expected to feel sorry for the factory workers in England, were unable to see the evils in their own country. Wilberforce, for example, was in favour of the Combination Acts!

Factory Acts. Robert Owen

Although things were very bad for the factory workers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, yet before its end there had been great changes for the better. Reform was slow, but from the first, even among the employers, there

were some who thought that working conditions should be improved, and who urged the Government to take action. We have already noted the Factory Act of 1819. That this Act was successfully passed was largely owing to Robert Owen, manager and part-owner of cotton mills in Scotland. He had shortened the hours of work in his factories, paid good wages, built good houses for his workmen to live in, and provided schools for the children. He was able to prove that it was possible for an employer to treat his men well and yet make a good profit. The Factory Act of 1819 was the result of his attempt to get the Government to interfere by forcing other employers to do the same. It did not aim at doing very much, and little attempt was made to see that it was obeyed, yet it is important as the first example of government action to limit the power of employers to do as they liked in their factories. Five years later (1824) the repeal of the Combination Acts allowed workmen to form lawful trade unions. After 1824 men had two ways in which they could work for the reform of the factory system : the repeal of the Combination Acts enabled them to bargain with their employers through their unions ; the Factory Act of 1819 gave them hope that they might be able to influence Parliament to pass more factory acts giving them further protection against bad employers.

Lord Shaftesbury

Most workmen in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century had no vote and were, therefore, without any direct influence in Parliament. But they were lucky in finding a number of friends in Parliament who were willing to argue for them. Chief among these was Lord Shaftesbury, who carried on a fight for the factory workers like that which Wilberforce had fought for African slaves half a century earlier. He was opposed by most of the factory owners, who had many representatives in Parliament.

The first real success of those who wished to reform the factory system was gained in 1833, when an Act was passed limiting the working hours of children, and forbidding altogether the employment of children under nine except in silk mills. More important than this, however, was the decision that the Government should appoint inspectors to visit the factories to see that the Act was obeyed. This was a suggestion of some of the mill-owners themselves. An important Act was passed in 1842 which forbad the employment of women and children underground in mines. Another Act, in 1847, forbad the employment of women and young persons in factories for more than ten hours a day. These Acts were important, but they were merely a beginning. Many others have been passed to limit hours of work, to improve the lighting and airiness of factories, and to provide for the fencing of dangerous machinery. Hundreds of factory inspectors were appointed to see that the laws were obeyed.

Chartism

Lord Shaftesbury and his supporters were not working-class men, and many of the factory workers wished to get the right to vote so that they could send their own representatives to Parliament. They hoped thus to get the laws they wanted passed more quickly. This led to the Chartist movement, which took its name from the *Charter*, or list of demands, which the workmen made. The chief things asked for in the Charter were (*a*) a vote for every grown man, (*b*) secret voting, (*c*) the right of poor men to sit in Parliament, and (*d*) the payment of members of Parliament. The Charter was prepared in 1838, and in 1839 hundreds of thousands of people signed a petition asking that these demands should be allowed. Parliament, however, refused to listen to the petition, and the Government ordered its soldiers to be ready to stop any attempt of the Chartists to support their demands by force. Petitions

of the same character in 1842 and 1848 were equally unsuccessful, and the Chartist movement ended in complete failure.

Trade unions

Many of the better-paid workers did not agree with Chartism, and preferred to take action by bargaining with employers through their trade unions. The cotton-spinners, the potters, the glass-makers, the tailors and the shoe-makers, set up large unions representing the men employed in such trades all over the country. Thus the Miners' Association was founded in 1841 as one big union for all miners; and in 1851 most of the workers in the engineering industry formed one large union called the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The strength of national unions of this type was shown in 1858 when a quarrel began between employers and men in the building trade over a demand for a nine-hour day. The employers tried to defeat the builders' union. They failed, largely because other unions collected £23,000 to support the builders in their strike.

It must not be thought, however, that strikes were the chief weapon of the trade unions, for although strikes were frequent, they were not usually called unless men had real troubles, and until all other ways of reaching agreement with employers had been tried and failed. Quite as much was gained by peaceful bargaining as by strikes. The unions also had other uses, such as the insurance of their members against loss of wages owing to sickness or accident.

Spread of trade unions among unskilled workers after 1880

Up to about 1880 trade unions had been strong among the skilled and better-paid workers only. There were still great numbers of people in unskilled trades, the ordinary labourers for example, who had no union and whose

conditions of work were very bad indeed. However, since 1880 the trade union movement has widened to include them also, and the powerful unions of skilled workmen have used their influence to gain better wages and hours of work for those less happily placed than themselves. Thus girls employed in making matches in London were helped to success in their strike in 1888, and the labourers in the London Docks when they struck for better wages in 1889.

3. Parliamentary and Municipal Reform, 1832-1928

A short account of the rivalry for power between King and Parliament in the seventeenth century was given in Book Two of this History. Parliament then succeeded in limiting the King's power. This success, however, was not so much a success for the ordinary common people of England, as for the wealthy landowners and merchants who were all-powerful in the Parliaments of the eighteenth century. Members of the House of Lords were mainly the great landowners, who also largely controlled the election of members of the House of Commons. Of these two were elected for each county and two each for a certain number of towns. Only a few landowners were allowed to vote for the county members, and the poorer country people did not, therefore, have the vote. The representation of the towns was also unsatisfactory. Many of the 'towns' represented were not really towns at all, but small villages owned by a member of the House of Lords: while in the larger towns the vote was usually in the hands of only a few favoured people. Most of the really large towns that grew up at the time of the Industrial Revolution were not represented in Parliament.

Local government

Local government in the towns and villages, too, was out of date. The government of the older towns was in

the hands of small groups of wealthy men who made little attempt to govern them in the interests of the inhabitants. In the country districts and in the new industrial towns, local government was carried on by the more important landowners acting as ' Justices of the Peace ' (magistrates). Nowhere was the governing class interested in providing good government as we understand it to-day. Bad laws were left as they were and new laws were seldom made, even when they were badly needed. Few people, least of all the members of the Government, thought it their duty to use their power to improve the condition of the people. Thus, while the progress of the Industrial Revolution was gradually changing the lives of the people of England, the Government wished to keep the laws as they were. The Industrial Revolution took place almost without any attempt at government control, and this fact largely brought on the evils which followed.

The influence of the French Revolution

There were some people in England at the end of the eighteenth century who thought that Parliament needed reform in order to meet with new conditions. They wished to begin by making Parliament more representative of the people of England, but any hope of immediate success was ended by the outbreak of the French Revolution. Having begun in 1789 as an attempt to reform the government of France, it soon developed into a revolution during which the poorer countrymen and townspeople rose against their king and the landowners, killed those they captured, and seized their property. The British Government and most of the British people feared that the same thing might easily take place in England, and they looked on any attempt to reform Parliament or to better the conditions of the factory workers as the beginning of a revolution like that in France.

This was one important reason why attempts to reform Parliament were not successful till 1832.

The demand for reform

War with France, 1793-1815, was followed by a period of bad trade, low wages, and high prices. This led to great unrest among the people, and all those who were without the vote, rich as well as poor, factory owners as well as factory workers, became sure that things would not really improve till Parliament was reformed. Those landowners who were against reform were hated, and by 1830 people began to think that if Parliament would not reform itself it would have to be reformed by force. The fact that in the same year the people of France had easily succeeded in overthrowing their government and in setting up one which they preferred, made such a success seem possible in England. The enemies of reform began to weaken, and in 1832 an Act was passed intended to reform Parliament.

The Reform Act of 1832

The Reform Act of 1832 did two things. The so-called 'rotten boroughs', i.e. towns where the two members were elected by only a few people under the control of a great landowner, lost their right to send representatives to Parliament. The seats thus gained were used, partly to increase the representation of the counties, and partly to give seats to the big industrial towns which till then had been without representation in Parliament. Secondly, it gave many more people the right to vote. In the countryside the right to vote depended on the ownership or tenancy of lands above a certain value : in the towns the vote was given to all householders who paid rates on property worth more than ten pounds a year. The factory workers and the labourers on the farms were not given the vote by this Act.

Later Reform Acts

The Reform Act of 1832 reduced the power of the landowners in Parliament, but they still kept most of their influence, even in the House of Commons, for they could control many votes in the counties and even in the smaller towns. Yet the Act did mean that in the future the industrialists, the richer clerks, and the shopkeepers, would be represented in Parliament; and it was still more important in preparing the way for future reform. The old voting system had been cleared away. The new system could be extended to include more voters by the simple method of lowering the property-value that gave the right to vote. Thus in 1867 the vote was given to nearly all householders in the towns, and the factory workers thus gained a direct influence on the Government. In 1884 another Act was passed which gave the vote to householders living in country areas. The right to vote has been still further extended by two other Acts in the present century : the first (1918), gave the vote to all men over twenty-one, and to a large number of women ; the second (1928), gave the vote to every person,[1] male and female, over twenty-one years of age. Secret voting, a most important reform which had been demanded by the Chartists earlier in the century, was introduced in 1872. From that time each person could vote as he pleased without fear of displeasing his landlord or employer.

The reform of local government

The Reform Act of 1832 was closely followed by a reform of local government. Those ratepayers in the towns who had gained the parliamentary vote in 1832 soon claimed the right to share in the local government of their town as well. Therefore in 1835 Parliament passed a Municipal Corporations Act which did away with the old system of government

[1] Except certain unfit persons such as madmen and those in prison.

by a favoured few, and arranged for the towns to be governed by persons elected by all the ratepayers. Later, in 1888, self-government was granted to the country districts by an Act which set up elected County Councils.

4. Modern Democratic Government in Britain

Types of government

A country is usually one of three main types: a *monarchy*[1] or *autarchy*, when the government is in the hands of one man; an *oligarchy*, where it is in the hands of only a few men; or a *democracy*, where it is in the hands of the mass of the people. It should be noticed that the government of a country may change from one form to another. Rome, for example, was at first under a monarchic government, i.e. government by a king. Then, just before 500 B.C., the Romans drove out the last of their kings and became an oligarchy. Still later the common people gained a share in the government which thus became democratic. In the end under Julius Caesar, the Roman government once again became monarchic, although Julius Caesar himself did not take a kingly or imperial title.

Changes in the type of government in Britain

The government of Britain has also changed in the course of time. The seventeenth century saw rivalry between King and Parliament for the chief power. Parliament did not win until one king had been put to death and another had escaped from the country, but because of its victory England had an oligarchic government during the eighteenth century. It was not a democratic government because Parliament itself represented only a small part of the people of England.

[1] The word *monarchy* comes from the Greek word *monarkhes* (*monos* alone, *arkho* rule). Britain has a king, but as the chief power is now in the hands of the people, the British Government is no longer a monarchy in the early meaning of the term.

During the nineteenth century, however, as we have seen above, changes were made which changed Parliament from an oligarchic to a democratic gathering.

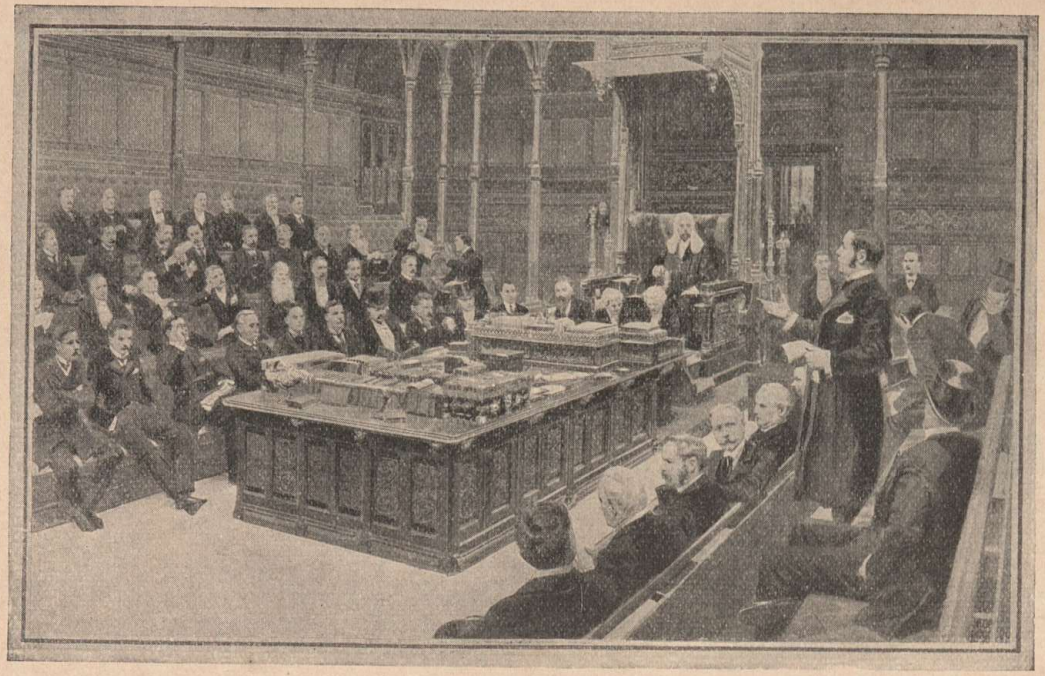
How Britain is governed. Law-making

Outwardly the form of government in Britain is still much the same as it has been for many centuries. That is to say, it is still made up of the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. The difference lies in the fact that the chief power is now in the hands of the House of Commons and that all the grown-up people of Britain now have a share in electing members of that House. At least once in every five years there must be a general election, when the people are called on to vote and to change their representatives if they wish to do so. Thus the House of Commons represents the people; and neither the King nor the House of Lords, who are not elected, can refuse in the end to carry out the wishes of the House of Commons.

One chief duty of Parliament is to make laws, and before a proposal becomes law both Houses of Parliament must agree to it. If the two Houses fail to agree, some changes in the proposal are usually suggested until agreement is reached. But if agreement appears to be impossible, and the House of Commons feels strongly that the law should be made, it can demand that the House of Lords shall accept it. At last, when the proposal has passed both Houses, the King signs it and it becomes law.

The Cabinet

A country not only needs laws. They have to be enforced. Many other things have also to be done. Taxes have to be collected; affairs have to be settled with the governments of other countries; it may be necessary to fight a war. Such things could never be done well if



A Scene in the House of Commons in the Nineteenth Century

The 'Speaker' is in the chair. In front of him are other officials of the House. On the right a Member of the Government is speaking, in favour of a new Act of Parliament. Around him are other members of his political party. Opposite are the members of other political parties who have been elected to sit in the House

Parliament had first to discuss and agree to them. Therefore, when a new Parliament is elected, the King asks a leading Member of Parliament, who is known to have the support of the majority of the members of the House of Commons, to form a government. This man is known as the Prime Minister. He chooses a number of trusted men from his supporters in Parliament, and gives each one charge of one of the great departments of government, such as the Treasury, the War Office, the Colonial Office, the Dominions Office, the Board of Health, the Board of Education, the Foreign Office, and so on. The holders of the most important posts form the *Cabinet*. This is the 'board of management' of the government of the country. It meets in secret. It carries on all important business and makes any necessary decisions, but it is still answerable to Parliament. Members of Parliament may question the members of the Cabinet about their work and find fault with them, and if the Cabinet fails to get the agreement of Parliament for the decisions it has made it will have to retire and let others form the government. Often in such a case it will ask the King to command a general election so that the feeling of the people may be tested on the matter. The Cabinet must either get the support of the House of Commons or retire.

5. Parliament and the People after 1832

Parliament in the eighteenth century made few laws. The landowners and merchants whom Parliament then represented were satisfied, for trade and farming succeeded and after about 1770 the Industrial Revolution still further increased the wealth of the country. These seemed good reasons for making no change in the government of Britain, and the fact that a large part of the poorer people were living in very bad conditions was regarded as an unavoidable evil quite beyond the power of Parliament to cure.

During the nineteenth century Parliament changed its attitude and began to take a great interest in social problems. This change of attitude was partly due to the Reform Acts which gave many more people the vote, and partly to a better understanding of the extent of the evils which had to be stopped. Serious attempts were made to find improvements which could be enforced by Acts of Parliament. Thus the Government was no longer satisfied to look on, but began to take an ever-increasing interest in everything which affected the well-being of the people. It will only be possible here to refer to a few of the most important results of this new interest.

Social legislation. Laws governing conditions of work

The Factory Acts of 1819, 1833, and 1847, and the Mines Act of 1842 have already been mentioned as examples of the beginning of reform in conditions of work. They have been followed by many others. Some have aimed at limiting hours of work[1]; others have forbidden the employment of children under a certain age, or of women and children at all in certain trades; special rules have been made for the protection of workmen in dangerous occupations: Acts, such as the Trades Disputes Act of 1906, have been passed to give many trade union activities the protection of law: seamen were helped by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1906, which laid down rules regulating the food and living conditions for sailors in British ships.

Certain other laws helping workmen may also be mentioned here. One great problem of the working classes had been the risk of accident during working hours, which might leave a man unable to earn his living, for there was no law to force

[1] By the end of the nineteenth century the Eight Hours Day was the general rule in government and municipal workshops, and among some private firms. Compare this with the twelve and a half hours a day worked by nine-year-old children in cotton mills at the beginning of the same century.

employers to give him compensation. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 put this matter right by stating that employers must pay compensation for accidents happening to their men during working hours. Then in 1905 the first step was taken to deal with the problem of the unemployed. The Unemployed Workmen Act in that year made arrangements for the setting up of local committees to help men to find work. In 1911 an important Act set up a national plan for unemployment insurance by which men while still at work paid a small weekly sum. In return for this they would be given weekly payments during periods of unemployment. This system was later extended to deal with the serious unemployment problem between 1918 and 1939. Another important plan to help poor people aimed at providing small pensions for those too old to work. This was agreed to by Parliament in 1908, and like the Unemployment Insurance Act has been greatly extended since.

Health and sanitation

Much has also been done to deal with problems of health and sanitation. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, doctors have discovered many new ways of curing various diseases or of preventing them. The art of surgery has developed wonderfully since it was discovered how to cut out diseased parts of the body painlessly and avoid blood-poisoning afterwards. Dentistry, the art of curing diseases of the teeth, has developed into a separate profession. The British Medical Association, which is an association of doctors, was founded in 1854 and has done much to raise the standard of medical treatment by arranging for the best education and training of doctors and nurses.

Thus during the nineteenth century medical knowledge and skill were increasing, and Parliament began to take action to see that this knowledge should be used for the good

of everyone. In 1842 a commission was appointed to inquire into health in towns. It reported that better sanitation should be provided, waste matter should be taken away, houses should be made more airy, and pure water supplied. In 1866 Parliament passed laws by which local authorities could be forced to supply drainage and good water and to appoint sanitary inspectors. In 1871 Parliament took further action to provide healthy houses, inspection of food, and control of burying places in order to check disease. Various Acts were passed, including a Sale of Food and Medicines Act and a Workmen's Dwellings Act. In 1875 a Public Health Act became law, and this was added to in 1907 and 1925.

The result of these measures has been a considerable fall in the death rate, more especially in the death rate of babies and young children. The latter fell from an average of 154 per 1,000 during the years 1841 to 1870, to 105 per 1,000 in 1910. In 1937 it was only 58 per 1,000. This fall is partly due to government action of the kind described above, and partly to the establishment of Infant Welfare Centres and the work of Health Visitors during the present century. These give mothers advice on the best way to bring up their children. The medical examination and treatment of school children has done much to improve the health of children of between 5 and 14 years of age.

The National Health Insurance Act, 1911

One other important Act must be noticed. The National (Health) Insurance Act of 1911 has done more than anything else to raise the standard of the people's health. The Act covered most wage-earners and arranged that both employer and employed should pay a weekly sum. In return for this, if the wage-earner fell ill, he received free medical attention and a weekly payment of money until he was well enough to return to work. This Act has brought medical assistance

within the reach of millions of people who could not otherwise have afforded it.

Other social reforms

We have no space here to describe the many other ways in which Parliament has been able to assist the welfare of the people. There have been laws to help the poor, to reform the prisons, to set up regular police forces, and to better the administration of justice. These are but a few examples. Private persons have also done much to help people less happy than themselves. Most British hospitals are not paid for by the government but by money freely given by the people. Many Homes have been founded to care for fatherless or ill-treated children. These also are kept up by money freely given for the purpose. There is also one other activity in which both the government and private persons have taken a great interest, and that is education. This subject is so important that it must be considered more particularly.

Education in eighteenth century England

Most people in eighteenth century England could neither read nor write. Only a small part of the population had ever gone to school. Schools were few, and the standard of teaching was usually very bad.

The need for better education

The want of knowledge among the greater part of the people became a very serious problem after the Industrial Revolution, for the changes in industrial and social life which have already been described made education much more necessary. Industry and trade were growing, and needed many more educated men than during the time when the main business of the English people was farming. The planning, building, and care of machines could only be done under

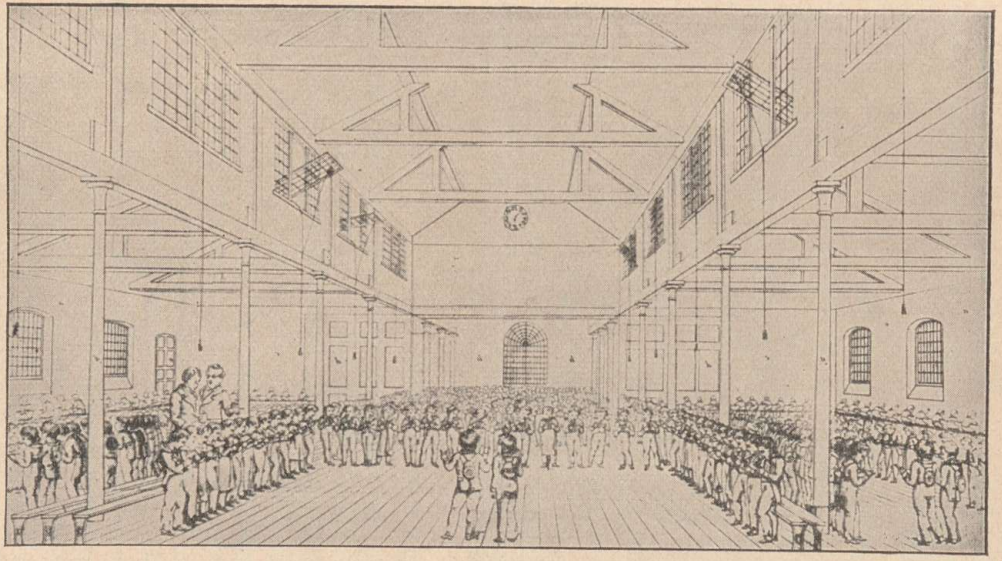
the direction of educated men who could at least write and make correct measurements. A workman who could understand written directions was more valuable to his employer than a person who could not do so.

Social reformers, therefore, were interested in education. It is sometimes necessary for a government to make laws about housing conditions, health, and sanitation even if the people do not understand the need for them. But the laws will be better obeyed and more useful in bringing about reform if the people are educated and understand their value. It is better still if the demand for such laws comes from the people themselves. For that reason the social reformers were much concerned that the English people should be educated.

A third reason for educational reform was that the ordinary workman had been given the right to vote. The vote cannot be rightly used except by an educated man who can understand something of the needs of his country, and the best way in which these needs can be met. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 made the education of the working classes still more necessary.

The beginning of the spread of elementary education

During the early part of the nineteenth century the work of those who wished to increase the number of schools was made more difficult by the fear of Parliament that education might make poor people dissatisfied, and lead to a revolution. Thus the Government gave no help, and at first reform was carried out mainly by religious societies: the National Society founded by members of the Church of England, and the British and Foreign School Society founded by other religious groups, such as Quakers and Methodists. As there were no government educational allowances, the schools of these societies had to be managed very cheaply, and 'the monitorial system' was introduced by which the



AN ENGLISH SCHOOL ON THE MONITORIAL SYSTEM A CENTURY AGO

young children were taught by the older ones under the general care of a teacher. By 1818, 600,000 out of about 2,000,000 children in England were attending school, but the education they received under the monitorial system was not very good.

The beginning of Government help

After the Reform Act of 1832 the Government began to take an interest in education and to assist it with money. Their efforts were not supported by the religious societies, none of which wished the others to receive government help. But in 1833 the Government voted £20,000 for school buildings, and soon afterwards began to send inspectors to schools which had received a share of this money. In 1846 it began to provide part of the cost of training teachers, in order to do away with the monitorial system. By 1857 the government was spending over £540,000 a year on education, while some local governments were also assisting it from the rates.

Every child to be educated

During the next ten years the demand for education greatly increased, for the English were still worse educated than the peoples of many other European countries. The extension of the vote to the working classes in 1867 made further educational reform still more important. Therefore in 1870 an Act was passed which arranged that wherever there were not enough good schools already, the local government could build them, provide teachers, and *oblige* children to join them. Children who could not afford to pay fees were to be educated free. A further Act in 1880 obliged every child to attend his school. The effect of these Acts may be realized from two sets of figures : between 1870 and 1890 the number of children at school rose from 1,250,000 to 4,500,000 ; at the general election of 1886 all

but 40,000 voters out of nearly 2,500,000 could read and write.

Further educational reform

It is not possible here to describe the improvements made in adult education, in the education of girls, or in scientific and technical education. An important Act was passed in 1902 which placed both elementary and secondary education under the county or county borough. Part of the cost was paid out of the rates, and part by allowances from the central government. Since then there have been many other improvements. More attention has been given to the training of teachers and to the inspection of schools. Teachers' earnings have been increased and the size of their classes reduced. County and state scholarships have been provided in larger and larger numbers by which the clever children of poor parents can pass free of cost from elementary to secondary, and from secondary to university education. School buildings and equipment have been much improved.

The Civil Service

The great increase in social legislation during the last hundred years has also led to the appointment of many more government officials, and to the forming of great government departments to administer the laws dealing with such things as Education, Health, Trade, Labour, and Agriculture. Early in the nineteenth century, government servants had usually been appointed through the influence of some great man, rather than because they could do the work well. This system came to an end in 1870 when government posts depended on the results of competitive examinations.

