

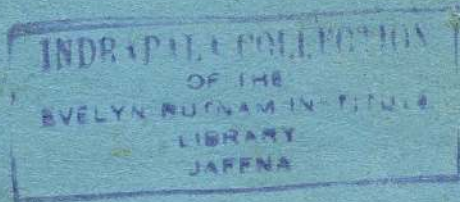
OUR HERITAGE

III

Ceylon and World History from 1796 to the
Beginning of the Second Great War

BY

G. C. MENDIS and S. A. PAKEMAN



THE CARBON COPY THECARIERS' COMPANY, LTD.

Printers, Publishers, Booksellers, etc.

100, MAIN STREET, PETTAH, COLOMBO

1962

954.9302
MEN

Price Rs. 4/-

2032-237
USP

OUR HERITAGE

III

Ceylon and World History from 1796 to the
Beginning of the Second Great War

BY

G. C. MENDIS, B.A., Ph.D.

AND

S. A. PAKEMAN, M.A., F.R., Hist.S.

For use in Standard VII in Ceylon Schools

THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES' COMPANY, LTD.

Printers, Publishers, Booksellers, etc.

84, MAIN STREET, PETTAH, COLOMBO

1962

954.9302

MEN.

<i>Ceylon History First Printed</i>	1945
<i>Reprinted</i>	1946
<i>Reprinted</i>	1947
<i>World History First Printed</i>	1947
<i>First Complete Edition</i>	1948
<i>Reprinted</i>	1950
<i>Revised Edition</i>	1952
<i>Reprinted</i>	1959
<i>Revised Edition</i>	1962



PRINTED BY THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES' CO., LTD.
125/127, GLENNIE STREET, SLAVE ISLAND.

PREFACE

In this revised edition of *Our Heritage III*, the language used has been greatly simplified, as some teachers have felt that it was previously rather difficult for pupils of Standards VII and VIII with a limited knowledge of English to understand and to follow. The work of simplification was done by the late Mrs. P. de S. Kularatne, a teacher of great experience. The work is now expressed in a language that is almost basic in its simplicity, and it can only be hoped that what is necessarily lost in style will be gained in better comprehension by the book's young readers.

It would be mutually helpful if teachers and their classes would combine to build up for each chapter a series of pictures, which can be obtained by cutting out illustrations from old newspapers and magazines, and even by copying from other books, where there are teachers or pupils with a talent for drawing. The ingenious teacher may also be able to construct diagrams which will be of help.

May we suggest that perhaps the worst possible of all methods of teaching History is for a teacher to tell pupils to 'learn a chapter' before going through it with them and explaining it to them, and express the hope that no teacher who uses this book will ever employ this thoroughly useless method.

PREFACE

In this revised edition of the book, the progress
 has been greatly simplified, as some teachers have
 found it too difficult for pupils of the lower
 grades. The book is written in a language that is
 simple and clear, and the work is arranged in
 a way that is easy to follow. The book is
 intended for use in the primary grades, and
 it is hoped that it will be found to be
 a valuable aid in the study of the subject.

The book is written in a language that is
 simple and clear, and the work is arranged in
 a way that is easy to follow. The book is
 intended for use in the primary grades, and
 it is hoped that it will be found to be
 a valuable aid in the study of the subject.

The book is written in a language that is
 simple and clear, and the work is arranged in
 a way that is easy to follow. The book is
 intended for use in the primary grades, and
 it is hoped that it will be found to be
 a valuable aid in the study of the subject.

The book is written in a language that is
 simple and clear, and the work is arranged in
 a way that is easy to follow. The book is
 intended for use in the primary grades, and
 it is hoped that it will be found to be
 a valuable aid in the study of the subject.

CONTENTS

Part I

Ceylon History from 1796

PAGE

I. The Establishment of British Rule in Ceylon 1796-1837

CHAPTER	I.	Ceylon at the British Conquest ..	1
		1. The Government of the Kandyan Kingdom. 2. The Government of the Dutch East India Company. 3. Life in Villages.	
CHAPTER	II.	The Occupation of the Kandyan Kingdom	5
		1. The First War against Kandy. 2. The Occupation of Kandy. 3. The Kandyan Rebellion 1817-1818.	
CHAPTER	III.	The Strengthening of British Control over Ceylon	12
		1. Fortresses. 2. Roads. 3. The Chiefs and the Civil Service. 4. Buddhism.	
CHAPTER	IV.	The Development of a Modern Form of Government	20
		1. The Rule of the East India Company. 2. Crown Colony Government, 1802-1832-3. 3. Colebrooke Reforms. 4. The Reform of the Judiciary. 5. Social Reforms. 6. Abolition of <i>Rajakariya</i> .	

II. The Development of the Country

CHAPTER	V.	The Growth of Plantations and the Restoration of Irrigation Works	29
		1. Early Efforts (1796-1837). 2. Coffee. 3. Tea, Rubber and Coconut. 4. Paddy.	
CHAPTER	VI.	Transport and Communications ..	34
		1. Roads. 2. Railways, Telegraph and Telephone. 3. The Construction of the Colombo Harbour.	

CHAPTER	VII.	Other Results of the Growth of Plantations	43
		1. Labour. 2. Trade and Banking. 3. The Growth of Towns. 4. Administrative Reforms. 5. Judicial and Legal Reforms. 6. The Legislature and the Press.	
	III.	Social and Constitutional Changes	
CHAPTER	VIII.	The Chiefs and the Peasants ..	53
		1. The Chiefs. 2. The Decline of the Peasantry. 3. The Improvement of the Conditions of the Peasantry.	
CHAPTER	IX.	The Middle Class	60
		1. The Rise of the Middle Class. 2. Social Changes and the Revival of Buddhism and Hinduism.	
CHAPTER	X.	Constitutional Reforms	64
		1. The McCallum Reforms. 2. The Manning Reforms. 3. The Donoughmore Reforms. 4. The Soulbury Reforms. 5. The Political Change in 1956.	

Part II

IV. World History from the end of the Eighteenth Century to the Beginning of the Second Great War

CHAPTER	XI.	The Great Changes of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries ..	75
		1. The Nature of the Great Changes. 2. Changes in Transportation and Communication. 3. Causes and Effects of the Changes.	
CHAPTER	XII.	Science, Education and Human Welfare	81
		1. The Humanitarian Movement. 2. The Progress of Medicine. 3. Knowledge and Education. 4. Social Welfare.	
CHAPTER	XIII.	The French Revolution and the European Wars	89
		1. The French Revolution. 2. The Reign of Terror. 3. The Rise of Napoleon. 4. The First Empire. 5. Results of the Revolutions and of the Great Wars.	

CHAPTER	XIV.	The Rise of Liberalism and Nationalism in Europe	98
		1. The Congress of Vienna and its Terms. 2. Liberal and National Unrest. 3. The Revolution of 1830. 4. The Revolution of 1848 and its results.	
CHAPTER	XV.	The Unification of Germany and of Italy	106
		1. The National Movement in Italy. 2. The Unification of Germany.	
CHAPTER	XVI.	Britain and France in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries ..	114
		1. The Relations between Britain and France. 2. The Growth of Democracy in Britain. 3. The Progress of Democracy in France.	
CHAPTER	XVII.	Eastern and South-Eastern Europe	123
		1. The Slav Races. 2. Russia in Europe. 3. The Decline of Turkey and the Crimean War. 4. The Emergence of the Balkan States. 5. Austria, Hungary and the Slavs. 6. The Internal Affairs of Russia. 7. Russian Expansion in Asia.	
CHAPTER	XVIII.	The British Empire—The Growth of the Self-Governing Dominions ..	131
		1. The British Empire in 1815 and in 1939. 2. Canada, the First of the Self-Governing Dominions. 3. Australia and New Zealand. 4. South Africa. 5. Ireland.	
CHAPTER	XIX.	The British Empire—India and the Colonial Empire	144
		1. India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. 2. The Company's Rule and its Ending. 3. The British Administration of India. 4. The Growth of Self-Government. 5. Burma. 6. The Colonial Empire.	
CHAPTER	XX.	The Expansion of Europe in Africa, and in the Islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans	153
		1. The Opening up of Africa. 2. The Partition of Africa. 3. Egypt, the Sudan and Tripoli. 4. Modern Africa. 5. European Expansion in Asia. 6. The Pacific Ocean. 7. Europe and the World.	

CHAPTER	XXI.	The Far East	163
		1. The Opening up of China. 2. The Opening up of Japan. 3. Relations of China and Japan with Foreign Countries. 4. Japan and Russia. 5. Changes in China.	
CHAPTER	XXII.	The States of America	171
		1. The American Continent. 2. The United States. 3. South America and the Monroe Doctrine. 4. The American Civil War. 5. Westward Expansion and Economic Development. 6. Foreign Affairs of the U.S.A.	
CHAPTER	XXIII.	The Causes and Events of the First World War	179
		1. The Triple Alliance. 2. The Triple Entente. 3. The Immediate Cause of the First World War. 4. The Course of the First World War.	
CHAPTER	XXIV.	The Peace Movement and its Frustration (I)	190
		1. The Peace Treaties. 2. The German Colonies. 3. The League of Nations. 4. The Russian Revolution. 5. The Fascist Revolution in Italy. 6. The Peace Movement in the Nineteen Twenties. 7. South-Eastern Europe and Western Asia.	
CHAPTER	XXV.	The Peace Movement and its Frustration (II)	200
		1. The Economic Depression. 2. Japan and China. 3. Rise of the Nazis in Germany. 4. Italy and Abyssinia. 5. The Spanish Civil War. 6. The Axis. 7. Absorption of Austria. 8. The Approach of War.	

PART I

Ceylon History from 1796

PART V

Collection



THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN CEYLON, 1796-1837

In *Our Heritage I and II* you have studied the history of Ceylon to the end of the eighteenth century. In this book you will read about the chief events that took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries under the British occupation. This is the most important period in Ceylon history because during this time Ceylon changed far more than at any other time before. It is also very interesting because what happened then had made our lives today different from what they might have been.

The history of the British period can be divided into three parts. From 1796 to about 1837 the British spent the time mostly trying to get full power over Ceylon and change the form of government according to modern ideas. From about 1837 onwards they did their best to make the country more prosperous, especially by encouraging the opening of estates; and this helped the country to improve in other ways as well. The third period, beginning about 1900, is the time when the middle class began to be more important. It was also then the Government of the country gradually went out of the hands of the British into the hands of the people of Ceylon.

In studying the first section, you will first have to get an idea of what Ceylon was like at the time the British conquered the Maritime Provinces. After that, you will learn how the Kandyan Kingdom was conquered and the whole of Ceylon came under the

British. Last of all, you will learn what the British did to make sure of keeping the country in their hands and to set up a modern kind of government which would help trade.

GOVERNORS, 1796-1837

The Governor of Madras	..	..	1796
Frederic North	..	..	1798
Sir Thomas Maitland	..	..	1805
Sir Robert Brownrigg	..	..	1812
Sir Edward Barnes	..	..	1820
Sir Edward Paget	..	..	1822
Sir Edward Barnes	..	..	1824
Sir Robert Wilmot Horton	..	..	1831

CHAPTER I

Ceylon at the British Conquest

I. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KANDYAN KINGDOM

In 1796, there were two separate governments in Ceylon, one over the Maritime Provinces and the other over the Kandyan Provinces. The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon under the Dutch were what we now call the Western, Southern and Northern Provinces and the coastal area of what we now call the North-Western and Eastern Provinces. The rest of Ceylon, the central part, formed the Kandyan Kingdom. The Kandyan Kingdom at that time was ruled by a King.

The King of Kandy had a number of officials to help him. He had Disavas in charge of the larger districts and Ratemahatmayas in charge of the smaller districts. These in their turn had under them Korals for the smaller divisions and other headmen for the villages. Two of the Disavas were called Adigars, and they were the chief officers of the King. The Disavas and the Ratemahatmayas had great power over the people. They kept order in their districts, collected the King's dues, made the people do *rajakariya*, and settled quarrels when necessary. In fact, they behaved like little kings, and the King could not prevent them from doing generally what they liked because it took so much time to send messages or go himself to see what they were doing.

The King also had other people in his service. Some were soldiers. Some cut down trees so that he could have wood for buildings. Some hunted elephants for him, or supplied him with pearls and different kinds of food. Others did other kinds of work, some of which were not very important. Work done like this for the King depended on ~~the~~ caste of the person and was called *rajakariya*. The King did not pay wages to those who worked for him in this way, but excused them from the share of their produce they had to pay him.

The King depended on his own paddy lands for his food. In a large number of villages, called *gabdagam*, a large field was cultivated for him by the villagers, who in return for cultivating the royal field and doing other work for him were also excused from giving a share of the produce of their own fields.

The King gave the dues he received from some of these villages to his chiefs for serving him. These were called *nindagam*. He gave the dues from others to vihares and devales, and they were called *viharagam* and *devalagam*. The *nindagam* were ruled by the chiefs as long as the chiefs received dues from them. The *viharagam* and *devalagam* were looked after by chiefs called *Nilames*, appointed by the King.

II. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

The way in which the people were ruled in the Sinhalese districts of the Maritime Provinces was not very different from that in the Kandyan Kingdom. The Dutch went on with the Sinhalese way of governing and did not change very much. They employed Sinhalese as *Mudaliyars* and as minor officials. The main difference was that they appointed Dutchmen to the highest posts. For example, all the *Disavas* were Dutch. They paid the most important officials with *nindagam* and the lower officials were excused from the share of produce they had to give the King. The only change they made was to do away with a few kinds of work which were not important and to give in their place work which would help their trade. For example, they got a larger number of people to peel cinnamon. But the changes they made did not make any difference to the lives of most of the people.

The head of the Dutch government in Jaffna was called the *Commandant*. He ruled the part which is now called the Northern Province. His government was different in many ways from the government in the Sinhalese parts. In the Jaffna district, people did not do *rajakariya*, but gave a share of the produce of their lands to the government. The officers

who did the work of Mudaliyars and Ratemahatmayas there were called Maniyagars, and those next to them were called Udaiyars. They were really tax-collectors. They had much less to do with the people than the Sinhalese officers in the Sinhalese districts, because in the Sinhalese districts the officers had to see that people did *rajakariya*.

The chief difference between the Maritime and the Kandyan ways of government was that the officials who worked under the Dutch government were not so free to do as they liked. They had to follow the laws and obey the law-courts. In the Kandyan government, the officials could in many ways do as they liked. The King used sometimes to send them instructions, but there were few rules which they had to follow. The King usually did not make laws and the people followed their own customs. When there was any difficulty, the officials decided what customs were to be followed and judged the people according to their own ideas. In the Maritime Provinces, the Governor was not as free as the Kandyan King. He had to obey the orders of the Governor-General who lived in Batavia. The higher officials had to follow instructions more carefully.

Another difference was that in the towns in the Maritime Provinces there were regular law-courts where in most matters people were judged according to Roman-Dutch Law. The Dutch judged the Tamils according to Tamil law—*Tesavalamai*. In the Sinhalese parts of the country ruled over by the Dutch, important matters were settled in courts where Sinhalese officials helped the Dutch to find out the customs of the country.

III. LIFE IN VILLAGES

At this time, most people lived in villages. There were a few towns, such as Kandy, the capital of the Kandyan Kingdom, and a few seaports like Colombo, Galle and Jaffna. The chief occupation of the people was the cultivation of paddy. Paddy needs a great deal of water, so villages were mostly in valleys and other places where it was easy to get water. People lived in huts near the paddy fields and cattle grazed on the land round about. The land where the cattle grazed could

be used by anybody's cattle and was therefore called *common land*. The people often cleared the high land round their huts and grew arecanut, jak, breadfruit and other crops. The rest of the country where now we have tea, rubber and coconut estates was mostly covered by forest in those days. Even between villages there used to be a great deal of woodland.

Each village supplied its own needs and did not get many things from other parts of the country. The villagers grew their own food. The tools which they needed for their work, such as inamoties, were made for them by a blacksmith in the village or in a village near by. The villagers paid him with paddy. In the same way, their pots for the kitchen were made by a potter. So, unlike today, there was very little trade and they hardly needed to use money at all. There were no roads. When people wanted to go anywhere, they went along footpaths which were so narrow that they had to walk in single file. In fact, people did not travel much except when they went on a pilgrimage.

Life in villages was carried on according to caste. People married only those of their own caste and did not take their meals with those of other castes. They believed that the caste of a person depended on what he had done in his former lives. They thought that a caste was high or low according to the work done by the members. No one could change his caste because he had been born into that caste and as a rule nobody changed his occupation or followed a different trade from that which his relations followed.

If anyone broke the rules of caste, he was punished by the members of his family. In those days, a family meant not only a father, mother and their children but also the wives and children of their sons. They all lived together for safety. We have the police to protect us, but in those days there were no police and people had to protect themselves against robbers and others who came to harm them. So each person had to think of the others and could not do just ~~as~~ he liked. He had to follow the wishes of the whole family. If he did not do what was good for the family, he was sent out of the family and had to suffer a great deal.

There were some differences between the people in the Maritime Provinces and those in the Kandyan Kingdom. In the Kandyan Kingdom, most of the peasants could not read or write. They did not trouble to learn because it was not necessary. The few people who did want to learn went to the vihares and were taught one by one by the bhikshus.

In the Maritime Provinces a good many of the peasants could read and write. They went to schools started by the Dutch. The Dutch started schools because they wanted the people to learn Christianity. Some of the people learnt brick-making, carpentry and house-building. The Dutch taught these crafts because they wanted to get their houses, offices and warehouses built, and to get the furniture made for those places.

Another difference was that, in the Kandyan Kingdom, nearly all the people were Buddhists. In Buddhism, there were only monks and no priests, and these monks did not have much to do with ordinary people, and did not try to control their actions in a direct way. In the Maritime Provinces, in those days, a great many people were Christians, either Roman Catholics or Protestants. The Roman Catholic priests and the Protestant clergymen took a part in the life of those belonging to their Churches in the Maritime Provinces, and punished the Christians if they disobeyed the rules of their Churches.

CHAPTER II

The Occupation of the Kandyan Kingdom

I. THE FIRST WAR AGAINST KANDY

You have learnt in *Our Heritage II* how the Madras Government of the British East India Company conquered the Maritime Provinces because they wanted to have Trincomalee harbour. For a great nation like the British, it was not difficult to conquer the Kandyan

Kingdom as well. However, they did not trouble to do so at first. But they did conquer the Kandyan Kingdom within twenty years, and this is how it happened.

The Kingdom of Kandy at this time was ruled by an Indian, a Nayakkar. The last great empire of South India was the Vijayanagara Empire. In that Empire, the districts were ruled by Nayakkars, or chiefs. The Nayakkars were the descendants of these chiefs. The Kandyan chiefs did not like being ruled by a Nayakkar. Many Nayakkars lived in Kandy at the time and the King used to listen to them more than to the Sinhalese chiefs. What is more, he gave to the Nayakkars many of the posts which had formerly been given to the Sinhalese. But the Sinhalese could not get rid of the Nayakkar king because they could not agree about who should succeed him. Some of them wanted a Sinhalese to be the king but they were not strong enough to put the one they wanted on the throne.

The leader of this party was Pilimatalavve, the First Adigar. When Rajadhirajasingha died in 1798 leaving no sons, Pilimatalavve made a young Nayakkar king. He was called Sri Vikrama Rajasingha. Pilimatalavve exiled or put to death anyone else who wanted to be king. He then tried to get the help of the British to take the throne himself. The British did not help him. So he did his best to cause trouble between the King and the British.

The British Governor, Frederic North (1798-1805), found that it was necessary to conquer Kandy or bring the King under his control. At that time, the British were very anxious to increase their trade in Ceylon, and they were not able to do as much as they wanted because duties had to be paid at the Kandyan frontier. Trade cannot get on properly when there is fighting going on. There could not be peace in the Low-country if the King was not friendly. In 1797, the people in the Maritime Provinces fought against the British and the King helped those who were against the British. North declared war against the King in 1803 and Pilimatalavve was very pleased.

But North was in too much of a hurry. It was true that the British soldiers were much better at fighting than the Kandyan peasants, who had not been trained to fight. The British had more and better guns and cannon. But to get to Kandy, the British army had to climb high mountains, go over rocks and sharp cliffs and along narrow jungle paths where they had never been before. So even though the British knew more about making war and had better weapons, that was not much use to them when they had to do this sort of fighting. The Kandyans knew the country very well and could hide in the woods and attack the British as they passed by. In the rainy season, too, the rivers rose and the places where they could be crossed on foot—fords, as they are called—could not be used. Then troops which had crossed into the Kandyan country could not be supplied with food because they were in the enemies' land. To conquer Kandy the British needed a great many soldiers and still more people to carry their supplies. North did not have enough of either. He could not get soldiers or porters or supplies from outside because the British were carrying on wars both in Europe and in India at the time and could not send him any help.

During this first war against Kandy the British went from two directions. One part of the army followed the route taken by the Dutch Governor Van Eck in 1765, through Galagedera and Giriagama. The other part of the army came from Trincomalee through Matale. They met at Katugastota. The King had left Kandy because he wanted to catch the British in the jungle. So the British took the town of Kandy without any trouble.

However, before long, the British soldiers began to suffer from malaria which they had caught while marching through the jungle. Many died every day. The south-west monsoon came on and they could not even get any message through to Colombo. The British were sick and starving and almost every one of them was killed. Of the three hundred European soldiers, only one escaped to the coast. Corporal Barnsley of the Nineteenth Regiment was left for dead but he

managed to escape after dark to Fort Macdowall (Matale). 'Supporting his head in his hands, because he had a gash in the neck which made it fall forward, he stumbled through the jungle and brought the news of the defeat'.

II. THE OCCUPATION OF KANDY

The King of Kandy, Sri Vikrama Rajasingha, soon got to know that his chiefs, and not the British, were his real enemies. He then took a great deal of their power away from them. He gave the chief posts to his Nayakkar relations. He altered the arrangement of the districts and did not allow members of the old families to be chiefs. He tried to make the people friendly with him by punishing the chiefs who treated the people badly.

The chiefs of course were very angry with him. Pilimatalavve's advice was no longer followed and so he tried to kill the King. But this was discovered in time and he was put to death in 1812.

Ahalepola then became First Adigar and the head of the chiefs who were against the King. He tried to get the help of the British as Pilimatalavve had done. Robert Brownrigg, before he was sent to Ceylon to be the Governor, was told to be friendly to the King. He tried to make a treaty with the King but was not able to do it. Like North, he then began to think of conquering the Kandyan Kingdom. He sent messages to the chiefs who were not friendly to the King. When the King got to know what was going on, he punished Ahalepola and his friends and the people who helped him. Ahalepola then went to war against the King.

Whatever Pilimatalavve did, he did not wish to hand over the kingdom to the British. Therefore he did not try to get the help of the British after the war of 1803, but Ahalepola did not mind if the British ruled the Kingdom. He was only anxious to get rid of the King. The British did not want to have the same kind of defeat as they had the last time, and so they did not help Ahalepola in his war against the King. As a result, Ahalepola was defeated, and had to run away with his men for safety to the British.

Once they had run away, the King punished very cruelly the families and relations of those who had fought against him. He even punished bhikshus who happened to be relations of those chiefs. One of them, who was very good and learned, was executed. Everyone was angry with the King for doing such things and both the chiefs and the Sangha turned against him.

Brownrigg then thought that he ought to do something. He knew that all the Kandyan chiefs wanted the British to take over the country. As he was sure they would be on his side, he made war on the King. The British army marched through Mattamagoda, Iddamalpana, Hettimulla, Attapitiya and Ganetanna without much difficulty, and took Kandy. The King, finding that all his chiefs were against him, escaped from Kandy but was caught near Teldeniya.

The British and the Kandyan chiefs then made a treaty called the Kandyan Convention. The chiefs agreed not to allow the Nayakkars to be Kings of Kandy, to make the British their rulers and to trade with the British. The British agreed to protect the Buddhist religion and to allow the chiefs to go on governing the country as they had been doing before in their own districts.

So you see how the quarrels between the chiefs and the King made it easy for the British to get the trade as well as to rule the Kandyan Kingdom. When there was another war three years later, the British got more power still.

III. THE KANDYAN REBELLION 1817-1818

The chiefs did not learn a lesson from what happened as a result of their dealings with the Portuguese and the Dutch who occupied the coastal districts and then tried to become masters of the Kandyan Kingdom. When the chiefs agreed to have the King of England as their king, they must have thought they were only getting a good king instead of a bad one. They did not think that

the British would begin a new sort of government which would take a great deal of their power away from them.

In the Sinhalese feudal form of Government, as you know, the chiefs were like kings in their own districts. They were not paid salaries but received nindagam. In these villages they could do anything they liked. The peasants in these villages did not know much about the king because they never saw him. They thought that all the power was in the hands of the chiefs. According to the rules of caste, they thought that the chiefs had the right to rule over them, and that it was the duty of the villagers to obey the chiefs. Besides that, according to Sinhalese custom, the higher a man's caste, the lighter should be his punishment. Whatever bad thing the chiefs did, everyone thought that they should not be punished as ordinary men would be.

But the British ideas were quite different. The British were not used to governing a country where nearly all the people were cultivators. They were used to a country where people made things and sold them to each other and to others in different parts of the country. The British officials were paid salaries and they all had to obey the same rules, made by those above them. They expected those under them also to obey them and do as they were told. According to British ideas, every man was considered equal in a court of law. When they were in court, judges did not give different punishments to those who were of a higher caste than the others.

The chiefs did not like these new ideas because they were not used to being treated like ordinary people. They had been used to taking their orders only from the King and they did not expect to get many orders from the King. They did not like having to take orders from the British officials. They wanted to be treated in a special way because they were of a high caste. They did not like the British soldiers who did not treat them with as much respect as their own people did.

The chief bhikshus, too, who were mostly relations of the chiefs and were used to the feudal form of government, did not like being less important than they used to be. The kings had always worshipped at the vihares and

taken part in Buddhist ceremonies. The kings used to treat the bhikshus with great respect. The British officials did none of these things, and so they were not as popular as the kings had been. The people who were used to the old kind of government and were fond of their ancient customs, did not like these changes either.

The first chiefs who went against British rule were the chiefs who were in Vellassa and Bintanna. In the time of the Kings, the chiefs who were very far away from the King's capital, could do almost anything they liked. But the British would not allow that. The Moors of Vellassa wanted to have their own way instead of obeying the Disava. So they got the British to appoint a Muslim as Muhandiram over them. The Disava did not like that because he did not have so much power or revenue after the Muslim was appointed. So when somebody came forward and said he ought to be the rightful king, the Disava and his people helped him. That was in 1817. Most of the other chiefs took his side and soon there were only a few chiefs who were on the side of the British.

At first the British found it difficult to crush this rebellion. The Kandyan country was mostly covered with forest and so the rebels did not come out into the open but attacked in the shelter of the jungle. But in the end the British won. This was because the chiefs were jealous of one another and could not agree to fight together. Molligoda, the chief of the Four Korales, was on the side of the British, and so messages could be sent between Kandy and Colombo. Later on, the British managed to get soldiers as well as coolies and guns from India. Finally, in November, 1818 the British managed to get back the *dalada*, which had been stolen at the beginning of the rebellion. The people believed that those who had the *dalada* had the right to rule the country. So the rebels believed it, too, and thought that the British Government could not be defeated. They gave up the rebellion.

Once the rebellion was over, the chiefs were allowed still less power. The Kandyan Provinces which had come under the Governor of the Maritime Provinces in 1815, were now given a form of government in some ways like that of the Maritime Provinces, where the officials ruled according to the rules and regulations made by the British Government.

CHAPTER III

The Strengthening of British Control over Ceylon

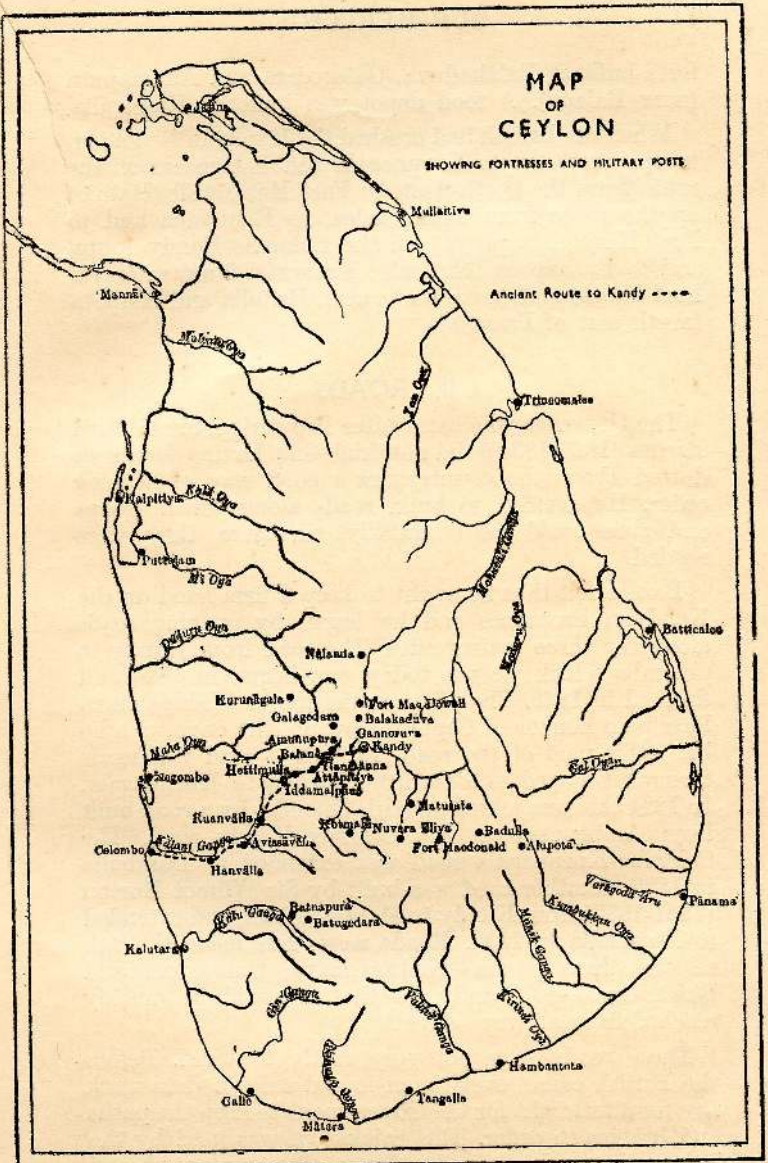
I. FORTRESSES

The British understood that conquering the Maritime Provinces and taking the Kandyan Kingdom by force were not enough. They had to make sure that there would be no further trouble. At that time, the British were at war with the French, and they were afraid that the French would drive them out of the Maritime Provinces as they had driven them out of Trincomalee in 1782. So they repaired, and put soldiers into, the Dutch forts along the sea coast, and had a great many ships and soldiers at Trincomalee, all ready to keep the French out of India and Ceylon.

After the British had occupied the Kandyan Kingdom, Brownrigg was afraid there would be more rebellions. So he had a map made of the interior so that the troops would know which way to go. The tracks through the forest were cleared so that it was easier to send messages from the low-country to the highlands. Troops were sent to important places like Kandy, Batugedera (near Ratnapura) and Badulla. Small groups of soldiers, called military posts, were kept at different places along the three main routes to Kandy—that is, the route from Trincomalee, from the north-west through Kurunagala, and from Colombo. The passes over the mountains along these three routes were protected by

MAP OF CEYLON

SHOWING FORTRESSES AND MILITARY POSTS.



forts built at Balakaduva, Galagedera and Amunapura (near Balane). A food depot was built at Ruanvalla.

When the British had crushed the Kandyan Rebellion, troops were sent to Kurunagala and Galagedera on the route from the north-west, to Fort Macdowall (Matale) on the route from Trincomalee, to Ruanvalla and to Fort King (Attapitiya) on the Colombo-Kandy route, and to Ratnapura, Kotmale, Maturata, Nuwara Eliya, Fort Macdonald (near Valimada), Badulla and Alupota (north east of Passara).

II. ROADS

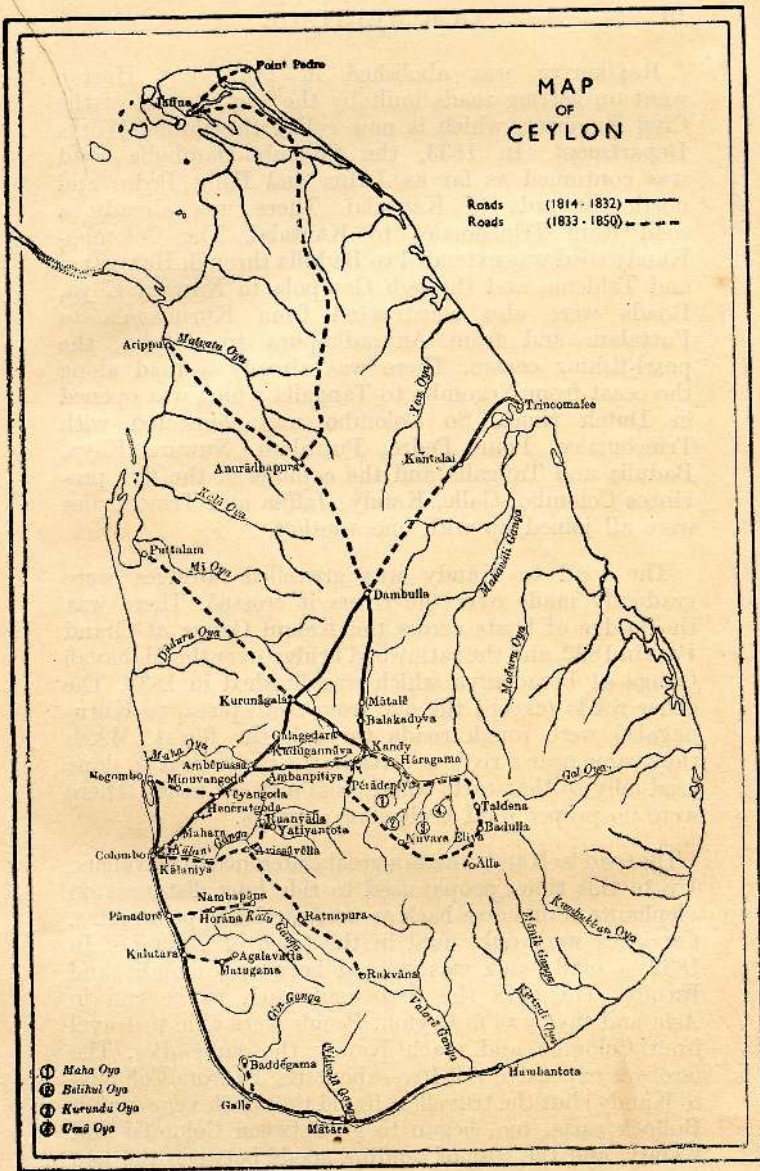
The Governor who came after Brownrigg, Sir Edward Barnes (1820-1830), did not think that having fortresses dotted about the country was a good way of keeping order. He decided to build roads along which troops and guns could move quickly whenever they were needed.

Barnes felt that he ought to keep a firm hand on the Kandyan Provinces and he began by opening roads along the three main routes. The road from Kandy to Colombo which we use today was begun in 1820 and finished in 1825. The pillar at the top of Kadugannava Pass is in honour of Captain Dawson, the engineer who built this part of the road. In 1821 a road was made through Galagedera Pass from Kandy to Kurunagala. In 1824 this was joined up with Colombo by a road built from Ambepussa on the Colombo-Kandy road. The Colombo-Kurunagala road was extended to Dambulla in 1827. Another road was built by Sir Wilmot Horton (1831-1837) from Kandy to Matale in 1831 and extended to Dambulla in 1832. Roads were thus made through all the three passes—Kadugannava, Galagedera and Balakaduva—to Kandy, so that it could be quickly reached from all three directions.