The cost of government in Britain

The cost of government also increased very much. Early in the nineteenth century it was about £50,000,000 a year.

By 1901 it had risen to over £130,000,000; by 1914 to nearly £210,000,000; and in 1939 to nearly £1,000,000,000. Part of this latter sum was needed to pay interest on the huge sum of money, called the National Debt, which was the result of the Great War, 1914-1918. Still more was needed to strengthen the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. A very large amount was also paid for social services. In 1939 the Government, not including local governments, was spending over £60,000,000 on education; and over £170,000,000 on Health, Labour, Insurance, and Old Age and Widows' pensions.

Local government

Local government also has developed. Some mention has already been made of the bad government of the towns and the countryside, and of its reform. Interest in the reform of local government quickened still more after the Reform Act of 1867, which created more voters for local, as well as for the central, government. Parliamentary laws laid more and more duties on the municipal and county governments in regard to health, education, housing and other reforms. Local governments built schools, trained teachers, and employed them; they cleared away unhealthy houses and built new ones; they widened and improved streets and mended the roads; they built markets; they laid out parks and playing grounds; they built public free libraries; they appointed sanitary inspectors and arranged for the clearing away of dirt and waste matter. Many towns have also supplied gas and electricity for heating and lighting, and public buses for cheap transport within their town areas. The money paid for some of these services, such as the supply of gas and electricity and of transport, is enough, or more than enough, to meet their cost. Other services are paid for by local

A Municipal Park in an English Town

taxation out of the rates, or with the help of government money.

The cost of the many different social services in Britain is very high, and taxation in Britain is also very high—higher in fact than in any other country in the world—but on the whole people do not object to paying their taxes, because they realize that the money is being spent to the advantage of themselves and their fellow citizens.

Questions on Chapter Four

1. Explain why the north and west of England were more closely populated and more important in the nineteenth century than in the eighteenth.

2. What were the chief evils caused by the factory system?

3. What is meant by the term 'trade union'? What are its uses to its members?

4. Explain why the British Government between 1770 and 1830 made little or no attempt to improve conditions in the factories.

5. What is meant by (*a*) Parliament, and (*b*) the Cabinet? What influence, if any, have ordinary citizens on the government of Britain?

6. What is 'social legislation'? Give three examples of such laws and explain their importance.

7. Why did educational reform become a very urgent matter during the nineteenth century?

8. What are the disadvantages of the monitorial system of education? Why was it introduced?

9. Outline the chief ways in which the British Government has developed elementary education in England.

10. What do we mean by the term 'local government'? Give a short account of the ways in which a local government can help the people in its area. How is the work done by a local government paid for?

Chapter Five

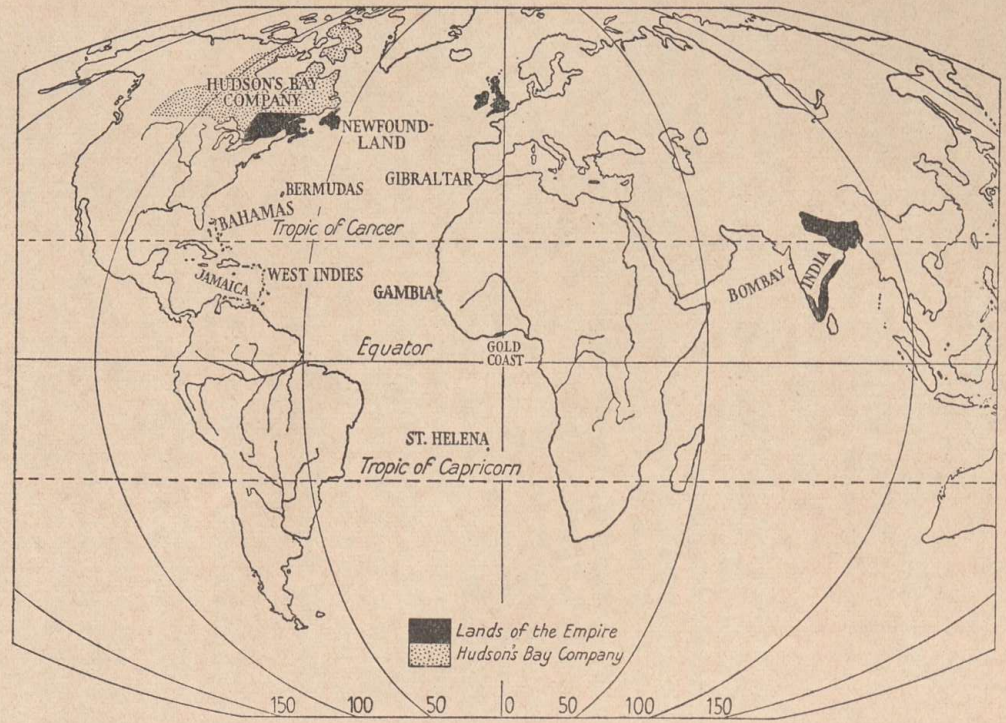
THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1783-1914. THE DOMINIONS

1. The Empire in 1783

In the first four chapters of this book we have studied changes that have taken place in Britain during the last two hundred years. Some of these changes were industrial, some economic, and some political. All had very important effects on the lives of the people of Britain, but they also had equally important effects on other peoples living in countries very far distant from the British Isles. For example, industrial changes in Britain were among the principal causes of the growth of the British Empire during the nineteenth century, and the social and political changes which took place in Britain were at the root of similar changes which, in turn, affected other parts of the Empire. We have now to study the growth of the British Empire after 1783, and to note some of the ways in which the peoples of various parts of the Empire were affected by being included in it.

The British Empire in 1783

Several European peoples, including the British, had begun to found colonies and trading settlements in America, Asia, and Africa as early as the sixteenth century. Britain fought several wars before 1783 to defend or increase her oversea settlements. In the sixteenth century she fought against Spain, in the seventeenth century against Holland, and in the eighteenth century against France, and in these wars she gained several valuable colonies at the expense of



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1783

her rivals. Just before our period begins, however, she lost her North American colonies as a result of a successful rebellion by the British colonists. Britain was forced to recognize their independence and this was a severe blow to her pride. Indeed, not very much of the Empire was left. The American colonies had gone, and the remaining possessions of Britain in America were small in comparison with what had been lost. Britain still had her West Indian Islands, which she greatly valued for their sugar. Farther north she had the newly conquered French province of Canada on the banks of the St. Lawrence river, and Newfoundland, famous for its fisheries, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island on the eastern sea-coast. Farther north still, the Hudson's Bay Company had trading stations where it bought furs from European and Indian hunters.

In India, the victories of Clive during the Seven Years' War had brought Bengal and the Carnatic under the rule of the East India Company, but the greater part of India remained unconquered. At first the rule of the Company was bad, and though the British Government took powers to control the Company's affairs by the India Act of 1784, yet it did not want to increase its responsibilities still more by conquering fresh territory.

The rest of the Empire amounted only to slave-trading stations on the African coast, soon to lose their importance through the Act abolishing the slave trade; and certain stopping places for ships, of which Gibraltar and St. Helena were among the most important. Britain had no possessions in Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa.

The British attitude to the Empire

For almost a hundred years after the American colonists had gained their independence, the British Government took little interest in increasing the extent of the Empire. It

was hoped that areas where there were British settlers would quickly become self-governing, and then independent. Other colonies which contained backward peoples still unfit to stand alone were regarded as 'tiresome loads which in an evil hour we have taken up and have no right to lay down again'.[1] The British wanted peace and a prosperous trade, and many of them believed that the desire for colonies had been the cause of most of the wars during the earlier hundred and fifty years. People who felt thus about the Empire had no desire to increase it.

Reasons why the Empire grew during the nineteenth century

Yet the Empire continued to grow. Wherever British traders and settlers went to live among primitive peoples, there also went missionaries who felt it their duty, not only to convert the people to Christianity, but also to protect them if they could from cruelty and injustice. This could most easily be done if the British Government were persuaded to take control, and so we find that usually missionaries wanted new areas to be included in the Empire, wherever primitive races were being brought into touch with Europeans.

There were other reasons also. We saw in Chapter Four that the population of Great Britain increased very rapidly during the nineteenth century. In times of high prices or bad trade many people became dissatisfied with life in Britain, and decided to cross the sea to Canada, or to the newly opened lands of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. There they hoped to make better homes for themselves and their children. The development of these countries in this manner was quickened because their climate was well fitted for the growing of wheat and the raising of sheep and cattle; and therefore for the export of the grain

[1] So said Sir James Stephen, a civil servant at the Colonial Office, who helped to prepare the Bill for the abolition of slavery (1833).

and meat which Britain required in ever-increasing quantities to feed her large population. In South Africa and Australia the discovery of gold also brought many new settlers.

These were the reasons why the Empire continued to grow, almost, as it seemed, against the will of the British people; and it was not until about 1875 that the trade competition of France and Germany, and the attempt of these two countries to found empires of their own, made the British realize the value of the oversea countries under their rule. Then began a period of purposeful expansion, of which the British share in the Partition of Africa is the most noteworthy example.

We must now return to the beginning of our period, and trace in outline the development of each of the more important parts of the British Empire since 1783.

2. Canada

In 1783 only two areas of the modern Dominion of Canada were colonized by settlers. The Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island were occupied by a small number of British settlers who were chiefly engaged in lumbering, boat-building, and fishing. There was also the former French colony of Canada, where about 60,000 settlers of French blood were farming the plains on both sides of the St. Lawrence, from Quebec westwards to beyond Montreal. The wide plains of the interior were inhabited only by Indians and by a small number of French and British hunters.

The United Empire Loyalists

The first important event after 1783 in the development of the future Dominion was the entry of a large number of people from the former American colonies during and after the War of American Independence. Many of the colonists

who were loyal to Britain emigrated northwards into the lands still under British rule, rather than remain in the now independent United States of America. 30,000 of them entered the Maritime Colonies. 10,000 more went farther west and founded a British colony in Ontario. This colony was known for a time as Upper Canada.

The Canada Act of 1791

Britain had two races to rule in North America—British and French—who differed from each other in language, religion, and custom. The Quebec Act of 1774 had given the French complete freedom to keep to their own ways, and this had made them so satisfied with British rule that they had made no attempt to break away from the Empire during the war of 1776-1783.

However, the founding of a British colony in Upper Canada raised a new problem, for its colonists had been in the habit of electing their own representatives, and were not ready to accept the undemocratic type of government established by the Quebec Act. Therefore a new Act was passed, the Canada Act of 1791, which set up two governments, one for the British in Upper Canada, and one for the French in Lower Canada. Each colony was given an elected assembly to decide on laws and taxes, while a governor representing the king, and a council chosen by the governor, formed the executive. This type of constitution was not at all perfect. If disagreement arose between the governor and the assembly, neither had the power to make the other give way, although the assembly could oppose the governor by refusing to grant taxes. The American colonies had had constitutions of this kind and there had been continual trouble between their governors and assemblies. The Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland were given the same type of government, and all the colonies were put under the authority of one governor-general.

The Anglo-American War, 1812-1814

The next important event in the history of Canada was the Anglo-American War. This was really an attempt by the U.S.A. to conquer Canada. The war proved the loyalty of the Canadians to Britain. She was supported by both the British and the French settlers, and also by the Indians who had received much better treatment from the British Government than the men of their race farther south had received from the Government of the United States. The

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT, FORT GARRY, ABOUT 1821

war lasted for two years and is chiefly important for the treaty which followed it. The boundary was then fixed as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and, still more important, it was decided that the frontier should be left entirely unprotected. Since 1814 there has never been war between the two countries.

The growth of unrest

The population of Canada grew steadily, and was helped by emigration from Britain during the bad years which

followed the Napoleonic Wars. About 20,000 British emigrants entered Canada yearly, and many more entered the United States. During these years, however, the colonists became more and more dissatisfied with their system of government, and the trouble between the elected assemblies and their governors became serious. The actual matters over which disagreement took place need not concern us, but it is important to note the failure of an executive, controlled from Britain, to work happily with an assembly elected in the Canadian colonies. Governors refused to accept laws passed by the assemblies, and, in return, the assemblies refused to grant taxes asked for by the governors. In 1837 there were small risings in both Upper and Lower Canada. They were easily put down, but they led to the sending of Lord Durham from England to find out their cause and to suggest what should be done.

The Durham Report, 1839

Lord Durham's report suggested that Upper and Lower Canada should be joined into one colony with one elected assembly. Its second and more important recommendation was that the executive part of government should be chosen from the assembly and be responsible to it. In other words, Canada was to be given a system of government similar to that which had grown up in Britain. The governor, like the king in Britain, was to follow the advice of his ministers, who in turn were to represent the views of the majority of the elected representatives in the assembly. Lord Durham hoped that the other British North American colonies would presently be added on, so as to make possible the growth of a Canadian nation. The recommendations made in his report were accepted. In 1841 the two Canadas were united by Act of Parliament, and after 1846 governors of Canada and the other British North American colonies began to act only on the advice of ministers responsible to the

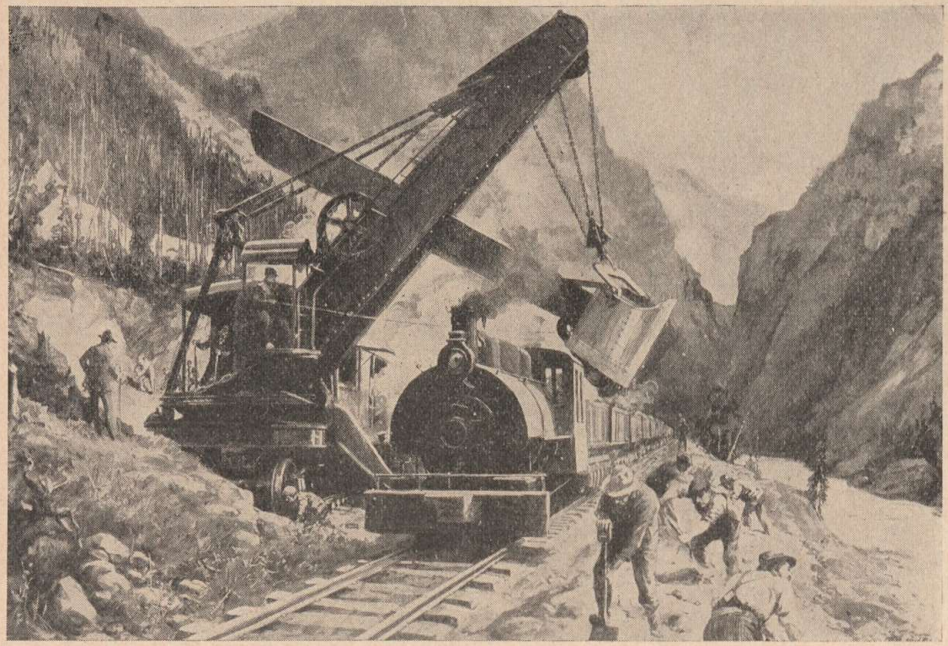
assembly. Thus Canada obtained responsible self-government and set an example which was followed in due course by certain other colonies.

The federation of Canada (*The British North America Act*, 1867)

The Act of 1841 united only Upper and Lower Canada. The Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland remained as independent colonies. But as time went on it became clear that Lord Durham was right in believing that satisfactory progress could only be made if the Canadian colonies were united in one great dominion. Colonization of the great plains west of the older settlements could best be carried out by a government representing the whole of the country. An additional reason was that the Canadians thought that their separate colonies were too small and weak to succeed much in trade, and they were afraid of becoming too dependent on the United States. Thus federation, the forming of a central government for the various colonies, took place in 1867, and Canada was then known as the Dominion of Canada. Newfoundland refused to join the federation.

The development of Canada

During the nineteenth century the population of Canada had been growing steadily. At the time of the Anglo-American War in 1812 it had been about 300,000. By 1840 it had reached 1,500,000, and by 1870, 3,500,000. Not only was the population increasing, but it was also spreading more widely into the interior of the continent. Railways, roads, and canals were being built to open up the country. Railways, for example, increased from only 66 miles in 1851 to more than 2,000 miles in 1867. The plains between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains, indeed, were almost without settlers, for they were controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, which did not welcome colonists, for fear



BUILDING THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

they would drive away the fur-bearing animals from which the Company made its profits. But in 1869 the Dominion Government bought most of the rights of the Company and

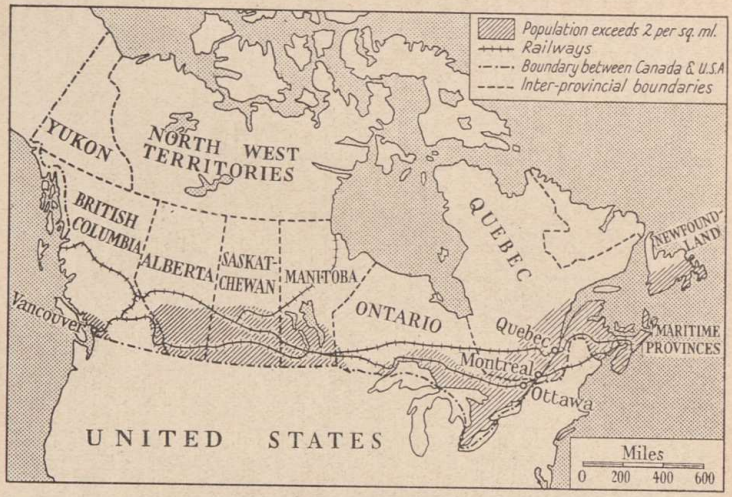
CANADIAN WHEAT LANDS

the way was then clear for settlement. Still farther west the discovery of gold (1857) in British Columbia led to its foundation as a colony in 1858. It was united with the

island colony of Vancouver in 1866, and with the Dominion of Canada in 1871.

The Canadian Pacific Railway

The buying of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company by the Canadian Government cleared away one difficulty in settling the plains of central Canada, but their distance from



MODERN CANADA SHOWING PRINCIPAL RAILWAYS AND AREAS WHERE THE POPULATION IS MORE THAN 2 PER SQUARE MILE

the sea and the absence of good land communications made prosperous colonization impossible. The creation of good communications was made still more necessary by the action of British Columbia, which only agreed to enter the Dominion on condition that a railway should be built to join the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The building of such a railway was very difficult. The plains were cut off from the Canadian settlements in the east by 600 miles of rocky or swampy country, and from British Columbia by the Rocky

Mountains. In spite of these troubles the railway was finished in 1885, settlement of the plains followed, and they have developed as great wheatlands which now supply Britain with much imported food. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants poured into Canada during the early years of the present century from Britain and from the United States. Most of them settled in the prairie provinces. Between 1901 and 1926 the population of Saskatchewan rose from 91,000 to 821,000, and of Alberta from 73,000 to 608,000. Both became provinces of the Dominion in 1905. The North-West territories are less developed. They are frozen for most of the year, but the discovery of minerals and the use of air transport have enabled them to add to the riches of the country.

3. Australia

The development of Australia and of Canada compared

The development of Australia has been unlike that of Canada in several ways. This is largely owing to different geographical conditions. By 1800 Canada already had a long history of European exploration and settlement; but in that year the settlement of Australia had hardly begun. Australian development came late because the land was far from Europe, and because the north-west coast, most likely to be visited by ships, was bare and of little use for settlement or trade.

Canada has also had the advantage that the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes have offered an easy road far into the interior of the continent. Australia has no great navigable waterways.

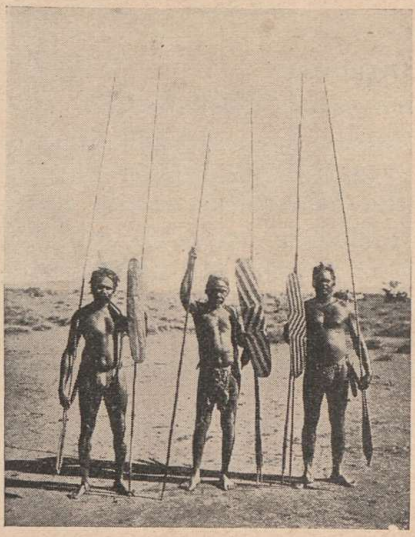
Yet there are also certain likenesses between the two countries. Both are very large, and both contain huge areas which are of little value: in Canada owing to the arctic or sub-arctic climate of the northern part of the country; and in Australia owing to a great hot desert in the interior.

Both countries have native populations—Red Indians in Canada and Blackfellows in Australia—but in neither case are they large, and they have caused no very serious problems. Australia and Canada are far different from southern and eastern Africa in this respect.

The early history of Australia. The Dutch

The first recorded visit to Australia by Europeans was made in 1606 by Dutchmen belonging to the Dutch East India Company. They called the country New Holland.

Then from 1642 to 1644 Tasman, another Dutchman, explored the coast as far as the island (Tasmania) which has been named after him. He also discovered the islands of New Zealand, which he named after a Dutch province. Settlement and further exploration were stopped when the Dutch Company decided to limit its trading efforts to the East Indies.



AUSTRALIAN 'BLACKFELLOWS'

James Cook

British interest in the continent was awakened by Captain James Cook, who made three voyages to the Pacific between 1768 and 1779. He explored the coasts of Australia and New Zealand, and discovered many islands in the Pacific. The British Government soon found a use for his discoveries.

Transportation

In the eighteenth century, laws in England were still very cruel. Men could even be put to death for slight wrong-doing. Another common punishment was transportation, which meant that a man was sent overseas to work on plantations for a period of years. Such men were treated almost like slaves. Before the War of American Independence they had been sent to the American colonies. The rich planters had paid money to the government for them, and had set them to work in the fields with negro slaves.

After the loss of the American colonies it was no longer possible to send prisoners there, but the British Government did not want the trouble and expense of keeping a large number of prisoners in England. Therefore it looked round for some other place, and Australia seemed convenient. In 1788 the first 750 convicts were sent out under guard, and the first settlement was made where the great modern city of Sydney now stands.

The early years of the settlement

The settlement made a bad start. The first good sign for the future was the introduction in 1797 of Spanish wool-bearing sheep. The country proved to be very good for sheep-farming, and during the nineteenth century this industry developed wonderfully. The first loads of wool were exported to England in 1817, and after that the sales of wool increased until, in 1850, Australia became the chief exporter of wool to Great Britain.

Meanwhile the settlement grew. Many of the convicts were not really bad characters, and Governor Macquarie (1810-21) aimed at helping those who were freed to settle on the land and to become useful citizens. Things improved still further after 1817, when it was decided to send the worst convicts to Tasmania. The Governor also persuaded

settlers to go farther inland. The Blue Mountains were crossed, and on the other side were found excellent lands for sheep-farming.

Emigration

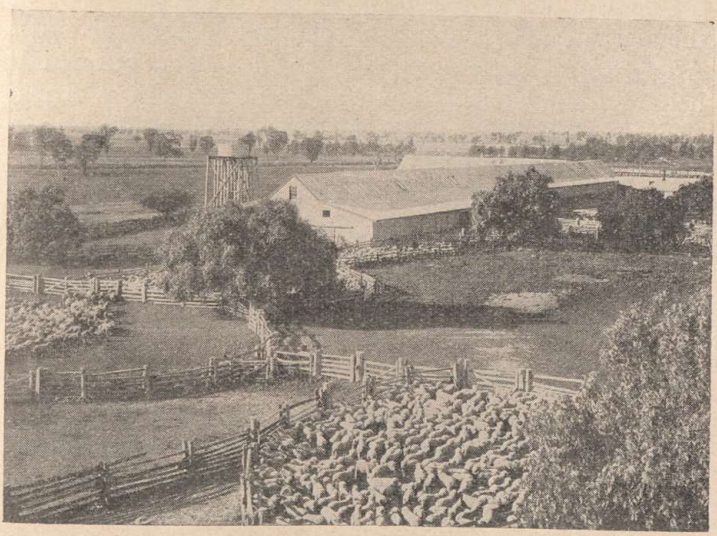
We have already seen that many people left England after the Napoleonic Wars to make new homes overseas. But Australia had a bad name in England because it had started as a convict settlement, and at first most emigrants preferred to go to Canada or the United States. Even as late as 1830 only 1,500 immigrants entered Australia during the year. This state of affairs was changed by the development of the wool industry and by the efforts of certain people in England. 32,000 immigrants entered Australia in 1841 and the number continued to increase. Settlements were made in Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland; and they developed soon into separate colonies. Meanwhile convicts were still being sent, but the colonists objected so much that the British Government at last gave way. No convicts were sent to New South Wales after 1840, or to Tasmania after 1853. In 1850, out of a population in New South Wales of 265,000, fewer than 2,500 were convicts.

Gold

Gold was discovered in New South Wales in 1851, and shortly afterwards there were still more valuable finds at Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria. The population then increased very quickly. There were 77,000 people in Victoria in 1851, 237,000 in 1854, 538,000 in 1860, and 720,000 in 1870. In New South Wales there was a rise from 187,000 in 1851 to 348,000 in 1860. The discovery of gold in Queensland in 1867, and in Western Australia in 1890, had a similar effect on the populations of these colonies.

The discovery of gold did more for Australia than merely to increase her population. More people needed more

A Gold-mining Camp in Australia about 1865



A Sheep-shearing Station in Australia

food, and the sheep which before had been valuable chiefly for their wool now had a further use in supplying meat. Thus the gold rush made the sheep-farmers and other food producers richer. Also, when the first gold rush was over, many of the gold-miners settled on the land and became farmers, or went to the cities and manufactured cloth and other goods. Another effect of the new wealth and the increase of population was the building of railways and roads to open up the interior of the continent to settlement and trade. Between 1850 and 1881 many millions of pounds were spent in providing communications.