These roads were not very costly to build. Before the British came, every man in a district had to work free for a fortnight for the Government to keep the paths and bridges in order. This *rajakariya* was used by the British for making roads. Army officers planned and supervised the work.

MAP OF CEYLON

Roads (1814 - 1832) ———
 Roads (1833 - 1850) - - - -



- ① Maha Oya
- ② Balihul Oya
- ③ Kurundu Oya
- ④ Uva Oya

Rajakariya was abolished in 1832, but Horton went on getting roads built by the Department of the Civil Engineer, which is now called the Public Works Department. In 1833, the Colombo-Dambulla road was continued as far as Jaffna and Point Pedro and north-eastwards to Kantalai. There was already a road from Trincomalee to Kantalai. The Colombo-Kandy road was extended to Badulla through Haragama and Taldena, and through Gampola to Nuwara Eliya. Roads were also constructed from Kurunagala to Puttalam and from Anuradhapura to Arippu, the pearl-fishing centre. There was already a road along the coast from Negombo to Tangalla which was opened in Dutch times. So Colombo was connected with Trincomalee, Point Pedro, Puttalam, Nuwara Eliya, Badulla and Tangalla and the capitals of the five provinces Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Jaffna and Trincomalee were all joined up with one another.

The road to Kandy was gravelled. Bridges were gradually made over the rivers it crossed. There was the bridge of boats across the Kalani Ganga at Grand Pass in 1822, and the satinwood bridge over the Mahavali Ganga at Peradeniya which was finished in 1832. The other roads (except the one from Ambepussa to Kurunagala) were rough roads through the forest. When they came near a river or stream, the roads used to slope gradually so that carts could cross in ferry-boats. There were no proper solid bridges or culverts.

The road to Kandy made a great difference to travellers. Up to this time, people used to ride long distances on elephants or on horse-back or were carried in palanquins. Carriages were only used in the town of Colombo. In 1832, a mail-coach was started between Colombo and Kandy. This was the first mail-coach to be run in Asia and that was in Ceylon. People were able to travel from Colombo and reach Kandy the same day. The fare was expensive (£2 10s—about Rs. 25 from Colombo to Kandy) but the travellers found the coach very useful. Bullock carts, too, began to go between Colombo and Kandy, and the cost of sending goods between the two towns became very much less. For example, in 1831,

a cart-load of 1,200 lb. of coffee was taken from Colombo to Kandy for £1, and earlier an equal load carried by porters used to cost £11 15s.

The roads and the mail-coach helped the postal department, too. In the ancient days, letters and messages had to be sent by special messengers. The Dutch had a system of runners. The British governors wanted to know all about what was going on in the different parts of the country. They were always wanting to send letters to the officials. Soon after they took the Maritime Provinces, they started post offices at Colombo, Trincomalee, Jaffna, Galle, Matara and Mannar, and they sent letters to their officials at these places every day. When the Kandyan Kingdom was taken over, the postal department arranged for letters to be sent into the interior, too. They now began to use mail-coaches and other vehicles wherever they could. They used runners for places where vehicles could not go.

The roads not only made it easier for the British to know all about what was going on in the country, but also made it easier for people in different parts of the island to write letters and send things to each other. They also helped the British to have the same rules of government kept in all parts of the island.

III. THE CHIEFS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

You have now learnt how the British conquered Ceylon and kept the country in order after they had taken it. They understood from the beginning that having an army was not enough. They had to win the friendship of the people of the country so that it would not be easy for anyone who wanted to turn them out to get up an army and do so.

You know what a great deal of power the Kandyan chiefs had. The British found that, in the Maritime Provinces, the Mudaliyars had just as much power, and began to take it away from them. North took back the nindagam given to them for their services and gave them salaries instead. As these salaries were paid by the Government, the Mudaliyars had to do what the

Government told them to do or else they would not get the salaries. Sir Thomas Maitland (1805-1811) who came after North, took some more of their powers away from them. He no longer allowed them to do the work of judges in settling quarrels in law-courts. He gave that power to Magistrates. The Vidanes, who did police work, had to work under the orders of the Justices of the Peace instead of under the Mudaliyars. He got the schoolmasters to keep the thombos, so that the British officials did not have to get to know all they wanted to know about the people from the chiefs only. He made members of other families Mudaliyars so that the ruling families should not have all the power.

At the same time, the British tried to make the members of the Civil Service better at their work. They wanted them to get to know the ordinary people better. When Ceylon was made a Crown Colony in 1802, the number of Civil Servants was increased to 45. The lives of the Civil Servants were made much more pleasant so that good men would join the service. They would then spend many years working in Ceylon and get to know a great deal about the country.

Maitland did still more to make the Civil Servants useful to the country. He did not allow them to go in for private business and made them give their whole time to their work for the Government. He offered rewards to those who learnt a good deal of Sinhalese. He got officials who were in charge of districts to go very often on tours round their districts so that they might know all that was going on, and see to the needs of the people.

When the Kandyan Provinces were taken over in 1815, Brownrigg had to let the chiefs go on ruling their districts as they had been doing because it was the chiefs who had helped the British to conquer those provinces. But after the Kandyan rebellion, he increased the number of Civil Servants and made them get to know the people. At the same time, he took away some of the powers of the chiefs. As in the Maritime Provinces, the nindagam the chiefs held as payment, were taken away from them and they were paid salaries instead. Their work as

judges in the courts was also stopped and the payment they had received from the people for doing that work was stopped too.

Barnes and Horton too wanted the Civil Servants to get to know the people. Barnes did not promote any Civil Servants who did not know either Sinhalese or Tamil. Horton made the Civil Servants learn both Sinhalese and Tamil.

So, little by little, the chiefs became less important and the Civil Servants became more important.

IV. BUDDHISM

British governors did other things, too, to keep up British power in Ceylon. When the East India Company was ruling, they did not keep up the Sinhalese and Tamil schools which had been started by the Dutch to teach Christianity. Many of the Buddhists and Hindus who had become Christians went back to Buddhism and Hinduism. North thought that Buddhists and Hindus might not be very friendly to the British, so he opened the schools again so that Christian families might remain Christian.

Maitland worked more openly against the Buddhists. At this time, Buddhist Bhikshus used to go to Kandy to be admitted into the Sangha. Maitland tried to stop them from going because in his time, the people of the Kandyan Kingdom were not friendly to the British. He also tried to prevent people from listening so much to the advice given to them by bhikshus.

When the British occupied the Kandyan Kingdom, they changed their ideas and helped Buddhism because they wanted the people to be friendly with them. In 1815, by the Kandyan Convention, the British agreed to help and protect Buddhism. Brownrigg did the duties which the King had formerly done. He appointed the Mahanayake Theras and the Nilames in charge of Buddhist property. The dalada was in the charge of the Government Agent of Kandy.

Thus in these ways, the British managed to keep the country in their hands.

CHAPTER IV

The Development of a Modern Form of Government

I. THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

You have been told already that the Portuguese and the Dutch did not make any important changes in the government or in the ordinary life of the people. But the Madras Government of the British East India Company, which ruled Ceylon when the British first came, were quite different. They stopped *rajakariya* and, instead of that, ordered the people to pay a half-share of what grew in their fields as the people did in South India. They also removed the Mudaliyars from their posts and appointed South Indians in their places. The South Indians were also given the work of collecting the share of produce from the people. These changes caused a good deal of suffering to the people and in 1797, they rebelled against the Government. The rebellion was crushed the following year and the old form of government was set up again.

The Madras Government stopped ruling Ceylon in October, 1798. In 1797, the Government of Great Britain wanted to take over the Government of Ceylon. The East India Company did not agree to this because it needed Trincomalee for the protection of India. So the British Government allowed Ceylon to be under the East India Company but gave it a government like that of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. This arrangement did not work well either, and on January 1, 1802, Ceylon was declared a Crown Colony and brought directly under the Government of Great Britain. All that is left of the Indian Government in Ceylon is the name *kacheheri*, which is what they used to call their offices.

II. CROWN COLONY GOVERNMENT 1802-1832

According to the new arrangement, the Governor of Ceylon, who until then had been under the Governor-

General of Bengal, became the chief ruler of the island. He was given a council of officials whose advice he could ask about anything important, but he was not forced to follow their advice. He really had to obey only the British Parliament who sent their orders through the Secretary of State.

The Maritime Provinces were now divided into eight districts with an Agent of Revenue over each. The higher posts were filled by British Civil Servants, and the posts of clerks in their offices were given to Burghers. Maitland altered this arrangement a little, and improved the government so that the officials in Colombo knew what was going on all over the country. You have already heard about some of the changes he made. He made arrangements so that the lower officials could not be slack in their work. All officials had to get permission to spend government money. This stopped them from using the money for themselves or their friends, or from spending too much government money on anything. Maitland also made a set of rules for those officials who had to collect government taxes and made them obey the rules.

After the Rebellion, Brownrigg divided the Kandyan Kingdom into eleven districts, and, as in the Maritime Provinces, placed each of them in charge of an Agent of Revenue. But the government of the Kandyan Provinces was kept separate from the government of the Maritime Provinces. They were two separate parts of the same government.

III. COLEBROOKE REFORMS

During the time of Barnes, W.M.G. Colebrooke was sent to Ceylon to find out how the government was getting on and to suggest any improvements which he thought necessary. Each year, the government had been spending more money than had been received. This could not be helped. The money paid to the government by people who were mostly paddy-cultivators could not possibly be enough for a government where many of the officials were foreigners who had to be paid large salaries. One of the things that Colebrooke

had to do was to find out how the government could manage to spend less money. He suggested some changes which Horton carried out. One was that Ceylonese should be taken into the lower posts of the Civil Service and even into the higher posts if good enough men could be found.

But the most important thing which he suggested was that there should be the same kind of government in all the three parts of the country. They should not be separate as they were until then, for the Sinhalese districts of the Maritime Provinces, the Tamil districts of the Maritime Provinces and the Kandyan districts were all separate. Now, however, they were made into one, and the same rules were followed by everybody of any race, caste or religion. The government no longer had to make separate rules for the three different divisions. The country was divided into five provinces — Northern, Eastern, Southern, Western and Central Provinces, with Jaffna, Trincomalee, Galle, Colombo and Kandy as the capitals. They did not divide the country according to race. The lowland Kandyan districts were joined to the Low-country Sinhalese and Tamil districts.

IV. THE REFORM OF THE JUDICIARY

Judiciary means the part of the government which has to do with law-courts. To begin with, the British followed the Dutch ways of running their law-courts. In 1802, when Ceylon became a Crown Colony, they tried to have the work of the law-courts done as it was in England. They had a Supreme Court of Justice and British barristers were sent to act as judges. The Supreme Court judged all important cases of crime throughout the island, and saw that the work of the Justices of the Peace and of the revenue officials was done properly. The Justices of the Peace and the revenue officials had to judge the cases of crime that were not so important. The Supreme Court also judged the ordinary law cases of all Europeans and of all others in the district of Colombo. The ordinary law cases outside Colombo were judged by the revenue officials

in the provincial courts, but it was the Governor and not the judges of the Supreme Court who had to see that this work was properly done. The Supreme Court judges were Englishmen and did not know enough about the customs of the people, but the Governor had plenty of people to explain things to him. This arrangement did not work well. Often the Governor and the judges of the Supreme Court did not agree.

The judges of the Supreme Court often made mistakes when they had to try criminals because they did not know Sinhalese and Tamil. In 1811, therefore, trial by jury was introduced. That means that the judges always had a certain number of ordinary people to help them to judge the cases. Those people were called jurors. As they were people of the country, they knew about the customs and lives of people like those who were being tried, and they could tell the judges if mistakes were made in translating what the witnesses said.

In 1830, C.H. Cameron was sent to see how the judiciary was getting on. He advised the Governor to close the provincial courts. In their place, District Courts were set up and the Supreme Court had to supervise them. So the Governor after that did not have to supervise any of the courts. All people were judged according to the same laws, unless they specially wanted to be judged by their own customs.

So you see that Ceylon now had one kind of government all over the country and the same laws and law-courts for everybody. The officials too were judged by the same laws and judges as everybody else, if they should happen to have to go to courts.

V. SOCIAL REFORMS

At that time, even in England there were some laws and customs that people thought were unkind and unfair, and people were beginning to change them. When the British began to govern Ceylon, they thought they ought not to allow such things in Ceylon either.

The Sinhalese Kings, the Portuguese and the Dutch used to punish criminals by torturing them and cutting

off their hands or feet or ears. The British thought that these things were very bad and stopped them, first in the Maritime Provinces and, after the conquest of Kandy, in the interior as well.

At this time there was slavery in Ceylon. The Dutch had had negro slaves as servants, and when one of the Dutchmen gave up his house, he sold his slaves along with the furniture and other household goods. There was also a kind of slavery among the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The British governors, like North, did not like this and tried to stop it. So the Burghers set free the children of their slaves in 1816, and slavery was abolished in 1844.

The British were in favour of allowing everyone to follow his own religion, as, in England at this time, people were allowed to follow any religion they liked. The Sinhalese kings had allowed freedom of worship. But the Dutch had not allowed this to Buddhists, Hindus and especially to Roman Catholics and Muslims. The Protestant Christians were allowed to do many things which the Roman Catholics and the Muslims were not allowed to do. But soon after the conquest of the Maritime Provinces, the British granted freedom of worship to all. Maitland, in order to get the friendship of the Roman Catholics, treated them in the same way as he treated the Protestants. Before that, only Protestant Christians with a few exceptions were allowed to hold government posts, but Maitland changed that.

The British also began to take an interest in the state of the poor. In Ceylon at this time, whenever there was an outbreak of small-pox, the villagers left the patients in huts in the jungle and if the outbreak became serious, those who were not ill left the village altogether. There was none to look after the patients unless one who had recovered nursed them. So the patients were often attacked by wild animals or died of starvation. When small-pox broke out in the early days of British rule, North opened hospitals for the treatment of the patients. He also got people vaccinated so that there might not be so many deaths from small-pox.

VI. THE ABOLITION OF RAJAKARIYA

The British did not approve of *rajakariya*. Something like *rajakariya* had been the custom in England in feudal times and they had abolished it. The British thought it was too much like slavery because in a way, it forced people to do something which they might not be willing to do. For example, a certain caste of people in Ceylon had to work as cinnamon peelers, coolies, guards and messengers of the Cinnamon Department. Everyone of that caste, according to the division to which he belonged, had to do this work whether he liked it or not. Anyone who failed to do his work was punished. In the same way, people of other castes had to work for the Government according to their special occupations. That was the rule when the British came to Ceylon.

The reason why the British did not like *rajakariya* was not only that they thought that everyone should have a chance to choose his own occupation. They also thought that, as *rajakariya* made people keep to a few special occupations, it did not allow them to become traders or to earn their living by making things for sale. Trade and industry were just what the British were trying to increase at that time. Besides, the chiefs had a great deal to do with getting people to do *rajakariya*, and if any of the chiefs were unfriendly to the British, the chiefs could easily get the people to work against the British instead of working for the British.

Rajakariya in the Sinhalese districts was of two kinds. People did some kind of work for the King instead of giving a share of their produce, and also worked two weeks clearing village paths and repairing bridges. North abolished both these forms of service, and asked the people to give a share of the produce instead. However, he kept the right, if necessary, to demand for payment the services they had rendered before. Maitland did not like these changes and ordered the people to clear the paths and repair the bridges as before, without receiving any payment.

After the Kandyan Rebellion, Brownrigg ordered the Kandyans to give a share of the produce as in the Maritime Provinces, instead of rendering services as they had been doing, and demanded only the fortnightly service of clearing paths and repairing bridges without payment. For other services which the Government kept the right to demand, he promised payment. From the time of Barnes, *rajakariya* was usually made use of for constructing roads and modern buildings. The people did not like this at all because they often had to work far away from their homes. Colebrooke said it ought to be stopped altogether, and in 1832, this was done. The people were very glad that they were no longer forced to do that hard kind of work.

After *rajakariya* was stopped, people were able to take to any occupation they liked. If they liked, they were even able to go in for work that their caste people had never done before. Trade and industry got on much better, as you might expect.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

You have now learnt how the British became the rulers of Ceylon, how they changed the government so as to suit a country that was going in for trade and changed the laws which would stop people from going in for trade and industry. The British next tried to do as much as they could to help the country to get on. That is called the development of a country. They helped the development of the plantations especially. You are now going to learn how first coffee and then tea, rubber and coconut plantations were opened, and how paddy cultivation was helped by restoring the irrigation works. You will see how the development of the plantations made it necessary to build roads and railways and to use motor lorries for carrying tea, rubber and coconut from the estates to the seaports. The planters also found that it was necessary to employ labourers from India. Towns grew up and trade increased and so the government had to be changed again in some ways.

GOVERNORS 1837-1948

J.A. Stewart Mackenzie	..	..	1837
Sir Colin Campbell	..	..	1841
Viscount Torrington	..	..	1847
Sir George William Anderson		..	1850
Sir Henry George Edward	..	..	1855
Sir Charles Justin MacCarthy		..	1860
Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson	..		1865
Sir William Henry Gregory	..	..	1873
Sir James Robert Longden	..	..	1877
Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon		..	1883
Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock		..	1890
Sir Joseph West Ridgeway	..	..	1896
Sir Henry Arthur Blake	..	..	1903
Sir Henry Edward McCullum		..	1907

Sir Robert Chalmers	..	..	1913
Sir John Anderson	..	..	1916
Sir William Manning	..	..	1918
Sir Hugh Clifford	..	..	1925
Sir Herbert Stanley	..	..	1927
Sir Graeme Thomson	..	..	1931
Sir Reginald Stubbs	..	..	1933
Sir Andrew Caldecott	..	..	1937
Sir Henry Moore	..	..	1944

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

Sir Henry Moore	..	..	1948
Lord Soulbury	..	..	1949
Sir Oliver Goonetilleke	..	..	1954
W. Gopallawa	..	..	1962

PRIME MINISTERS

D. S. Senanayake	..	..	1947
Dudley Senanayake	..	..	1952
Sir John Kotalawala	..	..	1953
S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike	..	..	1956
W. Dahanayake	..	..	1959
Dudley Senanayake	..	..	1960
Sirimavo Bandaranaike	..	..	1960

CHAPTER V

The Growth of Plantations and the Restoration of Irrigation Works

I. EARLY EFFORTS (1796-1837)

The British from the beginning of their rule tried to help the development of the products of this island. Products are what a country can grow for eating or for making things. The occupation of most of the people at that time was paddy cultivation. The amount of rice produced unfortunately was not enough to feed everybody. The British wanted to make Ceylon able to produce all the food needed without having to get any from other countries. So, in order to help paddy cultivation, they began to repair some of the old tanks and water channels built by the Sinhalese kings. They also tried to get the people to learn better ways of cultivating and to try and grow new crops like potatoes and Indian corn. But the villagers did not have enough money to try these new things and they were so used to their old ways of cultivating that they did not want to trouble to learn anything new.

The British also tried to make people open plantations and grow crops that they could sell. They did not succeed very well at first. The people of the country did not know enough about such things to start planting and they did not have the money to buy land and employ labourers. Europeans were not allowed to buy land outside Colombo. Maitland, who wanted to increase British trade and get more money for the Government, changed this and some Europeans began to cultivate coffee, cotton, sugar, indigo and opium. In order to help them to grow these crops, Barnes too favoured the planters a great deal. This helped them, but still there were not many more plantations.

Coffee seemed to be the best of them all. After the conquest of Kandy, the highlands were found to be the best part of the island for growing coffee. In 1823, George Bird opened the first British coffee plantation at Sinhapitiya, near Gampola. Barnes also took an

interest in coffee and had a plantation of his own near Peradeniya. He and some of the Government Agents also started government plantations. But there were planters in the West Indies who grew better coffee and did not have to pay so much duty in Great Britain as the planters in Ceylon had to pay.

The Government kept up the chief cinnamon plantations grown by the Dutch. Colebrooke thought that all government plantations should be sold because he believed that trade and agriculture should be carried on by private persons. In 1833 the government coffee plantations were sold, but the cinnamon plantations were kept because nobody was willing to pay a large enough price for them. Cinnamon brought a profit to the Government until 1835, but after that cinnamon from Java was sold cheaper to European countries and so government plantations were given up.

II. COFFEE

After 1837, coffee became more profitable. You remember that Ceylon planters were not able to make much money on coffee because they had to pay more duty than the planters in the West Indies. Well, in 1835 the duty on Ceylon coffee was made the same as that on West Indian coffee. About the same time, people in Europe seemed to need more coffee, and at the same time, the slaves in the West Indies who had been working on the coffee plantations, were set free and so the planters were not able to send so much coffee to England. What is more, R.B. Tytler, who had been studying coffee-growing in the West Indies, came to Ceylon and showed the planters here how to grow better crops.

Of course, many people then started to grow coffee. The Governor (Stewart Mackenzie), the judges, the officers of the army and about half the Civil Servants, as well as people from India and England who had the money, all rushed to open plantations. Soon the hills, especially those near Kandy, were all covered with coffee bushes. In 1834, only 49 acres had been sold by the Government for coffee estates. In 1841, the Government sold over 75,000 acres. In 1837, less than 30,000 cwt. were sent to other countries. In 1845, nearly

200,000 cwt. were exported. In 1837, there were only a few European plantations in Ceylon. In 1848, there were over 350 plantations with 60,000 acres of coffee being cultivated. From 1837 to 1845, people from Britain spent about £3,000,000 on buying land and planting coffee estates.

But, in less than ten years, mostly because planters were in a hurry to get rich, coffee did not do so well. Some people bought estates that were already planted, at very high prices. Some of them did not think carefully enough about whether the soil was good for coffee before they bought land. Some did not stop to think whether they knew enough about how to grow it. So they did not make as much money as they had expected. They all had to have coolies to work for them and as there were not enough for everyone, they had to pay high wages to get coolies to come. The Government had not enough officers to see about the sales of all the lands which were being asked for, and so people had to wait to get their lands. The Government could not make roads quickly enough, and when the planters had to send their coffee by porters, it cost them much more. As well as all this, the Government in Britain in 1844 made coffee cheaper in Britain by making the duty on coffee from Java and Brazil the same as the duty on Ceylon coffee. Now, the planters in Java and Brazil did not have to spend nearly so much money to grow coffee in those countries as the planters in Ceylon had to spend. Soon after, Ceylon planters found it difficult to borrow money in Britain because there was trouble there and in 1847, they found it impossible to go on with their work. The result was that most of those who had coffee estates lost a great deal of money and for three years, most of the estates could not be properly worked.

In 1853, things became better. During the next thirty years, the hills of the Kandy district and also the areas to the east of Matale and Kandy, parts of the Kurunagala district, Dolosbage, the district round Navalapitiya, Kotmale, Ginigathena and Dikoya, the region between Gampola and Nuwara Eliya, the Uda Pussellava district, the region from Pidurutalagala to Adam's Peak, the hill districts of Uva such as the Haputale, Namanakula

and Valimada areas, parts of Sabaragamuva and the districts around the upper waters of the Gin Ganga were covered with coffee plantations. The exports which in 1850 were less than 400,000 cwt. increased to over 500,000 cwt. in 1855 and to over 1,000,000 cwt. in 1870. You remember that in 1847 there were 60,000 acres under cultivation. In 1878, the European plantations covered 275,000 acres.

But before 1890, something happened again. This time it was a disease. By 1870 a tiny plant called a fungus attacked the trees. This fungus was called *Hemileia Vastatrix*. At first it did not do much harm, but in about ten years the disease spread over the whole area. There was hardly any coffee to send to England. In 1890, the planters could export only about 75,000 cwt. The area cultivated came down to about 50,000 acres. Once more the owners of the coffee plantations lost a great deal of money and about 400 of the 1,700 European planters left Ceylon.

III. TEA, RUBBER AND COCONUT

When planters found that coffee was no good, they began to grow cinchona from which we get quinine. In 1872, there were 500 acres of cinchona in Ceylon. Cinchona from Ceylon was sold at a higher price in London than cinchona from any other part of the world. At that time, however, everybody was growing coffee and the planters did not bother much about cinchona. But when the coffee failed, they thought better of it and soon 60,000 acres were planted. Cinchona was also grown in Java and before long, there was too much cinchona, and so it had to be sold for a low price.

Then planters thought of growing tea. They grew it in the highlands where formerly they had grown coffee. In 1883, there was 35,000 acres of tea. In 1884, there were twice that number. In 1889, nearly 35,000,000 lb. of tea were exported. That meant that one-third of the total exports of Ceylon was tea. More and more was grown and in 1929, over 250,000,000 lb. were exported. In 1946, the value of tea exported from Ceylon was Rs. 379,000,000, and in 1957 Rs. 1,021,346,000.

Rubber began to be cultivated in large quantities at the beginning of this century. It was mostly grown in the Western and Sabaragamuva Provinces and in the Galle district. In 1876, the Department of Royal Botanic Gardens in Ceylon had got a few rubber plants which had been grown in hot houses in Kew Gardens in England and had planted them at the Peradeniya and the Heneratgoda Gardens. Not many planters began to cultivate rubber, however, because they could make more money from tea and in 1900, there were only 2,000 acres of rubber. The Department of Royal Botanic Gardens had been doing experiments to find out the correct ways to cultivate and manufacture rubber and told the planters about them, so that in 1903, there were 11,600 acres. During the years 1904 to 1906, after motor cars were invented, rubber became very valuable and planters were able to sell their crops at a high price, especially to the United States of America. In 1907, there were 150,000 acres of rubber in Ceylon and in 1920, nearly 4,000,000. In 1946, the value of rubber exported was Rs. 220,000,000, and in 1957 Rs. 266,623,000.

The coconut plantations also increased at the same time. The coconut palm had been grown in Ceylon from ancient times and with the drift of the Sinhalese to the south-west, more and more coconut palms were grown. But during that period, coconut trees were mostly grown only in gardens except in the Jaffna Peninsula, and in 1870, the amount of coconut products exported was very small indeed. After this, plantations were started in the North-Western, the Western and the Southern Provinces and along the coast of the Eastern Province. In 1910, the exports of coconut products were nearly one-quarter of all exports from Ceylon (24.5 per cent), and in 1920, they were more than one-quarter (27 per cent). But in 1957 it was less than 12 per cent.

IV. PADDY

The Government wanted to help people to produce all kinds of crops, not only tea, rubber and coconut. In the early days of British rule, the Government tried to help the cultivation of paddy, as you already know,

But when plantations began to be opened, the Government gave almost all its help to the cultivation of coffee because the Government got money from it. They did not repair the irrigation works, which were needed for paddy cultivation, for nearly twenty years. The Government began to take an interest in paddy cultivation once more when the people in the Dry Zone especially were suffering from poverty and disease.

At first the only irrigation works which were restored were those which would increase the revenue, because the Government needed a great deal of money to keep everything going. But from the time of Gregory, even those works which brought no money to the Government were restored, if they improved the lives of the people. Ward, Robinson, Gregory and Gordon repaired a large number of irrigation works in the Southern, the Eastern, the North-Central, the Uva and the Sabaragamuva Provinces and did a great deal to improve the state of the people in those districts.

In the time of Ridgeway, many more of the irrigation works were restored. This work which had formerly been done by the Public Works Department, was now given over to the Irrigation Department, which was formed by him in 1900. The work has been continued by later Governors. Since the Donoughmore reforms, more still has been done. From this time the Agricultural Department, which before this had been helping tea and rubber planting, began to take a greater interest in helping the villagers to grow good paddy.

CHAPTER VI

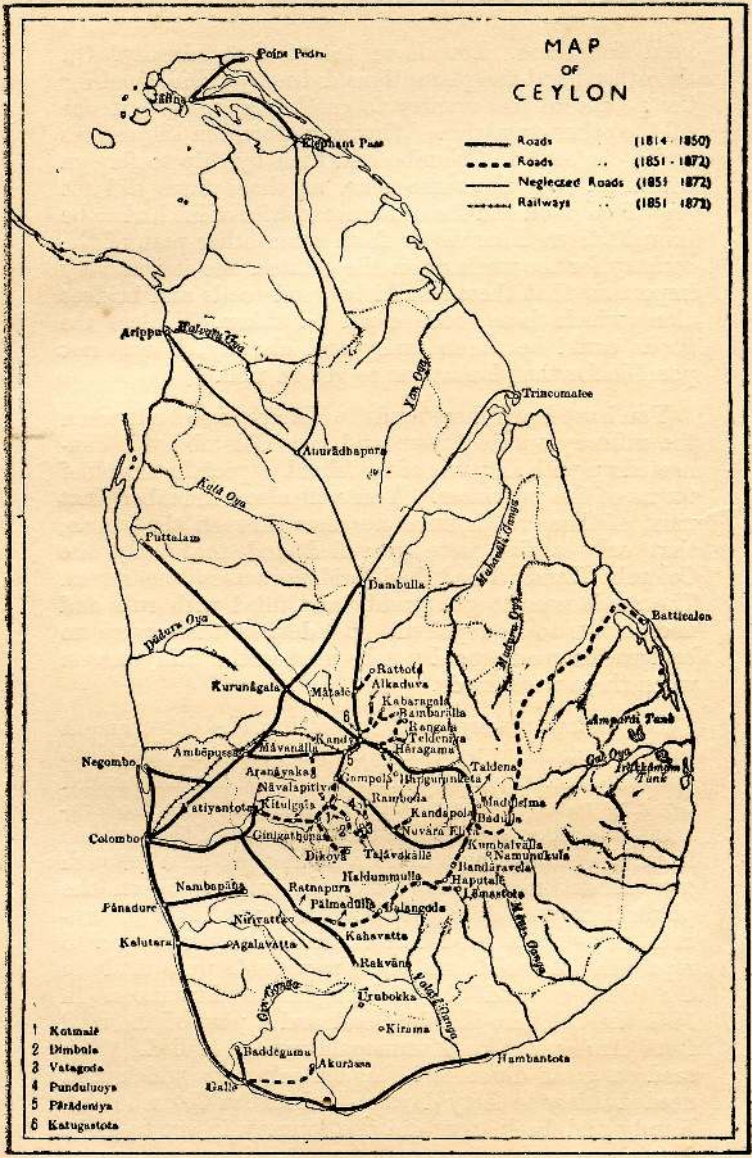
Transport and Communications

I. ROADS

The result of the growth of plantations and the restoration of irrigation works was that communications were improved. Before the British Period, villages produced their food and most of the necessaries of life, and there were hardly any roads as there was no

MAP OF CEYLON

—————	Roads	(1814 - 1850)
-----	Roads	(1851 - 1872)
.....	Neglected Roads	(1851 - 1872)
———+———	Railways	(1851 - 1872)



- 1 Kotmale
- 2 Dimbala
- 3 Vatagoda
- 4 Panduloya
- 5 Pärdeniya
- 6 Katugastota

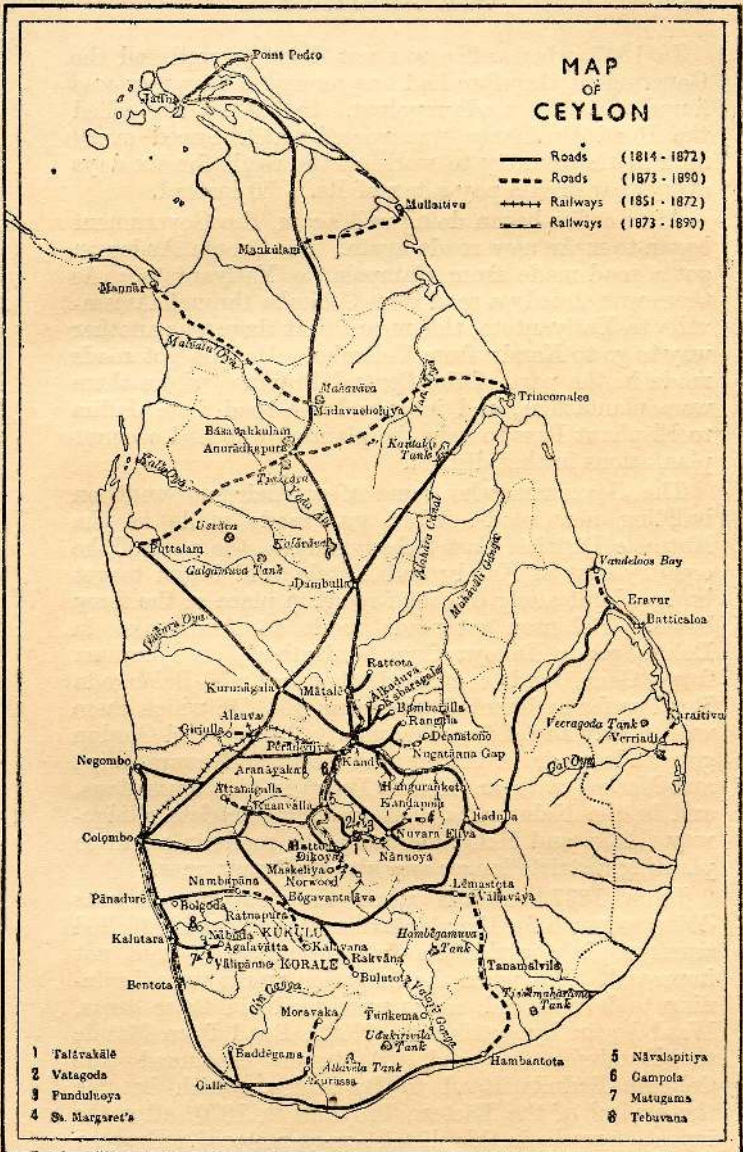
need for them. You have learnt that already. On the other hand the plantations did not produce food for the people of the country to eat but grew crops to be sold to other countries. What was grown on the estates had to be sent to Colombo and then by ship to foreign countries. At the same time, as the estates did not grow food, food and the other necessaries of life had to be brought from Colombo or from some other part of the country for the workers on the estates. So it was very important that there should be good roads and bridges along which these goods could be taken. Unless the goods could be taken easily and cheaply, it was not possible for the plantations to get on well.

You have learnt how roads to Kandy were built when the military wanted them and how Colombo was connected up with all parts of the island, especially the chief towns of the provinces. You will also remember that most of those roads were clearings through the jungle, that only a few were gravelled and that only the Colombo-Kandy Road had bridges across the rivers. The roads used to get muddy and filled with ruts and had always to be repaired. Besides, as there were no bridges the roads could not be used in the rainy season when there were floods.

The planters were used to getting the Government to do what they wanted. So they not only asked to have the roads repaired and improved but also they asked for new roads to their own plantations. The Government was anxious to please them because of the revenue from the crops, but there was not at first enough government money to build the roads. When the plantations were doing well and there was more government revenue, a good deal of that money was used to repair the old roads and some new roads were made in the Western and the Sabaragamuva Provinces. In 1841 the Colombo-Kandy Road and a part of the road from Ambepussa to Kurunagala were metalled. This made a great difference. A bullock cart which had needed thirty to forty days to go between Colombo and Kandy and back, now did the journey in six to eight days.

MAP OF CEYLON

- Roads (1814 - 1872)
- - - Roads (1873 - 1890)
- + + + Railways (1851 - 1872)
- - - Railways (1873 - 1890)



- 1 Talévakälé
- 2 Vatagoda
- 3 Funduluoya
- 4 St. Margaret's

- 5 Navalapitiya
- 6 Gampola
- 7 Matugama
- 8 Tebuvana

In 1847, when coffee was not doing so well and the Government therefore had less money, a new way was found to get the roads repaired. In 1848, a law called the Road Ordinance was passed which forced every man in the country to work on the roads for six days every year or else pay a tax of Rs. 1/50 instead.

After coffee began doing well again, the Government began to make new roads again. Sir George Anderson got a road made from Gampola to Yatiyantota. As there was already a road from Colombo through Avissavella to Yatiyantota, this meant that there was another way to go to Kandy from Colombo. He also got roads made in the part of the Central Province where there were plantations, and improved the road from Jaffna to Elephant Pass to help the planters who had coconut plantations in that district.