Government

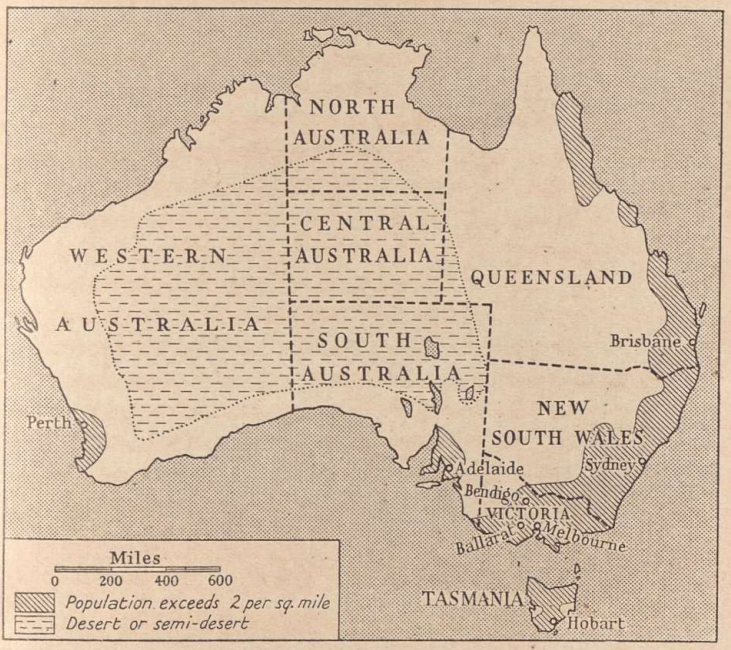
As Australia developed from the first small convict settlement into a number of prosperous colonies of free men, it became necessary from time to time to change the form of government. From 1788 to 1823 the settlements were under the control of a governor appointed in England. He had the assistance of a number of soldiers to enforce his orders. After 1823 the governor no longer ruled alone, but with the help of a council chosen by him. The system was changed again in 1842 owing to the increase in the number of free colonists, and after that time two-thirds of the council were elected by the wealthier settlers. In 1851 New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania were able to take a further step forwards when they were asked by the British Government to suggest the form of government that they would like best. Their suggestions became law in 1855.

Responsible self-government

Each of the colonies under its new constitution had a governor, an elected council with much the same duties as the British House of Lords, and an elected assembly like the British House of Commons. As in Canada, the government was to be carried on by ministers chosen according to the wishes

of the majority of the elected representatives, and the governor was not to interfere in the ordinary work of government.

Democracy did not work well at first in Australia, for the council and assembly in each colony often quarrelled with one another, but things improved as time went on.



MODERN AUSTRALIA, SHOWING AREAS WHERE POPULATION IS MORE THAN 2 PER SQUARE MILE, AND AREA OF DESERT OR SEMI-DESERT

Federation

The next step was federation, which did not take place till 1900-1901. As in the case of Canada there were good reasons for the change. Australia no longer felt quite safe, as she had done earlier in the century. Japan had become a strong and warlike power in the Pacific. Germany and

France were occupying Pacific Islands. In particular, the annexation by Germany of part of New Guinea in 1884 brought German armed forces very close to Queensland.

Another reason was the immigration problem. Australia was still only thinly populated by white people, but immigrants had been entering in large numbers from China and other Asiatic countries. Rightly or wrongly, Australians felt that such immigration must be stopped, or at any rate severely limited, if they were to continue to prosper.

Australians believed that neither defence nor immigration could be properly dealt with by five or six separate state governments with, perhaps, different policies; and that it was better to have one strong central government to deal with such matters. Therefore in 1900 the various governments agreed to the setting up of a central government for the whole *Commonwealth of Australia*. The state governments still remained, and kept more powers than the provincial governments of Canada, the Commonwealth Government being concerned mainly with foreign policy, defence, import and export duties, immigration, and communications. Canberra, a new city, was built on the borders of Victoria and New South Wales to be the home of the new central government.

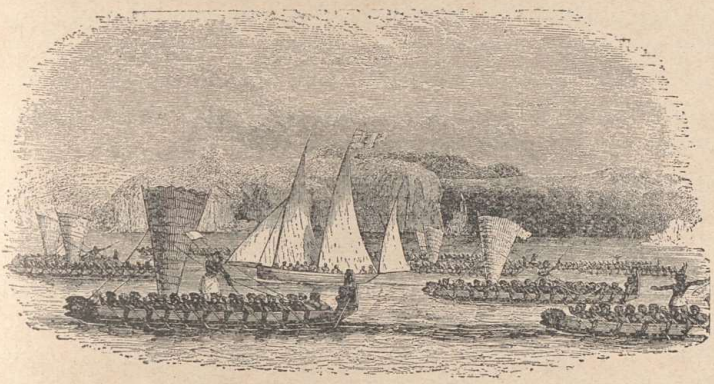
4. New Zealand

New Zealand was the last of the countries that are now self-governing Dominions to become a part of the British Empire, but its growth into a New Zealand nation was then very rapid. Its short history is interesting, too, because it contains examples of nearly every kind of problem which had to be faced in the oversea Empire during the nineteenth century. The British Government showed its usual unwillingness to interfere; the missionaries were active in protecting the rights of the native (Maori) population;

settlers and traders opposed the missionaries, and by their mistakes and selfishness were the cause of native wars ; the British delay in annexing New Zealand was brought to an end by the news that the French were preparing to annex it. After annexation there came the usual problem of deciding when the colony was fit for self-government.

The Maoris

When Captain James Cook visited New Zealand in 1769 the islands were already occupied by the Maoris. They



PEACE-MAKING IN NEW ZEALAND
A mission boat among Maori war canoes, 1831

numbered about 100,000, most of whom were living in the North Island. The South Island at that time was almost uninhabited. The Maoris were, and still are, a kindly race and excellent fighters. The Maori tribes were small and were always fighting one another.

Early relations with Europeans, whalers, and convicts

Although Captain Cook had annexed the islands for the British Government in 1769, nothing was done to develop

them as a colony. The first Europeans to use the islands were sailors engaged in catching whales and seals, and convicts who had escaped from Australia. Many of them had bad characters and they had an evil influence on the Maoris. They sold them strong drink, guns, and gunpowder. By 1830 the number of men of this sort in the North Island was about a thousand.

Missionaries

The first missionary arrived in 1814, and after that many other missionaries arrived, established mission stations, tried to overcome the bad influence of the traders and the convicts, and worked to convert the Maoris to Christianity. They had great success and hoped to be able to set up a native Christian State from which other white men could be kept away.

Colonists

Meanwhile a number of men in England greatly desired to develop New Zealand for white settlement. The most important of these men was Gibbon Wakefield, who had taken a great interest in the colonization of Australia. He realized the harm in allowing bad men to settle in New Zealand without government control. 'We are, I think, going to colonize New Zealand', he said, 'but we are doing so in a most disorderly and disgraceful manner.' To set this right the New Zealand Land Company was formed, an agent was sent in 1839 to buy land, and he was followed by 13,000 specially chosen settlers.

The French prepare for action. Annexation by Britain

The missionaries who wished to found a native Christian State, as well as the men who favoured a policy of white colonization, pressed their views on the British Government. The Government agreed that the bad treatment of the Maoris was 'a short-sighted and destructive policy' but was not

sure that either Wakefield or the missionaries had found the best cure. In the end very unwillingly the Government decided on annexation, and it was helped to this decision by the knowledge that the French were preparing an expedition to New Zealand. New Zealand was annexed in 1840 and the French expedition arrived just too late.

The Treaty of Waitangi, 1840

The Treaty of Waitangi was made with the Maori chiefs to arrange for the annexation of New Zealand. The chiefs accepted British rule, and in return were promised possession of their lands. The Maoris and the missionaries were both pleased, but the colonists felt that they had been ill-treated by their government. The colonists needed land. The effect of the treaty was to prevent them from getting it, while at the same time the Maoris were promised possession of far more land than they could possibly use. The treaty led to much trouble between the colonists on the one side, and the British Government, the missionaries, and the Maoris on the other. Fighting broke out between the settlers and the Maoris in 1843.

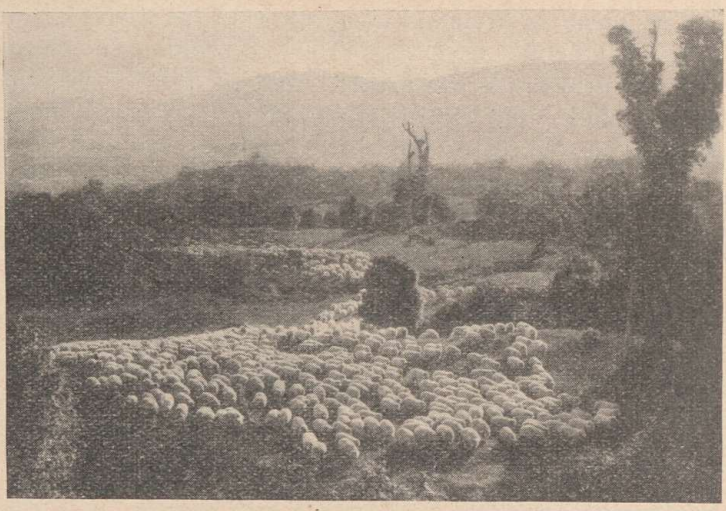
Captain (afterwards Sir George) Grey, 1845-1853

The appointment of Captain Grey as Governor in 1845 did much to bring the trouble to an end for a time. He saw the difficulties of both the settlers and the Maoris, and tried to settle their differences. He won the respect and liking of the Maoris by learning their language and understanding their customs. He realized that there was plenty of land for everyone, and he bought from the Maoris some of their unwanted lands for sale to the colonists. Soon the Maoris were building roads at their own expense and asking that Sir George Grey should be made Governor for life.

Settlements were also made at Otago and Canterbury in the South Island.

The development of self-government

Although New Zealand was only annexed in 1840, self-government was given to the various settlements very soon after similar grants in Canada and Australia. A constitution was set up in 1852 which provided for a governor, a nominated council, and an elected assembly, and in 1856 the colonists were given full responsible self-government.



A Sheep-farm in New Zealand

The Maori Wars, 1860-1870

War soon followed, for which a number of causes were responsible. Sir George Grey had left in 1853 and the new governor had little liking for the Maori peoples. The new constitution gave the colonists greater powers, which they used to obtain larger areas of land. The Maori chiefs thought that too much land was being given to Europeans. By 1859 the Maoris had already sold 7,000,000 acres in the North Island and 32,000,000 acres in the South Island.

The chiefs also wished to stop the sale of arms and strong drink, and they were finding that they were losing their authority over those of their tribesmen who were entering European employment. But the land question was the most serious cause of unrest, and the wars started over a quarrel about land. They went on for ten years, and the Maoris fought with great skill and bravery.

The results of the wars

When the wars were over, several things were done to remove the causes of Maori dissatisfaction, particularly over the land question. The Maoris were also given the right to send persons to represent them in the House of Representatives, and thus to share in the government of their country. Gradually the Maoris and the European colonists became more friendly, and the two races were able to work side by side.

Further progress

Ten years of warfare had checked progress in the North Island, although both the population and the prosperity of the South Island had greatly increased. After 1870 both islands developed rapidly. Gold and coal were discovered, and sheep and dairy farming was very successful. The six colonies were united in a single Dominion as early as 1876. Railways rapidly opened up the country. The seven miles of railway already built in 1870 had increased ten years later to twelve hundred. The year 1882 marked another most important step forward, for in that year the first frozen New Zealand mutton arrived in London. This was the beginning of a huge trade in frozen meat and dairy produce which has done more than anything else to create wealth in New Zealand and Australia.

The population of New Zealand has increased from about

30,000 in 1851 to over a million at the beginning of the present century.

5. South Africa

South Africa is the only Dominion where a much larger native population lives side by side with the white race. Bushmen and Hottentots were at the Cape when the Dutch first settled there in 1652, and later the Dutch also came into touch with another race, the Bantu, who were pressing into South Africa from the north. The Bushmen and the Hottentots were comparatively weak races which have since almost died out, but the Bantu were very large in numbers. They were cattle-herders and farmers. They were also good fighters looking for new lands on which to settle.

The Cape under Dutch rule

From 1652 when the Colony was founded until 1806 when it was taken by the British, the Dutch Government took little interest in its settlers. Their chief importance was to provide food and water for Dutch ships journeying to or from the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch Government did not want the Colony to grow, and in order to avoid trouble with African tribes, tried to prevent the colonists from going far inland. Yet, as the colonists did not agree with the Government, such troubles did occur.

The British and the Dutch settlers

The British took the Cape from the Dutch during the Napoleonic Wars (1806). This led to many troubles in South Africa during the nineteenth century. These troubles were caused less by the fact that the Dutch settlers were coming under the rule of men of another race,[1] than by

[1] The French in Canada had settled down quite happily under British rule after the conquest of Canada. See p. 88.

differences of opinion between them and the British over the treatment of the native races of South Africa.

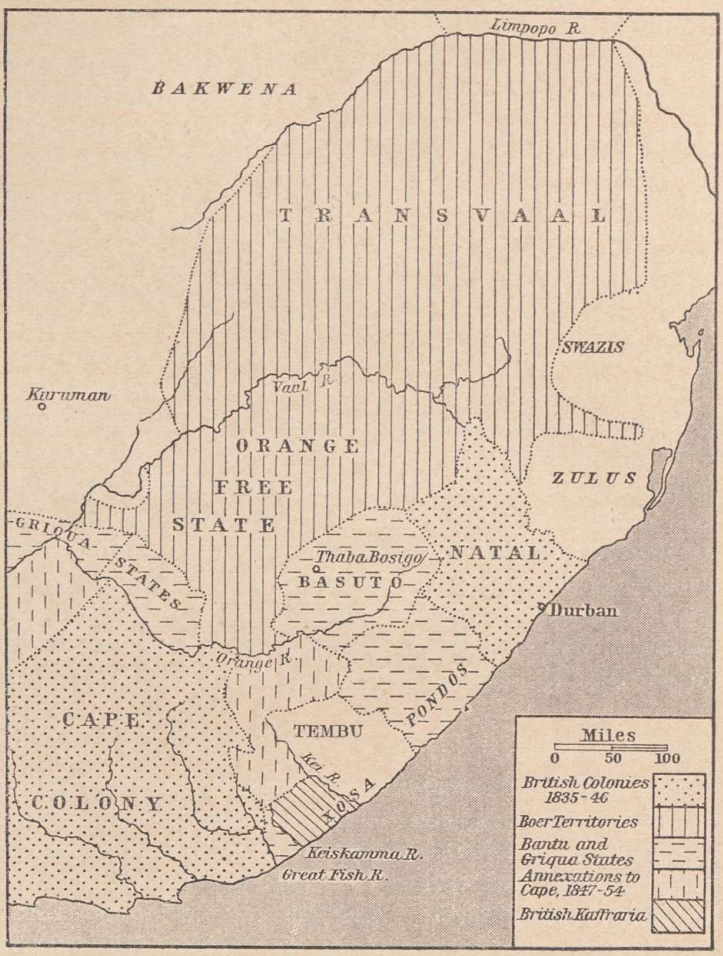
The native question

The Dutch settlers still kept the belief of their forefathers that pagan peoples of different colour had no rights like theirs, but were appointed by God to serve them as labourers. Indeed, some of the British, especially British settlers coming to South Africa early in the nineteenth century, agreed with them, but there were very many people in Britain who thought differently. These urged that all men were equal in the sight of God, and that uncivilized people should be helped and educated to fit them for equal rights. They had great influence with the British Government. It was due to them that in 1807 the Government forbad British subjects to trade in slaves, and passed a law abolishing slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Thus when South African missionaries complained about the treatment of Africans in the Colony, there were many people in Britain willing to urge the Government to defend them. This soon led to trouble between the Government and the Dutch settlers, because the missionaries were successful in 1828 in obtaining the full protection of the law for Africans in the Colony. Many settlers were angry because they could no longer rule their African servants as they liked.

The Kaffir Wars

The trouble was made more serious because the Bantu were even then pressing farther southwards towards the Cape, while the settlers wished to extend the Colony farther to the north. The British Government tried to keep the peace by fixing a limit for the Colony and forbidding settlers and Bantu equally from crossing it. Neither race obeyed this rule, and Bantu invasions of the Colony led to a number

of Kaffir Wars (1809-1857), during which the Bantu were pressed back and much new land was taken for European settlement.



SOUTH-EAST AFRICA, 1835-1857

Long before the Kaffir Wars were over, many Dutch farmers had become so displeased with the missionaries' influence on the Government that they decided to leave the Colony and to search for independence and new lands in the north. They crossed the Orange River into what

THE GREAT TREK

became known as the Orange Free State, and from there some went farther, either into Natal or yet farther north into the Transvaal. Natal was soon annexed by the British (1842), but the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were not brought fully into the British Empire till 1902, and then only after three years of warfare. Formerly they had been a continual cause for worry. Not only did they treat badly Africans living in their own states, but they also hoped to

conquer others as well. The British Government feared that this might cause a general war between white and black.

British Policy towards the Transvaal and the Orange Free State

Between 1842 and 1899 Britain followed no one policy towards the two republics. At times, especially in 1848 and 1877, fear that the republics would start wars with Bantu tribes, which might disturb the peace of the Colony, made the British wish to annex and rule them. This was also the course urged by the missionaries. On the other hand the republics might resist annexation,[1] and in any case annexation would lead to great trouble and expense in governing unwilling subjects. Thus the British Government never really knew what to do for the best. The matter was not decided until the outbreak of the South African war in 1899.

The discovery of gold

One chief cause of the war was the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal in 1886. Many thousands of British miners went there to dig for it, but the President of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, did not welcome their coming. He treated them as badly as he could and taxed them very heavily. He also began to prepare for war with the British.

The South African War (1899-1902), *and the Union of South Africa*

Under these circumstances war was not long in coming. It began in October, 1899, with the invasion of Natal and Cape Colony. The Republics fought with great skill and bravery and it was only after nearly three years of hard fighting that they had to admit themselves beaten. They

[1] The Transvaal went to war with Britain in 1877 for this reason.

were treated very generously at the Peace of Vereeniging which ended the war, for although they had to agree to enter the British Empire, they were given equality of rights with the British, and £3,000,000 to help them to repair the damage which war had done to their farms. This good treatment lessened past ill-feeling, and prepared the way for the union of all four colonies (Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal) into one Union of South Africa. This Union was granted dominion status like that which had already been granted to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The Union took place in 1910.

South Africa since the Union

The Peace of Vereeniging and the Union which followed it have done much to lessen racial troubles between the two white races in South Africa. In time they may become truly united into one nation, just as the British and French in Canada have. But the problem of the relations between white and black races[1] in South Africa has not been solved, even in part. According to the census of 1936 there are about 2,000,000 whites and about 6,600,000 Bantu in the Union. The nineteenth century had seen the occupying of Bantu lands by the white races. Thus in the twentieth century most of the good land of the Union is in the hands of the smaller number of white people, and the Bantu are left with too little land for their own needs. They suffer

[1] It should be noted that there are also *Indian* problems in South Africa. Indians began to enter South Africa, and particularly Natal, in large numbers about 1860, to work as labourers for European land-owners. In due course many of them obtained grants of land and settled there permanently. Other Indians carried on trade or entered industrial occupations like their fellow-countrymen in East Africa (see p. 136). In 1936 there were about 220,000 Indians in the Union.

Indian problems in the Union are mainly concerned with the relations between Indians and Europeans. The Indians want political representation, greater freedom to compete with Europeans in trade and industry, and an improvement in their social position. Some restrictions have been removed in recent years, but the government of the Union has not granted them their chief demands.

other disadvantages too. In the Orange Free State and the Transvaal they have never had the right to sit in Parliament or to vote; in Cape Colony and Natal such rights did once exist, but have been taken away since the Union. The Bantu are also forbidden to compete with white men in certain kinds of work, and in some places they are not free to find work where they please. It is easy to argue that these things are wrong. It is less easy to see how they can quickly be put right without disturbing the peace and prosperity of the country. South Africa is the only dominion with a problem of this kind, and a solution for it will have to be found sooner or later. Meanwhile, a start has been made towards solving the land question, the most urgent part of the problem. The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 aims at providing 15,000,000 more acres of land for Africans in the Union at a cost of £10,000,000. Over 800,000 acres of land had already been purchased for this purpose up to November, 1937.

Questions on Chapter Five

1. What difficulties were met with in governing Canada before 1840? Explain what is meant by the term 'responsible government' and state how Canada obtained it.
2. Explain the reasons for (*a*) the federation of Canada in 1867, and (*b*) the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901.
3. How and why did the colonization of Australia begin?
4. What part did the discovery of gold play in the development of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand?
5. Discuss the attitude of colonists, missionaries, and the British Government to New Zealand before 1840.
6. Discuss the reasons for the Maori Wars. How far were the Kaffir Wars in South Africa due to similar causes?
7. What is the native problem in South Africa? How did it arise?

Chapter Six

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1783-1914

II. COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

In the last chapter we traced the development of those countries in the Empire which have been colonized by white races and which have obtained full responsible self-government. But these contain only a small part of the total population of the Empire. There are many other countries which are controlled to a greater or less extent by the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. These include India, which has over three hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants; Burma, Ceylon, the Malay States, certain islands in the Pacific, many countries in Tropical Africa, certain West Indian Islands, and some areas on the mainland of America. There are also a number of small colonies which are important chiefly as outposts for protecting trade routes or as trade centres.

In this chapter we shall outline the development of these lands.

1. India

The East India Company loses its powers

In the eighteenth century Clive had fought the French in India in the interests, not of the British Government, but of the East India Company. The result was that the Company, which had been formed in order to trade, became the actual ruler of Bengal and other parts of India. At first it did not govern well. Many of its officials used their new powers in order to get rich; and they often did so at the

expense of justice and good government. This led to many objections in England and to a limitation of the powers of the Company. Lord North's Regulating Act (1773) set up a Supreme Court of Justice whose judges were independent of the Company. Pitt's India Act (1784) set up Government control over the directors of the Company in England, and arranged that the Governor-General of India should be appointed by the British Government. Both Acts limited the Company's powers in the interests of the Indian peoples. The Company lost further rights in 1813 when it gave up its trading monopoly, and in 1833, when it stopped trading. In 1858 it was abolished, and from that time India was directly controlled by the British Government, represented in India by the Viceroy.

The policy of non-interference

When Pitt's India Act was passed, most parts of India were still independent of the Company's rule. The British Government was quite satisfied that this should be so, and the India Act itself laid down that the Company should leave the independent parts of India alone. Thus the British Government hoped, in India, as in other parts of the world, to limit its responsibilities to the lands it already controlled. But in India, as elsewhere, this hope was not realized. Non-interference could only be successful if the independent Indian princes kept the peace with the lands under British rule, if not among themselves : but they did not.

Mysore, Hyderabad, and the Mahrattas

The three chief native powers in India towards the end of the eighteenth century were Mysore, Hyderabad, and the Mahratta princes. They had already given trouble before 1783, for in 1779 they had formed an alliance to drive the

British out of India. Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, had only just succeeded after five years (1779-1784) in defeating them. The Indian rulers were helped by the French. From 1790-1792 further fighting was necessary against Tipu Sahib, ruler of Mysore, although on this occasion the Company was helped by the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Mahratta princes.

TIPU SAHIB

Wellesley's conquests

The outbreak of war in Europe between France and Britain in 1793 led to yet another attempt on the part of France to raise the Indian States against Britain, and once again the Governor-General was forced to disobey his orders not to interfere. In 1798 the new Governor-General, Richard Wellesley, found that all the chief warlike powers in India were being influenced by the French, and that the British were in serious danger. He decided that the policy of non-interference was unworkable, and that the only possible course was to make the British the strongest power in India and to make alliances with Indian princes. His policy was very successful. He was able to make a treaty with Hyderabad, and with its help attacked and defeated Tipu Sahib of Mysore. Parts of Mysore were then shared between the Nizam and the Company, and the remainder

was placed under a ruler who accepted a treaty of protection. Treaties were made with other States also, and British authority was thereby extended far into Central India. Then, from 1803-1805, Wellesley fought against the Mahrattas, and was only prevented from overthrowing them completely by the British Government, which recalled him to England and gave orders that the policy of non-interference should be followed once again.

Further conquests, 1805-1848

It is impossible here to describe even in outline the troubled history of Indian wars in the years which followed. The policy of non-interference was looked upon by the warlike chiefs who remained independent as British weakness. They took advantage of it to attack British territory or States under British protection. Sooner or later such action was sure to lead to war, and the only effect of the non-interference policy was to lengthen the period of war and misrule before conquest was completed. Wars took place against the Gurkhas from 1813 to 1816, and against the Pindaris and the Mahrattas in 1817. These wars and the treaties which followed them took British authority as far west as the Indus and the Sutlej rivers. Wars in 1839 and 1848 brought the Sikhs of the Indus valley also under British rule, and the conquest of India was complete.

The North-west Frontier

Britain's military responsibility for her Indian Empire did not end with the conquest of India. In the mountains beyond the north-west frontier lived many warlike Moslem tribes which looked, and still look, with desire on the wealth of the rich plains of India. Many wars have been fought to keep them back. The most important of these was in 1919 against Afghanistan, when no fewer than 340,000

British and Indian troops were used in the fighting. Even to-day an army of more than 200,000 British and Indian soldiers is kept up to protect India's boundaries.

Progress in administration

During the time that British rule was being extended by conquest, much attention was also being paid to the improvement of the system of government in areas already under

ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA, THE KHYBER PASS

British control. Progress was greater in British India, i.e. that part of India directly under the rule of the Governor-General and his officers ; but improvement was also made in the government of allied Indian states by the appointment of British Residents to represent the Governor-General and to assist the Indian princes with advice. British

officials were chosen with care to see that they were men of ability and good character, and they were no longer allowed to trade as well as govern. The work of justice was separated from that of tax-collection, and courts of justice were set up to administer the law in accordance with the traditions and customs of the people.