The Governors who came after Anderson went on building new roads. Ward got roads made in the Kotmale District, East Sabaragamuva, the part of the country east of Kandy and Matale, and began to get bridges built along the chief roads in place of the ferry boats. Robinson got roads made to Aranayake in Dolosbage, to Dikoya from Ginigathena, to Akurassa from Galle, and continued the Colombo-Balangoda Road as far as Kumbalvalla (near Alla), to which there was already a road from Badulla. Gregory and Gordon got roads made in the district between Nuvara Eliya and Maskeliya (near Adam's Peak) in Uda Pussallava, and in the Kalutara and Ratnapura Districts. Ridgeway, Blake and McCallum made the roads in all these planting districts longer and also built new ones.

From 1837 onwards when the Government was doing so much for the plantations, the big roads (called trunk roads) outside the plantation areas were not improved. But when the irrigation works were beginning to be restored, roads were made in those areas. Ward began by getting the North Road from Matale to Dambulla repaired. Robinson continued the Colombo-Badulla Road to Batticaloa, which became the capital of the Eastern Province in 1870, after the irrigation works in this district were restored. Gregory got the North Road from Dambulla to Jaffna repaired

MAP OF CEYLON

- Roads (1814 - 1890)
- Roads (1891 - 1913)
- ++++ Railways (1851 - 1890)
- ==== Railways (1891 - 1913)

- 1 Norwood
- 2 Dikoya
- 3 Hatton
- 4 Dimbula
- 5 Nanuya
- 6 Lindula
- 7 Agapatawa
- 8 Budathkohupitiya
- 9 Ambavela
- 10 Haputale
- 11 Kumhalvalla
- 12 Spring Valley
- 13 Badulla
- 14 Anguruwatota
- 15 Varakotota



and built smaller roads from Mankulam to Mullaitivu and from Anuradhapura to Puttalam. He also made a road from Koslanda to Hambantota through Vallavaya and Tanamalvila.

In the time of West Ridgeway and the Governors who came after him, more roads were constructed in the Dry Zone. A road was built from Madampe to Ambalantota along the Valave Ganga joining up the Ratnapura and the Tangalla Districts. The Vallavaya-Moneragala Road, which was built to help the plantations, was continued to Pottuvil on the east coast. This road was joined to Bibile by a road from Hulandava. A road was also built along the coast of the Eastern Province from Trincomalee to Naval-ar. New roads were also constructed in the Northern, the North-Central and the North-Western Provinces.

Roads were improved still more during this century partly because of motor cars and lorries. In many plantation areas, planters began to use motor lorries to send their goods instead of bullock carts. Many people began to use motor cars. In 1929 there were nearly 3,000 motor lorries in use. Roads had to be widened and looked after so that the lorries and cars could use them. In 1912, there were nearly 4,000 miles of road. Nearly 3,000 miles of these were metalled. There were 319 miles of cart tracks. The Government kept on building roads and in 1929, there were more than 16,000 miles of road (of which more than 5,000 miles were metalled) and 8,000 miles of bridle-paths.

II. RAILWAYS, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE

Between 1840 and 1850, plans were made to build railways in India, and so the European merchants and planters in Ceylon wanted railways in Ceylon too. But at that time, coffee was doing badly and nothing could be done.

When coffee was doing better again, it was really necessary to have a railway. The exports of coffee in 1850 were as much as 275,000 cwt. and people expected that twice that amount would be exported in 1856.

The number of carts in Ceylon was not enough to carry those loads, and even if there had been enough carts, the roads were not good enough. The carts would take a very long time to go down to Colombo with the coffee and bring back supplies for the plantations. Besides, Brazil, a country that was also exporting coffee, could already grow coffee more cheaply than Ceylon, and when Brazil had railways, too, Ceylon planters would be still more badly off. So something had to be done about it very quickly.

A British company began the railway in 1858, but the work was stopped in 1861 because the cost was going to be three times the amount that they had expected. The Government then took over the work and the railway was constructed up to Ambepussa in 1865 and to Kandy in 1867.

The railway to Kandy was even more useful than anyone had expected. Coffee as well as food manure and other supplies could now be taken more cheaply and more regularly. In 1873, the railway was built up to Gampola, and in 1874 to Navalapitiya so as to help the plantations in the district between Pidurutalagala and Adam's Peak. It reached Hatton in 1884, Nanuoya in 1885, Haputale in 1893, Bandaravella in 1899 and Badulla in 1924.

Railways were built to help other plantation districts as well. Kandy was connected with Matale in 1880. Another line was built to help the tea, rubber and coconut plantations in the Kalani Valley. It reached Avissavella in 1902, and Yatiyantota in 1903. Another line was built from Avissavella to Ratnapura in 1912, and went on as far as Opanayake. In 1903, a railway line was begun from Nanuoya to help the tea district of Uda Pussellava, and it reached Ragala in 1906.

The coast line was built earlier, partly for passenger traffic and partly to help the plantations through which it ran. It went up to Kalutara in 1877, to Galle in 1894 and to Matara in 1895. This line was continued northward from Ragama to help the coconut plantations. It reached Negombo in 1909 and was later carried as far as Puttalam.

Railways were also made in other districts where there were no plantations. The Government wanted to help the people in the Dry Zone. In the time of Ridgeway, a line was constructed from Polgahawela to Kankasanturai, which meant that people could go by train from Colombo to Kurunagala, Anuradhapura and Jaffna, the capitals of the North-Western, the North-Central and the Northern Provinces. Later, branch lines were built to the Eastern Province from Maho to Batticaloa and to Trincomalee. Another line was made from Madavachchiya to Talai Mannar to join up the Ceylon Railway with the South Indian Railway. There are today about 950 miles of railway altogether.

Furthermore, all parts of Ceylon have been connected by telegraph and telephone. Since 1858, all the important towns have little by little been joined by telegraph, and from the time of McCallum, many of the important towns and all important government offices have had telephones.

III. THE CONSTRUCTION OF COLOMBO HARBOUR

Colombo harbour was built because there were so many plantations and they needed a harbour from which to send their exports abroad.

Even before the Portuguese came, Colombo was the chief harbour. In early times, cinnamon was exported more than anything else. After 1837, coffee was the most important, and that was brought by road and railway to be sent to Britain by ship.

But Colombo was not a good enough harbour. It had only a roadstead. That means that the place where the ships had to anchor was not near enough to the land. The bay was not deep enough to allow ships to anchor by the quay. There was a bar of sand stretching from a rock across the bay, and it was dangerous for ships to try and cross it. So ships used to anchor about a mile outside the harbour and only came into the bay during the fine weather in the north-east monsoon.

Because of all this, most of the ships that passed Ceylon touched at Galle. Between 1840 and 1850,

after steamships were invented and the Mediterranean route was used, Galle became more important. When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, the number of ships touching at Galle quickly became more and more.

Galle harbour was not very good either. It was not safe because there were a great many rocks. It was not large enough for all the ships that wanted to go there. So the Government thought of making it larger and safer, but they found that a great deal of money would be needed to do that. At the same time, they thought it would be a good thing to improve Colombo harbour so that steamers would not have to delay there too long and therefore have to charge more for taking goods from Ceylon.

So the Government decided, instead of improving Galle harbour, to make the Colombo roadstead into a safe harbour by building a south-west breakwater. The work began in 1873 and was finished in 1882. In 1906, a north-east and a north-west breakwater were built and the harbour became much larger. Important steamers carrying letters, called mail steamers, then began to call at Colombo instead of at Galle. So Colombo was useful as it is about half-way between London in the West and Australia, China and Japan in the East. So the things sent from Ceylon were taken to different parts of the world more easily than things from other countries.

CHAPTER VII

Other Results of the Growth of Plantations

I. LABOUR

You have already learnt how the opening of plantations made a number of Europeans come to the island. A large number of South Indians came too, and there are now nearly a million South Indians in Ceylon.

It was very difficult at first to get labourers to do the work on plantations. At first, the Government got the work done with *rajakariya*. When *rajakariya* was stopped, the people did not want to work on plantations. They did not see any reason why they should leave their villages. They liked living on their lands with their families, especially as each member of the family had a share when the lands belonged to the family. Besides, those who belonged to certain castes were ashamed to go and work as labourers on estates and only those who lived very close to the plantations offered to work there. The planters had to get labourers somehow and in the end, they got workers to come from South India.

The Government helped the planters to get workers to come from South India. Ward arranged for ships to go between Pamesvaram and Mannar to bring labourers from South India to Ceylon. Gregory had a road built from Mannar to Madavachchiya to help them to get from the coast to the North Road. McCallum extended the railway from Madavachchiya to Talai-Mannar so that the labourers who came by the South Indian Railway could easily get to the plantations by train. The Government also made the planters treat the Indian labourers well and look after them if they were ill.

The Government helped planters in other ways too. Laws were passed to help them to make the best use of the labourers. The labourers did not have to pay the road tax or the *gansabhava* tax. They had to pay less than half the usual railway fare. The Government spent a great deal of money on medical aid for the labourers. It put up camps in which labourers had to stay for some time after they arrived from India so that they did not run the risk of bringing infectious diseases like small-pox and cholera among the other labourers in the plantations.

II. TRADE AND BANKING

There was also more trade because of the plantations. In the early days of British rule, cinnamon and the products of the coconut tree were the chief things that

were sold to foreign countries. Cinnamon was mostly sent to Europe. The products of the coconut tree were mostly sent to the Coromandel Coast in India. This foreign trade was not much and in 1825, came to a little over Rs. 5,000,000. The amount that was sold in Ceylon itself was not very much either. The local trade was carried on chiefly in Colombo and near Colombo. At first, only the Government carried on the trade in cinnamon and the people themselves were not allowed to sell it. But in 1833, that was changed according to Colebrooke's advice. Even then, there was not much more trade.

But when more coffee was grown, there was much more trade, both in Ceylon and with foreign countries. In 1840, there was foreign trade to the value of Rs. 10,000,000, which was more than twice what it had been in 1825. It grew more and more so that in 1877 it was as much as Rs. 100,000,000 and in 1912, it was nearly Rs. 250,000,000.

Because of the plantations, it became necessary to start Banks. You remember that before the British came to Ceylon, very little money was used. Most of the people were poor and did not need very much to live on. The only people who could be called rich were the King and the Chiefs, and they were rich in land, not in money. The King had a number of gabadagam, while a Chief had at least one nindagam. To cultivate these neither the King nor the Chiefs needed money. The villagers thought it their duty to cultivate the fields belonging to the King and the Chiefs. They also thought that they ought to do certain other services as they did not give the King a share of their produce. If they did not do those things, they knew that they might be punished.

The way they worked on the plantations was quite different. A labourer could refuse to work on a plantation if he did not want to do that sort of work. If he agreed to work on a plantation, he was paid in money. The owner of the plantation had to buy the land from the Government or from some other planter. He had to put up buildings and get machinery. All this needed a large sum of money. Money which is needed to start

something like this is called capital. For at least three years after, a planter did not receive any profits from his plantation.

The planters were able to carry on their work because they were able to borrow money from Banks. The Banks lent money to the planters because the planters agreed to give the plantations to the Banks if the money was not returned within a certain time. The first Bank was opened in Ceylon in 1841 by a London merchant. He started a branch of his Bank in Kandy in 1843. Because the Government wanted to help the planters, he was given all possible help. After this, other Banks were started. This helped plantations as well as trade.

III. THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

You remember that before the British came, there were few towns of any importance in Ceylon. The growth of the plantations, the increased trade and the improvement of the roads caused Colombo, Kandy and Galle to grow larger. A number of small towns in places near the plantations also began to grow up. In these small towns there lived traders, people who had to see about taking goods to and from Colombo (called transport agents) and people who made things (craftsmen).

All sorts of troubles began because of these small towns. People who live in villages have their houses scattered about. They live mostly in the open air and their health is good, as a rule. But in these towns, the houses were crowded together. The water they had to drink was not always pure because of the cess-pits near their lavatories. Food sold in shops was not always clean, and people caught infectious diseases, like enteric, which spread to other parts of the country.

To prevent such things, the Government set up Municipal Councils in Colombo and Kandy in 1866, and in Galle in 1867. Local Boards of Health were set up in other towns in 1876. In 1892, smaller towns were looked after by Sanitary Boards and in 1898 larger towns had Local Boards to see to all their needs. In 1920, the larger towns were given District Councils.

Since then more towns have been made into Municipalities. Others have Urban Councils and Town Councils, while rural areas have been allowed to govern themselves through Village Committees.

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

It was necessary also to change the government because of the other changes in the country. When the Government had more money to spend because of the revenue coming from the plantations, the Civil Service was improved in 1845. The Civil Servants were given more pay. Pensions were given to those who had worked up to the age of 55. Those who did good work were promoted to higher posts earlier. Those who wished to become Civil Servants had to pass an entrance examination. They had to study the work and learn the languages of the country before they were definitely appointed. No officials were allowed to cultivate coffee and had to give their whole time to their work.

The number of people working in the Public Works Department also had to be increased because there was much more work to be done on roads and government buildings. The Surveyor-General's Department also had to be increased because crown lands bought by planters had to be surveyed. From 1875, the Medical Department had to be enlarged to give medical treatment to labourers on plantations. The Agricultural Department, formerly known as the Department of the Royal Botanic Gardens, was made larger so as to help the planters. The Railway Department was started because the planters wanted the Government to build railways.

The number of provinces was increased from five to nine. As you know, Colebrooke reduced the number of provinces because he thought it would cost less to govern a smaller number. The Government soon found, however, that the Western Province was too big to be governed properly from Colombo, and that the Ratnapura District could not be governed from Galle because it was so difficult to communicate. So in 1845, the

Chilaw and the Puttalam Districts were separated from the Western Province. The Kurunagala District was joined on to them and the three districts formed the North-Western Province. The Ratnapura District was joined to the Western Province. Gregory found that Anuradhapura could not be properly governed from Jaffna and that Tamankaduwa could not be properly governed from Batticaloa. So, in 1873, he made them into the North-Central Province. Gordon thought that the Government Agent at Kandy could not manage to look after Badulla and that the people of Kagalla and Ratnapura had been neglected because they were so far from Colombo. So, in 1886, he made Uva Province by separating the Badulla District from the Central Province and the Buttala and the Vallavaya divisions from the Southern Province. In 1889, the Sabaragamuwa Province was made by putting the Kagalla and the Ratnapura Districts together.

V. JUDICIAL AND LEGAL REFORMS

You remember that in 1833, the work of judging in the law courts was separated from the other work of the Government officials. But in many places, the same officials went on collecting revenue under the control of the Governor and also judging cases in the law courts under the supervision of the Supreme Court. In 1860, in the planting areas, these duties were given over to different people. The laws in Ceylon, especially those laws which had to do with trade, were changed so that they were more like English laws.

The Government also made changes in the system of law courts to help the poor people. In 1844, Police Courts were started and in 1848, Courts of Requests. The Police Courts had to do with small crimes and the Court of Requests had to do with disputes between ordinary people. It was made easier to get cases tried in these courts and so people could get their quarrels settled more quickly and cheaply. In 1856, Ward got the gansabhavas to deal with the small disputes which had to do with breaking customs like those to do with cultivation of paddy and keeping up the irrigation works.

In 1871, Robinson allowed the gansabhavas to deal with small crimes as well.

VI. THE LEGISLATURE AND THE PRESS

The Government began to help the planters at first because the country needed the money which they got from the plantations. But sometimes the Government had to do what the planters and merchants wanted because they could not refuse.

The planters and merchants had two ways of making the Government do what they wanted. Colebrooke suggested that the Government ought to have a Legislative Council with nine officials and six members who were not officials, so that is what the Government had. Half the unofficial members were European planters or merchants, and they were always getting things done to help the plantations. The planters wanted good roads and railways and postal services and when the Government refused to see to their needs as the planters thought they ought to do, the planters asked for a change of the Legislative Council. They wanted more unofficial members, and the Burgher, the Sinhalese and the Tamil members used to be on the side of the planters.

The greatest quarrel between the planters and the Government was in 1865. The British Government wanted Ceylon to pay more for the soldiers which the British sent to defend the island and in the end they wanted Ceylon to pay for all the expenses of the military. The unofficials thought that this was too much, and said that the Ceylon Legislative Council ought to be allowed to say how much should be spent. The European members thought that as much money as possible ought to be spent on roads and railways and not on the military. The British Government refused, and so the unofficial members all refused to be in the Council at all. For several years they refused to come to the meetings of the Council. They formed the Ceylon League and kept on writing and speaking against the Government so as to get more unofficial members into the Council.

The Secretary of State in England refused again. He said that if there were more unofficial members, the country would be governed by Europeans and Burghers only. The Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims would not be able to send members to Council because there were not many who knew enough to be fit to go into the Council.

The second way in which the planters tried to make the Government do what they wanted was by publishing newspapers. In 1832, the Government started a paper called the *Colombo Journal* and asked anyone who wanted to write articles. This newspaper was stopped because the British Government thought that a government should not run a newspaper. Then the European merchants started the *Observer*, which was later changed into the *Colombo Observer*. In 1846, they began another paper called the *Ceylon Examiner*. Both these papers used to publish articles blaming the Government and saying that the Government ought to do as the planters and the merchants wanted.



SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

So far, you have learnt about how the British came to Ceylon and how they became the rulers. You have also learnt how they changed the government, helped the growth of the plantations, and improved communications (roads, railways, telephones and telegraphs). You are now going to learn something about the people, the chiefs and the peasants, the beginning of the middle class and how the middle class got power because the government was changed. You will also learn how in the end, the ordinary people were given votes, which means that now they have an important say in the government.

At the time of the British occupation, there were several races living in Ceylon. The chief race was the Sinhalese. They were divided into Kandyan and Low-Country Sinhalese. The Low-Country Sinhalese lived in the western and the southern parts of the island and the Kandyan Sinhalese in the central parts of the island. The Tamils came next, though there were not so many of them. They lived in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Then there were the Moors, most of whom lived in the Eastern Province, while the rest were scattered all over the island. The Burghers and the Malays mostly lived in the towns.

People were also divided according to religion. The Sinhalese were mostly Buddhists and the Tamils were mostly Hindus. The Moors and the Malays were Muslims. The Burghers were mostly Protestant Christians. A good many Low-Country Sinhalese and Tamils had become Roman Catholic Christians under the Portuguese and Protestant Christians under the Dutch.

The Sinhalese and Tamils were divided into castes, which usually had to do with the work they did. They belonged also to one of three groups — chiefs, bhikshus and priests, and peasants, who were either cultivators or craftsmen. The Moors were peasant cultivators and craftsmen, or traders. The Malays had been in the Dutch army and then joined the army under the British. The Burghers had worked in the Dutch East India Company and little by little began to work for the British.

We are going to study the changes that took place in the lives of the people and how the people of the country began to get back the government of this country into their own hands.

CHAPTER VIII

The Chiefs and the Peasants

I. THE CHIEFS

When the British conquered Ceylon the only persons who had any power were the chiefs. They continued to be important persons in the rural areas during the nineteenth century. After that, they became less and less important in those rural areas until, in 1938, it was decided that their work should be done by Divisional Revenue Officers.

You have already learnt how the chiefs got on during the early days of British rule and how they lost a great many of their powers. After the rebellion of 1817-1818, they saw that they would not be able to get those powers back again. When *rajakariya* was stopped, they were still more badly off. When there were law courts for everybody, they found that they were going to be treated just like ordinary people. So they had to agree to all the new changes.

Although they had lost their power, the chiefs did not give up their posts under the government. Some of them learnt English in the English Seminary opened by North. North had opened this Seminary mainly so that the chiefs might become educated. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Government believed that the chiefs did not like British rule. So the Government did not trust the chiefs. But the British officials had to go on using the chiefs to help them because the British officials did not know enough Sinhalese and Tamil and the customs of the people.

The position of the Tamil chiefs was not changed very much at first. They did not have so much to do with the people as the Sinhalese chiefs had, because few lands were given for services in the Tamil districts. The Tamil chiefs went on working for the British as they had worked in the past for the Dutch.

After the rebellion of 1848, the Sinhalese chiefs were treated better. Riots took place in that year and at first, the British thought that the chiefs and the bhikshus had been trying them to drive them out. Afterwards,

it was understood that they had no idea of doing that. So then the British tried to get the chiefs on their side because they knew that they could not rule the country properly without the help of the chiefs. In 1871, when the gansabhavas were given more power, the chief of each district was made the president of the gansabhava in his district. In this way the chiefs got back some of their power.

But at the end of the nineteenth century, the chiefs were not able to do all that the government wanted them to do. So they began to lose their power again. The main thing they were expected to do was to keep their districts in order and not to allow any trouble to arise. This could be done so long as the villages were separate from each other. But when there were good roads and easy ways for people to run away to another village if they had done something bad, it became too difficult for the village headmen, who worked for the chiefs, to catch criminals. There were policemen only in the towns at that time, but when all these difficulties arose, police were sent to villages too. So the power of the chiefs became less again. In the same way, other government officials were sent to do other work in villages and soon the chiefs had very little to do.

The Government liked to get the work done by their trained officers if they could. The chiefs were not trained at all for the work and went on with their old ways of doing things. Of course, some of them were sensible enough to learn the way in which the government wanted the work done, but they were not so good at the work as the trained officers sent by the government. Besides, many of the chiefs had got their positions as chiefs because they belonged to well-known families in their districts and knew the places and the people well from their childhood. Sometimes those chiefs wanted their own way and did not agree to do what the government wanted.

There were now people who were neither rich nor poor but had just enough to live comfortably. They were called middle class people. They did not like the

chiefs very much. When the government was changed and the middle class people were able to say what they wanted done, they decided that they would hold an examination to choose Divisional Revenue Officers. They wanted to have Divisional Revenue Officers instead of Mudaliyars and Ratamahatmayas, Vanniyars and Maniagars, who of course had never had to take examinations.

In this way, the chiefs no longer ruled the villages as they had done for over two thousand years before the British came.

II. THE DECLINE OF THE PEASANTRY

At the beginning of British rule, most of the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims were paddy cultivators. Most of them were poor. They managed with difficulty to live by cultivating. They were always suffering because of droughts, famines, floods and wild animals. Also the irrigation works were not in good order.

You will remember how they suffered when they were under the Madras Government and during the Kandyan Rebellion in 1817-1818. Though there was peace after that, nobody did much to help them. They were no longer punished by having their hands or feet or ears cut off and they were no longer treated as slaves. Also their health was better when vaccination was introduced. But most of them were very badly off. It is true that some of the irrigation works were repaired, but that did not help all of them.

Colebrooke suggested some improvements which he hoped would help the peasants, but it took more than twenty years before the irrigation works were taken in hand and the gansabhavas were improved and the people helped as he had said they ought to be. In ancient times, the gansabhavas had been very useful in the villages. They used to settle how much water each cultivator should use from the irrigation works, and how much work each man should do to keep the irrigation works in good order. They used to punish people who

did not do their part of the work and people who did not follow the ancient customs. In the ancient days, when there was *rajakariya*, all men had to do their part in repairing the bunds of the tanks and keeping the irrigation channels from getting full of weeds or sand. When *rajakariya* was stopped, the gansabhavas had no way of forcing people to do the work. The gansabhavas used to judge and punish people who did wrong, but when the law-courts began to do that work, the people were not afraid of the gansabhavas any longer. However, the judicial work was not so well done by the law-courts as it had been done by the gansabhavas. Besides, the European judges did not understand the customs that the cultivators followed. So the irrigation works were not looked after and paddy cultivation was neglected.

The new land laws passed by the government to help the plantations changed the lives of the villagers, too. Up to that time, the villagers had all owned the paddy lands and had all worked on them, sharing out their crops between them at the harvest time. Now, however, they were allowed to divide the land up and to sell their shares if they wanted to do so. This meant that they often quarrelled when they divided up the land and there were many cases in the law-courts. The judges who tried the cases were Europeans and they did everything through lawyers. Everything had to be translated into English for them to understand and the villagers who did not speak English were not able to speak directly to the judge. Besides, the villagers did not know the laws and were not able to afford to employ good lawyers. Sometimes the cases went on for years and the villagers spent all their money and had nothing left in the end.

People were always quarrelling over their lands. They got angry with each other and used to go to the courts and have cases against each other out of spite. Some of them used to bring false cases against their enemies for stealing cattle, for breaking their fences, for stealing and for assaults. Those whom they accused would in their turn bring cases against them. In the

ancient days, such disputes had been settled immediately by the gansabhavas. But now these cases could not be settled so quickly and people went on being angry with each other. So village life became worse and worse.

The villagers were very discontented and just at this time, the government began to ask them to pay more taxes and make them each do six days' labour on the roads. That was in 1848. The villagers were so angry that riots broke out in the Matale and Kurunagala Districts. The Government thought that these riots were a sign that the Ceylonese did not want to be ruled by the British any more and were very cruel to the people who had rioted. The members of the British House of Commons wanted to know the truth about it all and an enquiry was held. They got to know from that enquiry about the bad state in which the peasants lived. They told the Government in Ceylon that the state of the peasants must be improved.

III. THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITIONS OF THE PEASANTRY

One of the chief causes of the bad condition of the peasants was that the Civil Servants were not good at their work and did not take enough interest in it. After the reforms of 1845, they began to improve in their work and to take more interest. So from that time onwards, the state of the peasants improved. The Government helped them by repairing irrigation works, restoring gansabhavas, establishing schools, providing medicines and doctors and looking after the other needs of the villagers.

In Ward's time, the Government began to help the villagers to get water for paddy cultivation. The villagers in the Kandy, the Matale and the Badulla Districts then began to repair their village tanks, and some of those in the Eastern Province and the Southern Province began to cultivate paddy because they could now make use of the larger irrigation works restored by Ward.

The peasants of the Anuradhapura District and those of the Sabaragamuva and the Uva Provinces were gradually dying out because of disease and lack of food. In the time of Gregory, those in the Anuradhapura District and in the time of Gordon, those in the other districts were helped in the same way. In the time of Ridgeway, the whole of the Dry Zone was given more water for cultivation. The peasants of the North-Western and the Northern Provinces too were able to improve. In recent years, the peasants have been helped if they wanted to settle down in those parts of the Dry Zone which were easier for them to live in.

After the gansabhavas had been restored by Ward and had been given more power by Robinson, the state of the villagers improved still more. The gansabhavas made it easier for them to work peacefully in their fields. Thousands of disputes and quarrels were settled by the gansabhavas and the people who quarrelled did not have to go to the courts. With the help and advice of the members of the gansabhavas, who were mostly the wisest men in the villages, the peasants cleared village paths, enclosed wells and put up buildings for schools. They also registered the cattle and tried to stop people from stealing them.

From about 1870, there began to be more education in the villages. You have already learnt that there were numbers of Sinhalese and Tamil schools in the Maritime Provinces in the time of the Dutch. These were neglected by the British and were closed when Colebrooke recommended it. From that time, the only schools in the villages were those run by Christian Missionaries round about their Mission stations. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Government again began to take some interest in Sinhalese and Tamil schools. In 1870, they decided that they would undertake to educate the people in Sinhalese and Tamil. So, in 1912, there were 778 Government Sinhalese and Tamil schools. Besides that, from 1870, the Government began to give grants to schools run by missionaries and other religious people and in 1912, there were 1,782 of these State-aided schools. In many

places, the peasants were glad to send their children to these schools. The children began to learn a good deal of reading, writing and arithmetic. Some schools also taught the children something about paddy cultivation.

The Government also did something to help the villagers to be more healthy. Gregory found that a great many of them suffered from malaria and other diseases. The Sinhalese and Tamil medicine had not been able to cure people very well or get rid of those diseases. So Gregory gave people English medicine by opening a number of dispensaries for the treatment of such patients, and the governors who came after him went on with the work. For example, in 1892 in the North-Central Province there were only nine dispensaries, but in 1902, there were 38.

The Government also tried to help peasants to keep out of debt. You know how poor the peasants were. Often they had to borrow money from money-lenders. So in the time of McCallum, Co-operative Credit Societies were started from which peasants could borrow money without having to pay such high rates of interest.

But all these improvements were not enough. Often the peasants were so ignorant that they did not know about the things that were being done for them, or if they did, they were too old-fashioned or stupid to take advantage of what was there. Even nowadays, the state in which the ordinary peasant lives is much worse than the state of the estate labourer or the labourer in a town. The estate labourer gets regular wages and a fairly good house and free treatment if he is ill. The labourer in the town too, unless he is unemployed, gets regular wages and can make use of dispensaries and free schools in the towns. The people who employ workers look after their own workers. But until a very short time ago, nobody bothered about a villager who was working on his own fields. He had to look after himself.

But all the same, even the peasant in the village is better off than he used to be. Motor buses have made it easier for people to go from village to village, and so

peasants nowadays know other villages besides their own. This has made a great difference to people. They can now bring things from outside into their village and also get to know how things are done in other parts of the island. Besides, everyone now has a vote in the Parliamentary elections. This is called adult franchise and means that villagers now take an interest in the Government and the Members of Parliament have to do something for the villagers if they want the villagers to vote for them.

So the conditions of the peasant is at last improving.

CHAPTER IX

The Middle Class

I. THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

We have already referred to the Colebrooke Reforms. Colebrooke took away from races and castes the special rights they held and gave equal rights to individuals as such. This enabled individuals to break away from the group they belonged and join another one or form a new group. By putting an end to *rajakariya* Colebrooke also made it possible for an individual to give up his occupation and take to any other form of work he liked. Hence after this a man's rights in society or his occupation did not necessarily depend on his birth. Further as a result of the changes he made, new forms of employment came into being as government servants, traders, transport agents, lawyers, doctors and so on which required new social groupings. Most of these occupations also required a knowledge of English and this was provided, as recommended by Colebrooke, in schools set up by the Government. The result of all these changes was that gradually a middle class came into being between the chiefs on the one hand and the peasants and the craftsmen on the other.

When the British came to Ceylon, the only people who could be called middle class were the Burghers. The Burghers quickly learnt English and entered

government service. The English schools started in the towns made it easier for them to get into it. The new system of law courts made it possible for them to be lawyers and even to get high posts in the government. For example, one of them, R. F. Morgan, became Queen's Advocate, the name given to the Attorney-General then. In the second half of the nineteenth century, many Burghers were very good schoolmasters, doctors of medicine and lawyers, and were very important people in the country.

The Sinhalese and the Tamils who were not chiefs were not so fortunate. A few of them who attended Protestant English schools, got government employment but they did not get on very well for some time.

Some of the Sinhalese along the seaboard in the south-west of the Island got on well because of the plantations. Some of them knew carpentry and house building which their ancestors had learnt in Dutch times. These people found that the plantations gave them more chances of employment and took up work as masons, carpenters and mechanics. Those who had been educated in Christian schools took contracts to clear forests and open the land for cultivation. Some became traders for trade was good at that time. The Moors also took to trade. They had suffered under the Portuguese and the Dutch, but in 1832 they were given the same right as other people to hold property in Colombo. Others took to transporting goods in bullock-carts to and from the plantations. The contractors, the transport agents and the traders made a good deal of money and made use of this capital to improve themselves still more.

Many of the members of this new class began to cultivate coffee. Some grew it in their gardens and some opened plantations in Hunnasgiriya, Matale East and Badulla District. In 1847 Ceylonese owned about 48,000 acres of coffee. In 1849 one half of the total amount of coffee exported had been grown by Ceylonese. Even in 1869 when more foreigners had taken to the cultivation of coffee on a large scale they exported about one-fourth.

After 1853 when coffee began to do well again, more Sinhalese and Moors became rich by working as contractors, transport agents and traders. The amount of work done by the transport agents can be seen by the fact that in 1864 more than 30,000 cart loads were taken to Kandy and back along the Colombo-Kandy Road alone without counting what was carried along other roads.

From about 1870 the middle class began to grow more and more important. From about 1890 the government services began to expand in a way it had never happened before and this development on a big scale continued for about twenty years. As a result Government began to employ more and more persons and the posts of clerks and a few of the higher posts were taken by Burghers, Sinhalese along the west coast, and Tamils in the Jaffna Peninsula. In the time of Gregory a few of these Sinhalese obtained appointments even as chiefs. In the Kandyan Districts, however, members of this class did not become Ratemahatmayas because people there still clung to ideas of birth and thought that, however clever a man was, he should not be a chief unless he belonged to a chief's family.

The number of teachers, lawyers and doctors also increased. Although Government was not taking so much interest in the English schools at that time, they offered grants to schools run by Christian missionaries and others. So a great number of teachers who knew English were required. The general improvement in the country and the growth of plantations gave employment to lawyers. In 1870 the Medical College was opened and many Ceylonese became doctors and apothecaries.

So, by the end of the nineteenth century there was a fairly important Ceylonese middle class educated in English in the Island.

II. CHANGES IN ORDINARY LIFE AND THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM

The growth of the middle class during the nineteenth century made a difference to the country in other ways too. The Low-country Sinhalese who became members

of the middle class belonged to nearly every caste. As they had more money than they used to have, and as they took to occupations which their ancestors had not followed, they had different ideas and a different way of living. They also travelled more and got to know more about other parts of the country. They learnt English and read books and got to know about English ways and ideas. The members of castes who did not belong to the so-called high castes did not like being treated differently, and wanted to be treated in the same way as the educated members of other castes. So, little by little, the middle class ceased to take notice of caste customs, except when it came to marriage. In other matters people of equal education and wealth were all friendly together. This was not so among the Tamils because those who joined the professions were mostly of the Vellala caste.

The rise of the middle class also made it possible for Buddhism and Hinduism to become more important once again. You remember how in the time of the Portuguese many of the Buddhist vihares and the Hindu devales in the coastal districts were destroyed and the lands given to Christian churches and monasteries. You remember, too, how the Dutch did not allow Buddhists and Hindus to follow their religions openly. The British allowed people to do as they liked, and so people were not afraid to say they were Buddhists or Hindus. The bhikshus who had studied under Saranankara and his pupils helped to spread Buddhism and helped people to learn Pali and Sinhalese.

The people who were against Buddhism and Hinduism were the Christian missionaries. When the British became the rulers of the coastal districts, the Baptist, Wesleyan and Anglican missionary societies began to work in Ceylon. They converted a good many people to Christianity and prevented others from going back to Buddhism and Hinduism. They had schools, books, leaflets and newspapers, and preached sermons in public

and taught people in their homes. Between 1860 and 1870, all these societies celebrated their jubilees and tried harder and harder to convert Buddhists and Hindus to Christianity.

During the early part of British rule the Buddhists and the Hindus generally did not oppose the Christians. They did not see clearly how much harm the Christians might do to them. Besides they were helpless. In earlier times their kings had helped them. Now the British Government gave them no assistance and helped instead the Protestant Christian missionaries. But between 1860 and 1870 a few bhikshus who received help from wealthy Buddhists began to run printing presses, publish books and pamphlets, form societies, and start schools to strengthen Buddhism and keep people from becoming Christians.

The Buddhist bhikshus also began to have public discussions with the Christians about the two religions. One of these discussions took place at Panadure between Protestant Christians and Buddhists. Colonel Olcott, an American, a founder of the Theosophical Society, which took an interest in Eastern religions, got to hear of the discussion at Panadure. In 1880 he came to Ceylon, and helped the Buddhists in what they were doing. It was he who started the Buddhist Theosophical Society, which began to run so many English and Sinhalese schools in the Sinhalese parts of Ceylon.

In the North there was a revival of Hinduism. The work was begun by Arumuka Navalar, who had been a teacher in a Christian school. He later gave up his job and spent his time carrying on discussions with Christians. In 1872 he started an English school for Hindu children so that they did not have to go to a Christian school to learn English. The Saiva Paripalana Sabha (Society for spreading Saivism), which was started in 1888, went on with the work. It also prevented the missionaries from converting Hindus to Christianity and started a number of English and Tamil Hindu schools.

So Buddhism and Hinduism, which suffered in the early days of British rule, began to flourish once more even though there had been so many changes in the country.

CHAPTER X

Constitutional Reforms

I. THE McCALLUM REFORMS

From 1900 onwards the middle class people became more and more in number. They also became more and more important. You have already heard how the Government began to employ more and more clerks and other officers. At the same time the English schools became larger and there were a great many new ones, so that those people who wished to become government servants could easily get the necessary education. The English schools gave employment to a large number of teachers, the Medical Department to a large number of doctors and the growth of the plantations to a number of contractors, transport agents and traders, and the general advancement of the country made it necessary to have a large number of lawyers.

Most of the members of the middle class were educated in English. Because they were well educated, and because they were wealthy, they became important in the country. Those who were well educated studied English ideas and learnt about how things were done in England. They began to have the same ideas about government that the English had, especially the ideas that were followed by the members of the British Liberal Party. The British Liberals did not think it right that a few people should have all the power in a government. They believed that the people of a country should have a say in the government and that the country should be ruled for the good of the people by the people themselves.

In Ceylon, the middle class soon began to find that they were not being treated fairly. In 1833 the Ceylonese had been made equal to the British by law. But as time went on, they found that the higher government posts

were almost all given to the British. The British government servants, the British planters and the British merchants kept together and made a kind of upper class of their own. In the villages the government posts below those of the Civil Service were mostly held by members of the old ruling families. The middle class did not see why some of them should not hold some of these posts and also have a greater say in the making of the laws as the middle class in Britain did after 1832.

So the middle class began to ask for a reform of the Legislative Council. They did not ask for very much. They wanted communal or racial representation done away with. Communal representation means choosing Sinhalese to represent Sinhalese and Tamils to represent Tamils and so on. They wanted instead territorial representation. That means choosing people to represent regions or districts and not communities based on birth. In short the middle class did not want the British Government to go back on their decision of 1833 and recognise once more by law racial groups as such. However, as the minorities feared that the Sinhalese and the Tamils at elections may not elect members of their communities they agreed to keep a few seats in the Council for the Burghers and the Muslims and for European planters and merchants. The middle class also wanted some share in the administration of the country and asked that some members of the Executive Council be chosen from the people who were not officials.

The British Government of Ceylon did not think the state of the country would be improved by agreeing to these demands. It argued that though the British system of government in Ceylon was on the whole based on territory and not on the recognition of communities the people were still divided into communities which did not mix very much, and therefore it was these communities that had to be represented in the Legislature, and it was not advisable to go away from the practices that had been carried so far. On these lines it agreed to increase

the number of the Low-country Sinhalese members of the Council. The number of Tamil members was also increased. To meet the wishes of the middle class it gave them an Educated Ceylonese seat.

The Secretary of State was a little more generous when he had to decide what was to be done. He reduced the number of European members to two, and gave the Europeans, the Burghers and the Educated Ceylonese the right of electing their members by voting for them. The Low-country Sinhalese and the Ceylon Tamils were given two nominated members each. The Kandyans and the Muslims who had each had a member from 1889 were allowed to keep them. Two more officials were added to the Council in order that the Government which was still responsible for the administration of the Island might have a majority in the Council to outvote the unofficials if it found it necessary to do so. This made a total of 11 officials and 10 unofficials. This new Legislative Council was formed in 1912.

II. THE MANNING REFORMS

The middle class soon wanted more changes. In 1917 they began to ask for a further reform of the Legislative Council. In 1915, during the First Great War, there had been riots in some parts of the Island. Some of the Sinhalese had treated some of the Moors very badly. The British Government made the same mistake as they had made in 1848. They were very severe with the rioters and with some other people whom they suspected of helping the rioters. This made the Sinhalese very angry with the British and feel a kind of national feeling to get rid of British rule. Another reason that led them to do this was that at this time the people of India who asked for reforms were promised a certain amount of power over the officials. A third reason was that at this time the British in Britain supported the ideas of nationalism and democracy in Europe. That is they said that even small nations in Europe ought to have the right to

manage their own affairs without any interference by outsiders and that in every country its people should have a say in the government. Besides all this the revival of Buddhism and Hinduism had made many more people in Ceylon take much more interest in their country and made them want to take a part in the government of it in order to obtain their rights.

In 1919 the Low-country Sinhalese, a considerable number of Tamils and a few others of other communities came together and formed the Ceylon National Congress to ask for reforms. They wanted a council of 50 members representing different districts and elected by the votes of the people. They also wanted an executive council some of the members of which should be from the Legislative Council.

But the British Government in Britain did not change very much the Ceylon constitution. They went on with the communal representatives for the Europeans, the Burghers, the Kandyans, the Muslims and the Indians. They allowed the Low-country Sinhalese and the Tamils who wanted territorial representation to elect their members by voting in the districts in which they lived. Colombo was given one seat, the rest of the Western Province two seats, and each of the other provinces one seat. The number of official members was increased to fourteen.

The Ceylon National Congress did not like the reforms at all. Although there was supposed to be a larger number of unofficial members than there was of official members, the number of elected Ceylonese members came to one less than the officials. The Congress decided that they would have nothing to do with the new council. That is called non-co-operation. Because the Congress non-co-operated, the Governor, Sir William Manning, offered to allow some more reforms if the Congress would help him. So the Congress agreed to stop non-co-operation and the new Legislative Council was formed in 1921.

Most of the members of the new Council had not been elected as territorial representatives, and so they wanted communal representation to go on. Manning agreed with them that the people of Ceylon were divided into different communities and did not form a single nation. The Secretary of State agreed with him and in 1924, arranged that there should be 23 territorially elected seats (16 for the districts where the people were mostly Sinhalese, and 7 for the districts where the people were mostly Tamil). In those districts, members of all communities who were entitled to vote, were allowed to vote even for someone who was not of their community. Besides those, there were 11 communally elected seats, 3 nominated seats for special kind of people and 12 seats for officials. The Ceylonese and Indians had 29 elected members in a Council of 49, which was a better arrangement than they had before.

But the reforms were not a success. Sir Hugh Clifford (1925-1927) told the Government in England that there should be further reforms. Manning was quite right when he said that Ceylon was divided into different communities, but he had forgotten that people who had learnt English in English schools had all studied together in the same class whether they were Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Christians, Sinhalese or Tamils, and after they left school, would probably have the same ideas on a good many subjects. Also, the improved communications between one part of Ceylon and another had helped people of different communities to get to know each other much more than they had done in the olden days. Besides, Government employed members of all communities, who got to know each other in the course of their work. The new Councils gave power to the middle class. The middle class did not divide up so much into communities. As the middle class had a majority in the Council, they tried to make the officials do what they wanted. The officials had to obey the Governor and the

Governor had to obey the Secretary of State. But the officials (called the executive) could not do what the Governor or the Secretary of State wanted because all the laws the executive proposed and all their plans for spending the money of the country had to be passed by the Legislative Council. Often the Legislative Council did not have at all the same ideas as the Governor or the Secretary of State.

III. THE DONOUGHMORE REFORMS

In 1927 several Englishmen from England with Lord Donoughmore as Chairman came to Ceylon to see what should be done about the Government of Ceylon. They were called the Donoughmore Commission. They agreed with Sir Hugh Clifford that the Government could not be carried on well if there were these differences between the Legislature on the one hand and the Executive on the other. They thought that the only way to do away with these differences was to take away the control of the Executive from the Governor and the Secretary of State and place it under the Legislature. This meant that the Government of Ceylon would fall into the hands of the people of this country. But as the people of Ceylon were still divided into so many communities and were not sufficiently united into a Ceylonese nation, the Commissioners thought it would not be a good thing to change everything suddenly. Besides the people of Ceylon had been governed by foreigners for so many centuries that they had forgotten how to govern themselves.

So they decided that the Governor should have much power to guide the new government and that this government should be in charge of a Board of Ministers consisting of three officials and seven ministers. The seven ministers were to be chairmen of seven executive committees chosen from the members legislature henceforth to be called the State Council. The various government

departments were to be divided into ten groups. Three of these were to be placed under three officials and the rest were to be in charge of the executive committees. This system they thought would give the members of the State Council, guided by the Governor and the three officials, an experience of how the government is run. Further the representatives of all communities would have a share in the control of the administration, and the minorities would feel secure and be in a position to exercise some influence over the Government.

The Donoughmore Reforms were in some respects a natural growth from what had happened earlier. The decision to place Ceylon on the path to self-government had to be taken as the Legislative Council of 1924 had in fact begun to control the executive and there was no going back from it. The communal electorates had to be abandoned sooner or later. In 1832 the British Government, as stated already, had decided not to recognise the rights of races and castes but only of individuals and communal electorates were not therefore in accord with the British system of government as it then existed. Besides like the Colebrooke Commission their object was to create a Ceylonese nation. Therefore they did not think that communal electorates were a good thing. They thought that the different races in Ceylon ought to be able to work together. So they recommended that there should be territorial representation only, except for a few nominated seats.

But in the case of the franchise they suggested a radical change. So far only the middle class had votes. The Commissioners thought that every adult should have a vote, and then the ordinary men and women would take more interest in the Government and that the rulers would then attend to their needs better.

The Secretary of State on the whole agreed with the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission. The new constitution was set up in 1931. It was more of a success than the constitution of 1924, but it did not

work perfectly. Many of the people could not read or write and had not the intelligence to judge who would serve their interests best. They needed more education to give their votes correctly. Even though there was no more communal electorates they still kept to their own communities. This meant that they would decide to vote for a certain candidate not because he was the best man, but because he happened to belong to their race, or religion, or caste. The members of the Executive Committees were interested only in the matters dealt within their own committees, and did not take enough interest in many things which affected the whole country. The Board of Ministers was made up of members of the Council who happened to be Chairmen of Executive Committees, and who had not been chosen to be Ministers because they were the best statesmen in the country. They did not manage to work well together.

IV. THE SOULBURY REFORMS AND THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

Neither the Sinhalese nor the members of the other communities were satisfied with the Donoughmore Reforms. They wanted them altered in some ways. Because of the abolition of communal electorates, the Sinhalese now had about two-thirds of the unofficial seats in the Legislative Council. They had less than one-half of the unofficial seats before. The Tamils wanted electorates on a communal basis to be brought back again. The Sinhalese wanted to gain greater control over the Government by reducing the powers of the Governor and getting back the financial control which the Legislative Council had had before. Under the Donoughmore Constitution the State Council had no control over the amount paid as salaries to officials.

As time passed, both the Sinhalese and the minorities began to realise that the Executive Committee system of Government was not really a success. They wanted the Cabinet system instead. Some people thought that universal adult franchise was a mistake and should be altered.

In the meantime the Second World War broke out and the State Council asked for Dominion status for Ceylon. In 1943 the Imperial Government offered to give full self-government in everything which had to do solely with Ceylon (internal affairs). A Commission was appointed, with Lord Soulbury as Chairman, to advise the British Government how to do this.

The Commission refused to alter adult franchise or to bring back the communal electorates. They considered the grant of adult franchise had justified itself. It had led to the improvement of the poor social conditions. Government had increased the expenditure on education and health, and improved considerably the conditions under which the workmen subsisted. A restoration of electorates on communal basis would have been to go back as in 1924 on the British policy enunciated in 1832 and carried out gradually thereafter in the system of administration. The Commission did not like the system of Executive Committees and recommended Cabinet government in its place. They recommended the setting up of a Parliament which had a House of Representatives of 101 members of whom 95 were to be elected by territorial electorates and a Second Chamber of 30 members. Further they gave better representation to backward areas by allotting more representatives to them by taking area, in addition to population, into account. This increase in the number of members and the allotment of greater representation to backward areas they knew would give the minorities a better chance of being represented in Parliament and would reduce their fears.

The Constitution recommended by the Soulbury Commission was established with a few alterations on 17 May 1946. In the meantime the demand for Dominion status was repeated and on 4 February 1948 Ceylon was granted full independence. Ceylon agreed to remain within the Commonwealth along with other Dominions like India and Pakistan.

V. THE POLITICAL CHANGE IN 1956

Early in this book you learnt about the divisions in the country at the beginning of British rule. At that time the chief races in the Island lived separately in different parts of the country. The Island was divided into three divisions which continued to be ruled separately until 1832. You will remember how, as a result of the recommendations of Colebrooke and Cameron Ceylon was given a common form of administration and a common system of law courts. These were the same for everybody, whatever their race, caste or religion. The various parts of the Island were linked together by the construction of roads and railways, and people who had never left their villages before began to go about and live in other parts of the country. In these ways and as a result of the spread of trade, things which were thought and done in one part of the Island were known in other parts and copied. Because of all this, because all races and castes were treated alike by the Government, and because people began to study English more and more, old fashioned ideas and customs began to be given up. The people were still divided, but in a different way. More and more people were taken into government service, and the Government took over more and more kinds of work. Old plantations were improved and new plantations were opened up. The result of all this was the rise of the middle class. In plantations too there came to be a class of estate labourers, while in the towns there grew up a class of town labourers. You have also seen how the English-educated middle class gradually through constitutional reforms gained control of the Government of Ceylon.

In 1956 there occurred another important change by which this English-educated middle class lost the position they had gained in the country. From 1931 every

man and woman over 21 had a vote, and at the elections the middle class had to win their votes to keep themselves in power. In order to do this they built more and more Sinhalese and Tamil schools, improved the health of the people, bettered the conditions of labour in towns and plantations, and, to help the peasants built irrigation works in the rural areas. They also did many other things. For instance they helped Buddhism to recover from the difficulties it suffered under British rule. The result of all this was that the Sinhalese-educated classes who were mainly Buddhists became gradually aware of the political rights they had received. Besides the Buddhist revival and the Sinhalese literary revival, which began in the latter part of the nineteenth century and received some setback at its end, gained fresh life. As a result the Sinhalese-educated Buddhists became dissatisfied with the speed the English-educated middle class were improving their conditions. Influenced by the objectives of the Donoughmore Commissioners they demanded equality of opportunity with the English-educated and the Christians. They said that the Sinhalese language of the majority should be made the language of Government without delay and that the Buddhists should be placed on an equal footing with the Christians by depriving the Christians of the privileges they had attained during British rule. The workers too joined them and demanded better conditions for themselves. The new party that attained power in 1956 came pledged to satisfy these demands. They were led to a considerable extent by Buddhist monks, Sinhalese school-teachers, ayurvedic physicians, and trade union leaders. The Ceylon Tamils of this class did not join them as the new party that came into power did not place Tamil on equal footing with Sinhalese. Instead they began to agitate for Tamil to be made the language of government in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and that the Tamils should be allowed to rule these provinces in most matters.

PART II

World History from the end of the
Eighteenth to the Middle of the
Twentieth Century

PART II

World History from the end of the
Eighteenth to the Middle of the
Nineteenth Century

IV

CHAPTER XI

The Great Changes of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

I. THE NATURE OF THE GREAT CHANGES

In the last section of Chapter XV and the first of Chapter XVI of *Our Heritage II*, a short account was given of the changes which were taking place at the end of the eighteenth century in industry and science, especially in Britain. These changes went on more and more quickly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They were so great and important that they have made a difference to nearly everybody in the world.

Up to the early part of the nineteenth century, most people in the world went on living their lives without taking much notice of any other people except those who lived in their village or in the nearby town or village. Nowadays, in the twentieth century, there are very few people in the world whose lives are not in some way altered by things which take place in other parts of the world. People in almost every part of the world get to know something about what is happening in other countries and inventions and discoveries which are useful to all. In Ceylon even forty years ago, villagers did not often move out of their villages. When they did go, they used to go on foot or by bullock cart which were very slow ways of travelling. Now, they can and often do make long journeys by motor bus. A hundred years ago, they grew most of their own food and wove most of their own clothes. But nowadays their food and clothing often comes from Europe or America or Japan. Forty years ago villagers in Ceylon did not trouble very much about what kind of government there was in the country, but today every villager who wants to, can vote and help to choose a Member of Parliament.

Most of these changes began in Britain, France and the United States of America. When we speak of these changes, we mean new ways of growing things, new ways of making things, new ways of moving people and things from place to place, and new ways of thinking about things and people. As the nineteenth century went on, these changes went on more and more quickly. As these changes began mostly in European countries, people all over the world got to know about European ideas and European ways of doing things. By the beginning of the Second World War, in 1939, practically all the land in the world—except China, Japan, Thailand, Turkey, Persia and Arabia—was being ruled over by Europeans or people whose ancestors had been Europeans. But the state of the world has altered very much since the war ended.

Yet among all these changes, there is one thing that has not changed. That is human nature, with its good side and its bad side as well. The good side of human nature shows itself in the wonderful way in which the health of the whole world has been improved and the discoveries which have made it easier to cure diseases. It shows itself in the way in which people are trying to make life less hard and more happy. It shows itself in the way people try to prevent misery and poverty, and to help everybody to be free. The bad side of human nature comes out in the bad things which are still allowed to happen and the unjust things which are done. It shows itself especially in the terrible and destructive wars which went on in some parts of the world and which upset and troubled even the countries which are at peace.

The changes in growing and making things are called changes in production. The changes in moving about things and people are called changes in transportation. The next two sections will deal with these two. You will notice that both the changes in production and the changes in transportation were helped by the use of machinery driven by power. The new kinds of power were steam power, vapourised-oil power and electric power. The newest kind of power is atomic energy, which was discovered during the Second World War.

Atomic energy was first used for terrible destruction at the end of the Second World War. If there were another world war, nuclear weapons, as they are now called might well destroy all, or nearly all, living things in the world. But this terrible force is already beginning to be put to good use by clever scientists and when properly used may do wonderful things for mankind.

Machinery driven by power was first used in cotton weaving mills in Britain; today there are very few manufactured articles which cannot be made by machinery, and in fact most things are so made. Workers were brought together in large numbers to work in huge mills and factories. Because they all wanted to live together near their work, large towns were built which were called 'industrial' towns. A great deal of money was needed to build these mills and factories and to buy the machinery for them. The people who gave the money often got large profits from the mills and factories, and these people who took the risk of using their money in this way and who thus got the profits were called 'capitalists'. Steam power, which they used at the beginning, needed a great deal of coal which had to be dug out of the ground every year. In the twentieth century new kinds of power were discovered, oil power, used to drive machinery, and electrical power, electrical power was first got by heating coal in a special way, but much of it today is got by using water power as in the "hydro-electric" schemes up-country in Ceylon. At first, the countries which had a great deal of coal and iron got on best. But later, it became possible to use waterfalls like the great Niagara Falls in North America. Electric power is also used for cheap and easy lighting, for heating and for cooking food. It is also used to work machines called 'refrigerators', which keep food cool which would otherwise go bad. Food kept in these machines can be carried for long distances by train and by ship 'in cold storage'. People have also discovered how to keep food in airtight tins; so explorers have been able to go on long journeys which they would never have been able to do before, by living on these tinned foods. Millions of people today eat much tinned food in their homes.

People have to use metals, especially iron and steel, to make this machinery. Bessemer, who was an Englishman, and Siemens, who was a German, discovered how to make 'high-grade' steel. This steel is strong enough to stand the strain when machinery is driven by power. Since then people have been making machines all the time of better and better materials and in better ways. Machines have to be very *exact* indeed, and many inventors have been working to make them more exact. Now machine parts can be made which are correct to the thousandth part of an inch. People who invent and make machinery are usually called 'engineers', and engineering has become a great profession.

People have also learnt how to grow things in better ways, though there is not such a big difference in the case of growing crops as there is in the way things are manufactured. Some machinery is being used more and more for farming. As long ago as 1793 some one in America discovered quite a simple machine, called the 'cotton gin'. This machine separated the cotton seeds from the fibre much more quickly than people were able to do it by hand. Because of this machine the people who grew cotton were able to send far more cotton than they had been able to send before to the countries which manufactured it, and especially to Britain. Threshing machines have been invented, and steam ploughs, and tractors, and grain elevators. All of these machines have made it possible to grow wheat in the vast wheat fields in such places as North America and Siberia. Without them very many human beings and animals would have had to work there. Scientists and farmers have found better ways of growing cereal crops, and fruit and vegetables, especially by using artificial manures. They have also learnt how to breed better animals, both for food and for farm work. People have found new ways to use things which grow naturally, especially those which grow in very hot countries, such as rubber. Rubber is needed for machines and for tyres. Copra is used to make artificial butter, and vegetable oils can be used for many different things. Most of these can be grown in Ceylon.

II. CHANGES IN TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

When road surfaces were made better and canals were built (see *Our Heritage II*, Chapter IX) it became very much easier to carry food, fuel, raw materials and manufactured goods from one place to another in Britain. But a new kind of road with a new kind of vehicle moving on it was discovered in Britain early in the nineteenth century. This was the iron railroad, and the railway train was drawn on it by a steam locomotive engine. Watt had discovered steam power and how to use it to drive engines, and in 1830 George Stephenson made steam engines which could move and draw weights from one place to another on land. A little earlier, in 1812, Fulton in America made steam engines for boats. Before that, goods and people could only be carried on land by horse or bullock carts, or by pack animals on the roads, which was very slow, or by horse-drawn barges on the canals, which were even slower. But now they could be taken by rail, which was much faster and could take far more goods or people at a time. Though this was very important in Britain and in Europe, it was still more important in America and Asia where distances between one town or village and another were very great. It was by means of the railroad that the great plains of the United States and of Canada could be opened up, and people were able to settle there and grow wheat. Many people went to live there, most of whom had come over from Europe. Railways gradually spread over all the continents. After the railway right across Siberia was finished in 1901, people were able to travel thousands of miles by train, right from the western shores of Europe to the eastern coast of Asia. By using steam engines in ships, people and things could be carried over the seas more quickly and safely than in sailing ships driven by the wind.

At the beginning of the twentieth century people started to use a new way of getting from place to place:

that is by the invention and use of the 'internal combustion engine'. These engines use oil or petrol, and are used to drive motor cars and aeroplanes. The first motor car which worked properly was brought on the roads in 1896, and seven years later the first successful flight was made in an aeroplane. Very many ships now have oil engines instead of steam engines; and one kind of war ship, called the submarine, can travel under the sea, which would not be possible without oil engines, though new nuclear power is being used to drive these underwater ships.

Up till about a hundred years ago messages could only be sent from one person to another as fast as a horse could gallop or a man could run. When railways came, letters could be sent much quicker than before, and wherever the railway went, well-run postal services could be arranged. When electricity was discovered and used, messages could be sent much faster still. The electric telegraph was the first way which was discovered for sending these very quick messages. Wires were laid over the land, and cables were laid under the sea, and along these messages, which were sent by what is called the 'Morse Code', could go round the world in a few minutes. This was the work of Wheatley in Britain and of Morse in America. When Bell invented the telephone, the sound of the human voice could be carried along the wires in the same way. Marconi invented the wireless at the end of the nineteenth century. This was more wonderful still, and now the human voice as well as other sounds can be heard far off by 'radio', sometimes by millions of listeners all over the world, carried by 'sound waves' through the air.

III. CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE CHANGES

You must now learn how it came to be that these great changes could be made, and what has happened because of them. They have been made because human beings have used their brains to find out more and more about everything. This is usually called 'science'.

The most important sciences which have helped people to find out about these things are chemistry, physics, biology and mathematics. In the next chapter you will learn what these sciences are. Great scientists first discover the ways in which the forces of nature work, called 'principles'; then other scientists use or apply what they have learnt to make all kinds of discoveries. A great many things have been discovered, but there are many more which are still waiting to be discovered. For instance no scientist has yet learnt how to harness the attraction of the moon. This is a very great force and moves the mighty waters of the ocean twice a day.

Perhaps the most interesting thing which has happened because of all these changes is that human beings from all over the world have been brought closer together. Men and women are learning more about each other. They meet each other, they read books about other people and they see pictures of them, and they are coming to live the same kind of life, and to eat the same kind of food as other people. If human beings were all good, then this would make them all like and understand each other better. They would see that they could make life much more safe and comfortable for everybody by working together, ('co-operating', as it is sometimes called), and they could cure much of the misery and distress that people are suffering from all over the world. But unfortunately, people are not all good. They have used these new kinds of power to invent machines to destroy each other, and these are far more terrible than the sword or the spear. They have often treated the workers very badly, and also some of the races of the world which are not very civilised. Sometimes they have made these people live lives which are more miserable than those of their ancestors, instead of making them happier. So although there are new ways and new machines for doing and for making things, the struggle between people and ideas which are good, and those which are evil, still goes on just as it has always done.

CHAPTER XII

Science, Education and Human Welfare

I. THE HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENT

In the last chapter you learned how science has helped people to provide for more food, clothing and shelter for themselves than they ever could in the past; but at the same time some bad things have happened because of this. In this chapter you will learn how far men have been able, in the past hundred and fifty years, to cure many of the different ills from which human beings have suffered. Cures have been discovered for people who suffer, both in their bodies and in their minds; more than this, people have tried to prevent anyone from having to suffer at all, and to find ways of making human beings happier and more comfortable.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century people in Western Europe began to feel that they ought to think far more about each other's happiness than they had ever done before. They began to respect human life and to hate all cruelty. Rulers were beginning to understand that they must look after their subjects, do away with bad laws and customs, and make laws to help those whom they ruled. For instance, a lot of people began to think that it was not only very wrong to trade in slaves, but even that there should be such things as slaves at all; though before that everyone had thought that slavery was quite natural.

II. THE PROGRESS OF MEDICINE

Many great improvements have been made in *medicine* and in *hygiene*, which have helped people to be much better cared for than they had been before. Medicine is the way in which diseases are cured, hygiene is the way to prevent people from getting diseases at all. Because of these discoveries, the lives of many thousands

of human beings have been saved. Some of the greatest of these discoveries were made by Koch, who was a German, and Pasteur, who was a Frenchman. These two scientists worked hard to carry on the work about bacteria (bacteria cause disease), which Leeuwenhoek had discovered (see *Our Heritage II*, page 166). A British doctor called Lister was the first doctor to show how important it was that everything which was used in surgery should be kept absolutely clean. In this way bacteria, which are bad, are prevented from getting into wounds and causing disease. This is called 'antiseptic' surgery.

Another British doctor, called Simpson, discovered the 'anaesthetic', chloroform. An anaesthetic is something which takes away the patient's senses while an operation is being performed, and prevents him from feeling pain. Many new drugs have been discovered which help to cure people; and X-rays have been found which make it possible for doctors to take photographs of the inside of a human body, and to tell what is wrong with it. Doctors have been able to cure some diseases and to prevent others by 'injecting' small amounts of certain medicines into the body, instead of taking them through the mouth in the old-fashioned way. Thousands of doctors and other scientific workers are fighting against such terrible diseases as cancer, consumption and malaria; and other dreadful diseases like plague, cholera and small-pox have been made much less harmful by various remedies which have been found to prevent and to cure them.

Hygiene teaches people how to prevent diseases from breaking out. They are taught how important it is to be clean, and to eat good healthy food; and they are shown how to keep all food and drink pure. Nearly every government in the world has a department of health which makes rules about clean food and tries to see that they are obeyed. People are doing their best to get rid of bad insects which carry diseases, such as flies, mosquitoes and body vermin. It has been

shown how important it is for everyone to live and to work under the healthiest possible conditions. Hospitals and clinics have been set up to treat those people who cannot afford to pay doctor's fees. Everyone ought to do all he or she can to keep healthy, both for his or her own sake, as well as for the sake of other people.

III. KNOWLEDGE AND EDUCATION

Those who want this world to be a better place are paying far more attention than they used to in the past not only to people's bodies, but also to their minds. They have studied all the different kinds of knowledge in a more scientific way. By studying chemistry people have learnt a great deal about what substances are made up of, and their nature. In studying physics people have learnt about natural forces such as heat, light and sound, magnetism and electricity. By using higher mathematics with physics, scientists have been able to learn all kinds of things about the sun, the moon and the stars: how large they are, how far away and their movements—this is known as astronomy. By applying scientific knowledge in certain ways, wonderful machines have been made which can work out difficult problems in mathematics far more quickly than the human brain can. These are called "electronic" machines. By studying geology, people have learnt a great deal about the earth itself. Botany and zoology teach us about the history and behaviour of plants and animals, and psychology is the study of how human beings behave. Anthropology, ethnology and archaeology show how human beings have developed from the very beginning, they tell all about the different races and their customs, and what people did and how they lived before history came to be written. People learnt far more about all these different kinds of knowledge in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than they ever did before, and all this knowledge has been very useful.

As people have come to know more and more, they have also come to believe that everybody has a right to be educated when young; and in most countries, people are trying hard to see that everybody is educated. There are elementary (primary and junior) schools, which are mostly free, for younger children. There are secondary schools for some of the older children as well. After they finished school they can, if they are clever enough, go on to universities and all kinds of specialised colleges which have been set up for 'higher education', for art, music, agriculture, commerce and many other kinds of knowledge; and to technical schools and colleges which are intended to teach students various skilled trades and occupations. In some countries special lectures and classes are arranged for grown-up people too, so that if they wish they can learn different things and learn to use their brains better. Though there are still millions of people who can neither read nor write, there are fewer of them every year. All countries have special education departments, which try to see that education is carried on in the best ways possible.

Before the nineteenth century only a few of the people were given any education in schools. In Western Europe those who learned anything more than reading, writing and arithmetic studied Latin and Greek, after which they might take up theology or philosophy, or sometimes mathematics, at the universities. In England there were only the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge. During the nineteenth century people came to understand that education would be very good for everybody, whatever their careers were going to be later on. But for a long time people did not understand that the same kind of education was not right for everybody. For example, they did not realise that the kind of education which a boy in England ought to have, if he wanted to be a clergyman was not right for a village child in Ceylon, whose work in life later on would probably be to grow rice and coconuts. But

recently people have begun to understand this better, and they have been studying *methods* of education very carefully, and seeing that the methods used are the right ones for the children of the different countries, and the different districts in those countries.

The first purpose of education is to learn how to use your brains, that is, how to use the knowledge which you have got at school and elsewhere. But in recent years people have also paid much attention to educating the body. Children are being taught physical exercises to make their bodies stronger and also to help them to resist diseases better. Because of this they are also encouraged to play games, and besides making them healthy, 'team games' teach children not to be selfish and to 'play the game': that is to say to think of each other and to obey the rules. These two things are very important for children to learn, so that they can take their proper place in their country when they grow up. This 'physical education' has almost all been developed in this century.

In earlier times only boys and young men were educated in schools and universities. But in the nineteenth century people began to see that education would also be good for girls and women, though they often made the mistake of giving them exactly the same education as boys and men. However, as a result of being educated, things have become very much better for women, and they can now take up many different kinds of work which they never could before. Even in the East, where people have always thought that women were very much below men, girls are being educated in mind and body, and the position of women is getting better.

But there are evil things even in education. You can educate children in the wrong way. This happened especially in Germany, Italy and Japan, where children were taught that war was a good thing, and not a bad thing, and that their country ought to conquer other countries, and not live with them in a friendly way. No one ought to be taught to hate other people, but this is happening in some parts of the world today.

IV. SOCIAL WELFARE

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, people had begun to try to make life better for everybody, and this had many good results, though it took a long time. These results began in the industrial countries of Western Europe, particularly in Britain. There are three main ways in which this happened. The first was by 'organized charity', the second was by the efforts of poor people themselves, and the third was by the work of governments.

'Organized charity' means that good people, who use their own money and any money which they can collect from other people, try to help those people who are suffering from illness, distress, and poverty; many good people give all their free time, or even sometimes their whole lives in this way. When they see some great evil, they do all they can to set it right, sometimes by working themselves, and sometimes by doing their best to persuade the rulers of their country to pass good laws so as to prevent the evil. These good people are usually called 'social reformers'. There have always been such people all through history, but a very great deal of this social reform has happened in the last two hundred years. It was very difficult to persuade governments that it was their duty to make laws which would bring about reforms, as most people thought that all the government had to do was to keep order, to defend the country against enemies and to raise the money which was needed for these things. People thought that anything else that the government might do would only cause harm. But the social reformers had their way. Some people think that they have even gone too far, and that because of this, people have come to think that the government ought to do things for them that they really should do for themselves.

One of the first evils which was attacked was the terrible way in which prisoners lived. This work was begun by an Englishman named John Howard. At the same time the laws were made very much better;

people used to be punished very cruelly for quite small offences. These punishments were made lighter; and the law was also changed so that people who were accused of any offence got a fair trial. Slavery was another great evil. The struggle against slavery began in Great Britain, and slavery and the slave trade were abolished by 1833. But it took a fierce civil war in the United States of America to abolish it in that country nearly thirty years later.

As the large industrial towns grew up so quickly, this brought many evil things, because people employed in mills and factories often lived and worked under shocking conditions. Very many of the great manufacturing industries were first started in Britain, so that it was in Britain that working conditions were so bad. About 1850, a band of reformers, who were led by Lord Shaftesbury, determined to attack these evils. Because of what they did, young children were not allowed to work, and laws were made to see that working men and women should work in better conditions. Dangerous machinery had to be fenced, hours of work were made shorter and pay better, though the workers got better pay largely because they themselves joined together and worked for it. 'Slums' began to be cleared away; that is to say, workers were having better houses built for them to take the place of the bad old ones, where many families had lived crowded together. Open spaces such as parks and playing fields have been made. Laws have been passed for seeing that pure drinking-water is provided, and inspectors have been appointed to see that the food sold in shops and markets, and the milk sold in dairies, is of the proper quality. All this helps to prevent disease. People who have been injured because of their work are given money to make up for the injury, and great systems have been set up to insure people against sickness and unemployment. For these, the people pay a little money every week or month, and then if they fall ill, or are unemployed, they are looked after. Small pensions have been given from

public money to old people who cannot support themselves, and the old system of poor relief has been made very much better. Before the nineteenth century it was only to be found in Britain and in Holland.

These are only some of the ways in which social reforms have been carried out; but there is still a great deal which has to be done. You have to remember that these reforms nearly always cost a great deal of money, and the poorer countries of the world often find it difficult to afford many of them.

Because of this everybody ought to work as hard as possible so that they will make their country richer, and so that money can be got either by taxes or by charity for all these things which need so badly to be done. If the people of a country are healthy and happy, then they can work hard. You can see from the short list of social reforms given above, how many of them have already been done in Ceylon, and how many there are still to be done. It is very important for you to understand that all the evils which there are in the world can only be set right when all the ordinary people, men, women and children, work hard to set them right themselves, and when they insist that their rulers should do everything which is needed to set them right. People must especially learn to work with each other and for each other, and not to be selfish. These things were taught to the people many hundreds of years ago by the great religious teachers of the world, such as Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XIII

The French Revolution and the European Wars

I. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In *Our Heritage II*, you learnt how the nations of Europe gradually became distinct from each other. These nations were nearly all ruled by kings who wanted to become powerful and rich themselves. You also learnt how these nations spread out far beyond their own continent as they tried to get trade and colonies, and what a difference this made in the history of Ceylon. Now the ordinary people of these countries, who were called the subjects, had little or no share in the government of their country. Only upper class people like noblemen and important clergy were usually allowed to take part. But in Chapter XVI of *Our Heritage II*, you learned that these things were changing, and that people were coming to believe that they ought to have *liberty*. The words 'liberty' and 'freedom' have meant different things at different times. At the end of the eighteenth century, these words most often meant that the people of the lower and middle classes felt that the people of the upper classes ought not to have all the special privileges which they had had for hundreds of years, and which had allowed them to treat the rest of the people very badly.

This feeling that the people ought to be free was especially strong in France, though the French people lived under better conditions than the people in any other part of Europe, except in Britain, the United Provinces of the Netherlands and Switzerland. In these countries the people did have a fair amount of freedom (see *Our Heritage II*, Chapters XV and XVI). The United States of America had won freedom for themselves, and the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 had said that everyone should be allowed 'Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness', that is to say, that everybody should be free to live their own lives

and to try to be happy. The French troops who had gone over to America to help the Americans against the British noticed that the people in France were treated by their rulers in a far worse way than the American colonists had ever been treated by the British, and yet they were fighting to set themselves free from British rule.