The development of social services

We have seen in the earlier chapters of this book that during the nineteenth century in Great Britain more and more interest was taken in social reforms, such as education, health and sanitation, and public works of all kinds for the good of the community. Progress in these matters in Britain had the very greatest influence on the work of the government in India, which did much to improve the conditions of life of the many millions of people under its rule. Even before 1830, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings, 1813-1823, a beginning was made in establishing vernacular schools, in building roads and canals, and in trying to abolish certain customs, such as *suttee*.[1] After 1830 rapid progress was made. Lord Bentinck, 1828-1835, forbad suttee altogether (1829) and overpowered the *Thugs*.[2] He also made many reforms in the system of justice, and helped Indians to obtain high posts under the government. But his most important reform was the introduction of English instead of Arabic or some other Asiatic language as the teaching language in higher education. The historian Macaulay hoped that by good government the English might educate their Indian subjects into a readiness for better government; that, through gaining European knowledge they might, in some future age,

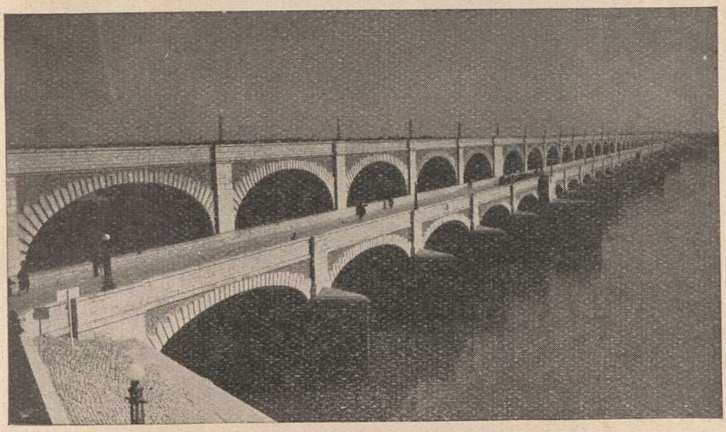
[1] Suttee—the custom of burning Hindu widows on the death of their husbands.

[2] The Thugs belonged to a religious secret society which aimed at robbing and killing travellers. One Thug after arrest admitted that he had killed over nine hundred persons!

demand a European constitution. 'Whether such a day will ever come I know not'; he said, 'but never will I attempt to delay it or avoid it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.'

His prophecy about the possible effects of teaching in English has largely come to pass, as we shall see later.

Lord Bentinck's work was carried on by later governors-general, especially by Lord Dalhousie, 1848-1856. During those eight years over 2,000 miles of good roads and the

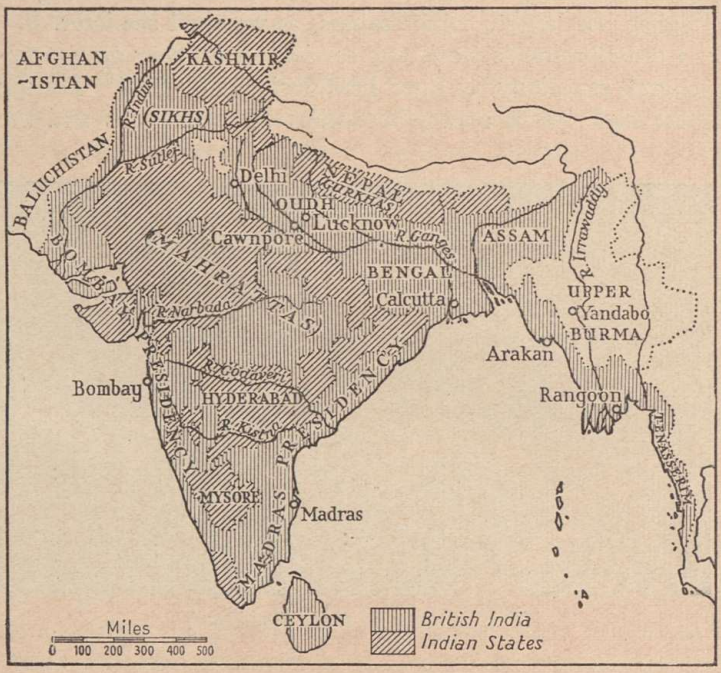


THE SUKKUR BARRAGE (OR DAM)

first railways were built. Thousands of miles of canals were made to provide irrigation systems for one and a half million acres of land. Lord Dalhousie also organized a cheap and good postal service and the electric telegraph for the quick sending of messages. He particularly favoured vernacular education, and when he left India in 1856 there were 25,000 schools.

Christian missions also developed. They had been described about 1800 by the East India Company as useless,

harmful and unreasonable, bringing the peace and safety of the Indian possessions into danger. However, the Government of India had now changed its mind, and the value of their work was recognized.



INDIA AND BURMA, 1857

The Indian Mutiny, 1857. *Its causes*

Lord Dalhousie had done very much during his stay in India, both in annexing various Indian states and in bringing in reforms. Among the states he had annexed was Oudh, a large and important state allied to the Company, which had been very badly ruled. Such annexations,

although they led to the better government of the people, were naturally disliked by the Indian princes and their followers, for they were afraid that their own turn might come next. Many Indians were also upset over matters of religion. Some disliked the abolition of suttee, many were afraid of the effect of the founding of many new schools, and of the activities of the missions. Even the uneducated peasants, it has been said, preferred to be badly governed in the ways they knew than well governed in a way they did not fully understand. The building of many new roads and railways and new things like the telegraph, helped to deepen their unrest. Yet when trouble came it was limited to only a part of the Indian army, and to only one part of India, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Its immediate cause was new cartridges, which were said to have been rubbed in the fat of cows, holy to Hindus, and of pigs, forbidden to Moslems. Before they could be taken back, the trouble they had caused was already serious. Fighting broke out round Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore, and went on for eighteen months before the mutineers were overcome. Many British men, women, and children were killed, especially at the beginning of the Mutiny. Nearly all the Indian princes remained loyal, and also most of the soldiers, except those in Bengal.

The results of the Mutiny

The immediate result was the abolition of the remaining powers of the East India Company in order to bring India wholly under the authority of the British Government. A proclamation was made in 1858 safeguarding the rights of the Indian princes, and promising respect for religion and 'the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India'. It promised also that Indians would be freely admitted to serve as officers of the government according to their

education and ability. Lastly, it declared, 'it is our sincere desire to develop the peaceful industry of India, to establish works of public service and improvement, and to administer the government for the well-being of all our subjects living there.'

The promises made in this proclamation were kept, but the satisfaction which their carrying out was expected to bring have not been very noticeable. The Mutiny dealt a heavy blow at the good relations between rulers and ruled. Friendly co-operation became more difficult. Many reforms and useful public works were undertaken and the Government of India became in many ways a model of excellence; but many Indians from that time disliked the British and no longer wished to work with them.

The rise of nationalism

Co-operation between the British and Indians had been made difficult by the Mutiny. Soon it was made more difficult by yet other happenings. We have seen that one of the greatest reforms earlier in the century had been the decision to use English as the language for higher education. Since that time many thousands of Indians had read books in English which dealt with the British love of freedom and democratic self-government, or admired revolts against ill-treatment. Why then should the British not allow to India what they themselves prized so much? Thoughts such as this, together with a growing pride in India herself as more and more became known about the greatness of her ancient civilization, made many educated Indians impatient with British rule. One important result of this attitude was the formation in 1885 by a number of leading Indians of the Indian National Congress, which aimed at obtaining representative government as well as social reforms. It soon stopped paying much attention to questions of social reform; for its members, belonging to many different races

and several different religions, found it impossible to agree on the reforms they should propose. Thus Congress became chiefly a centre for objections to British rule, and of demands for a share in the government of India.

First steps towards self-government. The Indian Councils Act, 1892

The demand for representative government soon had some effect. As early as 1861 a few Indians had been nominated to provincial Legislative Councils. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 increased their representation. It arranged that a minority of twenty members should be appointed to provincial councils on the recommendation of various towns, universities, and trading interests. These unofficial members were still in a minority. They could not force the government to act against its will. They could, however, influence policy to some extent by questions and criticism, just as the unofficial minorities in legislative councils in some British colonial dependencies are able to do to-day.

This movement towards representation did little to satisfy the Indian[1] demand for self-government. Dissatisfaction continued, and was greatly increased in 1905 by the partition of Bengal, for administrative reasons, into two provinces. Indians were not asked about this step before it was taken, and as a protest they founded the *Swadeshi Movement*. This was an attempt to influence the government by persuading Indians not to buy imported goods. It was not very successful and was soon given up until it was made again by Mr Gandhi in 1920.

[1] It must be understood that this ' Indian ' demand did not represent the whole of India. The Indian states, allied to but not directly governed by the British, were not concerned, and in British India the demand came almost wholly from the educated Hindus. The majority of the peasants did not take much interest in matters of government, nor, at first, did the 70,000,000 Moslems.

The Indian Councils Act, 1909. (*The Morley-Minto reforms.*)

A further step towards self-government was taken in 1909, when Bengal obtained real representative government with an unofficial majority of *elected* members. Other provinces had unofficial majorities which, however, were partly nominated. Certain Indians were nominated to the Executive Councils also.

These reforms marked a great advance, but it should be remembered that although Indian representation on the law-making side of government was increased, Indians still had no control over the Executive Councils. The Indian Constitution after 1909 was like that of the British North American Provinces after the Canada Act of 1791.

The later stages in India's progress towards self-government will be described in another chapter.

2. Ceylon, Burma, and the Far East

Although India is by far the most important Asiatic country within the British Empire, yet Britain has extended her influence over several other parts of Asia during the nineteenth century; largely, indeed, because of her interest in India.

Ceylon

The Portuguese (in 1518) were the first Europeans to make a settlement in Ceylon, but in the seventeenth century they were turned out of the island by the Dutch, in whose hands it remained till the time of the Revolutionary Wars at the end of the eighteenth century. Then the Dutch were driven out by the soldiers of the British East India Company (1795). Ceylon was at first governed, very badly, from Madras, but in 1798 the British Government made it a British colony, quite independent of India.

During the nineteenth century Ceylon has prospered, especially with the growth of her export of tea after 1870. Until 1924 it was ruled by a governor assisted by a nominated council.

Burma

Burma lies between India and China: but in language, race, and religion it is more like the latter. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was independent but very badly ruled, and its kings were busy extending their power over lands nearby. It was this which caused war between them and the British in India. In 1821 the Burmese conquered Assam, and in 1823 they attacked Bengal. The war lasted for three years. They were defeated and by the treaty of Yandabo (1826) were forced to give up to the British the country of Assam and the coastal strips of Arakan and Tenasserim. Further trouble with the Burmese led to a war in 1852 and the British annexation of Lower Burma, which included the important port of Rangoon. The rest of Burma remained independent till 1885. Then, partly owing to fear of French interference from their recently conquered territory of Indo-China, and partly to the Burmese king's ill-treatment of British traders by fines and imprisonment, Burma was attacked, defeated, and annexed to India. The good government introduced by the British quickly brought prosperity. It now has a population of about 12,000,000 and is the chief exporter of petroleum in the British Empire.

British Malaya and the East Indies

The British also extended their influence from India to the East Indies. As early as 1782 an expedition was sent from India to occupy Penang. Later, during the Revolutionary Wars, many conquests were made from the Dutch

in the East Indies, but these were handed back when peace was made. However, in 1819 the Sultan of Johore granted to the British the island of Singapore. This has since

THE FAR EAST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
Most islands within the dotted line were German.
Most islands (unmarked) outside it were British.

become one of the world's greatest seaports. In 1824 the Dutch ceded the port of Malacca, while the British gave up Sumatra. At first these *Straits Settlements*

were governed from Bengal, and it was not until 1867 that they were made into a separate Crown Colony.

The Malay States themselves, considered apart from the settlements on the coastline, remained independent till the period 1870-1890, when immigrants from China were causing trouble to their rulers. Several of them then made treaties of protection with the British. This was the beginning of the *Federated Malay States*. British Malaya has since developed large exports of tin and rubber. Many Chinese have entered the country and now outnumber the Malayans.

Borneo

Other British dependencies in the East Indies are comparatively unimportant. Java, the richest of the islands, was conquered from the Dutch at about the same time as Ceylon, but was handed back at the peace. Some years later James Brooke, an Englishman who had formerly been an officer of the East India Company, concerned himself in the affairs of Sarawak and in 1841 became its ruler. Sarawak became a British Protectorate in 1888. In 1881 a British North Borneo Company was founded to develop territory nearby. The rest of the island belongs to the Dutch.

The Pacific

After 1880 there was rivalry for territory among European powers in Asia and the Pacific. France was establishing her rule in Indo-China and annexed New Caledonia, Tahiti, and the Marquesas Islands. The British had till then annexed only Fiji. Then Germany annexed northern New Guinea and many Pacific islands. Australia and New Zealand became fearful, and it was largely their influence which led Britain to declare a protectorate over southern New Guinea and a number of islands. A

treaty in 1886 laid down the limits of British and German influence in these waters, and more than a hundred Pacific islands were annexed to the British Empire between 1886 and 1900. Meanwhile the United States annexed Hawaii (1898) and conquered the Philippines and other Spanish Pacific possessions in the same year.

China

One more important area in Asia remains to be considered. Ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century European countries had been trying to open up trade with China, but the Chinese would have little to do with them. Canton was the centre of what trade there was, and gradually this became a monopoly of the East India Company. Chinese tea, silk, and porcelain were exchanged for Indian and British manufactures and opium. The trade in opium was forbidden by the Chinese Government, but it was carried on and brought rich profits to the Company.

The Opium War and the cession of Hong Kong

When the trading monopoly of the East India Company was abolished in 1833, the trade was taken over by a number of independent traders and the sale of opium especially increased very much. The efforts of the Chinese Government to stop it led to quarrels and to war with Britain in 1840. At the end of the war in 1842 Britain obtained the island of Hong Kong, and the Chinese were forced to allow Europeans to trade in five of their seaports. This war was not at all creditable to Britain, but is important historically because it gave Europeans for the first time the right to trade with China. Hong Kong, a small and bare island, soon became one of the greatest trading ports in the world. Most European trade with Far Eastern countries passes through it.

The policy of forcing China to trade with Europe was continued. Britain and France were at war with China

from 1857 to 1860 to make her keep the promises she had made unwillingly in 1842. The Chinese were too weak to have any hope of success. Later they were again defeated when they were attacked by the Japanese in 1894. China was obliged to recognize the independence of Korea and to cede to Japan the island of Formosa.

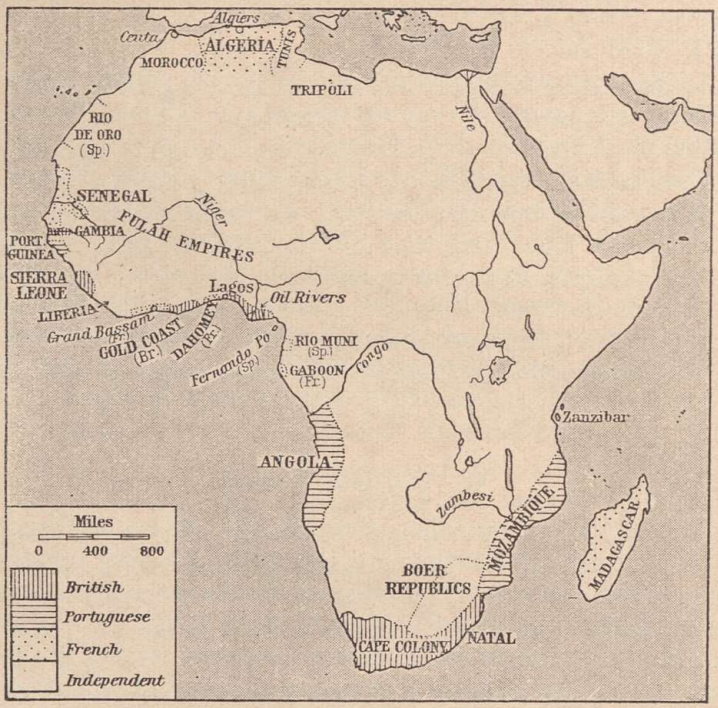
European powers in China

This war was followed by a scramble among several European powers for more influence in China. Russia, France, Germany, and Britain all took part. Germany obtained Kiaochau; Russia, Port Arthur; France, Kwang-chau; and Britain, Wei-hai-wei. A Chinese rising followed which was put down by a mixed European force, and it seemed likely that China would be like Africa in being partitioned among European powers. This was avoided largely through the making of a treaty of alliance between Britain and Japan in 1902, by which they agreed to prevent any further interference in the state of affairs in China.

3. Tropical Africa

We have just seen that after 1880 the efforts of France and Germany to establish empires in the Far East hurried up Britain's annexation of territory in Burma, Borneo, and the Pacific. The rivalry between these countries was an effect of the Industrial Revolution, described earlier in this book, for it made all three countries anxious to extend their empires in order to help their trade. The wide-reaching effects of this desire is even more clearly shown in Tropical Africa than in the Far East. In 1880 African lands in European hands, with the exception of South Africa, were almost entirely coastal settlements. By 1900 nearly the whole of Tropical Africa had been shared between Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, and Italy.

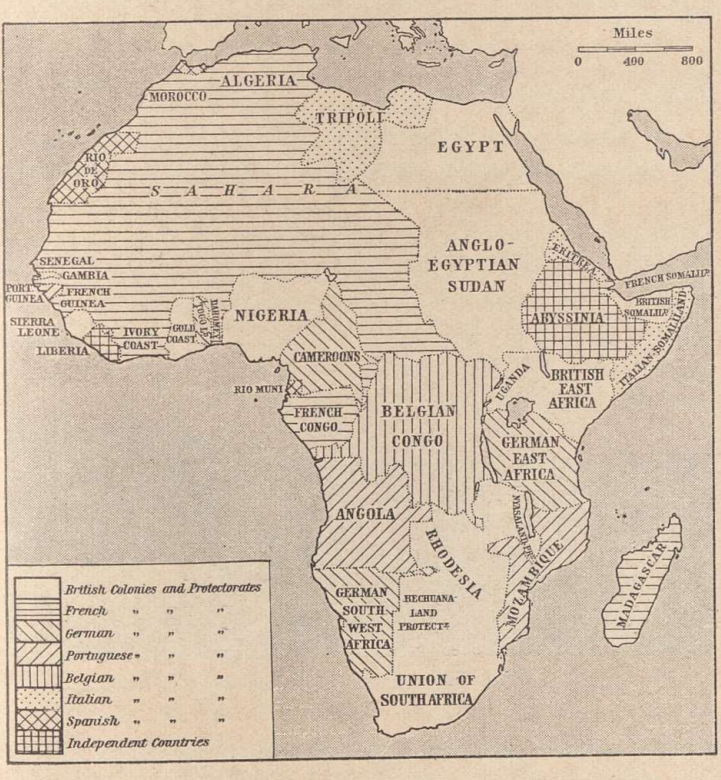
Most of the African coast was known to Europeans by the end of the fifteenth century, but before 1800 little had been done to use this knowledge except the founding of



EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS AND AREAS OF INFLUENCE IN AFRICA ABOUT 1875

trading stations on some parts of the coast, from which slaves could be sent to America. Even after the abolition of the slave trade during the nineteenth century, ordinary trade grew slowly at first, for the interior of the continent was

practically unknown, and it was difficult to explore. However, during this period the work of exploration was successfully carried out by men of several countries, especially of



AFRICA IN 1914

Britain. Mungo Park and Lander on the Niger, and Livingstone and Stanley in Central Africa, are perhaps the best known of such men. The knowledge thus discovered made it clear that Tropical Africa could supply many of the raw materials needed for industry, and could also become

a large user of the manufactured goods of Europe. This was the chief cause of the speedy partition of Africa after 1880. It took place so quickly, and European countries were so eager, that the Partition of Africa is often called the *Scramble*.

British Chartered Companies

The British Government was slower than either France or Germany in taking part in the Scramble. We have

THE FIRST CAMP AT SALISBURY

already noticed that there was not much eagerness on the part of many British people to extend the Empire in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Britain, however, had the advantage that her traders were already well established on the coast in many parts of West and Central Africa, and she had many settlers at the Cape. These were all more eager than the British Government to extend British rule in Africa, and when they found the Government

unwilling to act, they asked its permission to form chartered companies with powers similar in many ways to those of the old East India Company which had spread British rule in India. Several companies of this sort were formed. They governed and taxed as well as traded; they paid soldiers and police, made laws and enforced them; they were able to fight, if need be, to defend the territories they ruled against attack or revolt. It was to chartered companies of this type, and to the work they did during the Partition of Africa, that Britain owes the wide extent of her present-day African Empire. The most important of them were the British South Africa Company, established in 1889, which founded Rhodesia; the Royal Niger Company, chartered in 1886, which extended British rule over Northern Nigeria; and the British East Africa Company (1886), which traded in the lands now known as Kenya and Uganda. The African Lakes Company was similarly connected with the development of Nyasaland.

The Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast are older colonies whose origin is connected with early days of slave-trading and its abolition, before the Partition of Africa. Zanzibar in East Africa accepted the protection of the British Government in 1890.

Other European countries in the Scramble

While some parts of Africa were thus being brought under British rule, the Germans and the French were busy building up empires for themselves. The Germans made treaties of protection with chiefs in Togoland, the Cameroons, and in that part of East Africa now known as Tanganyika. They also declared a protectorate over South-West Africa. By 1900 France had conquered a large part of North Africa and nearly all West Africa not already claimed by Britain or Germany. Portugal claimed Angola and Mozambique, which had long known Portuguese colonists, and Belgium

through the cleverness of her king, Leopold, obtained the vast area of the Belgian Congo.

British Tropical African lands

None of the British chartered companies mentioned above lasted very long. The British East Africa Company gave up its charter in Uganda as early as 1894, the Royal Niger Company lost its Charter in 1900, and the British South Africa Company in 1923. In each case the British Government took over the governing duties of the companies as the various countries developed. The Government now has several difficult problems to solve. In East Africa a good deal of white settlement has taken place, as it had already done earlier in South Africa. Many Indians have also settled there. Parts of East Africa therefore have racial problems similar to those which developed in South Africa during the nineteenth century. In British West Africa, on the other hand, nearly all land is in native hands and there are no white settlers. There these difficult racial problems do not occur.

4. Other Parts of the Empire

The West Indies

Limits of space forbid more than a mention of the many other colonies of the Empire. The West Indies, the richest and most prized part of the Empire in the eighteenth century, suffered badly in the nineteenth; firstly, owing to the freeing of the slaves in 1833, and secondly through the loss of their sugar monopoly in the British market. They have not yet regained their old prosperity.

The chief islands are Jamaica, Trinidad, the Leeward and the Windward Islands, and the Bahamas. On the mainland are British Honduras and British Guiana, both of which have so far been little developed. The history of Jamaica is specially interesting because it affords an example

of a country which has been given self-government, only to lose it later. Its elective assembly was abolished in 1866, after a life of more than two hundred years, owing to the bad government of the coloured population by the planters.

Islands and outposts

There are also certain colonies which have been gained mainly for defence purposes or as ports of call for ships. Among these may be classed Gibraltar (1704), Malta (1800), Cyprus (1878), Aden (1839), Mauritius (1810), and St. Helena (1673). Singapore and Hong Kong have been mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Questions on Chapter Six

1. Why did the British Government adopt a policy of non-interference in India after 1784? Illustrate the causes of its failure in the light of Indian history from 1784 to 1848.

2. What is the difference between 'British India' and the 'Indian States'? How did the difference arise?

3. Give examples of social reform undertaken by the British in India during the nineteenth century, with particular reference to educational policy and its results.

4. Write a short note on the causes of the Indian Mutiny. What was its most important result?

5. How far had India progressed towards representative government by 1914?

6. Which British possessions in eastern Asia were at one time directly dependent on the Government of India? Write briefly about the causes of the taking over of any one of them.

7. How far is it true to say that, besides the scramble for Africa, there was a scramble for China at the same time?

8. Draw a sketch map showing the position of Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Write notes on any two of them, showing the reasons for their importance to Empire trade or defence.

Part Two

THE MODERN WORLD

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GREAT WAR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1. THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918

The white man and progress, 1783-1914

The years from 1783 to 1914 which have been the subject of the earlier chapters of this book saw a very great increase in the white man's knowledge and in his mastery of the forces of nature. In farming, in manufacture, in transport and communication, in health and sanitation, and in education, progress was made to a degree which could not have been imagined in 1783. In Europe and America these changes had led to a great increase in prosperity. Poor men were able to enjoy luxuries which even rich men had not possessed a hundred and fifty years earlier.

The white man and subject peoples

Together with progress of this sort had come the extension of the rule of the white races over America, Australasia, Africa, and large parts of Asia. White men used their new knowledge to bring into these continents, for their own use and for the use of the people they ruled, many of the good things in their civilization. Among them were railways, roads, schools, hospitals, irrigation works, and the like. Never before in the history of the world had mankind so great a chance of progress, of driving out hunger and disease, and of increasing the prosperity of all peoples.

Failure to develop world co-operation for law and order

Unhappily, progress in knowledge and in the invention of new methods of manufacture did not go hand in hand with

progress of another and still more important kind. Men knew more, and they had more power than their forefathers, but they were little freer from greed and envy, hate and fear. Such feelings lead to arguments and quarrels, and perhaps to fighting.

People generally know the evil effects on their lives of such quarrelling and are glad to live under the authority of a government which is strong enough to stop fighting among its subjects. The state can provide policemen to enforce its will, and judges to settle quarrels peaceably. Thus, however poor or weak a person may be, protected by the law he is usually able to live unafraid of men stronger or richer than himself. A government which is unable to protect the weak fails in one of its most important duties.

When, however, we come to consider how relations between states are governed, we find that there is no central authority to which each state must give obedience. Each is independent and reserves the right to act as it thinks best in its own interests. Thus it keeps for itself a freedom of action which in the interests of all has been forbidden to ordinary persons for a long time past. There is no power in the world able to settle quarrels between nations. There is no international force able to act as a policeman to keep order. A disagreement between nations is often followed by war.