In France, by 1789, people had come to feel most strongly that the nobles should not be allowed to have more privileges than the rest of the people any longer. The King, Louis XVI, was a kind man, and wanted to help the people who were trying to bring about these reforms. But the government had very little money, because it had fought expensive wars, and because its money matters were very badly arranged; therefore the King was advised to call together the 'States General'. This was a kind of Parliament which had not met for over 170 years. This Parliament was divided into three Houses, or 'Estates'. The First Estate was made up of nobles, the Second Estate was made up of clergy and the Third Estate was made up of middle class men (who were called 'Bourgeoisie' in the French language). The people who wanted reforms were mostly men of the middle classes, though there were a few of the nobles, like the Marquis de Lafayette, who had led the French troops in America, and some of the clergy as well, who wanted reforms. The members of the Third Estate had promised the people who had chosen them that they would bring about these reforms. They took an oath not to go away until they had got what they wanted, and they would not vote any money for the government until this was done. The first thing which they did was to insist on all the three estates sitting and voting together, and in this way there were more reformers than there were other people. The three estates at once did away with all the privileges of the nobles, which had been such a burden to the people, and it looked as if France might very soon become a country of free people. But two things happened which prevented this. The first was that some of the nobles had left France and planned to oppose these changes,

because they did not like having their privileges taken away from them. The second thing was that some of the Third Estate had decided not to let anything prevent them from carrying out the most extreme reforms. In order to do this the Third Estate began to stir up the violent 'mob' of Paris, who were a very terrible force. Many of the workers in Paris were very poor, and there were a great many criminals in the city. In July, 1789 some very violent people stirred up the mob, which took up arms and captured the 'Bastille'. The Bastille was a strong stone fortress in the middle of the city; former kings who wanted to get anyone out of the way put people in prison there without trial. In many parts of the country the peasants rose and burned down some of the great houses of the nobles who had treated them so badly. From this time on, the people became more and more violent. The Paris mob were driven desperate because they had no food, and in October they marched to Versailles, which was the great palace built by Louis XIV, and brought the King and Queen back to Paris with them. The royal family stayed in Paris practically as prisoners. The States General, which was now called the 'Constituent Assembly' came to Paris at the same time. This Assembly carried out some more reforms, and then the members all went away in 1791, because they thought that they had finished their work. These reforms were that the King could no longer act just as he liked; that the nobles and clergy had lost their special privileges, and that a great 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' was made. This said that every person in France had the right to be free and equal. An Assembly was also set up, with members elected to it, and it was given a great deal of power. Finally, everyone was allowed to worship as he liked; this is known as 'religious toleration'. But it is no use having a good constitution unless there are good people to work it, and unless the people who do work it are willing to trust each other. Actually things were getting worse from the time the people of Paris marched to Versailles. The nobles who had run away were plotting with the Rulers of Austria and Prussia, and they were secretly

encouraged by the Queen, Marie Antoinette, who was the sister of the Austrian ruler. Things were made very much worse when the royal family tried to escape from France but were caught again. There were also threats against the government from other countries. All this made the French people afraid that they would lose the rights which they had won from the revolution, so that they were willing to support the extreme reformers. These extreme reformers belonged to political clubs, and the best known of these clubs were the Girondins and the Jacobins. In the next year France was invaded by the Austrians and Prussians, and in France itself a rebellion broke out against the revolution. Then the most extreme of the revolutionary leaders declared that France was a republic, and they set up a very strong and brutal government which was ready to save the revolution at all costs. Great armies were formed quickly, and everyone was surprised when they drove back the invading armies, and then crossed the enemies' frontiers as well. By 1794 they had won victories everywhere. These wars went on for over twenty years, till 1815.

II. THE REIGN OF TERROR

While the armies were fighting on the frontier, the republican government was acting in the most violent way to get rid of any people inside the country who could possibly be against them. In 1792 all those people who were suspected of plotting against the new republic were killed in terrible massacres in Paris and in other parts of the country. Many other people were quickly tried by a Revolutionary Court, and were condemned to be executed, that is, put to death, by the 'guillotine', which was a heavy falling knife. In 1793, the King and Queen were executed, and those who were on their side were treated in a very cruel way. Even those people who did not want the government to behave in such a cruel way were executed, including some of the men who had been leaders of the revolution earlier on, and even some of the leading men of the republican Girondins. This was the work of the Jacobins, who

were led by Danton and Robespierre, and who governed the country with a kind of dictatorship. They were already paying no attention at all to the rights of the citizens. In the end, the Jacobins quarrelled among themselves and first Danton and then Robespierre were executed by the guillotine. This 'Reign of Terror' came to an end in 1795 when Robespierre was executed. A more moderate government called 'The Directory' was set up, and this government gave back some of the rights which the citizens of France had lost under the government before.

III. THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

The new French armies had been very well organized by a man called Carnot, who put young generals at the head of the different armies. These generals had to win battles, otherwise they were likely to be sent back to Paris to be executed. One after another, the enemies of France were defeated, especially Austria and Britain; and the French armies seized that part of the Netherlands which belonged to Austria, the United Provinces, the German lands which were on the left bank of the river Rhine, and Switzerland. The French people set up republics in these countries, and gave their peoples the same kind of rights which the French people had won for themselves in their revolution. It is interesting for you to notice that the British people captured some of the possessions overseas of the new republic of the United Provinces, in order to prevent these new ideas from spreading there. These possessions included Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope (in South Africa). The French armies fought in new and better ways than the armies which fought against them; and the people in the countries which the French armies invaded welcomed them. In 1796, however, these armies were stopped in most places, except in North Italy, where they were led by a very clever young general named Napoleon Bonaparte. He defeated the Austrian armies, captured most of North Italy, and forced his enemies to ask for peace.

After this only Britain was still fighting with France. The French armies could not invade Britain, because the new French Government had not succeeded in re-making their navy in the same way as they had re-made their army, so that the British Navy won several victories over the French ships. By this time the British people stopped thinking that the French Revolution was a good thing, because its leaders had been so very violent. In 1798 Napoleon, as he is usually called, persuaded the French Government, the Directory, to let him invade Egypt. He got his army to Egypt, but he could not get it back, because his fleet of ships was destroyed in a great battle at Aboukir Bay by the famous British Admiral Nelson. Russia and Prussia were now fighting against France too, and all the enemies of France joined together, and it was very difficult to beat them off. Napoleon left his army trapped in Egypt as he could not get it away, and escaped to France, where the people greeted him as a hero. In 1799 he plotted against the Directory government, made himself the head of the French government, and called himself the 'First Consul'. Russia made peace with France, and Napoleon won so many victories that he was able to get back all the lands which France had lost on the continent of Europe. Once again Austria had to give in, and once again there was only Britain left fighting against France.

IV. THE FIRST EMPIRE

The first fifteen years of the nineteenth century in Europe are mainly taken up with the rise of this remarkable man Napoleon, and with his sudden fall. There is no room to tell very much of this astonishing story in this book. In 1804, Napoleon made himself Emperor; the French people supported him very strongly because he gave them a very well-run government, and they were proud of the victories of his armies, even though it looked as though he had taken away some of the rights which they had won by the Revolution. For a short time there was even peace with Britain. But Napoleon was not content with his successes; he wanted to get

more. War soon broke out again, but when Nelson, won a great victory over the French fleet at Trafalgar in 1805, this stopped Napoleon from invading Britain. Napoleon defeated the Austrian armies at the battle of Austerlitz and the Prussian armies at the battle of Jena. By 1807 he had defeated the Russians, though he soon made peace with them. Napoleon was now the master of the whole continent of Europe, apart from Russia, which was now his ally, the two countries of Spain and Portugal, the three Scandinavian countries, and the lands in the Balkan Peninsula which belonged to the Sultan of Turkey.

If Napoleon had been content with these amazing successes, he might have gone on being Emperor for the rest of his life; but because he was ambitious, he tried to conquer still more lands. Up till that time he had usually found that the peoples of the different countries were quite willing to be ruled by him after he had defeated their armies. This was because he gave them more freedom than they had had under their own rulers. But in 1808, he invaded Spain and turned the King off his throne, and put his own brother on the throne instead; he then found that all the people of Spain were fighting against him. He could not make them give in, although the Spanish armies were defeated time after time. Because they struggled so hard, the British Government sent an army to help the Spanish people. Napoleon had tried to stop all the countries in Europe from trading with Britain (this is called a 'blockade'); but he could not do enough to prevent them from trading. On the other hand the British Navy was able to blockade all the ports of the continental countries. The countries in Europe which had been conquered by Napoleon did not like this at all, nor did the Russians. The Emperor of Russia quarrelled with Napoleon in 1811, and Napoleon made up his mind to try to rule over the whole continent of Europe. In the next year he gathered together a huge army to invade Russia; but he started too late, when it was nearly winter time. He captured Moscow, but he could not hold it and had to retreat, because the winter in Russia was so very

very cold. His 'Grand Army' perished in the snow, and out of nearly a million men only a few thousands came back to France. After he had retreated, the countries of Europe took up arms against him, and in 1813 all their armies together defeated his army at the battle of Leipzig. In the next year France itself was invaded. The armies which had defeated Napoleon at Leipzig invaded France from the East, and the British Army under Wellington invaded France from the South. Wellington had already turned the French out of Spain by very clever fighting. In spite of all he could do, Napoleon was beaten and had to give up the throne. The French people were worn out because the wars had been going on for so long; they could not fight any more, and did not even want to. Napoleon was sent away to live in exile in Elba, which is a small island off the coast of Italy. Then Louis XVIII, who was the brother of Louis XVI, became King of France (Louis XVII was the young son of Louis XVI, but he never reigned). In 1815, the next year, Napoleon escaped from Elba, and succeeded in raising an army in France. But in the end he was defeated at the battle of Waterloo by an army which was led by Wellington. This army was made up of soldiers of various different nations, but mostly British. Napoleon was sent away into exile to St. Helena, which is a lonely island in the South Atlantic Ocean, and he died there six years later.

V. RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTIONS AND OF THE GREAT WARS

In 1814 a great meeting of the most important men in Europe was held at Vienna. It was called the 'Congress of Vienna' and met to discuss and decide the problems which were caused by all that had happened during the last twenty-five years. In the next chapter you will learn what these men decided to do at the Conference; but here you will learn what changes had taken place in many countries because of what had happened in France. People can see now that things were changing and that the classes who had had privileges could not go on having these privileges for much longer; but the men

who met at the Vienna Congress did not understand that this was so. Because of the French Revolution people all over Western Europe thought that everybody had the right to be free. They thought that this liberty meant that no one should treat them badly, and also, that it meant that all the citizens ought to have a share in deciding who their rulers ought to be, and even in deciding how their country ought to be governed. Though people in France had become very much less free while Napoleon was ruling than they had been under the revolution, yet every man, however poor he was, felt that he had a chance of rising high in the service of his country. This is called '*equality of opportunity*'. Liberty and equality of this kind taken together make up much of what is called *democracy*. Democracy was one of the ideas that people thought most about in the nineteenth century. The other main idea that people thought about at that time was *nationalism*. Nationalism means that the people of a country think it most important for their country to be free and not to be ruled by any other country. The spirit of nationalism was shown in the way the French struggled against the armies which invaded France in 1792. It was also shown by the way in which the British went on fighting against the French during the long wars. You can find other examples of it in the way in which the Spanish and Prussian people went on resisting Napoleon, although their armies had been defeated in battle; and last of all in the way in which all the European countries joined together to fight against him. 'Nationalism' can be bad as well as good, because nations often think that their own interests are more important than the good of all human beings, and then they attack their neighbours. The German rulers and people have been the worst in this way. Finally, the French idea that the whole nation should be armed and able to fight, has made the different countries train all the men as soldiers, which is called '*universal military service*'. This has given far too much power to the leaders of the armies, and has sometimes helped these people to seize power for themselves, and to become '*Dictators*'.

CHAPTER XIV

The Rise of Liberalism and Nationalism in Europe

I. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND ITS TERMS

The Congress of Vienna met while Napoleon was still in Elba, and had a very difficult task. Napoleon had cast down some rulers and had set up others; he had swept away very old States and had altered frontiers, and this made it necessary to draw the map of Europe all over again. You have to understand what was decided at this Congress, because it made a great difference to the history of Europe for many years to come.

Most of the rulers of Europe were at the conference. The most important of them were the Emperor (Tsar) Alexander I of Russia, Metternich, the Austrian Minister, Castlereagh, who was the British Foreign Secretary, and Talleyrand, who was the French Foreign Minister. Metternich wanted to put things back as much as possible as they had been before the Revolution. The Tsar was friendly towards the people who wanted reforms to begin with, but in the end he supported Metternich. Castlereagh however, though he had supported Metternich at first, later disagreed with him more and more. It was especially in the later congresses, which were held between 1817 and 1822, that Metternich and Castlereagh did not agree. The people who wanted liberty and who wanted to have reforms were called *liberals*. Metternich hated all these people who were liberals and who wanted their countries to be independent nations (that is, not ruled by any other nations), and he went on fighting against their ideas till he lost his position in 1848.

The Congress dealt first of all with the problem of what was to happen to France. Talleyrand, the French Minister, was very clever, and he persuaded the Congress not to treat France like an enemy, because Napoleon had been turned out, and Louis XVIII put on the throne.

But the French boundaries were put back to where they had been in 1792. The French people had always wanted the river Rhine to be their eastern frontier, but they were not allowed to keep the German lands on the left bank of the Rhine, except for the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which Louis XIV had seized in the seventeenth century. The Netherlands had belonged first to Spain and then to Austria. They were now joined with Holland. Holland was the old United Provinces. They had been ruled by the House of Orange, and were now made into a kingdom. This joining was done so as to prevent France from spreading out on the north-eastern frontier. There were many difficult problems in Germany which had to be solved. During the wars the western part of Germany had been united, first of all as a 'confederation', that is, various different States had agreed to join together; and then as a kingdom, which was ruled by one of Napoleon's family. During this time the people of Western Germany were given much more freedom than they had ever had before. But they had joined Austria and Prussia in the 'War of Liberation' of 1813-14, in order to turn Napoleon out, and many German people hoped that all the different German States would be united into one country. Metternich did not want this to happen at all. This was because, though the Austrians, who were of German blood, were the ruling race in the lands over which the Habsburgs ruled, there were many other peoples there, who were mainly Slavs and Hungarians, and if all the German people were united together, this would probably mean that the Austrian Empire would break up. A kind of loose union was made in Germany and was called the 'Bund', but this was very much like the old 'Holy Roman Empire', which had been ended by Napoleon in 1806. There had been over 300 States in Germany, and many of them were very small. After the agreement at Vienna there were only 39 States. Norway was joined with Sweden, and was ruled by Bernadotte, who was one of Napoleon's old marshals. He had been wise enough to change sides at the right time. Switzerland became independent again. Italy was another difficult problem, rather like Germany. For the first

time since the days of the Roman Empire, the Italian people had been well ruled while they were being ruled by the French. But Metternich had his way in Italy, and all Northern Italy, except for the small Kingdom of Sardinia in the north-west, was ruled by the Austrians again. The Pope kept the lands which he had always had, and the Bourbon line of kings, who had been ruling in Naples and Sicily, was put back there, although these kings had ruled very badly. In the centre of Italy there were also three small States. These were the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Modena, and each of them was ruled by a despotic Austrian ruler. In all these States no one was allowed to try to make reforms, or to try to make Italy into a united nation, and many Italian people did not like this at all. The very old Kingdom of Poland had been finally divided up between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1792 and 1795. (You learned about this in *Our Heritage II*, Chapter XIV). Napoleon had revived Poland, and had called it the 'Grand Duchy of Warsaw', so the Polish people had supported him. The Vienna Congress divided up Poland again between the same three States; and though the name of 'Kingdom of Poland' was still kept, the Tsar of Russia was made King of Poland.

So after the Congress of Vienna, nearly every country in Europe was ruled by despotic rulers. Hardly any of them wanted changes. They liked the old style of ruling and living, but they were perhaps a little less selfish than earlier kings had been in the past. But the Congress of Vienna and the four congresses which came after it showed that the peoples were coming to believe in one good idea; this was that it is better to settle disputes between different nations by conferences than by going to war.

II. LIBERAL AND NATIONAL UNREST

In 1815 the three rulers of Russia, Austria and Prussia formed an alliance, which was called 'The Holy Alliance', as it was supposed to make sure that the nations did everything in a Christian way. Actually

it was used very cleverly by Metternich to try to stop people from making revolutions; later on it was joined by France. But in spite of it people everywhere were beginning to want reforms, getting 'liberal' ideas. They were beginning also to want their countries to be free and united, that is, they were having 'nationalist' ideas.

In Spain and Portugal, kings from the old royal families were put back on the thrones; but the liberal people in these countries did their best to be given a certain amount of freedom, and got the King to grant 'constitutions'. A constitution is a declaration of the way in which the country is to be governed, and what rights the people are to be given. In 1823 a French army marched into Spain to help the Spanish King to take away the constitution which he had given to the Spanish people. The British stopped the same thing from happening in Portugal too, and in the end even the Spaniards were left to manage their own affairs in their own way. In the colonies in South and Central America which were owned by Spain and Portugal there were many people who wanted reforms and who wanted freedom, so these colonies broke away from their rulers. When the Holy Alliance tried to stop these colonies from breaking away, Britain and the United States of America joined together to prevent any country from interfering with them (see later, Chapter XXVI).

People were getting restless in other countries too. The Belgian people, who were Catholics and lived in the Netherlands, did not like their Dutch Protestant ruler. The Polish people longed for the freedom which they had lost, and they did not like being ruled by the Tsar Alexander. In Germany and Italy, people were feeling more and more that their countries ought each to be united into one whole country, and not split up into many little States. In both countries people were working secretly to bring this about. But for some years the Holy Alliance was too strong to let the people do anything about it. After 1827, however, the Alliance split up because its members did not agree about things which were happening in the Balkan Peninsula.

At that time the Balkan Peninsula belonged to the Sultan of Turkey, and the Congress of Vienna had not decided anything about what should happen in those lands.

III. THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

It was in France that the Vienna settlement first began to be upset. Many of the French people did not like it when the old order of society was restored. So long as Louis XVIII lived he managed to keep his subjects peaceful; but when his younger brother Charles X came after him in 1824, the people rose up and drove him from the throne after six years' rule. A cousin of his, Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, was put on the throne instead of him, and was given the title of 'King of the French'. Louis Philippe was far more friendly to the reformers than the two kings before had been.

In the same year, 1831, the Belgian people rebelled against their Dutch ruler. The rising was put down, but the new French King was friendly towards the Belgians, and so was the British government; they persuaded the Dutch ruler to give the Belgian people their independence. A kingdom was set up under a German ruler, called Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and was given a free constitution: this King had a very long reign. The countries which had been members of the Holy Alliance did not like it when this new kingdom was made, but they finally agreed that they would all see that Belgium was not brought into any wars, and promised not to attack the country. The Belgian people are skilful and work hard. They had large iron and coal-fields in their country, so they were one of the first countries to copy Britain and start big factories and industries. Belgium soon became an important manufacturing country. The Dutch people had always been very good at trading, and they went on with their trade, especially trading with their many colonies in the East Indies. They were very careful not to meddle with the affairs of other countries, and did not fight in any

wars till the Second World War, when Germany invaded Holland without having any good reason for it.

In Poland a great rebellion broke out in 1830. But Poland was far away from Western Europe, and though Britain and France were friendly to Poland they could not help and did not try to. The rebellion was stopped and the Polish people were treated very cruelly. The Russians stopped treating Poland as a separate kingdom, and did their best to make it a part of Russia. But although the Polish people were treated very cruelly, they still went on thinking of themselves as a separate nation, though they did not become independent again till 1919.

There was also trouble in the countries which were directly ruled by the Austrians. In those parts of the Empire which were ruled by the Habsburgs, but where the people were not Germans, both the people of Hungary who call themselves Magyars and the people of Bohemia who call themselves Czechs were trying to get free from the rule of the Austrians. In Germany, the Prussians wanted the Austrians to be kept out of Germany and the rest of the German States to be united under the King of Prussia; but other German people wanted all the German States to join together and make a republic. They took one step towards joining together in 1833. Germany was beginning to start big industries, and because there were so many different States, each one of which charged customs duties, trade was very difficult. The Prussians suggested that all the different States should join their customs together, and that there should only be customs between Germany and other countries. This was done, and all the different customs barriers between the different States inside Germany were done away with. The building of railways also helped to bring the different German States together. In Italy, secret societies were trying to unite all the different Italian States into one nation. In 1830 they tried and failed. After that a great patriot, whose name was Mazzini, started a society called 'Young Italy', and many people all over Italy joined this society. The rulers did their best to stop this society,

and even put some of its members to death. But in spite of that, more and more people joined it.

IV. THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 AND ITS RESULTS

The government of Louis Philippe was far more friendly towards reformers than the two governments before it had been. But some of the French people thought that it should make many more reforms still. In France and Britain a new movement was starting which came to be known as 'Socialism'. The movement was really started by Robert Owen, who was an English mill-owner, but far more people followed it in France than in Britain. The socialists wanted to give all men equal chances and to do away with different classes. The early followers of the movement did not believe that anybody should own any property for themselves. They thought that all the property which private people owned should be taken away and given to the State. If people would not give up their property peacefully, then it was to be taken away by force. Naturally people who had property were very much alarmed by this, and in France the government would not give any more reforms because it was afraid of the socialists. But most of the French people were tired of the dull way in which Louis Philippe had governed them, and in 1848 there was a riot in Paris. This riot turned into a revolution, and Louis Philippe was turned off the throne, and a republic was set up.

Just as there had been revolution in other parts of Europe after the revolution in France in 1830, so now, in the same way, after the revolution in France in 1848 there were revolutions in other parts of Europe. In the next chapter you will learn what happened in Germany and Italy. But at the beginning in 1848, nearly all the rulers in those two countries gave up many of their old privileges and gave their subjects free constitutions. (The constitution of a country gives the rules which say how the country is to be governed). But on the whole the movement was a failure, and before long the rulers took away many of these constitutions.

In the Austrian lands, the Czechs rebelled against the Austrians, but the rebellion was soon stopped. The rebellion against the Austrians in Hungary was more serious. In that country the Magyars (Hungarians) were led by a great patriot named Kossuth, and they declared that they were no longer part of the Austrian Empire. There were big riots even in Vienna, which was the capital city of the Austrian Empire. The new Emperor Francis Joseph was finding it difficult to govern Italy because of all that was happening there. He got the Russians to help him, and in the end the rebellions were put down severely. But even after this the Magyars went on struggling, and at last they were allowed to govern themselves, and though Francis Joseph still ruled Hungary, he was called the King of Hungary, and not its Emperor.

In Paris, the socialists became very powerful, the most powerful people in the new republic which had just been founded. They tried to set up 'National Workshops', to give work for everybody, but these workshops failed badly. The people who had property were afraid that the socialists would take it all away from them, so they managed to get Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected as President of the Republic. He was the nephew of the great Napoleon. Later on Louis Napoleon copied his uncle, and made himself 'Emperor of the French'. He went on being Emperor till he was turned out by Germany in the war between France and Germany in 1870-71.

For a time the people who wanted reforms in all the different countries had failed. But the two revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had shown that they could be very strong, and dangerous to those who ruled them badly. Gradually most of the rulers of European countries set the peasants free; they also took away the old privileges of the nobles who owned land, and they allowed the people to share in governing the country, though often only a very small share.

CHAPTER XV

The Unification of Germany and Italy

I. THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN ITALY

In the nineteenth century a great movement started in Italy which was called the 'Revival' movement ('Risorgimento' in Italian). The Italian people looked back to the time when they had been very great, when they had written many wonderful books and had great painters and sculptors and had built great buildings. So they wrote books about their history, and books of poetry. But more than anything else they tried to set themselves free from the Austrians who were ruling over them. The secret society called 'Young Italy' was working for this. But though the leaders of the 'Revival' movement wanted to set Italy free, they did not agree about what Italy ought to be like after it was set free and united. Some of these leaders, like Mazzini, wanted Italy to be a socialist republic. Other leaders wanted all the Italian States to be ruled either by the Pope or by the King of Sardinia. In 1846, Pope Pius IX showed that he wanted to help the national movement, and some people hoped that he would rule over Italy after it was united. When the revolution started in 1848 in France, the Italian nationalists thought that it was a good time to turn the Austrians out. Charles Albert, who was the King of Sardinia, helped them. First of all he gave his own subjects a free constitution. He was advised to do this by his Minister, Count Cavour, who was a very clever man. In Sicily, the people rose up against the Bourbon kings, who had treated them very badly; and in Lombardy and Venice the people rose up against the Austrians. In Rome, Mazzini and another leader, Garibaldi set up a republic: they were leaders of the nationalists. Because this republic was set up in Rome, the Pope stopped helping the nationalists; and also the French Emperor, Louis Napoleon, who was a keen Catholic, sent French troops to help the Pope. They put down the republic, though Garibaldi and his followers fought very hard against

them. Charles Albert of Sardinia sent his army to help the people in Lombardy who were trying to turn out the Austrians. But the Austrians defeated him, and he was made to give up the throne. He had to let his son, Victor Emanuel, be king instead of him.

Cavour saw now that the Italians could not drive the Austrians out without getting help from outside Italy. He and his new King first of all did all that they could to make Sardinia into a strong, free and well-ruled State. Cavour decided that either Britain or France would have to help him against the Austrians. In order to be friendly with these two countries, he sent a small army to help them in the Crimean War, which they were fighting against Russia in 1854 (see later, Chapter XVII), so they were grateful to him for this. Cavour did not ask for anything for Italy at the Peace Conference, which was held after the war; but he pointed out how badly the Austrians were governing North Italy. Cavour realised that Britain was not likely to send an army to help the Italians, so he made up his mind to get France to send an army. He was very clever about this, and in 1859 the Emperor Louis Napoleon sent a French army into Italy. This army drove the Austrians from the plains of Lombardy. Garibaldi played a great part in this fighting. By this time everyone thought that Garibaldi was a great hero. But just when Cavour thought that the French Emperor was going to drive the Austrians out of Venice, Napoleon III suddenly made peace with the Austrians instead. The Italian people were offended when the Emperor took Savoy and Nice which were lands on the borders of France and Italy as a reward for having helped the Italians. Cavour had to let the French take these places. However, the peoples of the three Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany turned out their Austrian rulers and got Victor Emanuel to be their king. After this there were left in Italy only the lands of the Pope and the Kingdom of Naples in the south which were not under Victor Emanuel; these were still ruled by their old rulers. In 1860, Cavour secretly urged Garibaldi to take an expedition to the island of Sicily. Garibaldi had only 1,000 men with him, but he was very successful,

and captured the whole Kingdom of Naples, and all the people there were very glad and supported him. He was thinking of marching on Rome, but Cavour thought of this first. Victor Emanuel invaded the lands of the Pope with the Sardinian army, and a part of these lands was joined up with Sardinia. Then he went on to meet Garibaldi. Garibaldi had always wanted Italy to be a republic; but now he saw that the only way to unite Italy was for Victor Emanuel to be king over the whole of Italy, so he handed the Kingdom of Naples over to him. In 1861 the first Parliament of the new United Italy met at Turin. The only parts of Italy which were left now were the lands around Rome, which still belonged to the Pope, and the lands around Venice, which still belonged to the Austrians. Every Italian wanted Rome to be the capital of Italy; but the French Emperor had sent troops to occupy Rome, and the Italians did not dare to run the risk of a war against France. They had to wait for another ten years before Rome became the capital of Italy.

Cavour died soon after the 1861 Parliament met. The people who came after him were not so clever as he had been, but they went on with his work. When they saw that they could not expect any more help from France, they tried to get help from Prussia instead. In 1866 Prussia fought a war against Austria and won, and then in 1870, the Prussians fought against France. While these wars were being fought, Italy took Venice first, and then Rome. There was a big quarrel between the Pope and the Italian government after Rome was taken. The Pope stayed in his palace of the Vatican as a prisoner at his own choice, and did not leave the Vatican until the quarrel was settled in 1929. In 1929, the Pope was given about a square mile of land around the Vatican to rule over as sovereign. In return he agreed that he would never again claim the lands which used to be ruled by the Popes. All the Catholic people everywhere thought that the Pope ought not to be the subject of any ruler, because he was the supreme head on earth of the Catholic Church. The Austrians kept the seaport of Trieste on the Adriatic Sea, and the

mountain valley of the Trentino. Italy did not get these places till after the First World War.

From the time when Italy was united up to 1914, the country made slow progress. The people were mostly uneducated, especially the people in the south. Because of this there was often a lot of bribery in Italian politics. There were a number of secret societies of criminals who interfered with law and order; and the peasants were still very poor. Things were rather better in the north, as big industries were starting there. Italy has never had very much coal, but when people started to make electricity from water-power, the people in the north of Italy were able to use the water-power of the Southern Alps, so that they were able to use machinery driven by electricity in their factories. Italy also took a large part in what was happening between the other countries at that time. You will learn all about this in later chapters.

II. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

As you have already learnt, after the Congress of Vienna, the German States were joined together into a loose 'Bund'. But most German people wanted the States to be joined much more closely, though they did not agree about how this was to be done. The people in the western parts of Germany had been ruled by the French, while the wars of the French Revolution were going on. The French rulers had given them more freedom than they had had under their earlier rulers, so the West German people hoped that the German States would be ruled in the same sort of way after they were united. Almost everybody agreed that Germany could only be governed as a 'federation'. In a federation a number of different States join together; each State looks after some of its own affairs, but they all give up some very important powers to a main government, which is over all the States. Now the leaders of Prussia had made up their minds that Germany should be united under the leadership of Prussia. For this to happen Austria could not be made part of Germany, but would have to be kept separate. The

first step towards keeping Austria separate was the Customs Union of 1833. Austria did not join this Customs Union.

In 1848 some of the German people were trying to make a revolution in Germany just as other people were doing in France and other countries at that time. The liberal people in all the States asked their rulers to give them free constitutions. A great Congress met at Frankfurt, and people from all the States were sent to it; they drew up a scheme to make Germany into a federation of all the States. The two provinces of Schleswig and Holstein in the north were ruled by Denmark but most of the people who lived there were Germans. The Congress decided to take these provinces from Denmark by force, but the army which the Congress sent to take these provinces was defeated, so the German people decided that this Congress was no good. The King of Prussia had thought for a short time that he would become a liberal Emperor of Germany. But after the army of the Congress was beaten by the Danes, he took away the free constitution which he had given to his people, and very quickly other rulers of German States copied him, and also took away the free constitutions which they had given their peoples. When all the people who had been sent to the Frankfurt Congress went home, its work had failed. This was the first time that liberal ideas had been tried in Germany, and they had failed very badly.

But though liberal ideas had failed, this did not mean that there were no hope of uniting Germany. The people who wanted Germany to be a united country soon saw that this could only happen if Prussia led the way. The new King of Prussia came to the throne in 1861, and he made up his mind that he would unite Germany, and would use force to do this. The people of Germany had always liked to use military force. The King of Prussia got a very clever man called von Roon to improve the way in which they ran the army. Von Roon brought a new kind of rifle called the 'needle-gun' into use. This was very much better than the muskets which other armies used at that time, because

it could shoot more quickly and exactly; and he made many other improvements. The King also had a very clever minister called Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was the man who did the most to make Germany united. He did this, in his own words, by 'blood and iron', that is, by war. He did not mind how many people he harmed to carry out his ideas, and later German leaders were just the same.

Bismarck wanted first of all to make Prussia as strong and rich as he could, so he spent large sums of money on the army, and gave State help to trade and to industries. The next thing which he wanted to do was to prevent Austria from having anything to do in Germany, and he was very clever in the way he did this. First of all he agreed with Russia that Russia was not to interfere with anything that Prussia did in Germany, and in return, the Prussians agreed that they would not interfere with anything which the Russians did in Poland. In 1863 he decided to stop the Danes from ruling over Schleswig Holstein any more. You will remember that the Frankfurt Congress had tried to do this and had failed. Bismarck persuaded the Austrians to join with Prussia in making war on Denmark, and together they defeated Denmark. Britain protested very strongly that this war on Denmark was wrong, but the British did not want to go to war against Prussia and Austria about Denmark, so these two countries took no notice of what Britain said. Bismarck then started a quarrel with Austria about how Prussia and Austria were to divide up what they had won between them. Because of this there was a war between Austria and Prussia in 1866. The Prussian army was very well run by von Roon, and was led by a very clever soldier called von Moltke, so that it took only seven weeks to defeat the Austrian army. The Emperor Louis Napoleon of France was very disappointed that Prussia had defeated Austria so quickly, because he had hoped that there would be a long war between the two countries and at the end of it he would interfere and make peace. Bismarck knew very well what the Emperor intended to do.

Louis Napoleon, who was called Napoleon III, had been very important up till then, and had had a great deal to do in all that was happening in Europe. But he was losing the power which he had had. You learnt earlier in this chapter how he lost the friendship of Italy. The Russians were very angry with him, because the French and British armies had defeated the Russians in the Crimean War. Louis Napoleon had also annoyed the British because he had said that he would invade Britain to avenge his uncle's defeat at Waterloo. There were many Frenchmen who did not like the rather despotic way in which he ruled them, and who still wanted France to be a republic. Besides, he was not really a great man, like his famous uncle, and he made several bad mistakes.

Bismarck understood all that was happening in Europe, and he decided that it was now the right time to unite Germany by making war on France. After the Germans had won the war against Austria they gave Austria very easy terms. At the same time Bismarck had persuaded some of the States in Northern Germany to join into a 'North German Confederation', and forced the others to join it. He now wanted to bring the South German States into the federation. Most of them had been friendly to Austria up till that time. First of all, he started having talks with Napoleon III, in which he pretended to be friendly to him. Then he told the South German States that Napoleon III was asking for lands on the left bank of the Rhine, where German people were living, as a reward for not fighting in the war between Prussia and Austria. Bismarck then started a quarrel with France about who was to be the next King of Spain. This really had nothing to do with Prussia. The newspapers in both France and Prussia did all they could to make the people in both countries as unfriendly to each other as they could. Because of all this there was a war in 1870 between France and Prussia, and the armies of the South German States fought side by side with the armies of the new federation of North German States against France. The French

army was not properly run, though it had very good weapons. Everyone was very surprised when the main French armies were beaten after about six weeks, and the Emperor himself was captured at Sedan.

A republic was set up in Paris, but in spite of that the Germans marched against Paris, and besieged that city. Though Paris was bravely defended by its people, it had to give in in the next year. France was made to give up the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which were on the frontier between France and Germany, and the French people had to pay a great sum of money to Prussia. In the same year, 1870, Bismarck saw that his work had succeeded, when William I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor in the Great Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles, near Paris. Bismarck was made Chancellor of the Empire. The Empire was a great federation of all the German States, except for Austria. Though the people were supposed to have some freedom, it was really the rulers of Prussia who ruled over the rest of Germany, and everyone knew that all this had been done by armed force.

Germany had suddenly become a great new power in Europe. It was a power which had been built up by force, and which intended to conquer the other nations. It could very easily have turned into a power for good, because the Germans have great gifts for organizing things, and for running industries, and they have some great musicians and artists. But the leaders of the German people used their power in the wrong way. They started two terrible wars in which the whole of Europe and nearly the whole world had to fight, and no one can tell what will happen because of these wars. The German people have followed their leaders gladly and without thinking whether what they were doing was right or wrong. In later chapters of this book you will learn how all this happened.

CHAPTER XVI

Britain and France in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

I. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND FRANCE

During the eighteenth century Britain and France were nearly always unfriendly and fought against each other in five wars. Because of these wars Britain got many colonies. She also had much more trade with other countries and therefore had to have more ships. Some people in Britain liked the French Revolution, others did not. At first many people thought that the revolution was good, because it looked as if the French wanted to copy the British Parliament and the British Government. But when the French people attacked their King and their nobles, most of the English did not think it was a good thing.