War an unsatisfactory way of settling quarrels

War is a most unsatisfactory way of dealing with quarrels. Not only may thousands or even millions of persons die in battle, or of hunger and disease, but after the war the settlement is made by force, according to the wishes of the successful state. This is bad, because a quarrel settled in this way is not necessarily settled justly. The defeated state may well hope to make itself stronger than its conqueror and later take up the quarrel again, with a better hope of

success. Wars, whatever their result, only too often sow the seeds of other wars.

In the opinion of many people, failure to make any real progress in international affairs has defeated the progress made in other directions. States which are strong still decide to act in their own interests. States which are weak have no power, without the co-operation of the larger states, to set up an effective international authority.

New knowledge applied to modern warfare

Unhappily, the very progress that has marked the last hundred and fifty years has demanded, more than any other happening in the world's history, that all nations should recognize a central power strong enough to make laws and to punish states which break them. The inventions which have enabled men to produce huge quantities of things useful to mankind, have made it equally possible to produce huge quantities of very destructive weapons. Rifles, quick-firing machine guns, tanks, steel battleships, and submarines: these are but a few of the many recent warlike inventions. Even worse as far as the non-fighting part of the population is concerned, are gas and bombs which can be dropped from aeroplanes to kill men, women and children in their homes, hundreds of miles, perhaps, from the battle-field. General use of such modern weapons in a world war may wholly destroy the countries that are fighting.

Causes of the World War, 1914-1918

The need for some far-reaching change in the management of international relations was not realized for some time, partly because new and more destructive weapons were only gradually invented, and partly because no *world* war, war on a large scale in which many countries took part, took place during the century which followed the Revolutionary

and Napoleonic wars. Yet during this period of comparative peace the seeds were sown of a more terrible war than the world had ever seen. That first World War, as it is called, gave the peoples of the world a realization of some of the evils which modern large-scale warfare may bring. We cannot go deeply into its causes, and must merely refer to the desires, envies, and fears, which, through the absence of any controlling international body, brought it about.

Europe about 1890

There were six principal countries in Europe before the first World War broke out: Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Italy; and it was owing to quarrels between these countries that the War began. Some of the chief hopes and fears of each of these countries are described below.

(*a*) *Britain* had larger oversea possessions than any other country, and she sent her ships to trade in nearly every port of the world. She was envied by other countries for her great Empire and for her wealth, and she feared that they might attack her when a good opportunity occurred. She was particularly worried about India and the Far East, and about safeguarding her trade with them. She therefore kept up a very strong war-fleet and valued her fortresses at Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden, which guarded the trade route to the East. Britain's occupation of Egypt[1] was undertaken partly because of the position of Egypt and the Suez Canal[2] on the route to India.

Britain in 1890 felt doubtful about Russia. She was afraid that Russia might try to extend her power over

[1] In 1882. See Book III, pp. 113-14.

[2] The Suez Canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea was built by a Frenchman, De Lesseps, and opened in 1869. It enabled ships to follow a short sea-route to India via the Mediterranean instead of the much longer route via the Cape of Good Hope.

Turkey and establish herself in the Mediterranean and on the Persian Gulf. This would enable her to threaten Britain's trade at two points. Britain thought Russia might also wish to harm India through Afghanistan and Tibet. She also feared Russian influence over China, where Britain had valuable trading rights.

Britain also had disagreements with France, especially over Egypt, and these came to a head in 1898 with a quarrel over Fashoda on the Nile. This nearly led to war.

(*b*) *France* hated Germany owing to her defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, when she lost the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine. Her colonial rivalry with Britain has already been mentioned above.

(*c*) *Russia* had two chief aims likely to cause a serious war. One was her rivalry with Britain in Asia; the other, her desire to help the people of the Balkans in south-eastern Europe. This was likely to lead to trouble with

(*d*) *Austria-Hungary*, who aimed at increasing her power in this region.

(*e*) *Germany* had already become very important before 1890 owing to her easy success in wars against Denmark, Austria and France between 1864 and 1871. She now aimed at increasing her power overseas in rivalry with Britain, and began to build a big war-fleet. She hated France, who she feared might try to regain what she had lost in the Franco-Prussian War. Germany was now, however, on friendly terms with Austria-Hungary, though this had the disadvantage that it might lead her into war with Russia, who, as we have seen, was opposed to Austrian policy in the Balkans.

(*f*) *Italy* had made friends with Germany and Austria-Hungary. She was hoping to obtain a colonial empire. She was defeated in Abyssinia at the battle of Adowa in 1896, but succeeded in taking Tripoli from Turkey in 1911.

The forming of alliances

The summary above is enough to show that most European countries were afraid of some of their neighbours, and in these circumstances each looked round for friends to strengthen them if war should come. Thus Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy allied themselves together as early as 1882 in what became known as the Triple (three-fold) Alliance. Fear of this strong alliance helped the other countries to forget their fears of each other, and was the chief reason for the growth of friendship between Britain, France, and Russia early in the twentieth century. Britain also made friends with Japan in 1902. Thus by 1907 there were two groups of nations in Europe, each having different policies, and it seemed quite likely that the aims of Germany and Austria-Hungary might lead them into war with Russia, France, and Britain.

Quarrels over Morocco

Between 1905 and 1911 there were serious quarrels between France and Germany over Morocco. In 1905 the German Emperor urged the Sultan of Morocco to stand against the French, and promised him protection. This quarrel nearly led to war before it was settled in 1906. France was supported by Britain, and Germany gave way. A second quarrel arose in 1911 when France sent troops into Morocco to establish a protectorate there. Once again war with Germany seemed possible, but once again Germany decided to give way.

The Balkans

More serious as a cause for war were Austria's aims in south-eastern Europe. In 1908 Austria annexed two provinces in the Balkans, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia protested strongly, but Austria was supported by Germany,

while neither Russia, Britain, nor France were ready to go to war. Russia therefore gave way.

The outbreak of war

During the next few years Serbia, a Balkan country friendly with Russia, and Austria-Hungary became very bad friends, and when the successor to the throne of Austria-Hungary was killed by a Serb in Bosnia in June 1914, war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia quickly followed. Russia supported Serbia. Germany supported Austria-Hungary. France took sides with Russia, and within a few days Britain decided to help them. Italy remained neutral at first, but in 1915 she sided with the Allies.

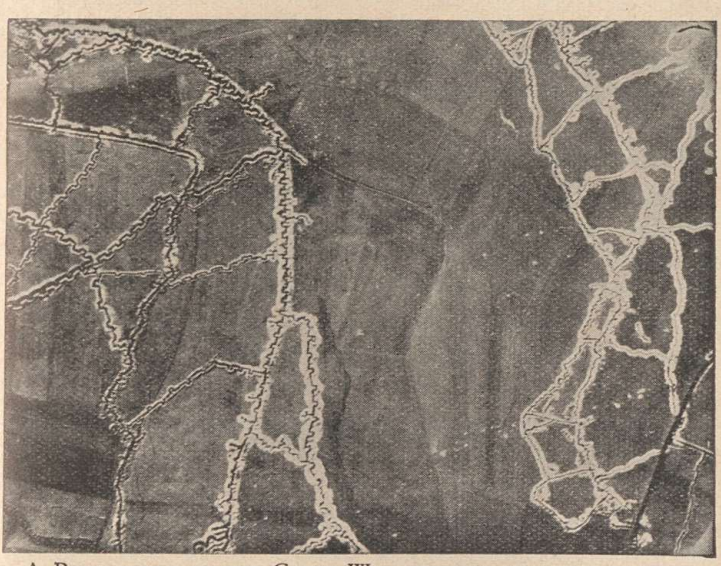
The actual event which caused the war is less important to remember than the uncontrolled fears and envies which had made war probable at almost any time during the ten years before 1914.

The first World War, 1914-1918

It is impossible to give here even a summary of the main events of the war. The chief areas of fighting were Belgium and north-eastern France, the western part of Russia, and the boundary between Austria and Italy. Important wars also took place against Turkey, which was allied to Germany: one in Europe at the Dardanelles, to enable allied ships to enter the Black Sea with help for Russia; and another in the Turkish possessions in western Asia. Fighting also took place in the German African colonies.

The war was fought on a scale far larger than any earlier war in history. Newly invented weapons made it terribly destructive. It has been judged that during the four years of fighting more than 9,000,000 men were killed, over 20,000,000 wounded, and nearly 6,000,000 were missing or taken prisoner. The war was fought on the land, on the

sea, and in the air. Russia was forced to give way in 1917, but this weakening of the Allies was balanced by the entry into the war on their side of the United States of America in the same year.



A BATTLEFIELD IN THE GREAT WAR SHOWING OPPOSING LINES OF TRENCHES DUG BY THE TROOPS FOR SHELTER FROM BOMBARDMENT
Sometimes the lines were as little as fifty yards apart, and no change in positions occurred for many months

Sea power

Many times in this history we have seen examples of the value of sea power in winning wars. This war proved no exception. Britain's fleet, and the fleets of her allies, had the command of the sea from the beginning. Thus the Allies were able to send soldiers freely wherever they wished, and they were able to import food and war materials from neutral countries. Germany tried to prevent this by sending submarines to sink as many ships as possible. They did

very much damage but they were not able to weaken the Allies as much as the Allied fleets were able to weaken Germany. Germany and Austria-Hungary were almost completely cut off from supplies from the rest of the world. In the end the war was decided not only by the superior fighting power of the Allied soldiers, but also by the shortage of food and war materials in Germany caused by the blockade of sea routes.

The end of the war

Fighting came to an end on November 11th, 1918. The German army was completely beaten and the armies of Germany's allies had also been defeated. In Germany itself the hungry people were rising against their government. Germany, therefore, was forced to ask for peace and to agree to the Allied terms for an armistice.

2. The Peace Treaties, 1919

The Armistice, 1918

The armistice of 1918 brought fighting to an end, but did not decide the terms of peace. These were fixed by a conference of the Allies at Paris. The treaties which contained them were not signed till 1919.

The Peace Treaties, 1919

The terms of the peace treaties have been much discussed and often criticized, and, as they had far-reaching effects on history after the war, something must be said about them here.

The attitude of the Allies

At the end of the Great War, besides a feeling of great thankfulness that the war was over at last, there were two

other main feelings among the Allied peoples. One was that the peace should be on the basis of 'self-determination', that is, that each people should choose its own government; and the second that war, particularly a threat of war by a Germany that wanted an empire, should be made impossible in future. There was also a strong desire that Germany should compensate the Allies for the damage she had done to their territories and shipping, and for their huge war costs in men, money and material, especially as the United States was demanding from the Allies very great sums for the supplies which it had sent them. These were the main ideas on which the Peace Treaties were based. Much attention was also given to finding ways of removing the hates and fears and rivalries which had been the real causes of the war just ended.

Territorial arrangements

The Allies did not take away much territory from Germany except Alsace-Lorraine, conquered from France by Germany in 1871, and the German colonies. The Empire of Austria-Hungary had broken up at the time of the Armistice, leaving Austria itself small, poor and weak. Similarly, after the revolution in Russia at the close of 1917 (see p. 172), Germany had forced Russia to hand over her great western provinces. When the Germans were defeated, many of these became independent states. Turkey also lost many of her possessions.

Disarmament

Germany and Austria were disarmed. Germany had to hand over her war-fleet, her big guns, and her aeroplanes, as well as a huge amount of other war material. For the future, Germany and Austria were only to be allowed very small armies. This was an excellent measure, if all other

countries also had reduced their armies to the same extent. The British Empire did reduce its armed forces to a dangerously low level; but very soon there were nearly as many fighting men under arms in Europe as there had been before the war. The Allies and the small new states claimed that they were justified in not disarming further because they feared Germany, while some of them feared each other. The Germans believed that the Allies had broken faith, and that they had never really intended to disarm.

Paying for the war

Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and Japan shared among themselves Germany's colonies; while France, Belgium, and Italy each took some territory in Europe. But they looked for more than this. Each country had spent millions of pounds of money and had suffered terrible damage and loss of property, some of which was caused intentionally, as when the Germans destroyed the French coal mines when driven back by the Allies in 1918. It was decided that Germany should pay the whole cost of the war and of the damage done by it. The amount to be paid was put soon afterwards at £6,000,000,000.

Besides, a great amount of material was taken from her—nearly all her trading ships and many railway trains and other necessities. Also, in spite of the fact that her best coal-mines were in the territory taken away from her, she had to agree to send millions of tons of coal free yearly to France, Belgium and Italy. The conditions were severe and it was quite impossible for Germany to perform them all. Some of them were gradually lightened, and in particular, the huge sums claimed for reparations were cut down extensively. But such allowances did little to weaken Germany's bad feeling towards the Allies, or her desire to regain from them what had been lost.

War guilt

The intention of the Allies to keep Germany weak for many years was natural at the end of four years of hard fighting which had cost them so dear, and had given them a real respect for German fighting qualities; but it is now generally agreed that some of the peace terms were unwise. Those terms were held to be justified by the claim that Germany had caused the war. The Germans, strongly declared that they were not *alone* responsible. The importance of the question of war guilt to us, however, is not to place the blame, but to notice that the Germans claimed that they were unjustly treated, firstly by being charged with the whole guilt, and secondly by the terms which this was held to justify. The anger thus caused in Germany has already had important results in history after the Great War, for the Germans observed the conditions of the Peace Treaties only as long as they felt too weak to try to overthrow them. On the other hand, many of the terms of the Peace Treaties were as fair and just as could have been expected at a time when men feared that the whole European system might give way beneath them. They gave more freedom than they took away. The belief, which Hitler and his friends have spread far and wide, that the Treaties were wholly bad is untrue.

The Peace Treaties : the aim of nationality

The peace treaties, in many respects, accepted things as they found them. Before the war the governments of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey had ruled over many people of other race who wished to be free to rule themselves. When they were defeated—Russia by Germany in 1917, and Austria and Turkey by the Allies in 1918—there were risings against all these governments by the peoples who wished for independence. The Allies felt that Europe in the future would be a happier and more peaceful place if such

peoples were allowed to rule themselves in their own way, and so at the peace settlement several new independent countries were recognized. Thus Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Hungary, and Albania were formed out of the non-German speaking areas of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. Poland was formed out of Polish lands which had been ruled by Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia; and the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland out of provinces formerly belonging to Russia. In Asia, the countries Irak, Palestine, Syria, and the Hejaz were established out of the old Turkish Empire, although for a time some of them were to be mandated to one of the Allies. We shall refer to this subject of mandates in the next section of this chapter.

Why they were not wholly satisfactory

The settlement of Europe on the basis of nationality was a real attempt to remove some difficulties likely to lead to future wars. But it was not wholly satisfactory, for two reasons. Firstly, because people belonging to one race were living mixed up with people belonging to other races; so that it was impossible to include in one state all the people of a certain race, without including minorities of other races. Secondly, the question of nationality was sometimes not considered when it was to the advantage of the defeated countries.[1] Thus Italy and Czecho-Slovakia each received some lands which on this consideration should have been given to Austria; while the Austrians, though of German race, were not allowed to join themselves into one country with the Germans.

The settlement had another disadvantage. Most of the governments of the new states were afraid that, some day, Germany and Austria might try to get back their lost

[1] Having suffered so much from Germany during the war, the Allies could scarcely be expected to let her become even larger at the peace settlement.

territory. This fear caused them to set to work to build up large armies. The Allies did not object, because they considered this an extra safeguard against Germany. Germany, on the other hand, disliked being disarmed while these small countries around her were allowed to have large armies.

3. The League of Nations

There was one other important part of the peace treaties which has not yet been explained. This was the part which established the *League of Nations*, on which, more than on any other part of the peace treaties, people depended to save them from war in the years to come.

We have already seen that the root cause of the Great War of 1914 to 1918 was the absence of an international body able to settle quarrels between states and to prevent the outbreak of war. There was no law which states had to obey as citizens have to obey the laws of their country. International law was mainly concerned with rules for the conduct of war, and was not law at all in the ordinary sense of the term.

Desire for closer international relations

One of the effects of the Great War, even while it was still in progress, was to make many people in nearly all countries try to think out ways by which wars could be avoided in future. They all thought that some international body should be set up, but there were many different opinions about what kind of body it should be and what powers should be given to it. The representatives of the Allies discussed the subject at the Peace Conference, and the League of Nations was the result of their discussions.

The League of Nations

The *Covenant* of the League has many clauses and we can only summarize them here. Each state when it became a

A Meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva

member of the League was to undertake to join with the others in aiding any other member against attack. It further promised not to go to war itself until all ways of reaching a peaceful settlement had been tried and failed. An international court of justice was to be set up to give decisions on less important quarrels, while important quarrels were to be examined and reported on by the Council or the Assembly of the League. Neither country concerned in the quarrel was obliged to accept the decisions, though members promised to wait for three months after such a decision before going to war.

The Council was formed by the Great Powers and some representatives of smaller states, and it was to meet several times a year. The Assembly contained representatives of all member states, and was to meet once a year.

The League was given other duties besides that of helping to settle quarrels. It was hoped to use it to bring about a general disarmament in all countries. It was to protect the peoples living in some of the territory which had been shared among the Allies. The Allied countries accepted mandates from the League to rule such peoples according to certain conditions, and promised to make regular reports to the League showing that they were obeying these conditions.[1] The League was also given many other duties.

[1] ARTICLE 22.

. . . there should be applied the rule that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that safeguards for the performance of this trust should be made in this Covenant. . . .

. . . Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will safeguard freedom in custom and religion: subject only to the upholding of public order and behaviour; the forbidding of evil practices such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the drink traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications for other than police purposes and the protection of territory, and to any degree beyond that which will also allow equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League. . . . (Adapted.)

For example, it was to try to obtain good conditions of work for all men, women, and children; to prevent and control disease; to prevent trade in harmful medicines; and to exercise some control over the trade in arms and ammunition.

The limitations of the League Covenant

The Covenant of the League as it was at last agreed on was a great disappointment to some people, who had hoped that it would be established as an international body with its own army, navy, and air force; strong enough when quarrels occurred to force every state to accept the League's decision even if it were unwilling to do so. In practice this sort of League was never seriously considered, for several governments, particularly those of Great Britain and the United States of America, refused to accept any real limitation of their complete independence: nor would they agree to be obliged in advance to go to war against any state which disobeyed the League or broke its promises to it.

The League therefore was NOT a State above and with power over those states which belonged to it. It could suggest, but it could not make members obey its suggestions. Its members did not even promise never to go to war, although they did agree to let the League look into their quarrels first. All the League could do was to provide a standing committee to which each independent state could, if it wished, send representatives to discuss matters of common interest with other states and settle its differences with them. It provided a method by which states could co-operate with each other, not a *force* to make them co-operate against their will. In fact, so careful were the makers of the League Covenant to ensure that each state should be free, that it was arranged that no important matter should be decided by the League unless every state represented on the Council held the same opinion!

The League not world-wide

The League's usefulness was also limited by the fact that not all states became members of it. Germany and her wartime allies were not at first allowed to join, but they became members a few years later. More important exceptions, however, were those of Russia and the United States, two of the largest and most powerful countries in the world. The fact that these two countries were not members weakened the League from its very beginning, and was largely responsible for its failure to bring about the general disarmament that had been hoped for.

The chief aim of the Allies at the peace settlement which has been described in this chapter was to make as sure as possible that war should not happen in Europe again. From that point of view the peace settlement was a failure, for in 1939 another great world war began. Yet on the whole the settlement was a good one. In 1919 more people than in 1914 were being ruled by a government they liked and trusted, and the League of Nations provided a new and hopeful means by which nations could learn to work together for the common good. The bad parts of the settlement—the clauses punishing Germany and Austria —were not fixed for ever, but could be changed when time had softened the memory of the Allied peoples of their sufferings during the war. Thus in 1919 most men looked forward hopefully to a new and better world. In the next chapter we shall see how that hope was disappointed because most countries still put their own selfish interests first, and were unwilling to give up any real part of their independence in the cause of world peace.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER SEVEN

1. What method was taken in the peace treaties at the end of the World War to guard against the outbreak of war in the future.
2. Outline the main rules of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FAILURE TO CO-OPERATE FOR INTERNATIONAL AIMS

1. THE FAILURE OF DISARMAMENT

During the years 1914 to 1918 the peoples of the Allied countries believed that they were fighting a war to end war. They believed that, if they won, it would be possible so to arrange the affairs of the world that another war would be impossible. We have already studied the arrangements made by the Allied governments at the peace settlement by which they hoped to ensure peace, partly by weakening Germany, and partly by establishing the League of Nations. We have now to see what happened after the war, and how the hopes of a lasting peace were disappointed.

The need for co-operation

Almost immediately after the end of the Great War there began rivalry between the two different policies of co-operation and isolation. At first the desire to co-operate was stronger, and with the help of the new organization provided by the League it appeared to have a good chance of success. It was aided by the strong feeling among the peoples of nearly every European country that the evils of the last war must not be allowed to occur again. This meant that states would have to try to work together in the common interest. A common effort was also needed to make good the damage done by the war and to re-establish industry, trade, and prosperity.

Things which stopped full co-operation : the desire for isolation

Although the effect of the war on most European peoples was to make them wish to work together in the hope of

avoiding future war, other people, especially in the U.S.A., took the opposite view. They argued that their own country could most easily avoid future war if it refused to co-operate with other countries in the League. These people put the selfish interests of their own country first, and said that they would never fight any other country, however cruelly and unjustly it treated others, unless it threatened them. Many people in Britain wished Britain also to follow the same policy.

The American and British people who argued in this manner soon had a very bad effect on the policy of their governments. Thus the U.S.A. and Britain were the countries responsible for weakening the League Covenant, by refusing to bind themselves in advance to take action against a League member which broke the Covenant by attacking another state. Then the U.S.A. refused to join with Britain in a promise to help France if at any future time she were again attacked by Germany. In the end the people of the U.S.A. refused even to join the League of Nations which their own government had helped to form, and whose only object was to strengthen peaceful countries against the danger of attack.

Doubts and fears

The refusal of the U.S.A. to join the League, and Britain's refusal to oblige herself in advance to take action against a country breaking the Covenant, made trust and co-operation among nations very much more difficult. The U.S.A. and Britain were the two most powerful countries in the world, and without their support no country dared trust only in the Covenant to safeguard it from attack. Germany had accepted the peace terms unwillingly, and she might some day try to get back what she had lost. Thus she was still feared by France and by the new nations made at the peace settlement, and these countries felt that they must strengthen

themselves against future attack in case the League was too weak to help them. Russia, too, as we shall see later, was hated and feared. She was not a member of the League and was known to be building up a threatening army and air force. The action of the U.S.A. had made the League too weak to ensure safety to its members, and war no longer seemed unlikely at some future time.

The problem of disarmament

There were two main problems after the war which threatened the future peace of the world. The first was the problem of armaments, the second the problem of developing trade and increasing prosperity. Unhappily neither problem was solved.

The growth of armies after the Great War

At the end of the Great War when Germany and Austria were disarmed, the Allies expected that they too would disarm, but no real general disarmament ever took place. The weakness of the League and fear of Russia and Germany led the new states of Central Europe to build up large armies, and mistrust of Germany caused France to keep her army and air force strong. Only Britain, who had less to fear owing to her island position and her strong navy, felt safe enough to reduce her army very much. Thus in spite of the disarming of Germany and Austria there were soon as many soldiers in Europe after the war as there had been in the troubled period before it. The League's attempts to bring back trustfulness and thus to make disarmament possible, were unsuccessful. Its suggestion of a treaty by which all members should promise to help any one of them who was attacked (1923) and its scheme under which members should agree to accept settlement of disputes decided upon by the League as a whole (1924) both failed

owing to Britain's refusal to promise in advance to go to war should any member state of the League attack another.

Naval limitation

While agreement to reduce land armies in Europe was thus found impossible, some progress was made, outside the League, in limiting the size and number of fighting ships on the sea. By the Washington Treaties of 1921-1922, Britain, Japan, and the United States agreed to limit the number of their large battleships ; and this was followed in 1930 by a similar agreement limiting the size of cruisers. The real problem of limiting armies and weapons used in land fighting remained, and it was for this purpose that a World Disarmament Conference met in 1932, fourteen years after the end of the World War.

Treaties to limit war

It has been said already that schemes for disarmament depended for their success on each state's feeling that it could depend on sure help from the League if it was threatened by an enemy. Several attempts had been made to create such faith. There was of course the League Covenant. There was also the agreement known as the Kellogg Pact (1929), in which nearly every country promised not to use war as a method of settling disputes, and only to fight in self-defence.[1]

There were other treaties which aimed at safeguarding particular areas where it was thought that war might break out. The Washington Treaties of 1921-1922 were signed by nine countries to safeguard the independence of China. The other, the Pact of Locarno (1925) safeguarded the boundaries between France, Belgium, and Germany.

[1] The Kellogg Pact did little to create trustfulness. It allowed *defensive* war but did not say what that was. In Germany's view her attack on Belgium in 1914 was ' defensive '. Any attack on another country might therefore still be justified as a measure of defence !

The Disarmament Conference, 1932-1933

At last an attempt was made at a meeting of the representatives of nearly all governments to effect general disarmament. This took place in the years 1932 and 1933. The conference had to face many difficulties, for if even one powerful state were to refuse to accept proposals put forward by other powers, failure was almost certain. The conference could only succeed if each country sincerely desired disarmament and was willing to sacrifice some of its special interests. It was also necessary that each country should feel that it could depend on the loyalty of other states to the League Covenant, the Kellogg Pact, and the other treaties made after the war. The conference failed because neither condition was realized.

The effect of Japan's attack on Manchuria

In September, 1931, Japan attacked Manchuria, which was a part of the Chinese Empire. Thus at one blow she broke her promises in the Covenant of the League, in the Kellogg Pact, and in the Washington Treaties of 1921-1922, which guaranteed the independence of China. The Council of the League was soon shown to be helpless, for it was obliged by the Covenant to get a unanimous vote before making a decision, but it was clearly impossible to expect Japan to agree to a decision that blamed her. Thus the weakness of the League was proved by its first real test. Japan's promise in the Kellogg Pact not to use war to gain her ends was shown to be worthless, and if Japan broke the Pact, so of course might other powers. The Washington Treaty was similarly useless. Japan had broken her guarantee, but neither Britain, nor the United States, nor any other power which had guaranteed China's independence, was willing to take action against Japan. Japan's attack on Manchuria, therefore, proved to every country

taking part in the Disarmament Conference that the covenants and treaties they had signed to safeguard themselves against war were useless. Mistrust and suspicion, already strong, became stronger still, and made agreement on disarmament most unlikely.

The failure of the Conference

Yet there was still hope that some measure of success might be obtained by an agreement to limit or abolish *aggressive* as compared with *defensive* weapons. Unhappily the Conference quite failed to agree on what were weapons of attack, although the Allies had found little difficulty after the World War in deciding what were aggressive weapons in the hands of Germany. Arguments were put forward in favour of nearly every kind of weapon. Battleships, tanks, submarines, and bombing aeroplanes were all claimed as ' defensive ' weapons by various countries at the conference.

Hitler's rise to power in Germany

Japan's attack on China and the failure of other states to punish her breaking of international treaties had very important effects. We have seen already that it had destroyed the faith necessary for the success of an agreement on disarmament. The failure to disarm helped to bring about another serious result. Germany had become more and more dissatisfied with being unarmed in the midst of heavily armed states, and this dissatisfaction helped Herr Hitler (see p. 175) to rise to power in Germany, when it was seen that the Disarmament Conference was likely to fail. Hitler and many other Germans believed that the Allies had no intention of disarming, that they intended to keep Germany weak, and that it was useless to try to co-operate with them. They believed that only when Germany had re-armed and become strong would she be justly treated. Thus Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 and at once

he began to re-arm. The fear and suspicion which his policy awakened in France and other European countries killed the last hope that the Disarmament Conference might succeed, and it came to an end in 1933 having failed to effect anything.

The growth of national lawlessness

Another very important result of Japan's attack on China was that she had shown how easy it was for a Great Power to go to war for national ends without fear of any serious results to herself. It was seen that other states would not act, either through the League or independently, as long as their own interests were not seriously threatened. Greedy governments therefore realized that they could safely make war on weaker states, and Japan's attack on China was only the first of a whole series of lawless acts. Italy conquered Abyssinia (1935-36) and Albania (1939). In 1940 she attacked Greece. Germany obtained Austria (1938), Czecho-Slovakia (1938-1939), and the town of Memel (1938) by threats of force. In 1939 she attacked Poland; in 1940 Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France; and in 1941 Yugo-Slavia, Greece and Russia. Meanwhile Japan continued her attempt to conquer China, and Russia made war on Finland. Smaller states were also not unwilling to join in the scramble. Poland, later sacrificed to Germany shared in the plunder of Czecho-Slovakia in 1938, and made demands on Lithuania which she backed with the threat of war. Hungary took Ruthenia from Czecho-Slovakia in 1938, while the latter was threatened by Germany.

This state of lawlessness and disregard for treaties rapidly became unbearable, and it was with the feeling that it must be stopped, coupled with the suspicion that France and England themselves might in the end be attacked, that decided these two countries to go to war with Germany if Poland were invaded. When Germany invaded Poland at the end of August, 1939, Britain and France declared war.

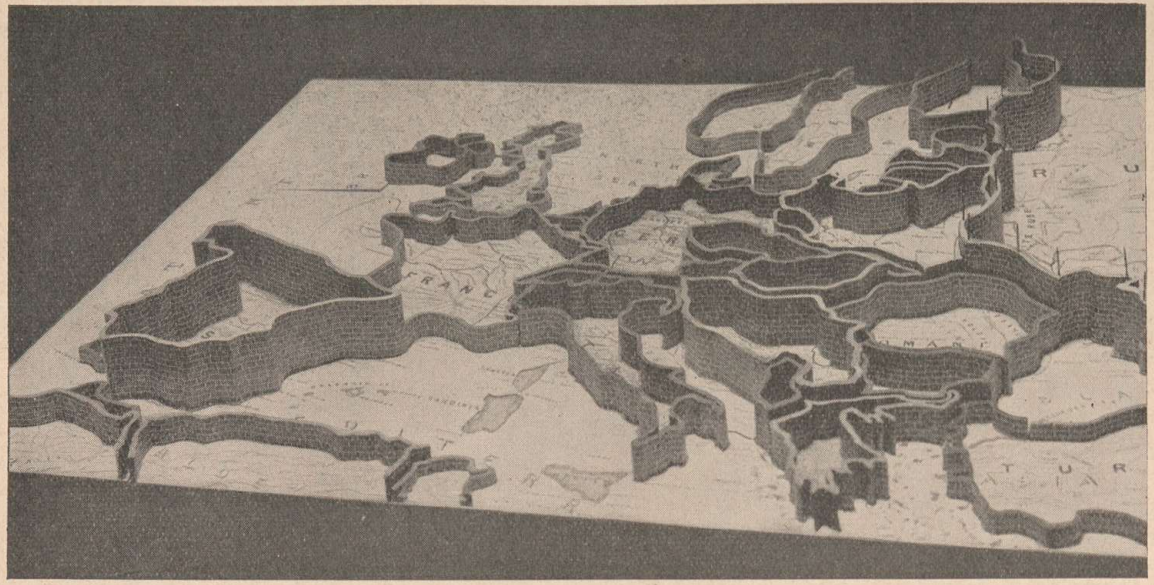
2. The Failure of Co-operation in Trade

Although attempts to disarm had failed, the failure was not due to any misunderstanding of the need to co-operate in the cause of peace, for the evils of war were still too recent and well-remembered. Failure was the result of the unwillingness of independent nations to sacrifice any real part of their independence in the common cause of safeguarding peace. Co-operation between nations, however, was also necessary to increase trade and prosperity, but this was not so well understood just after the Great War.

We have studied in the earlier part of this book how industry and trade developed during the nineteenth century, and how industrial countries became dependent on world-wide trade. Even Tropical Africa, which had been disregarded for so long, was strongly competed for when its value as a market for manufactured goods and as a supplier of raw materials was understood. By 1914 each industrial country had become very dependent on other countries for its industrial prosperity. Interference with its trade would make its people poor. Under modern conditions no state can prosper in isolation.

Tariffs and quotas

The fact that the Allied blockade had helped to defeat Germany was well understood, but wrong arguments were based upon it. Instead of realizing their dependence on their neighbours and trying to help trade in every possible way, many countries decided to import as little as they could. It became the object of many states to produce within their own borders as far as possible all the goods they needed, even if other countries could produce some of them more cheaply. In practice under modern conditions no country could make itself completely independent of its neighbours, although it could lessen its dependence. Production of



EUROPEAN TARIFFS

This model gives a clear idea of the trading difficulties between countries enclosed by tariff ' walls ' after the Great War. Note the low ' walls ' around Great Britain and France and the high ones around Spain, the Balkans, and Russia

certain kinds of foodstuffs and manufactured articles could be helped either by *tariffs* or *quotas*. Tariffs, which are taxes on imported goods, could be used to raise the price of imports above the price of the home product. Under the quota system, governments limited by law the quantity of certain goods allowed into their country.

Attempts at economic independence

It may seem strange that countries should purposely make laws to check the trade on which their prosperity depended, but they had their reasons. In the earlier part of this chapter we saw that the peace settlement failed to persuade people that it had made future war impossible; and the governments of many countries felt that they must make their states strong and independent of other countries in every possible way. Thus they tried to protect themselves with large armies. But a country at war has other needs which are no less necessary than fighting men. It needs weapons and ammunition, clothes and food for its soldiers and workmen, and a hundred other things, if it is to be able to go on fighting. We have already noticed that Germany was defeated in 1918 partly through the stoppage of her trade. Thus when countries after the war built up armies they also tried to arrange their food and industrial production so that they would be less dependent on other nations in time of war. Thus arose the need for tariffs and quotas, to prevent cheaper goods from other countries from competing with home products. One example may be given. For several hundred years the West Indies had produced most of the world's supply of sugar. During the war Germany had of course been unable to get sugar from that source, and even Britain had had trouble in getting enough supplies owing to the sinking of ships by German submarines. After the war many European countries began to grow more sugar beet so that they need no longer depend

on the cane sugar from the West Indies. Thus although cane sugar was plentiful, and could be produced more cheaply than beet sugar, the trade in cane sugar was checked by tariffs, people had to pay more for it, and the inhabitants of the West Indies, unable to sell much of their sugar, became very poor. Also, because they were unable to *export* as freely as before, they had less money with which to buy *imported* goods. Thus both their export and their import trade suffered.

Other difficulties

Here only one example has been given, but the same rule applied to many kinds of foodstuffs and imported goods. It is easy to see that such actions must lead to much suffering and unemployment. Besides, trade after the Great War was made still more difficult owing to the effects of the war itself. Ordinary trade had been seriously checked during the war years, and after the war was further upset by the problems of war debts and compensation for war damage. Most of the Allied countries owed huge sums of money to other countries. These countries naturally expected to be paid. Also much damage in France and Belgium had been caused by the war. The Allies, as we have seen, decided that Germany should pay for everything, and that they would use the money to pay off their own debts. Germany, however, could not pay in gold, and the Allies did not want German manufactures which would leave their own people without employment.

Similarly, the U.S.A. would not take goods in payment of the huge Allied war debts, but demanded payment in gold, and they refused a British suggestion that all war debts should be abolished.[1] Also, although they were very prosperous

[1] Although Britain owed much money to the U.S.A. she was owed still more by various European countries. The suggestion that war debts should be wiped out was made because they were stopping the growth of world trade and prosperity.

they decided that they could best keep rich by selling their goods in other countries while using tariffs and quotas to prevent other countries from selling many kinds of goods to them. Thus in their trade policy as well as in their refusal to join the League of Nations, the U.S.A. put their own interests before co-operation with others for the general good. The refusal of the U.S.A. to abolish war debts made the Allies continue to try to get some of the money from Germany; more quotas and tariffs were fixed by countries aiming at economic independence through fear of war. All this caused more and more disorder in trade between nations, and the direct result was the great slump in world trade which began in 1929. This only led to still further efforts by various countries to become economically independent, and to higher tariffs and more quotas. These made things yet worse. Economic troubles as well as the failure of the Disarmament Conference helped to bring Hitler into power in Germany and in other ways too made political difficulties harder to solve. At last a World Economic Conference was arranged, and it met in 1933 to find ways of clearing away economic difficulties. This attempt at co-operation failed to get governments to agree to any important measures to bring back world trade. Thus in economic as well as in political matters nations had failed to co-operate successfully.

Questions on Chapter Eight

1. Explain the causes of the failure of the League of Nations to ensure peace.

2. Why had economic co-operation between nations become very necessary after the Great War? What difficulties caused attempts at co-operation to fail?

Chapter Nine

DICTATORSHIPS AND DEMOCRACIES

1. European Dictatorships

The most usual type of government in Europe and in Asia before the end of the eighteenth century was autocratic. Peoples were ruled by kings or emperors and had little influence on those who governed them. Sometimes the autocratic power of the ruler was used for the good of his subjects. Sometimes it was used mainly for the ruler's personal advantage.

The spread of democratic government

From the seventeenth century onwards autocratic government of this type in Britain was limited and gradually the people obtained more power over their government and were able to make it rule according to their wishes. Thus government in Britain slowly became more and more democratic. In France a similar change took place at the end of the eighteenth century, but in this case it was brought about quickly by revolution and fighting. The United States of America accepted a democratic constitution after the War of American Independence, because they had been used to democracy while under British rule.

During the nineteenth century democratic government was extended, not only to many of the countries colonized by the British, but also in Europe. Britain, France, and the United States were then the most prosperous countries in the world, and less prosperous peoples envied them and thought their prosperity mainly due to their freedom under democratic government.

The Great War of 1914-1918 had created many difficult problems for the coming years. During the war ordinary trade and industry did not prosper. When the war was over, millions of soldiers returned to their homes expecting to take up their old work. This would have been difficult in any case to arrange immediately, but the problem was made more difficult because many towns, villages, mines, and factories had been destroyed during the fighting. Still more factories had been turned over to the production of war materials instead of peacetime goods. The creation of new states by the peace treaties made further difficulties ; for, as we have seen, trade across national borders was made difficult by tariffs, and the new boundaries cut off many industrial regions from their former markets. Then, too, peoples in other continents who had formerly bought goods from European countries were forced during the war to buy them from the United States or to make them themselves. Thus European manufacturers found it harder to sell their goods after the war. All this caused very great suffering in Europe, especially in Central Europe. Millions of people had little to eat and many thousands actually died of hunger. Even where conditions were not as bad as this, as in France, Britain, and some neutral countries, people suffered a great deal, and looked to their governments to help them. The problem, however, was too big for any one government[1] to solve quickly. Failure led to dissatisfaction and strikes in nearly every European country, and in some to the belief that democratic government was after all weak and unsatisfactory. Where this belief was strong, revolutions and risings took place, governments were overthrown, and new types of government were set up in which the chief power rested in the hands of one man. In other words, since the

[1] We have already seen in the last chapter how governments failed to work together to make industry and trade prosper.

war there has been in some countries a return to autocratic government, the modern name for which is *dictatorship*. The chief dictators in modern Europe are Stalin in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, and Hitler in Germany. The most important remaining democracies are Britain and the United States.

Government under dictators

Under a dictatorship all real power is placed in the hands of one man. He may be helped by advisers, but he alone makes all important decisions. Criticism and opposition are not allowed, and may be punished by fine, imprisonment, or even death. Newspapers and books may only contain news and opinions favourable to the government. All this is far different from democratic government under which people elect their own representatives, argument and criticism are allowed, and unpopular governments are thrown out.

Advantages and disadvantages of dictatorships and democracies

Democracy is not a form of government that is good for all peoples; it can only be successful where people are well educated, willing to take an interest in national affairs, and ready to give up some of their private interests in the interests of all. It is true also that a democratic government often takes longer to make important decisions than a dictator, because many different points of view may be brought forward, and these have to be discussed. Thus it is quite possible that good laws may not be made quickly, and they may even be refused if people do not understand their usefulness. On the other hand, once laws have been passed, people usually obey them willingly and not merely through fear of punishment.

Government under dictatorship, however, can make quick decisions, for any law desired by the dictator can be

brought into force at once and everyone has to obey it. Thus modern dictators in a short time have been able to make many more useful laws and decisions than would have been possible under democratic government. Yet dictatorship has its disadvantages. Bad laws can be made just as quickly and easily as good ones, and the police and the army can be used to put down all opposition. In fact, under a dictatorship everything depends on the character and brains of the dictator. If he stops working for the good of his people, or if he appoints someone unfitted to carry on his work after his death, the people have no course open to them except to revolt and try to overthrow the government by force, if they can. Progress may be slower in democracies but it is likely to be more lasting, and an unsatisfactory government can be changed peacefully and with little trouble.

Modern dictatorships : Russia and Communism

There are many dictatorships in the world to-day, but we have only space here to discuss three of the most important of them. These are the governments of Russia, Italy, and Germany.

Before the Great War, Russia had been very badly governed. Most of the people were very poor and very badly treated, and the outbreak of war in 1914 soon made things very much worse. About 4,000,000 men were killed in the fighting, and Russia was defeated by Germany. The Russian people blamed their government. They listened to men who told them that all their troubles were due to the economic system under which they lived, by which most of the goods they produced were taken from them for the advantage of the rich and powerful among them. They were told that no one should be allowed to produce goods for his own private profit; that all farms, factories, and banks should be owned by the State; and that all goods produced should be shared equally for the enrichment of everyone.

They were told that poor people everywhere were ill-treated, and that they must first overthrow their own government in order to bring in the new system of *Communism*, and then use their power to help people in other countries to do the same. In Russia these teachings were followed by revolution. The Tsar, the ruler of Russia, was killed, and after a long civil war the Communists were able to set up a strong government with a very clever man called Lenin at its head. When he died in 1924 he was succeeded as dictator by Stalin.

JOSEPH STALIN

Communism in practice

The Communists undertook an enormous and, as many people thought, impossible task in attempting to change the Russian economic system of that time for that of Communism; and at first the people were little, if any, better off than before. Many of the farmers objected to seeing most of the produce they had grown being taken away to feed the town workers, and they worked less hard. Similarly, factory workers saw little use in working hard if they were only to receive the same amount of food and goods as the laziest ones among them. Thus there was a serious shortage both of food and goods. Then the Communist system was changed in some respects and better work was rewarded according to its value. But all production is still completely controlled by the government, which alone decides how much of a certain article shall be produced and how it shall be shared. The system is now working with

considerable success, but it must be remembered that it was started and is still kept up by force. Stalin has complete power and uses this power mercilessly against anyone who opposes him. Criticism is not allowed and there are few safeguards against injustice and cruelty. People may be imprisoned or killed without lawful trial. It is therefore difficult to know how much or how little the system is liked. Under Stalin, Russia has used her power to make war on Finland and to occupy towns in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania (1939-40).

Italy and Fascism

It can easily be realized that the Communist teaching would be welcomed nearly everywhere by very poor people with almost nothing to eat and living in the same town with noblemen and rich manufacturers who had all that they wanted. We have seen, too, that the Great War caused upsets in industry and trade which led to very great sufferings and hardships. Thus the economic conditions in Europe after the war helped the spread of Communism. The overthrow of the Tsarist government of Russia by Communists gave rise to hopes among the poor persons in many countries that they might be similarly successful. Therefore the years after 1917 saw many revolts, most of which were quickly and cruelly put down by the governments they threatened. The Communist danger was greatest in the countries defeated in the war, for there the people suffered the severest hardships. But Communism was also strong in Italy.

Italy had been on the winning side in the Great War, but she had a weak government which was quite unfitted to solve her economic problems, and many Italians were very dissatisfied. They wished to change their form of government but could not agree on the kind of government they wanted. Some wished for Communism, but others, who

called themselves *Fascists*, opposed them. The Fascists wished to make Italy very strong and powerful but did not wish to abolish private property. They found an able leader in Benito Mussolini. He overcame all opposition and in October, 1921, was able to march on Rome at the head of 30,000 Fascists to overthrow the government. He was successful and became dictator of Italy.

He then set to work to make Italy strong, and the Italians proud of their country. He built up a large army and air force. He has also carried out many great works of public usefulness, such as the drying-up of marshes and the settling of farmers on lands which before had been undeveloped. He enlarged Italy's oversea possessions by making war on Abyssinia and conquering her (1936-7), and on Albania (1939). Under his rule the Italians have done much, but like the Russians they have no freedom and are ruled by fear. In 1940 Mussolini led his country into war, first against Britain, then against Greece.

BENITO MUSSOLINI

Germany and the Nazis

The third of the great modern dictatorships is that of Germany, where Hitler became dictator in 1933. Germany had a democratic government after the war, but in Germany as in Italy there was much dissatisfaction and opposition to the government. There were many Communists who tried to follow the example of Russia, and there were also an

increasing number of people who joined what was called the National Socialist Party, better known now as *Nazis*. The Nazis, like the Fascists of Italy, believed that all should unite in loyalty and absolute obedience to a dictator, and that everything should be sacrificed to do his will and to increase the glory of their country. Those who did not agree with them, they thought, deserved severe punishment. They found a leader in Adolf Hitler. Several times he tried to win power and failed, and after an attempt in 1926 he was imprisoned. But the dissatisfaction felt throughout Germany increased the number of his followers, and the failure of the Disarmament and World Economic Conferences further strengthened his personal power. Thus in 1933, although he was still only supported by a minority of the German people, he was strong enough to take power by force, to throw his opponents into prison, and to set up a dictatorship. Since then he has worked to give Germans a fierce pride in their race,[1] to make Germany strong and warlike, and to use her new strength to upset the peace treaty of 1919. He was very successful in all these aims. Bit by bit he overthrew the clauses of the peace treaty. He built up Germany's armed forces, sent his troops into the Rhineland, seized Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, and attacked and conquered Poland. This drew Germany into war with

ADOLF HITLER

[1] Under Hitler's rule people in Germany not of pure German race have been cruelly treated.

Britain and France. Many people believe that most Germans did not want to fight, and that Poland would not have been attacked had they been free to choose. Under Hitler Germans may only obey and are not free to say what they think, so that if this belief is true we have an excellent example of the evils which a dictator can bring upon his country in satisfying his own desires. We know that many thousands of Germans have been imprisoned without trial, driven out of their country, or killed by Hitler's orders, and their possessions seized. And we know that he has to guard himself carefully against attack. Only time can show whether government by modern dictators is really stronger and more efficient than government in democratic countries.

Dictatorships in other countries

During the years after 1919 Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Hungary, Austria, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey also accepted government by some form of dictatorship.

2. Turkey and the Middle East[1]

The fall of the Turkish Empire

The Turkish Empire, once very strong, began to break up during the eighteenth century and grew steadily weaker after 1800. Already by 1800 Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, countries on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, had become practically independent of the Sultan of Turkey. By 1914 they had all become dependencies or protectorates of France, Italy, Britain, or Spain. The Turkish power had been similarly weakened in

[1] The *Middle East* is a general term referring to Asian countries west of India.

Europe, for revolts by the Balkan peoples had driven the Turks back near to the Dardanelles.

The Caliphate and its abolition

Yet in spite of the weakness of the Turkish Empire there is a real feeling of unity among the Mohammedans who belonged, or had belonged, to it. The Sultan at Constantinople was also the Caliph, the head of their religion and the successor of the Prophet, and their feeling of religious unity under his headship was far more powerful than their loyalty to the political rulers.

The Great War led to the abolition of the Caliphate and to the rise of a strong feeling of nationalism in the various countries into which the old Empire had divided. During the War Turkey fought on the side of Germany, while most of her Arab subjects in Asia fought on the side of the Allies. Then, after Turkey's defeat, the Turks themselves revolted against the Sultan. Their leader was Mustapha Kemal, a soldier who had fought with great bravery during the war. The Sultan was overthrown, Turkey became a Republic (1923) with Mustapha Kemal as its first President, and in 1924 the Caliphate was abolished. Since that time Turkey has been ruled by a dictator who has used his power to free the Turks from the influence of the Mohammedan religion. He ordered the abolition of religious communities and of religious teaching in schools. He had the Koran translated into Turkish. He also brought in many European customs. Women were given complete educational and political equality with men; European law was followed in place of that of Islam; and Roman writing used in place of Arabic.

By these changes Mustapha Kemal aimed at lessening in Turkey the influence of Islam and making her a strongly nationalist state of the type common in Europe. The Turkish government is now strong and able. Many of the

changes were not liked, especially by the older people, and there were several revolts, but these were easily put down.

Arab national feeling

Nationalist feeling was also very strong among the Arabs, who had hoped by taking part in the war to set up a great Arab kingdom under the Sultan of the Hejaz, the ruler of Mecca and Medina. Their hopes were disappointed by the Allies. France claimed a mandate over Syria: Britain over Palestine, Irak, and Transjordan. Only Arabia was left independent, and there the Sultan of the Hejaz, Hussein, who ruled very badly, was overthrown by Ibn Saud. Ibn Saud belonged to a group of Mohammedans called Wahabis, who believe in the most exact observance of the laws of the Koran. Even before the war he had become very powerful in Central Arabia, and in 1924 he drove out Hussein and captured Mecca. The following year he completely conquered the Hejaz. Like Mustapha Kemal he has been a strong, able ruler. Unlike him, he has aimed at keeping and strengthening the influence of Islam.

Mandates in the Middle East

We mentioned in the last paragraph that the Allies disappointed Arab hopes of forming a great kingdom out of all the Arab territories that had formerly been under Turkish rule. Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Irak became mandates. For many centuries the people of these countries had been under Turkish rule and had had no experience of governing themselves. Besides, most of the people were quite uneducated and clearly needed help and guidance for a few years at least before they could become fully independent. Thus, while they were promised independence for the future, for the present they were placed as mandates

under the control of Britain and France. France took charge of Syria; Britain of Palestine, Irak, and Transjordan. Britain and France were to be responsible to the League of Nations for the good government of these countries.

Irak

For the first two years after the war Britain ruled Irak with the help of her soldiers, but in 1920 she invited Feisal, son of King Hussein of the Hejaz, to become King of Irak and to form an Iraki government. He accepted, and ruled so successfully that twelve years later, in 1932, Britain was able to give up her control over the country and Irak became a fully independent state and a member of the League of Nations. King Feisal died in 1933 and was succeeded by his son Ghazi. When Ghazi was killed in a motor accident six years later he was succeeded by his baby son (1939). Irak was then ruled by a regent.

Palestine

The British mandate in Palestine has been much more difficult. Irak is an Arab state, and it was possible to form an Arab government to rule the country. Palestine was also an Arab state, but it had once been Jewish. For many centuries the Jews had been spread abroad through many countries; but they had never forgotten Palestine, which they continued to think of as their home. Many of them longed to go there, and this longing was all the stronger because they were ill-treated by the peoples of some of the countries in which they lived. The defeat of the Turkish rulers of Palestine by the British and their Arab allies gave them their opportunity. They obtained a promise from the British Government that it would try to help them to set up a 'national home' in Palestine, on condition that nothing should be done to lessen the rights of the Arabs already there. After the war

Britain received the Palestine mandate from the League of Nations on condition that she helped the Jews to set up this national home.

After the Great War thousands of Jews emigrated to Palestine and greatly increased its prosperity, but the Arabs hate and fear the Jews because they believe that the Jews may soon become more important than they. The position has become more difficult because of the terrible cruelty to the Jews in Germany since Hitler came into power. As a result great numbers of Jews wished to enter Palestine. There have been Arab revolts and the British Government has been under extreme criticism by both Jews and Arabs : by the Arabs because it has not stopped all Jews from entering Palestine ; by the Jews because it carefully limited the number which it has allowed to enter. So far it has been impossible to get the Jews and Arabs to co-operate to form a government for the country, and the British Government has had to govern the country itself. It is difficult to prophesy future happenings in Palestine, or the time when it will become fully independent like Irak.