When the French armies over-ran the Netherlands, Pitt, the British Prime Minister, thought that Britain was in danger and made war on France. The British have always thought that it was all right for the Dutch people themselves to be in Holland, but that if a strong country held Holland it was dangerous to England because Holland was so near to England. The same is even more true of what is now Belgium. There were two parties in Britain at that time, the Whigs and the Tories. Some of the Whig Party did not want Britain to fight against France, because they felt that France was helping ordinary people by fighting against tyrants. But most of the people in the country did not agree with the Whigs. When Napoleon came into power in France, even the Whigs in England stopped trying to keep peace with France, because they thought that Napoleon was an enemy of freedom.

The wars between France and Britain and other countries in Europe went on from 1792 to 1815, with only one short space of time when there was peace. All this time Britain was the most important country

fighting against France. The British warships stopped Napoleon and the French from invading Britain, and destroyed the French warships in a number of battles. Because the British had destroyed the French warships they were able to send ships and armies to capture the colonies belonging to France and Holland of which Ceylon was one. They were also able to send an army by sea to Spain and other armies to some other parts of Europe as well.

Because England was so rich she was able to give money to other enemies of Napoleon and the French in Europe, so that they could go on fighting against France.

After the war was over the two countries became more friendly, though they were not often very friendly till after 1900. Sometimes they were not at all friendly, as for instance when Napoleon III of France talked about invading England, and when the two countries quarrelled about their colonies. But the two countries never fought each other, and in the Crimean War of 1854-55 fought on the same side. One of the main reasons why the two countries became more friendly was that by about 1900 both were real democracies.

II. THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN BRITAIN

A country which is called a democracy is a 'free' country. In a democracy the people have certain rights which the people of a country which is not a democracy do not have. There are certain things which they are free to do, so long as they do not harm any one else. Thus they are free to think as they like, to say what they like, to write what they like, and to worship as they like, but always only so long as this does not hurt any one else, and to stop them from doing what they think themselves free to do it must be proved in a law-court that they are causing harm to some one.

No one may be put in prison without a fair trial. The people must be free to form societies, so long as the societies only do things which the law allows. They must also be free to take a share in deciding how their country is to be governed. This is done by voting at elections, when they choose a person to speak for them

in Parliament or in local councils. This person is called their representative, and 'represents' them.

People in Britain have not always been free in these ways. Their freedom has taken several hundred years to grow. The right of voting is sometimes called 'political liberty'. The other rights are called 'civil liberty'. The people had civil liberty by about 1800, but did not have full political liberty till after 1900. The people must always look after these rights very carefully, otherwise the government may take them away. Governments may sometimes want to take away the people's rights as they claim that these rights make it more difficult to run the country well. But if all the people do what they ought to do, there is no reason why the people should not be free and the country well run at the same time. People who do not think parliamentary democracy is a good idea say that under a democratic government things are often run very badly, with government servants not doing their work properly and even taking bribes; they say that the people who have votes do not usually choose good and clever men to represent them in Parliament, so as to see that Ministers and government servants do what is right.

Ceylon was a part of the British Empire for about one hundred and fifty years, and as the ideas and customs of Britain have gradually spread all through the countries which were part of the British Empire, it is very important to understand what they are and how they came about.

The ruler of Britain is a King (or Queen), and always has been. The fact that the British people today like to be ruled by a King or Queen is mostly due to the work of Queen Victoria, and the Kings who came after her. Queen Victoria ruled from 1837 to 1901. Her grandfather George III was quite liked by the people, but they did not like his son, George IV, or his other son, William IV. After the young queen came to the throne, some people thought that Britain would become a republic. But Victoria was very careful to be a 'constitutional sovereign', that is to say she ruled the country in the way in which the customs and laws

of the land required her to rule. A king who rules the country as he likes, whether the laws and customs of the land allow it or not, is not a 'constitutional sovereign'. After a time people came to think that she did not interfere too much with Parliament, though she really interfered more than the people knew. In behaving so well she followed the advice of her first Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, and of her husband, Prince Albert. The other reason why the people all liked her was that she was a very good person. Her son, Edward VII, and her grandson, George V, were even more careful than she had been to act as constitutional sovereigns. They have made the throne a sign of all the best things in which the best people over whom they were kings believed. This is equally true of the late King, George VI who brought up his daughter, Queen Elizabeth, to be the same.

Though the Queen is called the ruler, she does not have any real power. It is the Queen's Ministers and the Parliament who have the real power. In the nineteenth century, that is, roughly between 1800 and 1900, the Parliament was mainly chosen by the upper and middle classes. During the hundred years before that it was the nobles who ruled the country, helped by the wealthy merchants. They were divided into two parties, the Whigs and the Tories (see *Our Heritage II*, Chapter XV). During the long wars against France the Tories were in power, and went on being in power for nearly forty years.

While the wars were on, the government did not let the people have so much freedom as in peace-time, because they were afraid that the people might use their freedom to rebel against the government in the same way that the French people had done. Even after 1815, when the war was over, the people were still not allowed so much freedom as they had had before the war, because the government was frightened that the ideas of the French Revolution would spread in Britain, and, in fact, they did spread. There were many who wanted the people to be more free and more equal, and wanted more of the people to be allowed a share in governing the country. The government tried to prevent this at first, but gradually gave it up. There was some rioting,

but not very much. This cause, the cause of 'political reform' was taken up by the great landowners who led the Whig Party. Some of them had at first thought that the French Revolution was a good thing. When the Whig Party came into power in the general election of 1832, they passed a 'Reform Bill' in 1832. This Act of Parliament gave the right to vote for Members of Parliament to most middle class men, such as professional men, merchants, farmers and tradesmen. It satisfied the leaders of the Whig Party, but it did not satisfy many liberal reformers, who did not think it went far enough. These liberal reformers after some time joined with part of the Whig Party to form the 'Liberal' Party. The Tories accepted the Reform Act, though they did not like it, and later on they joined with the rest of the Whigs to form the 'Conservative' Party.

By about 1900, both the Liberals and the Conservatives thought that more political and social reforms were needed, but the Liberals wanted them quickly, while the Conservatives thought that great care ought to be taken before they were made, so took a long time over them. This was the most important difference between the two parties.

Reforms of all kinds came very quickly after 1832. The greatest of these was the abolition of slavery. Everybody in the lands ruled over by the British who had slaves was ordered to set them free. There were also other important reforms. Thus Roman Catholics, Non-conformists (Protestants who did not belong to the Church of England, such as Wesleyans), and Jews had not been allowed to do some things, such as voting, which other people were allowed to do. These disadvantages were now taken away. Another reform was that the government of the towns, called 'local government', which had been often bad and out of date, was altered and made better.

In the few years after 1840 there was a big quarrel about 'Free Trade' and 'Protection'. The Liberals wanted all goods, but especially corn, to be brought into the country free of customs duties, so as to make everything as cheap as possible for the people. But the

Tories thought that this would be very harmful to landlords, farmers and agricultural workers. Up till then their interests has been protected by a heavy duty on corn brought into the country from abroad. The Liberals had their way, and for over eighty years Britain was a 'free trade country'.

The reign of Queen Victoria was a great time for the middle classes, such as lawyers, doctors, merchants, farmers and tradesmen. Though the upper classes, mainly the big landowners, were still very important, many rich people from the middle classes became part of the upper classes. The middle class people were mainly interested in trade, politics, religion and sport; but in spite of what has been said against them, they were really very clever people and many of the great scientists, writers and poets of this time were middle class people.

Some large private boarding schools, called strangely enough 'public schools', were started about the middle of the century, that is round about 1850, for children of upper and middle class parents who could afford to pay the fees. These schools, as well as the older ones like Eton and Winchester, have had great influence on British life and character. The old universities of Oxford and Cambridge were made very much better than they had been, and several new universities were started in great cities such as London. What was most important of all was that laws were passed setting up free schools for *all* children up to a certain age, so that all the children growing up were able to be educated. Because of this there are hardly any people in Britain today who cannot read and write. Poor children if they are really good at their work in primary schools can go to the secondary schools and after that to a university either free or for very little money.

A number of laws were passed by the social reformers, especially after a Liberal Government came into power in 1906. These laws helped to make the lives of the working classes much less miserable. But the workers

also helped themselves, especially by two great working class movements, the Trade Union movement and the Co-operative movement.

A Trade Union is a group of workers in any industry or group of industries who join together in order to have their wages raised, their working hours made shorter, and their conditions of work made better. The leaders of the movement were, unlike those in Ceylon to-day, nearly always working men themselves. In the early years of the nineteenth century these unions were not allowed by the law, and people were sometimes punished for belonging to them. But the leaders worked very hard and held many meetings, and when everything else failed even went on strike; at last laws were passed which allowed workers to join together and form trade unions. To-day the trade unions have become very strong. On the whole they have acted wisely and have not been violent.

The Co-operative movement began in a very small way in Lancashire. The idea was that workers should put their savings together to run their own shops. In this way they saved for themselves the profit which the shop-keepers usually made. Some of the 'Co-operative Stores' became very big businesses, and even set up factories to make the goods which were sold in their shops; they even own tea estates in Ceylon.

Because of these two movements, the Trade Union movement and the Co-operative movement, the working classes have become much more powerful. And since more people now have the right to vote, they have more political power. In 1867 the vote was given to many workers in towns, and in 1884 to all householders, both in the town and in the country, so that many country labourers were given the right to vote. In 1918 and 1928 laws were passed which gave votes to everybody, men and women alike, over the age of 21. Because of this, since more people belong to the working class than to any other class in the country, they have more power now than the upper and middle classes. But up till the Second World War, most working class people did not mind leaving the real leadership in the hands of upper

and middle class men. However, about 1900, some of the Trade Union leaders felt that the working classes should have a party of their own to represent them in Parliament, so they started the 'Labour Party'. This party was very small when it began, but has now grown very large, and in the year 1945 came into power with a big majority of Labour members in the House of Commons. The Labour Party believed in "socialism"; but the people in Britain who had votes did not seem to like socialism much and in an election in 1951 gave them to the Conservatives, so that this party got a majority in Parliament. Conservative governments were still in power in 1962 (when this was written).

In the nineteenth century, that is between 1800 and 1900, Britain was the richest country in the world. There had been many great inventions in Britain, and because of them many factories were started, and there was much more trade. This gave Britain a big start over the other countries. But gradually other countries, particularly the United States and Germany, copied Britain and began to catch up, and by about 1900 were getting very much richer too. The United States themselves produced many raw materials for industry, and by the time the Second World War began in 1939 was the richest of all the countries. The Germans were very clever and hard-working, but they spoilt their chances by starting two great wars, both of which they lost.

III. THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE

The change from rule by the nobles to rule by the people, that is to say to 'democratic rule', in Britain took place slowly and peacefully. But in France there was a good deal of fighting. The French middle classes made the French Revolution, but they did not rule for long. Very soon afterwards Napoleon ruled over France and took all the power into his own hands. After Napoleon came Louis XVIII and then his brother. They tried to go back to the kind of government by the king and nobles which there had been before the revolution, but they were not successful. They were followed

by Louis Philippe. Under him the middle classes were again in power. When Louis Philippe was turned out in 1848 it looked for a short while as if there was really going to be rule by the people. But the middle class people were frightened as they thought they might have all their money taken away from them. So they got Louis Napoleon, Napoleon's nephew, to rule over them. He set up the 'Second Empire' which lasted till 1870. He tried to make the country richer, and to make France the most important country in Europe. For a time he succeeded. He made war on Russia and won (see next Chapter). He helped the Italians to become a united nation. But he afterwards had a war with the Germans, and this brought about his downfall, because the French army was not strong enough to fight the German army, and he was captured at Sedan. After he was captured there was a revolution in Paris and a republic was set up in France. The Germans won the war and then there was a very violent revolution in Paris, called the 'Commune'. This was put down after much fighting, and everyone expected that the middle classes would set up the monarchy again. But they did not do so and by 1875 the 'Third Republic', as it was called, was well established. The government of the republic was never very secure. There were many parties. Some of the parties did not like the republic, but wanted to have the Bourbons back as kings. The Bourbons were the family of the old Kings of France. Others wanted the 'Orleanists' (the family of Louis Philippe) to be kings. Still others wanted to have a socialist republic. Because of all this it often seemed as if the Third Republic would break down. But it went on even in spite of the First World War, and in fact France was one of the countries which helped to win the First World War. Even after the war the republic still did not work very well. The French collapsed in 1940 in the Second World War partly because the people who were in the French Government were too often intriguing against each other and often did their way of governing rather badly, as well as because the German armies were very strong indeed.

After that war the French set up another democratic republic, which has come to be known as the Fourth Republic. But this did not work at all well, because the French Parliament was always voting against the Government, with the result that governments were always changing, and therefore could not carry on their work properly. The Fourth Republic was a failure, and came to an end.

France in the nineteenth century was above all a country where most of the people were peasants who were free and who owned their own land. They were very thrifty and very hardworking, but not as a rule at all interested in politics. However, some great industries had also been started in France. The factory workers in the French towns have always been very interested in politics and more likely to make revolutions than the people who work on the land, or than the factory workers in England. Another thing which divided the people of France was that the peasants were usually devout Catholics, while the townsmen were mostly against the Catholic Church, and so long as France has been a republic, the government has usually been against the Catholic Church too. As long as the people are too much divided it is very difficult to build a government which will last for a long time. You can see that where democracy has got on best there have usually been two parties which seem to disagree the whole time, though they really agree about the most important things. For example, in the United States of America, neither of the two big parties wishes to make any big changes in the American constitution. And in Britain, where the Labour Party has now taken the place of the Liberal Party, even the Labour Party does not want to do away with the throne or to make very big changes in the laws and customs of the country.

CHAPTER XVII

Eastern and South-Eastern Europe

I. THE SLAV RACES

At the end of the eighteenth century, there were three large empires in the eastern part of Europe—the empires of Russia, Austria and Turkey. Russia was getting stronger, and the Russian people who had been very barbarous, were beginning to get a little more civilised. Austria looked very strong and secure, though some of the people there were not contented. But Turkey was growing weak. Russia had a great deal of land in Europe and even more in Asia. Turkey ruled over the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia, and the whole coast of North Africa from Egypt to Morocco. It was mostly people of the Slav race who lived in the European parts of these three empires; and most of them belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. The rulers of Russia were Slavs themselves, but the rulers of Austria and of Turkey were of a different race and different religion from the Slav people they ruled over. Because of this the Russians thought it was a good thing when the Slavs tried to free themselves from their foreign rulers; and it seemed at times as if all the Slav races might join together under Russia. This is why Austria and Russia were not friendly, though soon after the end of the European wars Metternich, the Austrian minister, had made an alliance with Russia. This is also why both Austria and Russia were very interested in what happened to the countries ruled by the Turks in Europe. The other thing that could be done for the Slav races was to form a number of different Slav countries, each one independent, and this is what actually did happen.

II. RUSSIA IN EUROPE

From the time of Peter the Great, and even earlier, the Tsar of Russia was a very tyrannical ruler, and all the government officials, who were nearly all nobles,

had to do what he told them to do. There were not many middle class people. Most of the people were ignorant peasants. They were mostly 'serfs', that is to say they were workers on the land who were bound to serve their lords. They were not set free till after 1850. They were often very badly treated by the land-owning nobles who ruled over them, but they did not grumble as they thought it was their fate. The traders were almost all foreigners or Jews. The peasants all believed in and loved the Greek Orthodox Church, but this Church did exactly what the Tsar ordered it to do.

On the west of Russia were Finland and Poland. The Finns were not Slavs, and the Poles were Roman Catholics. Both peoples were ruled by the Russians, but did not like to be ruled by them at all because the Tsar did all he could often in the most cruel ways, to stop them from trying to get their countries free.

The Russians always wanted very much to get hold of Constantinople, which was the capital city of the Turkish Sultans, so that their ships could have a way out from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. If the Russians held this city it would also give them a great deal of power in the Balkan Peninsula. But Austria did not want this to happen, nor did Britain and France. The French wanted to get more power in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the British were afraid that Russia might become too powerful on the continent of Asia. They were also afraid that if there was a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean it would be able to attack the British on the way to India through the Suez Canal, which was opened in 1869. Besides all these things, both Britain and France thought that Russia was a great enemy of freedom.

III. THE DECLINE OF TURKEY AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

There were several different peoples living in the Balkan Peninsula. There were the Roumanians in the north-east. Though the Roumanians are partly Slav by race, they speak a language very much like Latin. In the centre there were the Bulgarians, who were mostly

Slavs, though not altogether. In the north-west there were the Yugoslavs, who were pure Slavs. The Yugoslavs were made up of a number of different Slav races; the Serbs, Montenegrins (their tiny mountain state was free from the Turks), Albanians and Bosniaks. Most people of these last two races were Muslims. The Yugoslavs also included the Croats who were inside the land ruled by Austria. In the south of the Balkan Peninsula there were the Greeks. They spoke a language which had come down from that of the Ancient Greeks (see *Our Heritage I*), but their blood was very much mixed with that of the Slav invaders.

The Serbs had been able to get a prince of their own at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the Greeks were the first of the Balkan races who rebelled successfully against Turkish rule. The rebellion of the Greeks succeeded because Russia, Britain and France all interfered to help Greece, and in 1827 destroyed the Turkish fleet at the battle of Navarino. After this the Russians kept on interfering with Turkey. Part of what is now Greece became independent, and the two districts of Moldavia and Wallachia joined together to form the Kingdom of Roumania, which became almost independent.

Soon after the year 1840, the Tsar of Russia secretly suggested to the British that they should divide the Turkish lands between them. He called Turkey 'the sick man of Europe'. But the British would not do so. Finally Russia and England became so unfriendly that when a small quarrel started between Russia and France, England helped France. Louis Napoleon of France thought that he ought to 'avenge Moscow', that is to say he thought that he ought to defeat the Russians because they had defeated his uncle Napoleon at Moscow in his Russian campaign in 1812. So in 1854 the three countries made war. The British persuaded the Sultan of Turkey to stop being friendly with Russia and to join them. The French and the British decided to destroy the port of Sebastopol in the Crimean Peninsula. This port was the headquarters of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. After they had succeeded in doing this they

then made peace. Because of the war Russia stopped interfering with Turkey for a time, and the Russians started to conquer many fresh lands in Northern and Central Asia instead.

IV. THE EMERGENCE OF THE BALKAN STATES

After about 1870 the Russians again turned their attention to Turkey, and encouraged the Bulgarians and Serbs to rise against the rule of the Turkish Sultan. They sent armies to help the rebels and declared war on Turkey in 1877. The Turks fought very hard against the Russians, but were defeated, and severe terms were imposed on the Turks by the Russians. But at this stage other European States interfered, and at a Congress held in Berlin in 1878 new terms were agreed on which were not so severe. Bulgaria was set up as a new and independent state. Roumania and Serbia became completely independent, and Greece was given extra land. Some of the countries which took part in the Congress were given other lands to make up for what they had given up. Thus Russia was given Bessarabia, to the north of Roumania; Austria was given control of the north-western part of the Balkan Peninsula which was known as Bosnia-Herzegovina. Britain made a private arrangement with Turkey and took over the island of Cyprus. The Sultan of Turkey, the wily Abdul Hamid, said vaguely that he would give 'reforms' in those parts of the Balkan Peninsula which he still had left to rule. But he never intended to carry them out.

The independent Balkan States did not like to think that the settlement made in Berlin was final. It was very difficult to decide where the boundaries were to be between the different countries, and all of them wanted to get Turkey driven right out of the Balkan Peninsula. But Abdul Hamid, the Turkish Sultan, did all he could to stir up trouble between the different Balkan countries, and he was very successful. The Greeks fought the Turks, but nothing very much happened because of this war. In 1908 there was a change in the affairs of Turkey

itself. Some Turkish army officers, who called themselves 'The Committee of Union and Progress' conspired against Abdul Hamid and turned him off the throne. Austria took advantage of the trouble to say that Bosnia-Herzegovina now belonged to the Austrian empire, though the Serbians did not like this at all. A very clever Greek statesman named Venizelos then made an alliance between Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia, and in 1912 these three countries made a very successful war on Turkey. They drove the Turks out of the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, except for a small part round the city of Constantinople. But Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia could not agree how they should divide the lands between them which they had taken from the Turks, and in the next year, 1913, war broke out between them. Now at this time very bad feeling had grown up between the great countries of Europe. They had all been plotting for years in the Balkans, each one trying to have more say than the others in the different Balkan governments. It was trouble in the Balkans which was the beginning of the war that broke out between two great groups of European countries in 1914, as you will read in Chapter XXIII.

V. AUSTRIA, HUNGARY AND THE SLAVS

In the year 1806 Napoleon brought to an end the 'Holy Roman Empire' which had been ruled for a very long time by the famous House of Habsburg. (See *Our Heritage II*, Chapter XIV). For some time it had not meant very much, though it did help to hold the German peoples together a little. The Habsburg ruler gave himself the title of 'Emperor of Austria', and as Emperor of Austria ruled over a large part of South Central Europe. This was made up of the old German lands of Austria and the Tyrol, the old Kingdom of Hungary, and certain lands nearby where the people were mostly of the Slav races, such as Poles, Czechs, Croats and Roumanians. The Austrian empire also included most of Northern Italy, which was almost all lost by 1871. (See Chapter XV). You can easily see

that all these lands which the Habsburgs ruled over could not possibly be made into one united nation.

In the nineteenth century the people who had national ideas and who wanted each country to be a free nation, ruled by the people themselves and not by foreigners, were the people who also had liberal ideas and who wanted the people to be free, to have the right of voting and so on. The Habsburg rulers had always been despots and did not like people to hold either national or liberal ideas. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Poles and the Magyars tried to set themselves free from the Austrians, but they did not succeed. But in the second half of the century and up till 1914, during the long reign of the Emperor Francis Joseph, the Austrian Empire became more and more divided. After the First World War it collapsed altogether, only a year or two after the old Emperor's death. In 1867 Francis Joseph had come to an arrangement with the people of Hungary which made them equal with the Austrians; but he did not do anything for the Slav peoples over whom he ruled. His nephew and heir, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, thought that the Slavs ought to be given a position in the Empire; but he never came to the throne; he was murdered in 1914, and the First World War broke out at once after he was murdered.

VI. THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF RUSSIA

The government of the Tsar of Russia did whatever the Tsar wanted it to do. Because of this it was the most autocratic government in Europe. (Autocratic government means government by one man). But it never worked very well, except perhaps that the secret police, who had to prevent people from getting new ideas, were very clever at doing so. But they did not altogether succeed in doing this, though they were very cruel to the people who had liberal ideas. In the nineteenth century Russia was a country where most of the people worked on the land. But the changes which had taken place in other parts of Europe, such as the introduction of factories, were at last beginning to take

place in Russia too, and the towns were growing larger and more important. Some of the town workers, some of the middle class people, and even a few of the nobles, hated the Tsar's government because it was so cruel and unreasonable, especially to anyone who loved freedom. This cruelty made them very angry with their government, and ready to do almost anything to get it changed.

The Tsar Alexander II was not so severe as the Tsar before him, and he freed the peasants from serfdom. He also allowed some of the towns to rule their own affairs a little, and he even allowed some schools to be opened for the people. But he was murdered in 1881, and after his murder the government was very severe on the people. Many of the liberals were punished by being sent away into exile in Siberia, which was a very long way from their homes. A few years after 1900 the government fought a war against Japan and lost. This made the people still more angry against the government. The Tsar Nicholas tried to start a Parliament called the 'Duma'; but this Parliament did not have any real power, and it did not please anybody. In 1914 it looked as if there would soon be a revolution in Russia.

VII. RUSSIAN EXPANSION IN ASIA

We must always remember that for hundreds of years Russia has been partly in Asia as well as partly in Europe. Ever since the sixteenth century Russia has wanted to spread in two different directions. The first was towards the south-west, towards Constantinople and the Balkan Peninsula. The other was eastwards across the Ural mountains, and across the great icy plains of Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. The southern parts of Siberia grow wheat wonderfully well. A railway, called the Trans-Siberian Railway, was built right across Siberia, mainly between 1895 and 1901. This was a fine piece of work and was a very great help in developing those parts of the world. The Russians also pushed south-eastwards to the Caspian Sea, and to the borders of Persia and Afghanistan. The British thought that in spreading in this way Russia was

threatening the British power in India, and indeed for some time the Russian Government did think very seriously that their armies might invade India. But by 1908, Britain and Russia made an agreement about their frontiers, and they both decided to leave Persia and Afghanistan free to manage their own affairs.

While Russia was spreading out more and more towards the East, Japan was also getting stronger, and the two countries quarrelled. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Russia had taken land from China, and because Russia needed a sea-port which was not ice-bound in winter, she wanted to seize Manchuria and parts of North-eastern China. Japan did not want Russia to take this land from China because she was afraid that this would make Russia too near to Japan and too strong. Because of this, war broke out between Russia and Japan in 1904. Russia lost the war, and so did not get what she wanted. The Russians built a large harbour at Vladivostock, which is at the eastern end of the Trans-Siberian Railway. But this harbour is closed by ice during the winter.

CHAPTER XVIII

British Empire—The Growth of the Self-Governing Dominions

I. THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1815 AND IN 1939

In Chapters XII and XIII of *Our Heritage II* we read about how the 'First British Empire', as it is sometimes called, grew and about how it fell. We read about the struggle with France for colonies overseas, and about how the thirteen North American Colonies were lost. In 1815, at the end of the long wars with France, Britain had certain possessions overseas which later grew into the great self-governing dominions of the present day. She also had a good deal of land in India, a few 'plantation colonies', and certain places of what is called 'strategic' importance: that is to say they helped to link together the British possessions in different

parts of the world by providing harbours, ports of call, and naval bases. British ships both of the Royal Navy and of the Mercantile Marine could put in at the naval bases on their long voyages to take in fuel and supplies, and if necessary to be overhauled. The ships sailing along the great ocean routes were the links which held the Empire together.

The First British Empire was useful to Britain in various ways. Because of this Empire, trade increased, especially trade in luxuries which could not be had at home, and also in the raw materials which were needed for industry and which could not be produced in Britain. The Empire also provided homes and work for all the people for whom there was not enough room in Britain. After the American Colonies were lost, and when the great new industries were started in Britain, all the extra people went into these new industries, and there were a great many people who thought that Britain could get on very well without lands overseas. In fact, they thought that the colonies were almost a nuisance. There were some people who thought that the trade with India was not really worthwhile, though most people thought that it would bring in a lot of wealth. Some people went on thinking that the Empire was of no use to Britain until well into the nineteenth century, but during this time the Empire kept on growing steadily, more than ever before, almost as if by accident.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the British people began to wake up to what was happening, and to realise what certain of her 'empire-builders' had been doing. They saw that a new British Empire, which may be called the 'Second British Empire' had grown up, partly from what was left of the First, and partly from new lands. Up till then there were not many people in Britain who thought about the Empire at all. Some of those who did think about the Empire thought that those colonies in which the people who lived there had come from the British Isles, would gradually come to govern themselves, and then would 'drop off like ripe fruit from a tree' as new and independent countries, but without the fighting which there

had been when the North American Colonies became independent. These people also thought that the other colonies were never likely to be able to govern themselves, and that it would be very much better for them always to be governed by British officials who would be fair to everybody. They thought too that colonies of this last kind should as far as possible produce everything that they needed and pay for all their expenses themselves, though the British Government should always be able to help them with money if it was really necessary, and that the trade of all the colonies under the British flag should be open to all the peoples of the world as freely as it was to the British themselves.

But after the British people as a whole realised that they had an Empire, and became 'Empire conscious' as we saw at the beginning of the paragraph before this, these ideas slowly changed, and during the twentieth century most of them were given up altogether. So the way in which people thought about the British Empire at the beginning of the Second World War was very different from the way they thought at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This can be seen from the fact that the name of the Empire had been changed officially to 'The British Commonwealth of Nations'. The idea behind this is that when colonies became fully self-governing, which would usually happen gradually, they would then be able to run their own affairs entirely, without interference from Britain. In this way they would not become independent unless they wished to do so, but they would be co-partners and equal with Britain in the Commonwealth. Those colonies which were not considered fit to govern themselves would go on being governed by British officials. Gradually there would be fewer British officials as the peoples became more 'politically educated', and it was hoped that after a time they would be able to manage their own affairs. Some colonies like Ceylon would quite quickly govern themselves more and more, till soon they were

able to govern themselves altogether, as has indeed happened. But some of the other colonies, like some of the African Colonies, it was thought, might take a very long time before they were able to govern themselves.

After the Second World War these ideas about colonies changed more. As you will read in the rest of this chapter, the colonies which had been settled mainly by people from Britain were already independent. But now the leaders of India and Ceylon, who had long wanted independence, were supported by their peoples more strongly than before and the British government agreed to let them have it. During the years which followed the same thing happened in some of the African colonies, and by the early months of 1962 (which is further than this book really goes) three colonies in West and one in East Africa, and one in the South Pacific had become independent. The leaders of Britain were quite willing to let them have their independence, and indeed did much to help them to become so. Nearly all of them, on becoming independent, said they wanted to stay in the Commonwealth of Nations as full members of it. (The word "British" before Commonwealth was being quietly dropped). All these newly independent countries decided to have Parliaments whose members were chosen by the votes of all the people in the country over 21, and in this and other ways had liberal governments very much like the government in Britain. In Chapter XIV you read about the rise of liberalism and nationalism in Europe. In this and later chapters you will see how these ideas of liberalism and nationalism are spreading quickly all over the world.

II. CANADA, THE FIRST OF THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS

When Britain lost the thirteen North American Colonies, she was left with a small group of colonies in North America, where most of the people were descended from French people. These colonies were Canada, on the Lower St. Lawrence River, and three small ones,

Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. There were also some fur trading posts in the far north. Britain also had some of the smaller West Indian Islands in the Caribbean Sea; the largest of these was Jamaica, and they mainly produced sugar with slave labour. When the thirteen colonies gained their independence, about 60,000 people who preferred to remain under the British flag went into Canada. They were called the 'United Empire Loyalists' and settled mostly in 'Upper Canada', now known as Ontario.

In 1791 both the French and the English Colonies were given a certain amount of self-government by Pitt's 'Canada Act'. This did not work very well. But in spite of that the people of the colonies remained loyal, especially as the French Canadians did not think that the French Revolution was a good thing. But in 1837 the people became very discontented, and there was a rebellion both in Upper and in Lower Canada. Lord Durham was sent from Britain to deal with these rebellions; and he and his assistants, Buller and Gibbon Wakefield, drew up a report. This report is very important. It helped the self-governing dominions to develop, because it said that the colonies ought to be allowed to govern themselves in much the same way and nearly as much as the British people did at that time, and said that they should be ruled by ministers who had to act in the way that the assemblies elected by the people wished them to. This report has been called 'The Magna Carta of the Colonies'. The British Government agreed to these things and they put the report into force in 1840.

At this time a large number of people from Britain were coming to live in the English-speaking colonies. People who lived in these colonies began to want them to be more closely joined together. Because of this the British Parliament passed the 'British North America Act' twenty-seven years later. This Act set up the 'Dominion of Canada'. By this Act four provinces, the provinces of Quebec (where the people speak French), Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were joined

together as a 'federal union'. This meant that they kept the right of managing certain affairs themselves, but allowed a central government to manage all the others. This central government was made up of a Parliament, with two houses. The upper house of the Parliament, was called the Senate and a fixed number of members were elected to it from each province. The lower house, the House of Commons, was very much like the House of Commons in Britain.

Throughout the century people went on going steadily from Britain to Canada, though at the same time some Canadians went to the United States. As the number got bigger, the wide prairies of Central Canada were opened up to grow wheat. This was greatly helped on when the Canadian Pacific Railway was built right across the continent. This railway was finished in 1885. It joined the new colony of British Columbia; on the north-west coast of the continent, to the older eastern colonies. This new colony has one of the best climates in the world; it joined the federation in 1871. Since then three new provinces have grown up in Central Canada; they are Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta; they also became members of the federation. In 1876 there were not many more than a million people in Canada. In 1962 there were more than fifteen million people, and the population is likely to go on growing.

Canada has usually been very friendly with her southern neighbour, the United States of America. Even before the Dominion of Canada had come into being, and before people had started moving westwards across the great prairies, Britain and the United States had decided peacefully what the new frontier was to be. This frontier is two thousand miles long. This was a very good thing to have done, especially when you remember how many wars have been fought about boundary disputes in the Old World.

The way in which the people developed the land westwards in Canada was very much the same as in the United States (see Chapter XII). But it was very much more orderly because of the work of a splendid body of men, who were called the North-West Mounted

Police. Both in the United States of America and in Canada there were people who thought that Canada should be joined to the United States of America rather than to Britain; but in the Dominion of Canada most people have always felt very loyal to the British Crown. If the Canadians wish to do so, there is nothing to stop them from joining the United States of America or from becoming an independent republic, but they prefer to remain as co-partners in the Commonwealth of Nations. In the First and Second World Wars, and especially in the second, Canada has helped the cause of Britain and her allies very much by sending men, money and materials to them.

III. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

The great southern continent of Australasia was first explored by the astonishing voyages of a British naval officer, called Captain James Cook, between 1770 and 1779. People first began to settle on the mainland of Australia in a way which did not look as if it would turn out well. At that time people were sentenced to death in Britain for a number of crimes, such as theft, for which nobody would be sentenced to death nowadays. Very often where people had committed crimes which were not very serious the British Government changed the sentence of death to one of 'transportation', that is to say, of hard labour somewhere outside Britain. The American plantation colonies were usually the places where the convicts were sent to have their sentences carried out. But after they were lost it was decided to send convicts who were transported to Australia instead, as Australia had just been discovered. In 1787 a convict settlement was started on the eastern coast of Australia, where the great city of Sydney now stands. However, early in the next century more and more free settlers came as well, and it is from these free settlers that nearly all the Australian people are descended. The free settlers managed to stop convicts from being sent out in 1840. The first colony was called New South Wales, and to begin with it included the whole eastern coast of this vast island.

Later on, in 1850, the Colony of Victoria was started in the southern part of the eastern coast, and nine years later the Colony of Queensland in the northern part; and from the coast settlers began to make their way inland. The other three colonies were the island of Tasmania, Western Australia, founded in 1828, and South Australia, founded in 1836. These colonies were separated from each other by great distances, and up to the middle of the nineteenth century they grew up very slowly. There were large grassy plains inland which were very suitable for sheep-farming; this was the principal industry in the country. The wool from those sheep was sent to Northern England to be made into cloth. When the people started to make cloth by machinery about the middle of the century much more cloth could be produced, and as Britain could no longer supply the great quantities of wool which were needed, there was a great market in England for Australian wool. However the main reason why great numbers of people went to Australia was that gold and other metals were discovered there. Five years after gold was discovered in Victoria there were five times as many people living there as there were before this discovery.

The kind of government which the Durham Report said should be given to Canada was now given to the Australian colonies as well. Gibbon Wakefield, who had helped Durham in Canada, also helped to set the colony of South Australia going properly. In 1856 four of the colonies were given self-government and the other two colonies were given self-government a few years later. For some time these colonies did not particularly wish to join together. But after about 1880 other European countries began to try to conquer land in the islands of the Southern Pacific Ocean, and the colonies, or 'states' as they liked to call themselves, began to think that it would be a good idea for them to join together to protect each other. They took a general vote and decided that all the six states should join together and make a union much like that of Canada. But there was one big difference. In Australia, not

like Canada, the central government was to be allowed to do certain things only, and all the other powers were kept by the states. The new federation took the name of the 'Commonwealth of Australia', and came into being in 1900.