Syria and Transjordan

Syria was mandated to the French, and Transjordan is still a British mandate.

Egypt

Egypt came under British control in 1882. When war broke out in 1914 that control became stronger, and Egypt was declared a British Protectorate. After the war the Egyptians, like many other peoples in Europe and Asia, developed a strong national feeling, and a society was formed, called the Wafd, which aimed at complete Egyptian independence. Britain attempted to satisfy the Egyptians. In 1922 she recognized Egypt as an independent state, but she still claimed certain rights, including the right

to defend Egypt against attack and to keep British soldiers on Egyptian soil. Britain also held to her rights in the government of the Sudan.

Most Egyptians were not satisfied with this treaty, and discussions continued, but without any real success. Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, however, changed the situation, and in view of the possible danger to Egypt and the Sudan both Britain and Egypt were glad to keep each other's friendship. Thus in 1936 a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed between the two countries. Britain and Egypt promised to help each other in time of war; Britain agreed to take away her soldiers from every part of Egypt except the Suez Canal; a settlement was reached over Egypt's claims in the Sudan; and Britain promised to support Egypt's application for membership of the League of Nations. The relations between Britain and Egypt since this treaty have been very friendly.[1]

3. The Far East

In Chapter Six of this book we saw how Britain and certain other countries forced China to trade with them and to give them rights in certain seaports, and how China was too weak to stop them. Similarly, about the middle of the nineteenth century, Britain, France, Holland, and the United States tried to open up trade with the people of Japan, and when they refused sent fleets of warships to force them to agree.

Japan copies the Western Powers

For many centuries the Japanese had lived almost completely cut off from the rest of the world and had been little changed by other civilizations. They had an emperor, the

[1] When this was written, British forces were driving back Italian and German invaders of Egypt.

Mikado, whom they looked on as a god, and a feudal system something like the feudal system of medieval Europe. They knew nothing of modern industrial inventions, or modern banking, or modern trade. Unlike the Western Powers, they had no powerful army or navy.

The Japanese realized that they were far too weak to fight if they kept to their old customs and were satisfied with their old knowledge. Led by their Emperor they therefore set to work to change their whole way of life, copying from European nations everything which would quickly enable them to become equally strong. Many Englishmen, Frenchmen, Americans, and Germans were brought in to teach the Japanese what they knew and to create a new civilization for them. They helped the Japanese to build up a powerful army and navy, to establish railways, and to develop education, health, and postal services. Factories were built, a European system of law was set up, and feudalism was replaced by a system of representative government.

Japan gained for herself new knowledge and ideas with surprising speed, and she soon showed herself strong in war. In 1894 she easily defeated China. In 1902 she made an alliance with Britain. In 1904 she surprised other nations by defeating her powerful neighbour, Russia. During the Great War she took the side of the Allies, and at its end was rewarded with many of the Pacific islands that Germany had formerly ruled.

Japan's economic position

Thus during the fifty years before the Great War Japan had rapidly advanced from the position of a weak and practically unknown country to that of a modern Great Power. But she still had many difficulties to face. Her population, already very large, was quickly increasing, yet most of Japan is mountainous and not fit for the growing of food crops.

Thus she was faced with the problem of feeding a growing population on a limited food supply. One solution of the problem might have been to send numbers of her people overseas to settle in thinly-populated countries, as Britain had done in the nineteenth century. Unhappily for Japan all the best once-empty countries had been populated by European emigrants, and although these countries still have room for many more people, the white races in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have passed laws forbidding Japanese to settle in their countries.

Another solution might have been for Japan to increase her manufactures, and to sell them abroad in exchange for food and for the raw materials required for her industries. This she has been able to do with some success, for her workpeople are ready to work very long hours for very low wages, and her products are therefore cheaper than similar goods produced in Europe or America. However, the cheapness of Japanese goods, and their rapidly increasing sales, frightened the governments of European countries, and most of them have put heavy duties on Japanese goods entering lands controlled by them. Otherwise they are afraid that their own workmen will lose the markets which they have won for their own goods.

The third solution was for Japan to conquer an empire for herself so that she could buy and sell freely over a large area. This is the reason for her successful attempt to conquer Manchuria in 1931, and Jehol in 1933. The same reason is largely responsible for the war in China which began in 1937.

The rise of Chinese nationalism

Although China has a much larger population and much greater natural riches than Japan, she was not successful like that country in re-constituting herself on the model of European countries. Her government remained weak and

ineffective, so that she has suffered defeat and loss of influence both at the hands of the western powers and at the hands of her smaller neighbour, Japan. Many of her people became very dissatisfied with this state of affairs, and in 1911 there was a successful revolt which led in 1912 to the overthrow of the last of the Chinese emperors, and to the setting-up of a republic. However, this failed to lead to the establishment of a strong government. Chinese leaders quarrelled among themselves. China remained weak.

Japan has taken advantage of China's weakness to gain for herself advantages in China, and she has been very successful. Yet her successes have done for the Chinese what they were unable to do for themselves. Each fresh attack on China by Japan has increased the Chinese hatred of the Japanese, until at last, in 1937, the Chinese agreed to forget their differences and to unite under one leader, General Chiang Kai-shek, to fight Japan. By 1940 the united Chinese Government appeared to have the whole-hearted support of the great majority of the Chinese people in its attempt to drive the Japanese out of China.

4. The United States of America

American wealth and prosperity

The evil effects of the Great War were felt very heavily by most of the peoples who took part in it, but to one of them, the United States, the war seemed to have brought a prosperity till then unknown anywhere in the world. Even before the war the United States had great agricultural and industrial wealth and were able to supply more of their own needs, both in food and materials, than any other country in the world. Also, for the first three years of the war they remained neutral, and even afterwards they were much less disordered by it than any other country that took part.

Their former European competitors in world trade were too busy fighting to compete seriously with them in peaceful trade, and the United States were therefore able to supply goods to countries which had formerly obtained them from Europe. Even European countries, once their competitors, were obliged to buy from the U.S.A. huge quantities of materials which before they had produced for themselves. Thus the United States became rich, their workpeople received high wages, even luxuries were plentiful and cheap, and the war-worn European peoples looked enviously across the Atlantic at a prosperity which they had little chance of enjoying.

The American policy of isolation

After the war the Americans determined to follow a policy of isolation. They had seen the evil effects of war in Europe, and they wanted to keep out of future wars, if they occurred, which might bring similar evils on themselves. They thought they could best do this by taking no part in European politics. Therefore they refused to join the League of Nations or to give any guarantee to help any country that might be attacked. The Americans had lent many millions of pounds' worth of goods to the Allies during the war and they wanted this money repaid. The fact that most of this money was never repaid helped to strengthen American opinion against helping one side in a war, even with loans of money.[1]

American social service

Although both the government and the people of the United States were agreed in refusing to accept any responsibilities in the cause of world peace or prosperity,

[1] But see page 166. The money was owed for war materials supplied to the Allies. The Americans refused to take goods in payment, but demanded gold. The Allies could only get gold by selling goods, and most of the world's gold was already in America.

yet many Americans felt very sorry for the sufferings of European peoples after the Great War, and they helped them with money. They gave huge sums of money to buy food and medicines for the peoples of Central Europe and Russia. In fact, in the last quarter of a century, Americans have supplied money in large quantities for almost any work that has aimed at lessening suffering and increasing human happiness. Even Tropical Africa has not been neglected. The Carnegie Corporation of New York, for example, has made grants of money to help various educational schemes : the setting up of libraries to help students ; an inquiry into the usefulness of systems for the teaching of simplified English ; an inquiry into the possibility of producing films with African actors on African subjects. Similarly, the Rockefeller Foundation has made grants of money for work in Liberia, Nigeria, Uganda, and the Egyptian Sudan to lessen the harm done by yellow fever. These are only a few examples. People in America have also given money very freely to support Christian missions in Tropical Africa, and American missionaries are working in many parts of Africa.

America and the ' slump ' in world trade

In 1929 the prosperity of the United States received a severe setback. Many rich Americans became poor, and many workmen lost their employment. We cannot find space to describe all the causes of these happenings. One big cause was the poor condition of many other countries, who could not afford to buy American goods owing to their war losses and their heavy debts. Also, as we have seen, some countries bought as little as possible from others in order to become as independent as possible of foreign supplies.[1] As it became more and more difficult for American

[1] The American policy of isolation was partly responsible for these two reasons for the slump.

manufacturers to sell great quantities of goods, so workpeople were sent away from the factories. These men then had no wages to spend, and so still fewer goods were needed and yet more workpeople lost their work. The slump in world trade began in America, but it quickly spread to all other countries. A World Economic Conference, which has already been mentioned, met in 1933 to try to improve matters, but it was not successful. Since then President Roosevelt of the United States has been trying to solve American troubles by means of government control over farming and industry. Even those Americans who are most desirous that the United States should isolate themselves from world politics and the dangers and responsibilities which they may bring are realizing that American prosperity depends on the prosperity of other countries, and that even the richest and most powerful country cannot disregard what happens in other parts of the world.

Questions on Chapter Nine

1. What difficulties did governments have to face in Europe after the Great War? What was the result in some countries of their failure to solve them?

2. Make a list of all the possible advantages of (*a*) government by democracy, and (*b*) government by a dictator. Then make a similar list of the possible disadvantages of each.

3. What is meant by Communism? Why was it taken up in many parts of Europe after the Great War, and where was it most successful?

4. What economic problem have the Japanese to solve? Why is its solution very difficult, and how are they attempting to solve it?

5. Explain why the United States were very prosperous for a time after the Great War. Why did their prosperity not last?

Chapter Ten

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE DOMINIONS AND INDIA

The British Empire in 1914

Already in Chapters Five and Six we have studied the development of the British Empire in the nineteenth century. We have seen how it developed in two ways: in size, by the gaining of fresh territory, especially in Africa; and in administration. The Empire in 1815 was a collection of countries ruled by the British Government and regarded as British possessions. The Empire in 1914 was larger, but much of it was no longer ruled directly by the British Government. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa had obtained the right of self-government. There was also a strong demand for self-government in India. Even the remaining parts of the Empire were thought of less as possessions than as dependencies, i.e. countries not yet able to govern themselves, but yet which ought to be ruled in their own interests, and not merely in the interest of Britain.

The Empire during the Great War, 1914-1918

The changes which had already taken place before 1914 had led many people to think that the Empire was breaking up, and that if war occurred some at any rate of the Dominions would prefer not to take part in it, but would declare their independence. The war of 1914 to 1918 proved these people wrong. All the self-governing Dominions gladly co-operated with Britain and sent armies to help her in her fight with Germany. Nor did the dependent countries of the Empire take advantage of

Britain's difficulties at that time to try to throw off her rule. The peoples of India sent many hundreds of thousands of men to fight for the Empire in France, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, and East Africa, and they gave millions of pounds towards the cost of the war. Similarly, the inhabitants of Britain's dependencies in Tropical Africa and in the Pacific not only did not revolt, but helped Britain with men and money. All showed every wish to remain loyal subjects of the Empire.

The effect of the Great War on the British Empire

Thus the Great War clearly proved that the peoples of the Empire were united and loyal in time of danger, and not divided and disloyal, as some of Britain's enemies had hoped, and as even some of her friends had feared. Yet the war led to further changes in the Empire in the direction of yet greater freedom and complete equality of the self-governing Dominions with Britain.

The British Commonwealth of Nations

Britain has not tried to stop the Dominions from reaching full equality with her. The self-governing Dominions are now thought of rather as co-members of the British *Commonwealth of Nations* than as parts of an empire owned by Britain. Even before the Great War the Dominions had obtained almost complete self-government in their home affairs, but Britain still kept general control of their *foreign* policy, i.e. their policy towards non-Empire countries. After the war this remaining inequality was removed. The first steps towards this end were taken at the Peace Conference when the government of each of the Dominions signed the peace treaty in its own right. Also, each Dominion was given a separate membership of the League of Nations. A further step was taken in 1926 when the British Government stated that the Dominions were self-governing

'Communities within the British Empire, equal in status and in no way subject to one another in any part of their home or foreign affairs, though united by a common loyalty to the King and freely living together as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations'. Then, in 1930, it was agreed that the British Government would not interfere at all between the King and any of his Dominion governments, and in 1931, the Statute of Westminster removed the last bit of inequality by declaring that no Act of the British Parliament should apply to any Dominion except at its own request. From that time each Dominion was completely free. They were not even obliged to go to war in aid of Britain.[1]

Thus, gradually, a new idea of empire has been born, the idea that an empire is not necessarily made up of one ruling nation and a number of subject peoples, but of a group of free and independent nations drawn together, not by force, but by common interests of race, language, religion, and custom; or even merely by their dependence on one another for their safety and prosperity. With one exception, these ties have proved quite strong enough to bring all the Dominions into the war (1939) on the side of Britain. That exception is Eire, the Irish Free State.

Ireland

Unlike most of the British Empire, Ireland lies very close to Britain, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the English began attempts to colonize it long before Africa, America, and Australia were even discovered. Ireland has had a most unhappy history. The English armies which from time to time invaded Ireland treated the Irish people with great cruelty, and although in past times the Irish were more

[1] The first use of this right is the neutrality of Eire (the Irish Free State) in the present war, and the vote taken in the South African House of Assembly which led to the fall of the Hertzog government over the question whether South Africa should declare war or remain neutral.

advanced than the English in learning and many of the arts of civilization, yet they were conquered and treated like savages. Unlike England, Ireland remained Catholic at the time of the Reformation, and thus religious differences helped to increase the unfriendliness between the two peoples. Then, in the seventeenth century, occurred the settlement in northern Ireland of many English and Scottish Protestants, which divided the country into two parts. Ever since that time, the Protestant north, which is known as Ulster or Northern Ireland, has been friendly towards Britain, while the Catholic south (Eire or the Irish Free State) has been unfriendly and has desired complete independence.

We must now say a few words about the history of Ireland since the Great War of 1914-1918. In 1918 the whole of Ireland was still ruled directly by the Parliament in London, to which it elected representatives, but the ideas of nationalism and self-determination of peoples on which the peace treaties were based strengthened the will of the Irish to win their independence, and for three years after the Great War British troops were fighting in Ireland against Irishmen who wished to set up an independent republic. Then, in 1921, an agreement was reached by which southern Catholic Ireland was given full Dominion status under the title of the Irish Free State, while the Protestant north (Ulster) by her own wish was left much more closely associated with Great Britain.

This settlement worked quite well and lasted for ten years. Then the Republicans, who still wished for complete independence, succeeded under the leadership of Mr De Valera in gaining control of the government through successes in the elections to the Irish Parliament. They aim at setting up an entirely independent Irish Republic which would also include Ulster, but the people of Ulster do not want to leave the Empire or even to unite with Eire under one Dominion government, and the British Government

refuses to force them to do so. Thus bad feeling still remains, with the result that Eire did not declare war on Germany in September, 1939. Her failure to do so is naturally regretted by the rest of the peoples of the Empire, but the fact that she has been able to remain neutral while Britain is at war is an outstanding proof of the real freedom of those parts of the Empire which have gained Dominion status.

India

In Chapter Six we took the story of India's progress towards self-government up to the outbreak of war in 1914. In India, as in other parts of the Empire, the war had the effect of quickening the demand for further progress in that direction. India, no less than Ireland, had felt the increase in national feeling after the Great War.

The grant of full self-government to India, however, presents more difficult problems than similar grants to the present Dominions. India is a large country which has a huge population of about 380 millions. A large part of the people are farmers who can neither read nor write. Besides, her peoples are divided among many different races, languages, religions, and castes. A further difficulty is that only two-thirds of India is directly under British control, for the remaining one-third is made up of over 600 states of various sizes, ruled by Indian princes who have treaties with the British Government. The problem could easily be solved if the Indians were all of one race, or even of many different races, if a strong common interest and friendliness were present among them. Unhappily, there are so many differences in race, language, and religion, that there is envy and even hatred between some Indian peoples. The chief, and in some cases the only, point of unity is the desire for self-government, and this, if it were granted too quickly, might lead to serious trouble and possibly even to civil war.

Under these circumstances the British Government has done the best it could. As early as 1917 India was promised gradual progress towards self-government, and in 1929 she was promised reforms leading at last to full Dominion status. Much has already been done towards keeping these promises.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 1918, *and the Act of* 1919

Even before the end of the Great War the British Government had been making inquiries to find out the best means of helping Indian progress towards self-government. These inquiries led to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918. This formed the basis of an Act of the British Parliament in 1919. It set up a legislature for the whole of India: a Council of State, partly elected and partly nominated, and a Legislative Assembly of elected members. These were law-making bodies, but they were not allowed to be as powerful as the British Houses of Parliament. The Viceroy was still permitted to make laws and raise taxes against their wishes, though he had first to make certain that such action was necessary for the safety and well-being of India.

Reforms were also made in the governments of the provinces. Each province was given a representative elected assembly for making laws, and this also directly controlled through responsible Indian ministers such departments as health, education, agriculture, and public works. But control of the police and of public money still remained in the hands of British officials who were responsible to the Viceroy.

Many Indians dissatisfied

These changes in the central and provincial governments marked a great advance in the share Indians could take in their own government. The British Government also made it clear that the Act was only a first step towards full

OLD AND NEW WAYS OF PLOUGHING IN INDIA

self-government. Yet many Indians were deeply disappointed. They had hoped for full self-government like that already enjoyed by the Dominions. It is easy to see the point of view of both sides: of the British who felt that to hand over all authority at once might lead to ill-treatment and bad government; and of the educated Indians, many of whom distrusted British promises and felt dishonestly treated.

The Act of 1935

The arrangements made by the Act of 1919 never worked really well, for although one group of the Indians co-operated with the British in the work of government, others led by Mr Gandhi, a Hindu of pure life and high intentions, demanded that India should be granted full self-government immediately, and refused to co-operate with the British till this demand was granted.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Then, in 1927, the British Government sent a Commission to India to see what further changes could be made in the Constitution. When the Commission had made its report, and after many discussions with Indian leaders, another Act was passed by the British Parliament which increased the share of Indians in their own government. The 1919 Act had given Indians some share in law-making, but on the whole had left the control of the executive in British hands. The Act of 1935 increased Indian control

over both provincial and central governments,[1] though the British still kept control over defence and foreign affairs as well as certain powers kept in reserve by the Viceroy for use in time of trouble. India is now close to full Dominion status, though she has not quite reached it; and she is not yet satisfied. Discussions are still going on, however, and few even of the most dissatisfied Indians doubt the British Government's good faith and intention to keep its promises. Until recently the most important point of difference was that many Indians wanted Dominion status at once, while the British Government felt that Indians were still too disunited to rule themselves well. In 1940 Congress demanded that Britain should give India complete independence after the war.

Questions on Chapter Ten

1. What is meant by the term 'the British Commonwealth of Nations'? Explain how the remaining inequalities of the Dominions with Britain were removed after the Great War.

2. What difficulties have prevented the immediate grant of full Dominion status to India?

3. What share, if any, have the people of your country in (*a*) the central government, and (*b*) local government?

[1] In the Provinces Indians obtained almost complete responsible self-government.

Chapter Eleven

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Now, in the last chapter of this book, let us once more turn our attention to the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire to see how they have been affected by some of the events already described, and how they are dealing with the problems these events have caused.

1. British Rule in the modern Colonial Empire. Its Benefits

The establishment of British rule over parts of Asia and Africa during the nineteenth century was the cause of many changes. First and most clearly seen is the fact that peoples thus brought into the Empire ceased to be independent. Some became British subjects owing loyalty directly to the Queen of England. Others, in the *protectorates*, kept their own chiefs who were, however, bound by treaty to accept the advice of the British Government in return for British protection. Such chiefs lost the right to make war or treaties with other states. In most really important matters they obey the wish of the British Government.

Characteristics of British rule

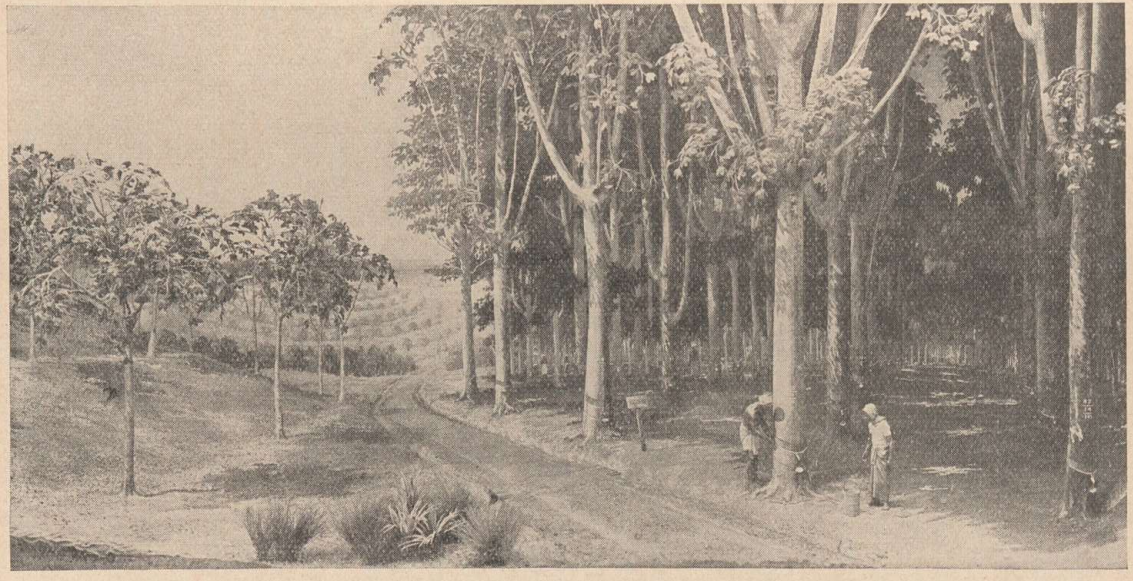
What use have the British made of their power? On the whole it is true to say that they have ruled with two main objects: to increase the trade of each part of the Empire, and to give to the people of each colony as many as possible of the advantages which people in Britain themselves enjoy.

Increase in Trade and Communications

In the earlier part of this book we saw how life in Britain was changed by the invention of power-driven machinery;

how great towns grew up in which vast quantities of manufactured goods were produced; and how it became necessary to find new markets where such goods could be sold, and where food and raw materials for industry could be bought. We saw that this development was one of the main reasons for the wish of Britain and of other European countries to increase the size of their empires. Thus it is not surprising that efforts were made rapidly to increase the volume of trade in British colonies. Each colony and protectorate was encouraged to produce crops suited to its climate, and colonial exports of cotton, hemp, hides and skins, timber, rubber, vegetable oils, tea, coffee and cocoa, to mention only a few, everywhere increased. The mining of minerals such as coal, tin, gold, mineral oils, asbestos and copper was also encouraged. Railways and motor roads were built with the help of British money to make possible the cheap and easy transport of such products from inland places to the sea, and much money was also spent in improving harbours and seaports so that big ships could load their cargoes cheaply.

Helped in this way, most colonies have been able to sell ever-increasing quantities of products to industrial countries, receiving in return large quantities of manufactured goods, ranging from railway locomotives to wrist-watches, and from silk and cotton cloths to matches. Exchange of this sort has usually brought increasing wealth and prosperity, though only a few of many striking examples can be given here. Thus the Gold Coast, which in 1900 produced only a very small quantity of cocoa, produced over 280,000 tons in 1935-36, nearly two-thirds of the world supply. British Malaya sixty years ago produced no rubber at all. To-day it supplies more than half the world total, as well as nearly a third of the world's supply of tin. These two examples are the most striking, but nearly every colony can show similar examples of astonishing progress on a smaller



RUBBER PLANTATION IN MALAYA

From a diorama in the Exhibition Galleries, Imperial Institute, London.

scale.[1] New crops such as coffee, tea, sisal, rubber, sim-sim, pineapples, citrus fruits, and wheat have been introduced successfully into suitable areas. Gold, tin, copper, asbestos, chrome ore, manganese, diamonds, gold, and mineral oil have been found in different parts of the Empire, and these have helped to add to the prosperity of various colonies. Mineral oil from Burma, tin from Malaya and Nigeria, and gold from Southern Rhodesia and the Gold Coast are only a few examples.

Government action to increase trade

The great increase of trade outlined above has been helped on by the work of government officers. Nearly every colonial government has agricultural and veterinary departments whose chief work is to teach and help farmers and herdsmen how best to grow and market their crops, and look after their cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats. The work of an agricultural department may include the testing of new crops to discover whether they are likely to grow anywhere in the colony; experiments to obtain better types of existing crops and to find cures for plant diseases; the issuing of tested seed to farmers; advice on the preparation for sale of the harvested crop; and experiments in the best ways to keep the soil fertile. Veterinary departments, similarly give advice on the raising of animals, provide medicines for the prevention or curing of animal diseases, and give advice on the preparation of skins for sale. How successful efforts such as these have been in increasing trade can be seen from the trade figures of almost any colony. In Nigeria, for example, export trade increased from under £1 million in 1900 to nearly £15 million in 1936. During the same period the import trade rose from £800,000 to £10,800,000.

[1] As in Uganda, where tobacco production increased from 1,600 lb. in 1927 to 1,500,000 lb. in 1934.

Trade and government revenue

The increase in material prosperity due to trade has been accompanied by other advantages, for most colonial governments depend for much of their revenue on indirect taxes, e.g. taxes on export and import trade. Thus, if trade is good, the government usually has more money to spend, and can use it to give more advantages to the taxpayer. Part of such extra revenue can be used to help trade to grow even greater by improving roads or building new ones, as well as by expanding the work of government departments of agriculture, forestry, and the like. The money spent on these departments is not wasted, for the growing of new crops, the curing of diseases of plants and animals, and other methods of improving the country's products, help the people to sell more goods at better prices. The use of tax money for these purposes is thus more than repaid by a general increase in wealth.