On the whole, Australia has developed very peacefully. The way in which people live, and how much money they are able to spend on food and clothes and houses, is called their standard of living. The Australian working class people have a very high standard of living. That means that they are able to spend quite a lot of money on their food and clothes and houses. They are also very well organised into trade unions. Because of this high standard of living the Australian working people have never liked working people from Asian countries to be brought into their country to work, because they do not need so much to live on as the Australian people. In fact the Australians have never liked large numbers of people of any race to go and settle in Australia, because they are afraid that if there are too many people in the country they will not be able to keep such a high standard of living and will become much poorer, though they are glad to have a certain number coming in every year. Many people from Ceylon have gone to Australia since the end of the Second World War. Though Australia is very large, there are large parts of the country which are desert where no one can live, and altogether there are not very many more people living in Australia than there are in Ceylon.

When the First World War started, thousands of Australians said that they would go and fight, and soon everybody found that they were very good at attacking. Many of the Australian soldiers were killed in the attack on Turkey at Gallipoli in 1915. Since the First World War the Australians have also built a navy, and both Australian soldiers and sailors fought very well in the Second World War.

New Zealand was also explored by Captain Cook, but it was not regularly colonised till the 'New Zealand Company' was founded in 1839. Gibbon Wakefield had much to do with the colonising of New Zealand.

He had written a book on 'The Art of Colonisation', and the people did what he suggested in New Zealand as well as in South Australia. The colony was a great success, thanks to the good type of colonist who went there. A very intelligent native race, called the Maoris, was living in New Zealand. At first the colonists and the Maoris did not get on too well together, but after a time they got on very well. The Maoris were given the same rights as the British people and some special favours as well.

New Zealand is about a thousand miles away from Australia, so it was too far away ever to want to become part of the Australian federation. The country was allowed to govern itself in 1850, and in 1907 it was officially recognised as the 'Dominion of New Zealand'. Troops from New Zealand fought in both world wars, and everybody thought very well of them. The main occupation of the country is sheep farming, but the country has great possibilities for other industries as well. New Zealand is a very good example of a successful democracy. There were many social reforms which were started in New Zealand before they were tried in Britain. For example the people were given old age pensions, health insurance and workmen's compensation. Health insurance means that the working people and their employers each pay a small amount of money each week while they are working, in return for which the government looks after them while they are ill. Workmen's compensation means that if any workman is injured while he is actually at work, he has to be given money to make up for the injury.

IV. SOUTH AFRICA

The Union of South Africa did not come into being until 1909, and it has behind it a long and stormy history. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that there are two kinds of European people living there, the Dutch and the British. A small colony of Dutch people had been living near the Cape of Good Hope for over a hundred years before the Cape was captured by the British during the wars of the French Revolution,

and there has been much bad feeling between the Dutch colonists and the British. The second reason why the history of South Africa has not been peaceful was that there had been a large number of African people living there. Some of them, the Bantu races, were war-like invaders from further north, who came south about the same time as the Dutch landed there.

In 1815, by the Vienna settlement, it was decided that the British should keep this colony in South Africa as a 'strategic point' on the way to their eastern possessions. When they found that the climate was suitable for Europeans a certain number of people came from Britain to live there. The Dutch farmers, who were called 'Boers', did not like this at all. And the Boers did not like it either when slavery was abolished all through the British Empire, which took place in 1833. Because of these feelings about 10,000 of them decided to find a new place to settle where they could do as they liked, and in 1836 the 'Great Trek' or journey began. After many adventures, and wars with the war-like tribe of Zulus, they set up two new republics in the high lands north of the British colony, named the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Many Boers, however, remained in Cape Colony.

In 1853 the two British colonies, Cape Colony and Natal, were allowed to govern themselves in some matters, and were given full self-government in 1872. The Governor of Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, who had already done very good work in South Australia and New Zealand, tried to make a general federation of all the colonies in South Africa which would include the Boer republics. But the government in England, which did not think about the matter carefully enough, prevented this. Later on the Transvaal republic got into trouble with the Zulus. In 1877 the British government decided to take over the Transvaal republic so that they could put an end to the trouble with the Zulus. This meant that they had to fight a war with the Zulus and conquer their land. But the Boers of the Transvaal did not like being taken over at all and took up arms in order to prevent it.

In 1881 the British Government gave way, and allowed the Transvaal to be independent once more.

The lands ruled over by the British gradually spread out along the south coast towards the east, towards the colony of Natal, and now began to spread towards the north as well. Two tribes of the Bantus, called the Basutos and the Griquas, whose lands were one to the south and the other to the east of the Boer republic, placed themselves under British protection. Two things happened now which made the two Boer republics and the British much less friendly. The first of these was that diamond fields were discovered in Griqualand in the seventies, and a very rich goldfield was discovered in the Transvaal in the eighties. Because of this a very great number of people rushed to both places from Britain and from Europe, which the Boers led by their President, Paul Kruger, did not like at all. They did not want the wealth which came because of the gold rush, but liked much better to stay as they always had been.

The second reason why the British and the two Boer republics became so unfriendly was that the land ruled by the British had spread up to the north of the Transvaal, and by about 1900 the Boer republic was shut in on three sides by lands ruled by the British. The British had spread in this way largely because of the work of one man, Cecil Rhodes, who started the 'British South Africa Company' in order to open up the land in the centre of Africa. A very large area of land north of the Transvaal began to be colonised, and was given the name of Rhodesia after Rhodes.

During this time the foreigners in the Transvaal who had gone there to look for gold had built up the big town of Johannesburg on the goldfield. They got into trouble with the Boers. The Boers would not give them any political rights, and they did not like this at all. At the end of 1895 an armed party crossed the Transvaal frontier from British territory to help them. This was a most unlawful action, and failed as indeed it deserved to fail. Because of this, all the Dutch people in South Africa were naturally angry. Everybody

thought it was the fault of Cecil Rhodes, so he had to give up politics, though perhaps it was not really his fault. President Kruger now determined to try very hard to drive the British out of South Africa altogether. At the same time the British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, was determined not to let Kruger become friendly with any of the countries of Europe, as some of those countries were jealous of the British and sympathised with him strongly. Because of all this there was a war in 1899, in which the Orange Free State joined the Transvaal. The Boers fought very well and bravely and managed to hold almost all the British army back for about two years; but in the end they lost the war.

After the war some of the Boers saw that Kruger had made a mistake in wanting to drive out the British from the whole of South Africa; the most important of these were Botha and Smuts who had been Boer generals during the war. On the other hand many of the Boers still felt very bitter. However in 1907 the British government decided to give the two former republics full self-government, and two years later they joined with Cape Colony and Natal to form the Union of South Africa, with General Botha as the first Prime Minister. When the First World War broke out in 1914 a few of the Boers rebelled, but they did not get many people to support them: and armies from the Union of South Africa captured the German Colony of South-West Africa, and also fought in German East Africa and in France.

The government of the Union had to face more difficulties than the governments of any of the other dominions. There are more Dutch settlers in South Africa than people descended from the British, and there was a strong party which wanted the Dutch part of South Africa to be independent. In 1939, when the Second World War broke out, it looked very much as if the Union would not fight on either side but would remain neutral. There were very few more people in the Union Parliament who were in favour of fighting than people who did not wish to fight. But the most difficult problem was that a very great number of the people

of South Africa were Africans who have hardly been educated at all, and the government has not always been very clever in the way in which it has dealt with their problems. Besides this, many people have come to live in South Africa from India; most of them have settled in Natal, and the Union Government does not wish to give them the same political rights as it gives to the white people who live there. In the Second World War South African forces fought very bravely in East and North Africa.

The Afrikaners, as those people descended from the Dutch call themselves, did not like the way in which India, Ceylon and the African colonies of Britain were becoming independent and being full members of the Commonwealth. They believed that Africans were not even fit to govern themselves, and were not as good as white people. So in 1961 the Union of South Africa became the Republic of South Africa and stopped being part of the Commonwealth. This was not liked at all by people of British, and of Indian descent and by African people, in the country. But they could not prevent it.

V. IRELAND

Ireland governed itself for a short time at the end of the eighteenth century, but was joined to Britain in 1800 and did not have a Parliament of its own after that. But there was always a strong party of Irish people who did not like being joined to England in this way. England has never governed Ireland well. The causes of this lie far back in the history of the two islands. Ireland during the nineteenth century was very poor, and though British statesmen tried to make things better for the Irish people, they were not very clever in handling the difficulties. Before 1850 a number of Irish people began to get together in order to get their own Parliament again separate from that of Britain. This happened after the Catholics, who had not been allowed to have any political rights before, were given the same rights as Protestants. Most of the Irish people are

Catholics. During the last half of the century the Liberal Party in Britain agreed with them and wanted to give Ireland 'Home Rule', but they could never manage to get the most people in Britain to agree to this. At the beginning of this present century a party of people called the Sinn Fein grew up who wanted to make a revolution. During the First World War this party started a rebellion while the British soldiers were busy fighting in France. In spite of this there were a great many Irish soldiers who fought for Britain against the Germans. In 1921, after the British had fought against the rebels and defeated them, the Irish were given their own government again. But there were six countries in the north-east of the island, together called the Province of Ulster, where the people were all very strong Protestants, who did not want to be ruled by Catholics; they were loyal to Britain and did not join what was called the 'Irish Free State' (later called Eire and now the Republic of Ireland). Britain and the Irish Free State were quite friendly to begin with, but when De Valera became President in 1932, the two countries became less friendly as De Valera wanted Ireland to be a republic. Some of the difficulties between the two countries were settled in 1938, but when war broke out in 1939, Ireland did not join in the war but remained neutral and in 1949 left the British Commonwealth of Nations. The main grievance of the government and people of Eire against Britain was that Ulster was not made part of Eire. But most Ulstermen do not want to be in the Irish Republic at all.

CHAPTER XIX

The British Empire—India and the Colonial Empire

I. INDIA IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

In *Our Heritage II*, Chapter XVI, you learnt how the influence of the British East India Company spread over great areas of the 'sub-continent' of India up to the end of the eighteenth century, and you also learnt how Ceylon came under the rule of this company, though only for a very short time. After 1802 Ceylon had a separate history. In India, the British East India Company was the ruler in name up till 1858, but in fact the British government was doing more and more of the actual governing itself. By 1858 the whole Indian Peninsula from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the Punjab to Assam had come to be ruled by the British, either directly or indirectly. After 1858 British rule meant rule by the British Crown, by which a Viceroy governed in the name of the Crown. When we say 'directly' under British rule, we speak of those parts of India which were later known as 'British India', where all the government servants, whether they were Europeans or Indians, were responsible to the Viceroy and had to do what he told them to do. Later on in this chapter you will learn how this part of India was governed. The part of India called 'British India' was larger and had about twice as many people as that part of India which was ruled 'indirectly' and which was usually called the 'Native States'. These states were ruled by the descendants of their ancient rulers up till the granting of Indian independence in 1946. There were about six hundred of them, some very large and some very small indeed. The British came to have an influence over the native states by treaties between each individual state and the East India Company (up

to 1858) or each individual state and the British Crown (after 1858). These treaties usually said that the rulers of the states should rule as they liked within their own state, though there should be a British Resident in each State. It was the duty of the British Resident to see that the rulers of each state were not treating their subjects with too much injustice or cruelty. Though the rulers could do as they liked within their own states, any affairs with other states or with countries outside India were the business of the Viceroy, and the British Resident represented the Viceroy. Since the granting of independence to India and to Pakistan, there are no longer any 'Native States' ruled by Maharajahs and Rajahs. The old way of rule by these men has been done away with, and their people are now governed in the same way as other Indians and Pakistanis.

II. THE COMPANY'S RULE AND ITS ENDING

After Warren Hastings went (see *Our Heritage II*, Chapter VII) the state of Mysore under its ruler Tipu gave much trouble to the East India Company. The Company also had trouble from the powerful Marathas in Central India. This meant that there had to be wars. Marquis Wellesley, the Governor-General, and his famous soldier brother, who afterwards became the Duke of Wellington, succeeded in defeating their opponents in these wars. Wellesley and most of the later Governor-Generals did not care about the trading interests of the Company: this was so much so that in 1833 merchants who did not belong to the company were allowed to trade with India. Some of the Governor-Generals believed that it was a good thing that as much of India as possible should be under direct British rule; for instance in 1843 the British took over the province of Sind without any very good reason, and immediately afterwards the warlike Sikhs of the Punjab took up arms against the British. The great leader of the Sikhs who was called Ranjit Singh had always been careful to be friendly with the British, but the leaders who came after him were not so wise, and because of this in 1846 the whole large province of Sind came under direct British rule.

The wars in India, both against the French in the eighteenth century and against various Indian states in the nineteenth century, were fought mostly by Indian soldiers who were trained and led by British officers. In 1857 some of these soldiers had certain complaints to make against the British, some of which were because of mistakes made by the government. Because of these, they started a rebellion, known as the 'Indian Mutiny', (though Indians no longer use that name for it). This rebellion was very quickly and severely put down. But because of this rebellion, the government unfortunately stopped giving Indians high posts in the government. Before that, in 1833, it had been decided that Indians ought to take more and more part in the government. The rebellion brought to an end the old system of 'dual control', by which the governing of India had been shared between the Crown and the Company. This was done by putting an end to the Company altogether. In 1858 Queen Victoria was proclaimed ruler of India and the Governor-General was given the title of Viceroy.

III. THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

At the beginning of this chapter we called India a 'sub-continent' rather than a 'country' because of its immense area and population. In this sub-continent live more than 400 million people, more people than there are in the whole of Europe. It has also a large number of different races, languages, castes and religions. The most important difference among the people of India is that of *religion*. Over sixty per cent (that is to say sixty people out of every hundred) belonged to the Hindu religion. The Hindu religion itself has many forms. It includes fifty million people of the 'scheduled castes' that is, low or outcaste people. At the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, about eighty million people were Muslims, and the rest of the people were Christians, Sikhs, Jains and members of other religions. The people of these different religions and races do not usually marry each other, because their customs are so very different.

There is always the danger that religious riots may break out and the people kill each other. But because the British had brought all the peoples of India under one rule, a thing which had happened only very occasionally in the history of India before, many of the more educated Indians felt a sense of *unity* with all the inhabitants of the sub-continent. That means that they thought of themselves as all Indians together, instead of thinking about castes and religions.

We might as well now talk about the way British India was ruled up till the outbreak of the Second World War. British India was divided into provinces; at the head of each province was a Governor, who was nearly always British. At the head of the 'Government of India' was the Viceroy, who was the direct representative of the Emperor. (In 1877 Queen Victoria took the title of 'Empress of India'). Below these high officials there were various grades of civil servants and of army, police, and medical officers and of the officers of various technical departments, such as Public Works and Survey. For a long time the people who held the higher of these posts were nearly all British; but by 1939 Indians had come to hold many of the higher posts. After the 'Indian Mutiny', the administration of India was called the 'Indian Civil Service'. Those men who wished to get into the Indian Civil Service had to pass a competitive examination, and many of the cleverest young men from the British universities made it their life's work. These Indian Civil Servants have on the whole done very well and have been free from bribery.

The British thought that it was their first duty to give India peace, order and safety. A part of the Royal Navy was stationed in the Indian Ocean to defend the coasts of India and to keep the seas safe for merchant shipping. This was very easy to do in the First World War, but was very difficult in the Second World War. But India has a long land frontier in the north. Most of this frontier is protected by the highest mountain ranges in the world, but these are broken in the north-west by certain passes through which invaders have marched since very early days. Fierce tribesmen live around

these passes and their great ambition has always been to plunder the rich river valleys of India. The Indian Army was made up out of the old regiments of the East India Company in order to guard these passes, and to keep general order in India. The Indian Army was made up of British officers and Indian other ranks. The Indians were drawn mainly from the fighting races of India, particularly in the Punjab. It was not until quite recently that Indians were made officers. There were always some troops from Britain stationed in India as well as the Indian Army.

In order to pay for governing and defending India, money had to be found. Most Indians have always been cultivators. Usually each man has a small piece of land which is only just big enough to keep himself and his family when the monsoon does not fail. Very many people are in debt. From very early times it has been the custom that everybody who has land must give a certain share of its produce to the government: this is known as 'land revenue'. In the long history of India this land revenue has often been far too much for the people to pay, and has often been collected in a very harsh way. The British did their best to see that the small cultivators were not harshly or unfairly treated, but in spite of that most of them are still very poor. The British also tried not to interfere more than they could help with the social and religious customs of the various peoples. But where they thought that some customs were too bad they stopped them. They forbade 'sati', the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands, and also slavery and human sacrifice. It has always been very difficult to get enough revenue (that is to say money paid to the government), and at the same time to see that the tax-payers are all treated fairly. With the money which has come from the land revenue, from the customs and from other duties, and in more recent years from income tax, it has been possible to carry out a number of great public works. Among the public works are irrigation, the building of roads and railways, and famine relief. The government was also able to run medical and health services and to

look after the people in other ways. When the government was not able to find the money for some of these services from taxes, they borrowed large sums of money, often from British people who lent the money in order to get interest on it. In order to start industries some money was found from revenue, or from special loans, but the money for most of the big industries of India, particularly jute, textile manufacture and tea, has come from the British people, and these industries have been run by British managers and technical experts. But in recent years more and more Indians have been working in very large industries, such as cotton mills and steel works in and around the big cities. It is interesting to notice that the three greatest cities in India, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, were ports which were begun and developed by the British.

IV. THE GROWTH OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

Education in India by the British began with the work of Christian missionaries. Both the missionary and the government schools and colleges made the mistake from the beginning of not paying enough attention to the great and very old culture of India. This culture only needed to be revived, but instead of reviving it they brought in Western learning and culture. But because the Indians have been educated in this way and have read Western books, they believe in the European ideas of liberalism and nationalism. Because of this many Indians came to wish very strongly that they could govern themselves in the same way as the British do. At the same time other Indians wanted to bring back the ancient Indian culture. These people were helped by a series of religious movements, such as the Arya Samaj, and by political associations, above all the Indian National Congress, founded by an Englishman in 1885, which grew up and were helped on by the people who wished the Indians to govern themselves in the same way as the British. Educated Indians particularly wanted to be allowed to get any of the government posts. Though as early as 1833 (as we saw above) the British said that it was a good thing that they should be allowed to hold

any important post, the British Government did not appoint them. Educated Indians came to see that there were a great many social problems which have to be solved, and they came to believe that the only way to solve them was by the work of the Indians themselves, working both as part of the government and without the help of the government. Gradually the Indians came to hate being governed by a foreign power; and though leaders like Gokhale, Banerji and Sapru thought that it had done good to India to be ruled by the British, other leaders like Tilak, Gandhi and Nehru believed that British rule was doing more harm than good, and struggled to be completely independent.

The British Government gradually did what the Indian leaders and their followers has been trying to make them do. They gradually gave more self-government, particularly in the provinces. This was given after the First World War, particularly because of the loyal way in which the people of India worked with the British during that war. The story of how self-government came to be given to India is long and complicated. By 1939 the British Government in Britain had decided that when the two great religious parties, the Hindus and the Muslims, could agree about how India should be governed, India could be made an equal partner with Britain and the Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The members of the Congress, which had become by this time the most powerful body in India, almost all wanted India to be altogether independent. But the Muslim League, though it also wanted complete independence, wanted the Muslim parts of India to be free and separate from the rest of India. There was a great deal of struggle against the government. This was usually non-violent as the Congress leader Mahatma Gandhi desired it to be, but sometimes there was violence. In 1947 self-government was given to the Indian peoples and the states of India and Pakistan came into being with full Dominion Status. The Hindus and Muslims could not agree to work

together in one State, and the Muslims, led by Mr. Jinnah, decided to break away and form one State of their own, which they called 'Pakistan'. In 1948 India became an independent republic within the Commonwealth, with Mr. Nehru as its first Prime Minister and Dr. R. Prasad as its President.

V. BURMA

In the second half of the nineteenth century, and after two wars, the British took over the ancient kingdom of Burma, which was badly ruled by her kings. For many years Burma was governed by the government of India as if it was part of India. But the Burmese people were not Indians and never liked this at all. In 1937 Burma was separated from India, and the Burmese were given quite a large amount of self-government. But in the case of Burma there were difficulties very like those in India. The hill tribes of Upper Burma were of different races from the people of Lower Burma, and very many Indians and Chinese had come into Lower Burma. It did look as if Burma might well have been given full self-government. Then war with Japan broke out all over Eastern Asia, and Burma was invaded. Since the war Burma has become an independent republic and has broken away from the Commonwealth.

VI. THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

If you look at a map which was printed between the two world wars, you will find a large number of lands marked as British possessions widely scattered all over the world. If you look at another map, printed in 1962, you will see only a few of these, but still some, mostly small, in the West Indies, in Africa, in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean sea, and elsewhere. Chapters XII and XIII of *Our Heritage*, Part II show how some of these lands such as Jamaica in the West Indies were got by the British. But most of them were added to the British Empire in the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. After the Second World War most of those possessions which were not independent before got their independence.

The story of how the British got so many possessions is too long to be told here, though you will find parts of it in some of the chapters of this book. Some of it you will find in the next chapter, together with the story of how other European countries—France, Germany, Belgium and Italy got colonial possessions. Other parts of the world outside Europe had for many years been colonies of the Dutch and of the Portuguese. The getting and keeping of such possessions is today called ‘imperialism’ or ‘colonialism’ which really means the rule of one sort of people by another sort of people of a different race. It has always gone on in history, but perhaps it will stop soon. Today (1962) there are very few European countries with colonial possessions, and these are quickly becoming fewer.

Some of the British possessions were ‘ports of call’ and ‘strategic points’, like Gibraltar at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, Aden at the entrance to the Red Sea and Singapore, which is between the Indian Ocean and China Sea. These were all quite small. Others were larger pieces of land like Nigeria and Kenya in Africa, or Malaya in Asia. By 1939 some of them like Ceylon and Jamaica were self-governing in most things. Others like Basutoland in South Africa and the Solomon Islands in the South Pacific Ocean had very little or no self-government. In the nineteenth century the British did not think that many of these peoples, especially those in Africa, could ever be educated or civilized, and they were doubtful if even civilized people like those of India, Ceylon and Malaya could become fit to govern themselves for a long time.

However, in the twentieth century, especially after the Second World War, the ideas of the British changed, as you read at the end of the first section of this chapter. They found out that the African people whom they had

thought of as 'savages' (as indeed many of them were) could be educated. Only a few of these Africans got education, but these became the leaders of their people, and tried hard to get independence. The British governments wanted to help them, but felt that more harm than good would be done if they got independence before the people were really ready for it. Both the British, and the leaders in the colonies, saw that education must be pushed on as much as possible, but they had different ideas about how long it would take for the people in the African colonies to be educated enough to manage their own affairs.

In India, Ceylon and Malaya the people were much more civilized, and many of them well educated. You have read in the last chapter how the Indians got full self-government, and in the earlier part of this book you have read how the same thing happened in Ceylon.

Two other things made British governments not want to give self-government too quickly. They were anxious about countries where there were several races, as in Malaya, where lived Malays, Chinese, and Indians, or where there were tribes, as in most parts of Africa, who had always fought each other till the British came. The British were afraid that, if they gave up governing these countries soon, these races and tribes might fight or oppress each other. In both cases there were several different languages spoken in the same country and this always made difficulties. The other thing was whether colonies which got their independence would have enough money to carry on their own government; whether these peoples would be rich enough to pay taxes, for from the taxes must come the money to pay government servants, military and police forces, and for schemes of education and development.

This is why there are still some colonies in British possession. Very small colonies like Gibraltar, or the Falkland Islands in the far South Atlantic, would find it very difficult to manage if they had to govern themselves entirely.

During the time that the British had colonies they gave the people an "incorrupt" civil and government service (meaning that these servants would not take bribes), a good system of law, before which everyone was equal, with judges who were greatly respected, safety from interference from other countries, a certain amount of education, and, in some cases, the beginnings of parliamentary democracy. But many people, both in Britain and in the Colonies, thought that the British ought to have done much more in educating and training people in the colonies to become government servants, and teaching them to run their trade and industry properly. It should be remembered that in each colony, or former colony, conditions are different: for instance, the people in West Africa were generally better educated and more civilized than those in East Africa.

CHAPTER XX

The Expansion of Europe in Africa, and in the Islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans

I. THE OPENING UP OF AFRICA

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Africa was called the 'Dark Continent', because the central part of it had hardly been explored at all by Europeans. The Europeans lived here and there in settlements along the west and south coasts. The north coast of Africa was ruled in name by the Turks, but it was really controlled by a number of Muslim rulers. These rulers were almost independent, and their ships had sailed up and down the Mediterranean Sea as pirates for hundreds of years. In 1939 the whole of the continent was ruled by Europeans, except for the small state

of Liberia which is on the west coast, and Egypt on the north-east coast; and even Egypt was not completely free.

In Chapter VIII we learnt how South Africa had been developed under the Dutch and the British. Apart from South Africa, the first real attempt to take over any large part of Africa was soon after 1830. At that time France began to take an interest in Algeria, and took it in 1848. After the French had been defeated by the Germans in their war against Germany in 1870, the French began to conquer and develop colonies much more than they had done, before, especially in North-West Africa. In 1881 they took possession of Tunis. This made the Italians very angry as they had wanted Tunis for themselves. Two years later the French began to take possession of the great island of Madagascar, which is off the south-east coast of Africa. During the thirty years which came after that they took a very large piece of land in the centre of Africa, called French Equatorial Africa. They also spread out over the whole of the great Sahara desert till they had joined up their possessions on the coast with their old colonies of Senegal and Dahomey. Finally, just before the First World War, they took possession of the warlike country of Morocco, though this was very difficult for them. Many countries, especially Germany, did not like this at all. So by 1914 the French had got a very large colonial empire in North-West Africa.

The British had had a few trading settlements on the west coast. They were mostly used for the slave trade with America, until this was brought to an end in 1816. Missionaries, traders and explorers became interested in the central part of Africa. The best known of all of them is the great missionary traveller David Livingstone. He made long and dangerous journeys through parts of Central Africa which had not been explored before. These travellers discovered the sources of the Nile and the great inland lakes. Further south the British had gone round the western side of the Boer republics, and began to settle in what is now Rhodesia.

II. THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Because the French and British travellers had explored so much in Africa, other countries began to get interested in that continent, especially Germany and Italy. These two countries had just become whole united countries. Bismarck, who was the chief minister of the German State, did not think it was a good thing for Germany to interfere in Africa. He wanted to pay all his attention to Europe, while France would be busy in North Africa and would therefore not be interested in what was happening in Europe. But many Germans did not agree with him and after he fell from power in 1890 Germany began to interfere in Africa and other places outside Europe. At the time when Germany started to take an interest in getting colonies, several different countries began to try to get lands in Africa all at once. The Germans got lands in the east, west and south-west. (They lost these lands in the First World War and never got them back). At first the British Government thought that it was a good thing for the Germans to get this land; but most people in Britain thought that it would be better for Britain to get more land herself, and because of this, Britain took large parts of the African continent. These parts were British East Africa (which was made up of Kenya and Uganda), Nigeria in the west, British Central Africa, and British Somaliland. The Italians got part of Somaliland, so did the French. The Italians also got Eritrea. But when the Italians tried to conquer the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia, they had a surprise and were very badly defeated.

During the thirty years after 1881 several different conferences met and they agreed at those conferences on how Africa was to be divided up. This was called the 'partition' of Africa. All this took place without any war, though it looked more than once as if there would be a war. They often divided up the land without thinking of the people who lived there. Sometimes the boundaries between European colonies separated people

of the same tribe from each other. There are three smaller countries which had lands in Africa, as well as the countries we have just spoken about. The Portuguese had had settlements on the coast of Africa since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were given large parts of land joining on to the land which they already had; that is, joining on to Angola on the West and to Mozambique on the East. In the very centre of Africa there was a large piece of land which had not been developed at all, and all the countries wanted to take that land. 'Developing' means two things; first, to give the peoples living there the ways of law and order, and second to begin trading and to get 'raw materials' like wild rubber and valuable metals. It was decided that this land was not to belong to any country but was to be developed by a company. The head of the company was King Leopold of Belgium, and the land was called 'The Congo Free State'. This company acted very shamefully, and in 1908 it was agreed that the government of Belgium should govern this land instead. The Belgians certainly ruled much better, and did much for the welfare of the people in the Congo. But unlike the British in their colonies, the Belgians did nothing at all to educate the Congo people for governing themselves, so that when they suddenly became independent they were not very successful.

Finally, just before the First World War, when the French took over the country of Morocco, which was very disturbed, they kept only the eastern part of it. The western part of Morocco, including its Atlantic coast, was given to Spain; but Tangier, which had been one of the important cities of Morocco, and which lies just opposite Gibraltar, was placed under international control, which means that certain countries had a right to say how it should be governed.

III. EGYPT, THE SUDAN AND TRIPOLI

In North-Eastern Africa things happened rather differently. Egypt lies along the fertile valley of the

Nile, and is one of the places where men first became civilized. It is therefore called a 'cradle of civilization'. But for hundreds of years foreigners had ruled over Egypt, and for the last few centuries the Turks had ruled over it and had ruled very badly. But in 1869 something very important happened: this was the cutting of the Suez Canal. It was done by a very clever French engineer named de Lesseps. Because this canal was cut, the route to India, the Far East and Australia was made very much shorter, and the Mediterranean Sea became a great trading waterway. The British were interested at once, and in 1876 the clever British statesman, Disraeli, bought up the shares in the Suez Canal Company which had been held by the bankrupt ruler of Egypt, who was called the 'Khedive'. Because of these shares the British were able to control the Suez Canal Company. It was the duty of this Company to control the way in which ships of all countries used the canal. After this both Britain and France wanted to interfere in Egypt, especially so as to protect the canal and to see that the large sums of money which both countries had lent to the Egyptian ruler Ismail were not wasted. In 1882, the Egyptian army, which was led by Arabi Pasha rose against the foreigners; but his army was defeated and he was sent as a prisoner to Ceylon. About this time a big Muslim movement started south of Egypt in the great desert region of the Sudan. This movement was led by a fanatical Muslim who was called 'the Mahdi'. The British sent a General called Gordon with a small force to put down the Mahdi and to govern the Sudan. But General Gordon was killed. Everybody knew that General Gordon was a very just and kind man. The British Government decided to leave the Sudan to itself. This was not a good thing as very many people were killed because the Mahdi was so cruel. In 1898 a British army under General Kitchener was sent to put an end to this state of affairs; the Mahdi was killed in battle, and the Sudan was taken over by Britain and Egypt together,

but it was governed by British officials. Because of this the population got bigger again and the people became as well off as they could be in a land which was mostly desert.

In the meantime the Government of Egypt had gone bankrupt. The French decided not to do anything about it, so the British took over the running of the country. It was governed by Baring, who was later called Lord Cromer, and under him the British officials turned Egypt into a rich and well run country. Before that it had been bankrupt and badly run. But a lot of young Egyptians did not like this, and a national movement began. After the First World War was over in 1918, the British Government decided to let the Egyptians govern themselves. But though the British said that the Egyptians could govern themselves, they kept the right to interfere about the defence of the country and about the country's foreign policy, that is to say how Egypt should behave towards other countries. This was because it was very important to the British that the Suez Canal should be safe. Many Egyptians did not like this at all. But in 1936 the Egyptian Government agreed to make an alliance with Britain. In this alliance Britain was made partly responsible for defending Egypt, and both countries were together made responsible for defending the 'Anglo-Egyptian Sudan'. This is how things were when the Second World War started. During this war British troops found it very difficult to save Egypt from being invaded by the Italians and by the Germans, but managed to do so.

The invasion of Egypt came from Tripoli; this was the country on the western frontier of Egypt. Tripoli had been a province of Turkey and had been very badly run by the Turks. But in 1911 the Italians suddenly made war on Turkey, and in 1916 they took Tripoli from the Turks. The Italians wanted Tripoli because they had been stopped by the French from getting Tunis.

Twenty years later the Italians made another attack without being provoked. This time they attacked the Kingdom of Abyssinia, which was very old. Chapter XXIV will show what important things happened because of this. In 1939 Abyssinia was an Italian colony, but after the Second World War the country became independent again.

IV. MODERN AFRICA

We ought now to see what were the things which happened because Africa was divided up among the European countries. At first sight it looks as if it was not fair to the Africans to take away their freedom. But it has to be remembered that for hundreds of years the tribes of Africa had always been afraid of many things. They had been afraid of being invaded and of being killed by other tribes which were more warlike than they were. They were afraid of the Arabs, some of whom came and carried them away as slaves. They were afraid of diseases for which there was no remedy. They were afraid of the wild beasts of the jungle, afraid of savage gods and demons and afraid of being badly treated by cruel rulers. The peoples of Africa had hardly become civilized at all, except where the religion of Islam had spread in North Africa beyond those places which had been Roman provinces long ago. When the Europeans first came, there were some more bad things which happened to the Africans. For example, slaves were taken away in ships to America, the Congo tribes were treated very cruelly by King Leopold's company, and their life was upset because many of the Africans went to work in bad conditions in the mines. Besides this, greedy traders made a lot of money because the people were ignorant. But on the other side, the benefits which the Europeans brought with them were far more important than the evils. First of all the slave trade was stopped, which was mainly done by the British. The European countries who had taken colonies in Africa

did not let the tribes go to war with each other any more. They had jungles cleared and cultivated, and tried to teach Africans better ways of looking after their land, and how to grow new crops so that they could sell them and make money. Some of these crops were cocoa, coffee, tea, sisal (for rope making), and pyrethrum (which is used to make anti-mosquito spraying liquid). The Europeans themselves had estates on which these crops grew, cultivated by Africans, but Africans also grew these crops themselves. Towns, roads, and railways were built, and the Europeans showed how these should be done. They also found minerals under the soil, like copper in Rhodesia and the Congo, and diamonds in Sierra Leone. Most important of all were the discoveries of gold in South Africa. The riches got from the mining of these minerals have mostly been for the gain of Europeans, but later on the Africans will get at least their fair share of these riches. It is due mostly to Europeans that great systems of irrigation were started, some of which, for example, have made it possible for the people of Egypt to grow much more wheat than they ever did before, and to grow cotton which is sold all over the world.

The Europeans also brought doctors and nurses into their colonies, and built hospitals; all this made the health of Africans much better. What is even more important, they brought education, starting schools and some universities, so that young Africans would not grow up ignorant, as their parents were and their ancestors had been for centuries, but would learn to do for themselves the things that Europeans were doing for them. You will read in a later chapter what happened in Africa because of all this.

V. EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN ASIA

The European traders first came to Asia so that they could trade in spices. For many years the Dutch had had the greater part of this trade in the islands of the

Indian Ocean. The rest of this trade was shared between the French and the British. They also imported other things, mainly luxuries. But in the nineteenth century there were other things which the European traders brought back to their own countries from tropical countries. They brought both food and things to manufacture. Among these are tea, coffee, copra, rubber, tin and oil. Early in the nineteenth century, the British held Ceylon and Singapore, and later they got Hong-Kong, mainly because they wanted these places for trading and because they were important as naval bases. Ceylon has become important because tea and rubber are grown there. It is also important because it has two good harbours, Colombo and Trincomalee. Singapore has been a centre from which British ideas have spread right up the Malay Peninsula and over a part of the large island of Borneo as well. In 1895 the various rulers of the Malay States were persuaded to put themselves under British protection, and in that same year of 1895 the Federated Malay States were formed. The Malays are a race of people who do not work very hard, but thousands of Chinese and Indians have flocked to the country to work there and they have developed rubber plantations and tin mines. The British have provided most of the money for this.

The Dutch kept and increased their hold on the islands of the Malayan Archipelago; these were the great islands like Java, Sumatra and Celebes, as well as a number of smaller islands. These islands produce oil, tin and rubber, and many other valuable things for industry. On the whole the Dutch ruled well. But when the Japanese seized all the Dutch possessions in the Second World War this upset things very badly. Before this happened, the people of these islands had been given a little self-government, but not very much. Now they are quite self-governing, as you will read in a later chapter.