Social Services. Health and Sanitation

Tax money also pays for much important work, which, while not directly helping to increase wealth, is necessary for the happiness and prosperity of the people. Reference has been made in Chapter Four to the huge sums spent each year in Britain on education, health services, unemployment assistance, and other social services. The wealth of most colonial countries, and their revenue from taxation, are so much less than those of Britain that it is impossible for them to provide social services for their people except on a very small scale. Yet something has been done, and much more will be attempted as revenue increases.[1] Already hospitals have been built in many

[1] Note that an Act of the British Parliament in 1940 was passed to provide £50,000,000 from the *British* taxpayers' money to assist economic and social welfare in British colonies. Unfortunately the payment of this grant has had to be delayed owing to the great expense of the present war.

towns, and dispensaries in many villages. Sanitary inspectors have been appointed to help and advise the people on ways to make their homes and villages more healthy. A pure water supply has been provided in many places, to avoid diseases caused by bad water. Where people suffer from diseases caused by bad food, successful efforts have been made to cure them by encouraging them to grow other kinds of food crops. Important work has also been done in checking some of the worst tropical diseases, such as malaria, leprosy, sleeping sickness, yellow fever, and plague. Government medical and health work in some colonies has been greatly helped by the many hospitals and dispensaries paid for by Christian Missions.

Education, another most important government social service, will be discussed later in this chapter.

Summary

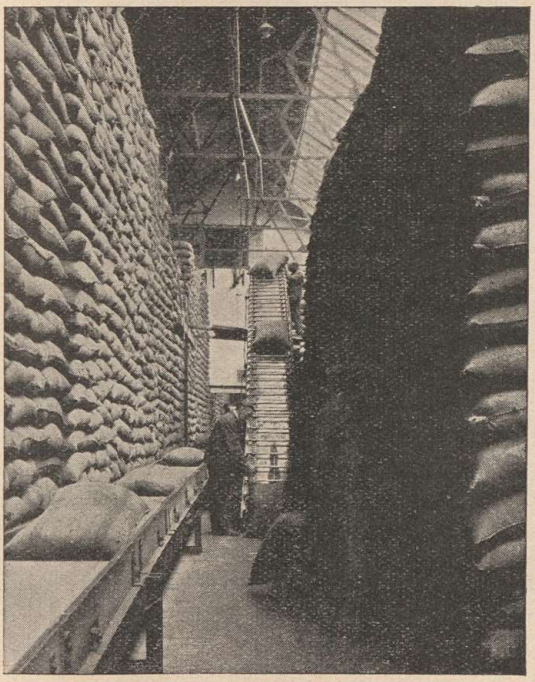
So far we have studied some of the advantages which British rule may justly be said to have brought to most parts of the British Colonial Empire, and we have seen that although progress has been made towards providing better living conditions, much yet remains to be done. British rule has also brought one other great blessing to many parts of the world, for it has meant the end of tribal and inter-state warfare in all the lands it rules; and, in Africa, of slave-trading and slave-raiding. Peace, and justice between rich and poor, weak and powerful, are of even greater value than some of the more material benefits already outlined above.

2. British Rule in the Colonial Empire. Some Problems

Although Britain has ruled her colonies in such a way as to bring many advantages to their inhabitants, yet her rule has been the cause of several problems and difficulties which

have still to be overcome. Some of them, which we shall consider first, have been caused by the growth of trade which itself has helped so much to increase colonial prosperity.

Trade in most British colonies before they were included



PRODUCE FROM AFRICA

Bags of Gold Coast cocoa at Messrs. Cadbury's factory at Bournville, Birmingham. A moving stairway carries them to the top of the building

in the Empire was local in character. Trade with other countries, particularly with distant ones, was usually very small and unimportant compared with local trade. We have seen that this has now been changed, and that most

colonies have taken a greatly increasing part in *world* as compared with *local* trade.

Production for export and production for food

World trade is a much less simple business than the local trade of a small community which satisfies most of its own needs. The countries that buy cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, palm oil, coffee, tea, tin, rubber, and other products do not depend for any of them on only one country. If there is a poor cotton crop in India or in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, higher prices will not necessarily be paid for cotton, as would happen if the cotton trade were only a local one. For if the cotton crop is good in the United States, and in other parts of America, Africa, and Asia, there is still plenty of cotton for sale at a low price in the world's market. Prices are fixed according to the *world's* supply, and the *world's* demand, Most colonies export only a small part of the world's supply of any article, so that the world price depends less on whether the colonial farmer has a good or a bad harvest, than on good or bad harvests in other continents.

Now the danger is that after several years of good prices for a certain crop, farmers in the colonies may pay too much attention to growing it for export in order to make big profits ; and thus fail to grow the food crops necessary for themselves and their families. If a farmer does this, and the world price of his export crop falls, he may find himself not only without money, but without food. The problem is still more serious where large numbers of people have given up farming altogether in favour of work as labourers in mining towns. In times of bad trade many such people may be left without money and without food.

Crops and the fertility of farms

In some colonies the wish to produce as much as possible for export has also led to another problem. A man who has

made a good profit in one year may be led to enlarge his farm and grow more crops for export. Where the plough has been taken into use to replace hand cultivation this is easily possible, but where there is not sufficient manure to add to the land, the farmer soon has to move on to new ground if he wishes to continue to get good crops. Where good land is not plentiful, or where the land is thickly

SOIL EROSION IN EAST AFRICA

populated, an increase in the size or number of farms may often cause old farms to be cultivated again before they have regained their fertility after earlier farming. If this happens frequently, the soil of a whole area may become poor and produce bad crops. The people in some parts of Africa are already eating more food than they grow, and the probability that their farms may become less fertile is serious.

Cattle and soil erosion

European knowledge has been able to check the destruction of cattle by disease, but this, though at first sight an unmixed blessing, has caused a serious problem in some colonies, particularly those in Africa. African herdsmen take great pride in the numbers of their cattle. They usually regard them as a sign of wealth and do not willingly kill them for food or sell them. The result of this attitude is that the number of cattle is always increasing, for it is no longer limited as in the past by deaths from disease. In many places, therefore, the land is having to feed more cattle than the number for which it can produce food. The grasses are eaten or destroyed before they can seed. Then rains wash away the more valuable parts of the soil, and the land becomes so poor that even grass will not grow on it plentifully.

Social problems

The economic problems outlined above are not the only difficulties that have to be overcome, for the spread of British rule has caused certain social as well as economic problems. With the coming of the British, primitive people in many parts of the world for the first time were brought into touch with Europeans. They found them more wealthy and more knowledgeable than themselves. Guns, rifles, railway trains, bicycles, motor cars, gramophones, cameras, and wireless, are only a few of the things which have helped to persuade simple villagers that in one sense Europeans are a superior race. This feeling has sometimes led them to try to imitate Europeans, even in such an unimportant matter as clothing. Such attempts at imitation may be very desirable, if European customs are copied because they are found to be *good*; but the imitation of European things, merely because they are *European*, may be a very bad thing indeed. That causes people to scorn

their own race and their own customs. Those young men who have worked for Europeans in mines or on plantations and have learnt something of European ways, sometimes scorn their elders when they return to their homes. Others stay in the towns, discontented, ill-behaved, and unhappy. The old social life of the country is threatened, and often nothing equally good has been developed to take its place.

Political problems

One other important problem remains to be discussed. The spread of British rule has meant that colonial peoples are no longer governed by independent rulers of their own race. Although in many areas chiefs and native councils remain, and are used in government, yet they must act in important matters on the advice of British political officers. In other areas the people are ruled directly by British officials.

Democracy in Britain and the Empire

We have already noted that Britain has developed a democratic system of government, and that at the present time each grown-up person in England, with very few exceptions, helps to choose his representative in Parliament. Owing to this, no British government can rule for long if its policy is not supported by the majority of the people in Great Britain. The British people believe this to be the best system of government, and they pride themselves on living in a free country with control over their own way of life. One of the things for which Britain is fighting against Germany is to save this idea of democracy from destruction by Hitler.

Britain has a large Empire, and a democratic system of government is in force in many parts of it. Eire, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa all have democratic governments which are completely free to act as they

think best. India, as we have seen in this book, has also gained a large share of independence. Yet when we come to consider the Colonial Empire we find that colonial peoples have not been allowed self-government. Britain, indeed, has allowed a certain amount of democratic freedom to Kenya and Southern Rhodesia; but in Kenya, Africans are not allowed to vote, while in Southern Rhodesia the voting list is so limited that in 1933 there were only fifty-eight African voters in the whole country. Does this mean that the British people are determined to keep the blessings of democracy and self-government for themselves and for men of their own race overseas ; and to keep them back from men of another colour and race ? Do the British people intend to keep the colonial peoples under control always ?

Does democracy fit present-day colonial conditions ?

Democracy has grown up in Britain under conditions very different from those in the colonies to-day. It is the result of gradual growth and change, over a period of a thousand years, to meet new needs and new conditions. It may be compared with a well-grown tree, firmly rooted in the soil in which it was planted. Who would say that because a tree grew well under certain conditions of soil and climate in England, it must therefore grow well under different conditions in another country ? The same holds good for systems of government. Democracy has been tried and given up in a number of countries, even in Europe. Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, and Stalin in Russia, are dictators who rule their countries uncontrolled by elected representatives of their peoples. Many persons—some even in Britain—think that government by a dictator is better than government by a democracy. Under a democratic government, they say, there is too much talk and discussion by people who put their selfish interests before those of the whole nation. They believe that the heads of democratic

governments, for fear of such people, often dare not do what they think is best; and that many of the voters are not well enough educated, so that they listen to the men with the loudest voices who make big promises in order to get power. They believe that under a dictator the work of government would be more quickly and surely carried out, and the people better governed.

It is, therefore, not at all agreed that democracy is the best form of government for all sorts and conditions of people. It is likely to be successful only where peoples are fitted for it by habit and education. It is worse than useless for all to have the vote, if the majority have neither the interest nor the knowledge to use their votes wisely. In Britain for seventy years *all* children have been obliged by law to go to school, and every voter is able to keep himself informed on government policy by reading the daily papers and by discussion with his fellows. Only thus can a democratic system of government work well. But in the colonies to-day the great majority of the people are still uneducated, or are poorly educated; and some, even of those who are educated, know little of affairs outside the borders of their own country. It is one of the objects of this book to help to give such knowledge. Education in the colonies is still backward, and democratic government meanwhile is impossible. Yet educated people in some colonies have begun to look forward to being given democratic self-government at some future time, and the problem will become more urgent in the years to come.

The present situation

With the exception of Southern Rhodesia, British colonial governments are under the direct control of the British Government. It can appoint and dismiss colonial governors, who must obey its orders. All important laws

must be laid before it before they are put into force. Taxes may not be raised, nor tax-money spent, without its permission.

Each governor is assisted by two councils—an executive council and a legislative council. The members of the executive council, who meet frequently and discuss the day-to-day affairs of the country, are usually all government officials. Legislative councils meet less frequently. Their business is to discuss the government's proposals for changing the laws, and for raising and spending tax money. They can also question the government for information about matters which influence the interests of the people. Most legislative councils have a majority of official members who always support the government's policy. There are also a number of unofficial members, either chosen by the governor, or, in some cases, *elected* by a limited number of educated voters. On the whole, however, in spite of the existence of elected members of some legislative councils, it is true to say that colonial peoples have no control, and little direct influence, over the central governments of the various colonies. Nor can it be said that there is any clear plan at present for the giving of colonial self-government in the future. This does not mean that no change will be considered. Conditions in the colonies are changing quickly, and as they change, so it will be possible to change the form of the present governments. It is clear that the British Government would be unwise to promise now any definite scheme for the future, for when the time came to put it into practice it might not suit conditions then in force.

Education

In this chapter we have studied in outline some of the advantages brought by the British to the colonial peoples they govern, and we have seen also that most colonies have to find means of solving certain political, social, and economic

problems caused by recent changes under British rule. These problems can only be overcome successfully when the peoples of the colonies have been better educated. The farmer or the herdsman, for example, will more easily be able to understand the dangers of over-farming or over-stocking his country if he has been to school. The wider spread of education can also help in the building up of a new social life where the old is in danger of breaking down. The education of the people, villagers as well as townsmen, is very necessary if real progress is to be made in giving colonial peoples a greater share in their own government.

In the colonies, as in England during the last century, religious societies have taken the lead in educational work, and most elementary as well as a large part of secondary education is in their hands. Governments help this work by giving grants of money to ' assisted ' Mission schools and to schools for training teachers. The Government pay for their own secondary schools and for certain places at Universities. They also provide inspectors to assist and advise on matters concerning the schools.

Some educational aims

The educational work of missionary societies is closely related to their desire to spread religious knowledge and to train character. The importance of this side of education was urged by a statement of policy by the British Government in 1925. Both Missions and Governments, however, realize that education must fit people to lead happier and more useful lives, and must have other aims as well. Ability to read and write, and the possession of some knowledge of the world outside, help both the farmer and the trader. The improvement of conditions in the home and the reduction of deaths among young children are dependent on the education of girls. We have seen too, that it is useless to give the vote to an uneducated man.

Secondary and higher education are equally necessary if the colonies are to make much further progress. Most colonies have to use the services of British doctors, engineers, and specialists in agriculture, surveying, education, and veterinary work. These men have to be comparatively highly paid to tempt them to leave their homes in Britain and to live what is often to them an unhealthy and uncomfortable life in the tropics. Only when more and better secondary and higher education can be provided can the people in the colonies take a greater share in work of these kinds ; and only thus can social and other services be greatly extended to meet urgent needs.

Questions on Chapter Eleven

1. Has the development of trade with Europe raised the standard of living of (*a*) the farmers, and (*b*) the townspeople of your country ? How far would a complete stoppage of trade with Europe change the standard of living of your people ?

2. Which is the quickest way of reaching England from your town ? Which route would you follow ? How long would you take ? What improvements in transport to Europe have been made during the last fifty years ?

3. Explain one of the ways in which your government is trying to increase the trade of your country.

4. Has your country's increased share in world trade brought with it any problem which may affect the future prosperity of your countrymen ?

5. What taxes or duties were owed to chiefs in your country before it came under European rule ? For what purpose were they used ? What taxes are paid at the present time ?

6. How can taxes increase a country's wealth ? Give example if possible from your own country ?

7. Write a short note on the development of education in your town, describing the part played by the Missions and the Government.

CONCLUSION

In this book we have studied, not only the modern history of Britain and the British Empire, but also some important events in the history of other parts of the world which may help you more easily to understand what is happening in your own country. Almost everywhere in the British Empire peoples are now in close touch with civilizations very different from their own, and particularly with the civilization of Britain. This book has told you something about the modern development of that civilization, and has shown some ways in which it may be influencing your lives.

All history is the story of change, and it is very important to remember that such changes are brought about by the work and the thought of men. New knowledge and new ideas are always changing our lives. The first four chapters of this book have described some of the great changes brought about in Britain during the last hundred and fifty years. It has been shown that food, clothing, housing, transport, methods of spending free time, and even the way the people are governed, have all been changed. Some of these changes have been good and some bad. Now, in turn, they are changing your lives, and will go on changing them. Some of the effects they are having have been described in this book. It is important that you should think about them and try to understand them so that you may know which are good things to accept, and which are bad things it would be well to avoid. To do that you must have knowledge. You have been told only a little in

this book, but at the end of it you will find a list of books for further study. If you wish, you can learn more from those books. History records many mistakes made in past times. By knowing something about such mistakes, we may, perhaps, be able to avoid making similar mistakes in the future.

A SHORT LIST OF BOOKS FOR THE TEACHER'S USE

Davies : *An Outline History of the World.* (Oxford University Press.) 7s. 6d.

Carter and Mears : *A History of Britain.* (Oxford University Press.) Book III, 2s. 6d. ; Book IV, 3s.

Ramsay Muir : *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*: Vol. II, 18s. 6d. (Philip & Sons.)

Somervell : *The British Empire.* (Christopher.) 4s. 6d.

Hailey : *An African Survey.* (Oxford University Press.) 21s.

Hammond : *The Rise of Modern Industry.* (Methuen.) 10s. 6d.

Woodward : *The Age of Reform.* 1815-1870. (Oxford University Press.) 15s.

Ensor : *England.* 1870-1914. (Oxford University Press.) 15s.

King-Hall : *The Empire Yesterday and To-day.* (Oxford University Press.) 2s. 6d.

Coupland : *The Empire in These Days.* (Macmillan.) 7s. 6d.

Zimmern : *The Third British Empire.* (Oxford University Press.) 6s.

Ketelbey : *Modern Europe.* (Oxford University Press.) 4s.

Horrabin : *An Atlas of Current Affairs.* (Gollancz.) 3s. 6d.

Theobald : *Contemporary History for Students Overseas.* (Longmans.) 2s. 6d.

Annual Blue Book on Colonial Affairs. (H.M. Stationery Office.) About 1s. 3d.

NOTE. The books by Davies, Carter and Mears, and Ramsay Muir will be found useful for general reference on subjects dealing with Britain and the Empire. Hailey's *African Survey* is a mine of information on everything to do with Modern Africa. H.M. Stationery Office's Blue Book is also useful for the latest information. Hammond, Woodward, and Ensor are valuable for facts about recent industrial and social developments in Britain (Chapters 1-4). King-Hall, Somervell, Coupland, and Zimmern deal with many aspects of the development of the British Empire and with some aspects of the League of Nations. Ketelbey, Horrabin, and Theobald cover most of the ground of Chapters 7-9.

Most of these books have excellent, detailed Tables of Contents and good indexes, which will aid teachers readily to find the information they need.

GLOSSARY

abolish, put an end to.
administration, body that *administers*, or manages affairs; government.
aggressive, quick to start a quarrel.
agricultural, of agriculture, i.e. the cultivation of the soil.
alliance, joining of nations as *allies* to work or fight together for the same cause.
amalgamate, unite.
ammunition, powder, balls, etc., for firing guns.
annex(ation), take possession of.
arctic, near the North Pole.
armistice, end of fighting.
assembly, a gathering together; council.
attitude, way in which one is standing, sitting, etc.; way of thinking or feeling about something as the result of one's opinions.
autocratic, in the manner of an autarchy (see p. 68).

blacksmith, worker in iron.
blockade, stoppage of enemy's trade and supplies.
boundary, line of division of countries, etc.
breed (v.) bear (young ones); train up (children).

cartridge, explosive enclosed in a case of paper, metal, etc., for firing from a gun.
caste, Indian class, whose members are socially equal and have the same religion and usually the same trade.
cede, give up land or rights.
census, counting of population.
charter, written statement of rights, etc., granted by king or government.
civic, concerned with a city or citizen.
Civil Service, Public Service not concerned with warfare.
clause, one of the articles or points embodied in a law, treaty, etc.
combination, a joining together.
commission, group of persons appointed for certain work.
commonwealth, state, independent *community*, republic.
communication, news or information, letter or message giving it, act of sending it, something (passage, road, telegraph) leading from one place to another.
Communism, see pp. 171-3.
community, group of people living in the same district.
conference, meeting for discussion.
congress, large formal meeting of representatives, etc., for discussion.
constitution, way in which a state is organized; the laws underlying the government of a state; paper recording those laws.
convert, turn to fresh opinion, religion, etc.
convi·ct (v.) (in a court of law) to declare (a person) guilty of wrong-doing; *co·nvict* (n.) person under punishment in prison.

co-operation, working together for the same object.
corporation, the governing body of a borough, town or city.
covenant, formal agreement and promise to keep it; paper recording this.
craft, a trade or art requiring experienced workmen.
cruiser, large, fast warship with heavy guns.

dictator(ship), a man who keeps the power of government in his own hands.
dispensary, place where medicines are dispensed (made up and given out).
dispute, difference of opinion; quarrel.
dock, built-up place in harbour where ships can load and unload or be repaired.
dominion, lands controlled by one government or ruler.
drainage, *draining*; system of drains; what is drained off.
duty (*customs*), payment to government on exports, imports, etc.

economic, relating to industry and commerce; *economics*, the science of the production and sharing of wealth.
elementary (education), of a simple kind, for beginners.
emigrate, leave one country to settle in another; (n.) *emigrant*.
envy (v.) feel *envy* (n.), that is, dislike of a person for the better luck, advantages, etc., enjoyed by him; wish that the advantage enjoyed by another person had been one's own.
erosion, wearing or washing away (of soil, etc.).
executive, law-enforcing.
expedition, journey for a definite purpose.
export, send out goods to another country; the goods sent out.

federation, union by agreement of two or more states.
feudalism (feudal system), the system in the Middle Ages under which men gave their services to their 'lord' in return for his protection and the use of his land.
fine (n.), sum of money fixed as punishment for disobeying the law.
forefathers, persons from whom one's father or mother, or their parents and grandparents, have come.
fortress, place made strong against an enemy.

galley, an ancient warship, generally rowed by slaves.
glaze (v.), cover with a smooth, shiny coating; (n.) the substance used for that purpose.
grant (v.), give officially; allow what is asked; (n.) an allowance (of money or land) by government, etc.
greed, too great desire (for wealth, food, etc.).
guarantee (v.), formally promise or take responsibility for (the safety of, or payment of a debt to) another person; (n.) the promise so made.
guilt, state of having done something wrong.

hydro-electric, producing electricity by water-power.

immigrant, *emigrant* from another country.
import, bring goods into a country ; the goods brought in.
industry, *here* the manufacture of goods.
inhabitant, one of those who live in (*inhabit*) the place mentioned.
inherit, receive (title, property, disease) from someone who has died, particularly from parents.
inspector, official who examines the management of a school, factory, mine, etc.
insure, promise payment of money to make up for loss of property, death, etc. ; (n.) *insurance*.
interior, inner part, inland district, inside.
internal combustion engine, kind in which burning takes place inside the engine, as with a petrol motor, not outside as with a steam engine.
irrigate, supply land with water ; (n.) *irrigation*.
isolate, set apart or alone ; (n.) *isolation*.

labour, work to supply wants of community.
league, a group of persons or countries united to help one another.
legislative, law-making.
library, room or building where books are kept for reading or reference ; a collection of books for use by the public ; a person's collection of books.
locomotive, steam-engine for pulling a train along rails.
loom, machine for weaving thread, etc., into cloth.
lumbering, cutting down, preparing and *transporting* trees for commercial use.
luxury, expensive food, dress, furniture, etc. ; thing desirable but not necessary.

magistrate, a civil officer who *administers* the law.
majority, more than half the number.
mandate, a command, especially one given to a nation by the League of Nations to govern a *territory*.
manure, animal waste matter, etc., mixed with soil in order to fertilize it.
maritime, found near the sea.
minority, less than half the number.
monitorial, see pp. 76-8.
monopoly, possession or control by a single person or group, of one kind of trade.
municipal, of, under, local government of a city or town.
mutineers, soldiers or sailors who *mutiny*, or rise against their officers.

navigable, allowing passage for ships.
neutral, not assisting either side in quarrel, war, etc.
nominate, appoint ; propose for election to office.

occupation (fr. *occupy*), employment, business.

pact, agreement between parties.
pagan, not believing in God.
peasants, countryman, farm-worker.
pension, regular payment by government, employer, etc., to a person in consideration of his past services, or by reason of old age.
petition, asking ; request ; prayer.

plunder, goods taken by force.
policy, course of action agreed on by the government, etc.
population, the people of a town or a country, the number of persons in a town or country.
prairie, large treeless grasslands, as in Canada.
primitive, of the earliest times ; very simple ; the first of the kind.
proclamation, official public notice.
propeller, the part of an aeroplane or ship, placed in front or behind, that pulls or pushes it forward.
prophecy, fore-telling of future events.
prosper, be successful, grow rich ; (n.) *prosperity*.
province, a big division of a country.
pulp, soft part of fruit ; any other soft damp, formless matter.

quota, share that a person or group must give towards, or has a right to receive out of, a total amount.

rebellion, armed attack by citizens on the government of a country.
recommend, advise (person to do something, etc.) ; speak or write in support of (a person applying for work, etc.)
regent, person appointed to rule while the king is not able to do so.
Renaissance, the re-awakening of learning in Europe about the fifteenth century.
reparations, payment by loser of a war for damage done.
repeal, *abolish* (a law).
republic, a democratic state whose head is elected (not a king).
Resident, British Government agent in another state (such as Zanzibar), which is nearly independent.
revenue, money received from trade, taxes, etc.
revolt, a turning or rising against authority.
revolution, complete change of conditions or government, especially with fighting.

sanitation, improving of conditions of health, particularly in the removal of dirt and waste matter.
scholarship, prize of lower fees or free education at a secondary school or university.
scramble, rush (to get something).
seal, sea and land animal with short limbs useful for swimming, hunted for valuable skin and oil.
secondary (education), for those who have completed *elementary* education.
shear, cut fur or wool from skin.
skilful, possessing or showing cleverness in doing or making something.
slump, sudden or rapid fall in prices or demand.
source, place from which a river, etc., comes.
spice, plant used to add strong taste to food.
status, social or political position.
sub-arctic, close to the arctic regions.
subject, member of a state, except the King.
successor, one who follows on or takes the position of someone there before him.

superior, higher.
supreme, highest.

tanner, worker who prepares hides for commercial use.
tariff, list of taxes or charges to be paid ; the tax on a particular kind of goods.
technical, of or in a particular kind of science, art, handicraft ; *technical school*, where engineering, trades, etc., are taught.
territory, large area of land belonging to one government.
traditions, story and customs of a people handed down from parents to children.
transport, carrying (goods, people) from place to place.
treaty, an agreement between rulers.
trench, ditch dug by troops for shelter during battle.
tribute, tax.

unanimous, all of one mind ; all agreeing in opinion.

vernacular, language of the country referred to ; also *adj.*
veterinary, concerned with the health of animals.

whale, large fish-like sea animal, hunted for its oil.
widow, woman whose husband is dead, who has not married again.

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