Still farther east, two other countries had interests. Up to 1898, the big group of islands called the Philippines had belonged to Spain. In that year they were taken over by the United States after a war. The United

States of America were very anxious to give the Filipinos complete self-government, but it took a long time to do this, and they did not quite have self-government when the Philippines fell for the time being into the hands of the Japanese along with British and French possessions during the Second World War.

On the mainland nearest to the Philippines, the peninsula of Indo-China had almost all come under the rule of the French, except for the Kingdom of Siam, which managed to keep its independence. Siam is now called Thailand. Thailand separated the French possessions from the British ones of Burma and Malaya. After the Second World War the countries which had been French colonies all became independent.

The western parts of Asia hardly know anything at all about the civilization of European countries before the First World War. The reason for this was that up till then the whole of Arabia, Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia were ruled by Turkey. After 1918 the Turks only ruled over their own national state in Asia Minor. Independent states were set up in Arabia. Irak (Mesopotamia) was at first under British rule, but the British quickly gave Irak its independence. Syria remained under French rule, and Palestine remained under British rule till after the Second World War. A large part of Palestine has now been formed into the Jewish State of Israel. It looked at one time as if the countries of Persia and Afghanistan might be divided between the Russians and the British, but they managed to keep their independence, mainly because the British helped them to stay independent. In the next chapter we shall see how the western countries got on with China and Japan.

VI. THE PACIFIC OCEAN

Up till about 1880 European countries hardly interfered at all in the very many islands of the Pacific Ocean, except for a little exploration and trading, mostly

by the British. Then about 1880 all the countries began to want some of the islands, just as all the European countries had each wanted a part of Africa. Germany was the first to start, and took parts of New Guinea, Samoa and other places. This made the Australians nervous, so they asked the British to take over another part of New Guinea and a number of groups of small islands. The French and the Americans also joined in. The French got New Caledonia and the Americans got Hawaii and a part of Samoa. These islands all produce copra in large quantities. The countries all tried to get hold of these possessions in a fairly peaceful way. There was no war in the Pacific until Japan wanted to be the most important country in the Pacific Ocean and fought with the other countries which had possessions in the Pacific Ocean. The German Colonies had been taken away from Germany without any difficulty soon after the start of the First World War, and after the war was over they were divided between the countries which had won the war.

VII. EUROPE AND THE WORLD

It is a very remarkable fact that since the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is for four hundred and fifty years, people from European countries, or descended from Europeans, have had more and more to do with the affairs of all the countries in the world and have made a very big difference to them. This is known as their 'influence'. Most of the countries which did not come to be ruled either directly or indirectly by Europeans (see Chapter I), have been influenced by Europeans. Japan became a most important country in Eastern Asia because the Japanese copied the western ways of making war and of governing the country very carefully. But the reason why Japan fell was because the Japanese copied Germany and wanted to be the strongest nation of all by fighting against other nations.

After the Second World War, the educated people in many countries of Asia and Africa, many of whose soldiers had fought in that war, made up their minds that they wanted their countries to be self-governing. They got the feeling of nationalism, as the Germans and Italians had in Europe during the nineteenth century. You have already read in this chapter some of the results of this feeling, and you will read more about it in later chapters.

But in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as you have read in this chapter and the ones before, all the countries of the world except China, Japan, Thailand, Persia (now called Iran), Afghanistan, Arabia and Turkey, in Asia, and Ethiopia and Liberia, in Africa were, or came at some time or other under direct European rule, or, as in North and South America, under the rule of people descended from Europeans. There are a number of reasons why this became possible and why it happened. In these centuries it became much easier for Europeans to get from one place to another by steamships, railways, motor vehicles, and aircrafts, which they had invented. They also invented powerful weapons like rifles, machine guns, and big cannons (artillery), which made it impossible for armies not so well armed to fight against them with any hope of winning. Another thing they found out was how to keep food fresh for a long time, by putting it in refrigerators, and how to tin food stuffs so that they lasted a long time. By inventions like these they were able to make long journeys in wild country, and even to travel over the ice to the North and South Poles. They also made many new and important discoveries in medicine, so that they were able to keep in good health on such journeys; for example, they found out that quinine was a good medicine against malaria.

There is no doubt that wherever Europeans have come they have brought in great improvements in the condition of peoples' lives, so that people are now able

to live longer, to keep in better health, to have more comforts and to avoid, anyhow to some extent, the dangers of starvation and famine. But many people think they ought to have made many more improvements in their colonies than they did. It has to be remembered, too, that two dreadful world wars took place largely because the nations of Europe were jealous of each other, as you will read in Chapters XXIII, XXIV and XXV.

The European countries which had got colonies were Britain (most of all), France, Holland, Belgium, Spain and Portugal; also, though only for a short time, Germany and Italy, who lost theirs as a result of either the First or the Second World War. All those countries got their colonies by crossing the seas. The other great European country which got many colonies, in Asia, was Russia; these were got by going forward across the land of central and northern Asia, during the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, as you read in Chapter XVII. The European countries who got their colonies by crossing the sea have either given up or lost nearly all of them. But the Russians still keep all their colonies.

CHAPTER XXI

The Far East

I. THE OPENING UP OF CHINA

So far we have not said very much in *Our Heritage* about the ancient civilization of China. China is one of the places where human beings first began to be civilized, and is one of the largest countries in the world, with the most people living there. In the old days China had become very civilized indeed. The country was joined together under one ruler very early in its history. It went on in spite of the savage attacks by the Tartars who came in to plunder the country.

From the middle of the fourteenth century a line of emperors, called the Ming dynasty, ruled the country in its ancient ways for about three hundred years. After this, a new line of emperors who had come from Manchuria in the north-east seized the Empire, and stayed in power till the beginning of the twentieth century. The Chinese were on the whole quite happy with their government, and their peaceful ways of life. They had their own religion which was based on ancestor worship, and was developed by the great thinkers, Con-fu-tse (usually known as Confucius) and Lao-tse; millions of them were influenced by the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which was and still is specially strong in the wild mountain country of Thibet. The Chinese had very little to do with any foreign country; and when the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British came to China for trade, the Chinese were not afraid of them but allowed them to come and trade as if it were a favour.

European countries had always wanted to trade with such a famous and wealthy country. After it became easier for them to travel because of scientific discoveries, they had one or two wars with the Chinese. The Europeans soon saw that though the country was very large and had a very large population, the people could not stand up against them very well.

In 1842 the British made the Chinese hand over to them the small barren island of Hong Kong off the South China coast which they made into a large and flourishing port. They also got some trading rights. Other European countries and the United States of America also began to try to get the same kind of rights for themselves. Trade increased because of this, and although the Chinese Government did not cease to dislike foreigners, it agreed to let traders and missionaries come right into the country. Besides, Chinese merchants found that they were able to make a lot of money by trading with the foreigners.

II. THE OPENING UP OF JAPAN

The island empire of Japan was off the eastern coast of China. It was made up of two large islands and many small ones. Very long ago the Japanese had had plans to become more powerful by conquering land on the mainland of China, but they had never really tried to do it. They were even less friendly with foreigners than the Chinese were, and in the middle of the seventeenth century they did not allow any more European traders to come to their shores. The country was governed in name by the 'Mikado', but the Mikado's minister, who was called the 'Shogun', was the real ruler. A caste of nobles, whose government posts were handed down from father to son, also helped to rule. The Japanese people lived exactly as their ancestors had lived for centuries. This was in much the same way as the people of the Kandyan Kingdom had lived up till the coming of the British.

But in 1853 an American naval officer forced the Japanese to let American ships come and trade with Japan, and very soon the ships of other countries came too. A few of the Japanese nobles realised that the foreigners had got something which they had not got themselves, so they made up their minds to learn from the foreigners whom they used to despise. In 1868 these go-ahead nobles had a civil war and turned out the government of the Shogun. A new Mikado came to the throne who was called Mutsuhito. He believed in the new ideas himself. The Japanese began to make great changes. By the end of Mutsuhito's reign in 1912, Japan had got very 'westernized'. That is to say that by the time Japan had got a modern army and navy, that it was governed by a kind of parliamentary government, that it had factories and railways, a big fleet of merchant ships, a big modern system of banking and a large foreign trade. It also had schools of the western kind for everybody. The Japanese had learnt how to do all this because they had sent the cleverest

of their young men to study in Europe and America. As well as all this, the Japanese copied some of the European countries and wanted to take over parts of China so that they could become more powerful, especially as China was very weak.

It is interesting to notice at that time that China and Japan treated foreigners in different ways. The Japanese thought that it was a good thing for the foreigners to come, and they learned all they could from them until they could do without them. The Chinese thought that foreigners were not nearly so good or clever as they were themselves. They did not want to learn very much from the foreigners, but in the end they had to depend on them, until at one time it looked as if a large part of China would probably be divided between foreign countries.

III. RELATIONS OF CHINA AND JAPAN WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The big peninsula of Korea had been an almost independent country for centuries. It was very badly governed, and had some dealings with China. Some centuries ago the Japanese had invaded Korea. Towards the end of the nineteenth century they thought of invading it again, and because of this there was a war between Japan and China in 1894. The Japanese very easily defeated the Chinese in this war, and the governments of European countries came to know that Japan had become an important country in the Far East. Most of them thought that this was a good thing, but Russia did not. Section 7 of Chapter XVII told how Russia spread all over Northern Asia, until it reached the Pacific Coast. By 1875 the Russians had seized the long island of Sakhalin, and the Japanese did not like this at all. Also the Russians were interested in Manchuria. The Russians very much wanted a port which was free from ice all the year. After the Japanese had defeated the Chinese in 1894, they imposed severe

terms on them. They demanded that Korea was to be independent, they asked the Chinese to hand over the large Island of Formosa to them, as well as the Liao-tung Peninsula. There is an ice-free port, which was later called Port Arthur, at the end of the Liao-tung Peninsula. And because the Russians wanted an ice-free port for themselves they interfered. They made the Japanese give back the Liao-tung Peninsula to the Chinese and then they (the Russians) leased it from the Chinese themselves and made a naval base there. They also began to show much more interest in what was happening in Korea and Manchuria.

During the next few years it looked very much as if China was going to stop being independent and would be divided up among the foreign powers in much the same way as Africa had been divided up. Germany began to copy Russia and took a lease of the port of Kiao-chau. At the same time the British, who were always afraid that the Russians would get too powerful, leased the port of Wei-hai-wei for the same length of time as the Russians should hold Port Arthur. They then turned it into a naval base. The French had occupied nearly the whole of the Indo-China Peninsula. The Chinese considered that this country was their own property. The French were also very interested in Southern China. So it looked as if all these countries, Russia, Germany, Britain and France might spread out inland into China from the possessions which they already had, or from the lands which they had leased on the coast. It also looked as if Japan might spread out into China from Formosa. The United States of America did not think that this was a good idea at all, and together with Britain they said that China must go on being independent. No country would be allowed to get any more land in China, and every country was to be allowed to trade.

You will notice that when they did all this the Chinese were not asked whether they liked it or not. Some of the Chinese wanted to copy Japan and learn from the

foreigners. Others of the Chinese wanted to drive the foreigners away altogether. These last made a secret society called the 'Boxers' to drive away all the foreigners by force. The Boxers were put down by an army which was made up of soldiers from all the foreign countries which were interested in China. So the foreigners went on being able to trade in China.

IV. JAPAN AND RUSSIA

Both Japan and Britain became afraid because Russia was trying to take so much land on the Pacific Coast, and in 1902 these two countries made an alliance. This alliance did not prevent the Russians from trying to do what they wanted to do, and in 1904 a war broke out between Russia and Japan. England and Japan were friendly, and France and Russia were friendly. But France did not join in the war. Although at one time it seemed likely that England and Russia might fight each other, in the end England did not join in the war either. So the Russians and the Japanese fought each other without any help from any other country.

Most people thought that Russia would win, but the Japanese had a good army and fought very well. The Russians had to send their armies and their warships such a long way that it was difficult to take enough food and ammunition. So the Japanese won the war. Peace was made and the Peace Treaty gave Japan the lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula which the Russians had had before, and half the Island of Sakhalin. The Russians could no longer get any more land in the Far East. As the Japanese had won, they could do what they liked about Korea, so they took it for themselves in 1910.

V. CHANGES IN CHINA

After the Boxers were defeated the more go-ahead Chinese realized that they would have to learn about western ways of doing things and western ideas. Many young students went to America and to Europe in order to learn all they could. The ruler of China at this time

was the Dowager Empress Yehonala. At first she had thought that the Boxers were right, but later on she started many reforms. After she died in 1908, the Chinese Government became very bad, and a rebellion broke out in the south. The Chinese had never liked the Manchurian Emperors very much, so the ruling Emperor was deposed. The rebellion was led by Dr. Sun-yat-sen, who was a very clever and well educated man and who knew what was best for the future of the country. But he could not get the Chinese people to be united, so the country became very confused. At this time the First World War started in Europe. Both Japan and China joined in the war against Germany, and Japan seized the port of Kiao-chau which the Germans had leased from the Chinese. The Japanese also started to interfere a great deal in what was happening inside China itself. In 1915 they put forward twenty-one demands. If the Chinese had agreed to these demands the Japanese would have been given a great deal of power in saying what was to be done in China. When peace was made in 1919 the Japanese stopped interfering in China, but later on they started again.

For several years there was a great deal of trouble in China. There were some people called 'war-lords' who spent their time fighting each other, which was very bad for the Chinese people. The Kuo-min-tang Party was the strongest of any of the parties in the country. The Kuo-min-tang Party said that they would carry out Sun-yat-sen's ideas. These were that no other countries should interfere in China, that the ordinary people should have a say in the government, and that many reforms should be carried out. Sun-yat-sen died in 1925, and after he died Chiang-Kai-Shek gradually became the leader of the party. But Chiang-Kai-Shek found that it was very hard to carry out all the things that the party said that they would do. This was largely because the country was so big, and because

most of the Chinese people did not care about the government. Another reason was that it was very difficult to get from one place to another. The last thing which made it difficult for Chiang-Kai-Shek was that there was a very strong party against the Kuo-min-tang which called itself the Communist Party. The peasants could neither read or write, so China was not ready to be governed by the people. Because of all this Chiang-Kai-Shek found that he had to behave like a dictator whether he wanted to or not. It is only fair to Chiang-Kai-Shek to say that he always said that he wanted to govern in a more liberal way and to bring in many reforms, as soon as there was more order in the country. So long as there is no order in a country the government cannot do its work properly. But Chiang-Kai-Shek was never able to do this because the Japanese interfered in China.

At the end of the First World War the Peace Treaties in 1919 allowed the Japanese to have a special interest in Chinese affairs. They allowed the Japanese to have the base of Kiao-Chau and the various groups of islands which the Germans had got in the Northern Pacific. It seems that from this time onwards, or perhaps even earlier, the Japanese had determined to make their country the most important power in Eastern Asia. For a time they did not do anything, and in 1921 they joined a 'Nine Power Treaty' in which they said that they would not interfere at all in anything to do with China. But the treaty let them have some interests in Manchuria. The Japanese then became afraid that the Russians and the Chinese Government of Chiang-Kai-Shek were having too much to do in Manchuria. So when some trouble broke out there in 1931, they invaded it, and made a state there which they said was independent, and which they called Manchukuo. But the Japanese really controlled it all together themselves, and soon started to make money out of it and to keep armies there. In 1937 they did something more still; they quarrelled with Chiang-Kai-Shek and sent armies

from Manchukuo into the provinces of China which were near there. Because their armies were so very strong they drove the Chinese leader almost altogether out of Eastern China. While this was going on they were very cruel to the Chinese people. But though the Chinese people did not have many modern guns or arms they fought back against the Japanese very bravely. Chiang-Kai-Shek set up his headquarters at Chung-King in Western China, and his followers kept the Japanese forces out of Western China by fighting what is called a 'guerilla' war. That is to say they made little attacks on the Japanese to prevent them from getting food and to capture the Japanese ammunition for themselves, but they took care not to fight any big battles. After a time this war became part of the Second World War.

After this war Chiang-Kai-Shek became the real ruler of China. But the people did not like his rule because there was too much of bribery. This was a chance for his enemies, the Chinese Communists, who defeated him in battle and got the whole of China for themselves. You will read in a later chapter how they began to make their vast country into a very strong country indeed.

CHAPTER XXII

The States of America

I. THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

The Continent of America stretches north and south from the Arctic to the Antarctic Oceans. North and South America are joined by a long 'land-bridge' which at the narrowest part is only about fifty miles wide and is known as Central America. Part of the American Continent is the Dominion of Canada, which is a part of the Commonwealth of Nations. A few other European countries possess parts of America in or on the coast of, the tropical Caribbean Sea. The rest of the country is

divided into a number of independent republics, some large and some small. In the eighteenth century, the whole of the continent had not been explored, but the parts which had been explored were supposed to belong to European countries. By the early part of the nineteenth century, however, nearly the whole of the continent had become independent of those countries.

II. THE UNITED STATES

The greatest and most powerful of these States is the Republic known as the United States of America. In Part II of *Our Heritage*, you read how the thirteen British Colonies on the eastern coast of North America revolted against the rule of King George III of England and became independent and united with each other. You will remember that that great man, George Washington, became the first President of the United States.

The way in which the thirteen new states united together was called a federal union. That means that they gave up some of their powers and had a central government. They kept the rest of their powers for themselves. The most important Americans from all the States met together and made the necessary arrangements. Everybody agreed and they wrote down what they had settled. This was called 'The American Constitution'. Other states were to be allowed to join as soon as they were formed. Other States were formed as the American people spread out towards the West till they reached the eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. The American national flag, the stars and stripes, shows this for the stripes stand for the original thirteen States, and the stars stand for the fifty States which there are at present.

The American Parliament is called 'Congress'. It is divided into an upper house called the 'Senate' and a lower house called the 'House of Representatives'. Each State, large or small, sends two members to the Senate. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people, that is, one member to so

many thousand voters. The President, who is elected by all the people in the country every four years, is a very powerful ruler. Sometimes he can send out orders without even asking the Congress first. It is very difficult to make any changes in the Constitution and even if changes are made, they can be stopped by the Supreme Court in which sit the best judges in the country.

During the nineteenth century, the United States took part in only three wars. One was with Britain, which was not important, one was a quarrel with Mexico, and the third was a war with Spain, about which you will learn later on in this chapter. But in this century, the United States of America were obliged to join in the two world wars, even though they did not really want to do so. They were against Germany in the First World War and against Germany and Japan in the second because they thought, rightly, that these two countries wanted to take away other countries' freedom, and even the freedom of their own people. The United States of America played a great part in both these wars, particularly the Second World War, and helped a great deal to win the victory for countries who believed in freedom.

III. SOUTH AMERICA AND THE 'MONROE DOCTRINE'

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Spain said that it possessed nearly the whole of South and Central America as well as some of North America. But the Portuguese had the great colony of Brazil, and there were also four small colonies belonging to other countries; they were French, Dutch and British Guiana, and British Honduras. But neither Spain nor Portugal gave their colonies a government which was either free or well-run. So in 1812 a great man named Simon Bolivar rebelled, and in 1821 set up a Republic in Columbia. In the next year the Brazilians declared

that they were independent. (But Brazil did not become a real republic until about 70 years later). The people everywhere stopped obeying the Spanish rulers and set up republics. For a time it seemed as if some of the European countries which belonged to the Holy Alliance, (you learned about the Holy Alliance in Chapter XIV), might interfere to help Spain. But Canning, the British statesman who came after Castlereagh, recognized the new republics officially. Canning also supported President Monroe of the United States, who said that the United States would object very strongly if any European country interfered in either North or South America. This came to be called the 'Monroe Doctrine', and it means that no country, except the United States, has tried to interfere with what was happening in South and Central America.

These republics are sometimes called the Latin Republics. They have had constant wars and revolutions, they have had many bad presidents, who have really been dictators, and most of them have been very badly ruled.

Their leaders had won freedom for the peoples of these countries. But their governments have not really been democratic at all. The people were too lazy and uneducated to make a free government work properly. However, during the last fifty years some of the larger countries have done better, though they have quite often had wars and revolutions. South America has been less explored than any other continent, and is not very well known. It has great natural wealth, and if its peoples work hard and try to run their government properly and without bribery, its many republics should do very well.

IV. THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

The climate of the Northern States of the United States of America is like that of Western Europe, so that all the people who came from Western Europe to make

their homes there in the beginning of the nineteenth century found a free life there something like life in the countries they had come from only better. These people came mainly from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany and Scandinavia. As more and more people came in to settle down, the people who were descended from the original settlers moved further west across the great prairies. These people, called pioneers, began to cultivate lands which had never been cultivated before. They often lived wild and adventurous lives, and they drove out the 'Red Indians' who had lived in the country before them mainly hunting the great herds of buffalo which were there. There were not many of these 'Red Indians', and they were very savage. As the pioneers explored further and further towards the west, settlers came along behind them in their covered wagons and cleared and cultivated the lands through which the pioneers had made their way. They went on steadily to the west until they reached the Pacific Coast, and gradually the central part of America, called the 'Middle West', was filled with millions of people who came to cultivate the land.

But things were very different in the old Southern States. There were three great crops in the south; these were tobacco, cotton and rice. Because of the sub-tropical climate, which was very hot, the American people found it very difficult to work in the fields themselves, so from the eighteenth century onwards they had got negro slaves from Africa brought in ships to work in the fields for them. Most of the southern 'planters' were rich men who had a great deal of land. They were called 'planters' from their large plantations or estates. In 1793 a machine was invented called the 'cotton gin'; this machine made it easy to separate the cotton seeds from the fibre, so that people were able to grow a lot more cotton. At the same time, factories with newly invented machines were started in Lancashire in Great Britain, and they wanted a lot of cotton, so the planters

became very rich. Britain stoppe! the slave trade and then set all the slaves free in her own lands, but in spite of that there were quite enough negro slaves who lived on the plantations to grow all the cotton that was needed. But in the Northern States of America people began to feel very strongly that it was wrong to keep slaves, just as the British had. The southern people did not want to be interfered with, because they said that the slaves were better off there than they had been in Africa. Because they disagreed with the people of the Northern States about whether it was right or not to keep slaves, the people of the Southern States came to think that it would be a good thing if they had a separate union of their own. In 1860 a new president was elected named Abraham Lincoln. He was a man of the people from the middle west. The southern people did not like him at all, and they determined that the six States which grew cotton would 'secede', that is, break away from the rest. Lincoln was determined to prevent this, because he saw that it would prevent his country from growing great in the future; he began to raise a volunteer army (that is a army made up of soldiers who offered to join it of their own free will), to stop these States by force from breaking away. The Southern States copied him and raised an army too, and the four other states which also used slave labour joined with them.

In this way a great civil war broke out in 1861. The Southerners fought very hard, but when the Northern States were joined by the new States which had been started in the west, they were together too strong for the Southern States, and in 1865 the Southern States were forced to surrender. Lincoln had already given orders in 1862 that slavery was to end in the country; and the Southern States had to agree to this. They were badly treated after the war and did not forgive the Northern States for many years to come; if Lincoln had lived, this might not have happened, for he was a great and wise man; but he was murdered directly after the war.

V. WESTWARD EXPANSION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the second half of the nineteenth century more and more people moved out to live in the west, and as that happened the United States grew more and more wealthy. People went out in covered wagons first of all; later, railway lines were built, and they were able to take away the huge crops of wheat which the farmers were growing on the vast and fertile prairies of the middle west. The farmers were helped by mechanical inventions like the steam-plough and the grain elevator. They sold a great amount of wheat to their own people, who were steadily increasing, and also to the European peoples, particularly those of Britain. The British farmers were nearly ruined because corn was sent from America to Britain at very low prices. The soil of the prairies was fresh, and produced crop after crop with hardly any need for manuring: but the American wheat growers did not realise that they were taking much out of the land and putting nothing back. Because of this, many of the prairies which were once fertile are now sterile and desolate, and it will cost the Americans many millions of dollars to make them fertile again. However the American people, who are very clever at inventing and who stick to a job, are trying their best to do this. They have already had their first success with a great scheme to make the land fertile again in the valley of the Tennessee River.

Industry also does very well in the middle west. We can see this from the way in which great towns like Chicago, Pittsburg and Detroit have grown up. Chicago is the largest city in America, except for New York, and, in the twentieth century, Detroit makes more motor vehicles than any other place in the world. In the far west the large State of California, with its capital San Francisco, first became important when gold was discovered; later the people of California started to can fruit and fish on a very large scale; they also produce wine and petroleum. In this century Los Angeles, one of the towns of California, has become the centre of the motion picture industry.

People have poured into America from Europe for the last hundred years to work there and the industries and farming of the country were able to develop in this way. More people came from Italy and from the countries of Eastern Europe than from Western Europe where they used to come from. So America became a mixture of European races, though the American culture and civilisation are mostly like the culture and civilisation of Western Europe. Chinese and Japanese people came into California, but the American people did not like them to come, because they had a low standard of living and would work for less money than the other people who lived in America. Later on only a very few Chinese and Japanese people were allowed to come and settle in America. The American working class people earned higher wages, and were able to live with greater comfort than the working classes in any of the countries in Europe or in fact anywhere. Some of the people who had descended from the original settlers, and even some of the descendants of poor people who had gone out to live there much later on, made great fortunes in business and in other ways. The United States of America is now the richest country in the world.

VI. THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The American Government always tried not to interfere with anyone outside the American Continent, and they would not let anyone outside the American Continent interfere with their affairs, though the countries which had colonies in America were free to deal with them as they liked. However in 1898 the United States of America felt that they ought to interfere to help the Spanish Colonies in the West Indies, which were very badly governed. Because of this there was a war, and the Spanish people were driven out of their colonies in the West Indies (the largest of these was the island of Cuba), and they were also driven out of the Philippine Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The United States of America also took over Hawaii and part of Samoa, which was further to the south in the Pacific Ocean, as well as smaller groups of islands. The reason for this is

that the Americans felt that, as they had such a long coastline on the east coast of the Pacific Ocean, they needed bases to protect their trade with Asia which was steadily growing. Japan was meanwhile becoming powerful, as you have already learned, so, as the Americans spread out across the Pacific they were bound to come into conflict with the Japanese, and in the Second World War they did fight against Japan. For the same reason, so that they could trade in China themselves, the Americans insisted that all the countries were to be given equal rights to trade there (see Chapter XXI) and they prevented China from being divided up among the powerful countries of Europe.

When the Panama Canal was finished in 1914 it became very much easier for ships to get from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This canal was cut across the isthmus of Panama in Central America, and made the distance between the two oceans thousands of miles shorter. Before that ships had had to go right round South America. The canal was cut through country where malaria was very bad, and the way lives were saved while this work was going on was a very great triumph for the clever doctors who were working there.

The long boundary line between the United States and Canada was decided on without any fighting, and there was very little fighting about the boundary line between the United States and Mexico in the south. The Americans prided themselves that their country stood for peace and avoided wars. So that when the First World War broke out in 1914 the general feeling among Americans was that they should keep out of it. But most of the Americans, especially those who were descended from British people, felt sorry for France and Britain, and felt that these countries were fighting for freedom. So when American people were killed in passenger ships which German submarines torpedoed without any warning, the Americans entered the war, in 1917. The United States of America were able to bring great masses of men and arms to help France

and Britain. This made these countries stronger than Germany, and Germany was defeated even before the Americans had given all the help that they could.

After this war the President of the United States of America, who was called Woodrow Wilson, took a very important part in deciding what the peace terms were to be; and it was he who took the most important part in setting up the League of Nations, as you will learn in later chapters. But the government and the people of the United States of America made a great mistake; this was that they went back to their old ways of thinking. They refused to join the League of Nations, and believed that they could still run their own affairs and influence those of the other American Republics, without having anything to do with the rest of the world. Because of this they had to fight in the Second World War, twenty years later, and this cost them far more men's lives and much more money than the First World War had done. In an earlier part of this book you learned that so many scientific discoveries have been made that nothing can be done in any part of the world which will not affect nearly the whole of the world. But the Americans had not come to understand that yet.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Causes and Events of the First World War

I. THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

The German Empire was founded after the war between France and Prussia of 1870-71. This was the beginning of a period which lasted nearly for three-quarters of a century, and which led up to two world wars. One of these wars was in 1914 and the other was in 1939, and Germany is mostly to blame for both these wars. The old kingdom of Prussia had been founded

and had grown mainly by war (see *Our Heritage II*, Chapter VIII). When this kingdom suddenly grew and turned into the German Empire, its leaders took a great deal of trouble to teach the German people that Germany must go on fighting until it became the greatest power in all the world. So long as every State makes laws for itself and does not listen to what all the nations say is right, wars will always take place; and if any State intends to expand and take its neighbours' land, war is almost certain. So that States must be willing to give up some of their powers to some central world authority, and especially they must give up the power of making war whenever they wish, otherwise there will always be wars.

During the time from 1871 to 1914 there were no important wars in Europe. But the peace was not a settled peace, and it looked as if a war might break out at any moment. There were many reasons for this, far too many reasons for you to learn about in this book. The most important of these were firstly, that several European States, especially Germany, wanted to get more lands either inside Europe, or, more often, outside Europe. The next reason was that the French people wanted to get back the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which the Germans had taken from them and also wanted to be revenged on Germany. Another reason was that the States in the Balkan Peninsula were very disturbed, and that the people who lived in them were of several different races who mostly hated each other. Another reason was that the Austrian and Turkish Empires were made up of different peoples who were not allowed by their rulers to think of themselves as nations, and because of this they were likely to start rebellions at any time. Again another reason was that Japan was growing very powerful in Eastern Asia. And finally in all the different industrial countries there were very strong groups of men at the heads of the industries who were all struggling against each other to get raw materials, and especially oil, for their industries.

The German Chancellor, Bismarck was very clever. He wanted the German Empire to have a long time of peace. This Empire had only just been formed, and a long time of

peace would help it to grow strong, rich and powerful. Because of this he tried to keep friendly with both Russia and Austria, and to see that France should have no friends in Europe, but should be busy getting colonies outside Europe. Bismarck did not want his own country to get colonies, so he did not bother to build up the German navy. There was therefore no reason why Britain should not be friendly with Germany. As long as the old Emperor William I lived, Bismarck was quite successful. He managed to build up a 'Triple Alliance' between the three countries of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Italy could not forgive France for seizing Tunis in North Africa, so did not mind making an alliance with Germany. At the same time as he made this alliance, Bismarck succeeded in keeping friendly with Russia. This shows how clever Bismarck really was, because Austria-Hungary still had some land which the Italian people said ought to belong to Italy, and these two countries were not at all friendly; also because Austria-Hungary and Russia were both trying to get power in the Balkan Peninsula. But in 1888 a young and ambitious Emperor, William II, came to the throne in Germany. Two years later he got rid of Bismarck, and gradually all the work that Bismarck had tried to do was undone. William II, supported by most of his subjects, started to quarrel with other countries, and because of this most of the countries in Europe turned against Germany. William II and his government did all they could to make Germany grow rich and powerful quickly. They made regulations for trade and industry to which they gave help, and at the same time all the people worked hard. William II used this wealth and power to make the army stronger, to build up the navy, and to try to get colonies in East and West Africa and in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. You have already learned about these colonies in Chapter XX. The whole time the German people were taught how great Germany was going to be, especially the children and young people in the schools and universities by history lessons and lectures. It will probably take a very long time before the German people realise

that what they have been taught for so long is not true, though the Second World War may have taught them a hard lesson.

II. THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

Both Russia and France came to understand that as William II was so quarrelsome, Germany was likely to be dangerous to them, so they became friendly. In 1895 the two countries formed a 'Dual Alliance'. But the British people wanted to go on being friendly with Germany, especially as William II was the son of Queen Victoria's eldest daughter. At first the British did not object to Germany's trying to get colonies; though when all the countries were trying to get lands in Africa at the end of the century, the British Government managed to stop Germany from getting too much land in Africa. At that time the British Government kept as far as possible out of the affairs of the Continent of Europe, and did not make alliances with any country. One British statesman called this 'splendid isolation'. But before long the British had to see that it was not such a good thing to be alone. When people from British South Africa made a raid into the Transvaal Republic, which they had no right to do at all (see Chapter XVIII), the German Emperor, William II, sent a telegram of sympathy to the Boer President. And when the Boer war broke out three years after the raid, it was clear that Germany was most unfriendly to Britain, and that the Boers were largely armed with German weapons. In fact several European countries showed that they were glad when the British troops did not succeed in the early part of the war; and they might have helped the Boers, but the British navy was too strong to let them. British statesmen began to see that Germany might become dangerous to Britain, and they decided that France was likely to be Britain's best friend, although Britain and France had not been at all friendly right up to the end of the last century. The British made an alliance with the Japanese in 1902, and in this way came out of their 'splendid isolation'. The Russians did not like this alliance between the Japanese and the British, and they were at war with

Japan in 1903 and 1904, but Britain kept out of this war, and so did France which was allied to Russia. In 1904, France and Britain formed an 'Entente Cordiale'. This was a friendly understanding between the two countries, but not an alliance. Because Germany was building a large navy, Britain strengthened her own fleet. This was because the British realised that when Germany built a much stronger navy than she really needed, the Germans must be making plans to fight against Britain, and no one else.

The French now worked hard to make their new friends, the British, more friendly with their allies, the Russians. This was not very easy, because the British and the Russians had never been friendly during the whole of the nineteenth century. However, by 1907, the French succeeded and Russia joined what was called the 'Triple Entente' with France and Britain. The British statesmen thought that by this friendly agreement, and without making a definite alliance between the three countries, they would prevent Germany from making war. They were wrong.

At this time people said that Europe was like an armed camp. Nearly every country was spending all the money which it could afford on armaments. All young men (except in Britain) went through a period of military training; after that they spent years in the 'Reserve', and during this time they could be called on to fight if needed. The most important military leaders, known as 'the general staff' of the different countries made secret plans in case war broke out, and Germany made definite plans to invade other countries. The people in the foreign services of the different countries tried very hard to bring the smaller countries in Europe on to the side of their different countries. Even among the common people feelings grew more and bitter against other countries. It is true that a peace movement was also growing up at the same time as all the countries were busy arming themselves, but this peace movement was never strong enough to have much real effect. Two peace conferences were held at the Hague in Holland in 1899 and in 1907. At these conferences the ways were laid down for countries to

bring their disputes to be settled before a Court, where the Judges were appointed by all the different countries. But in spite of this most countries just said that they wanted peace, while they went on preparing for war.

III. THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

You have to remember that there were a number of problems any one of which might have caused a war in Europe at any time during this period. In every country there was a war party and a peace party. The war party was very small and weak in Britain, but was very large and strong in Germany. So if at any time the war party got control of a government, and if any of those problems came along, it would be very easy for the war party to use it in order to start a war.

In 1906 and again in 1911 there was trouble between Germany and France over lands in North Africa. The French wanted to get influence over the country of Morocco, where there was always fighting, which disturbed the French colony in Algeria next to it. The Germans tried to stop them, though there was no reason why they should interfere. In 1906 the French gave way to the Germans, and left Morocco alone; but in 1911 the British supported the French, and the Germans had to give way, though there was very nearly a war about it. But the most difficult problems in Europe were in the countries of the Balkan Peninsula, and it was in the Balkan countries that the event happened which started the general war. It was the break-up of the Turkish Empire, which you learned about in Chapter XVII, that stirred up many of these problems. When Austria-Hungary seized Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, this made the Serbian people very angry, and they hoped that Russia would protect them in the future. On the other hand the Turks and the Bulgarians, who had been defeated in the Balkan war, tried to get Austria-Hungary and her great ally Germany to help them. Germany had worked hard to build up German influence in the Balkan countries, and the Germans had lent money to the new Turkish State so that the Turks could build a railway across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to

the Persian Gulf. The British thought that this was a very bad thing because they did not want Germany to grow powerful in Asia. This railway came to be known as the 'Berlin-Baghdad' Railway; and it went right through the small country of Serbia, which was very unfriendly to the Germans. Serbia was supported both by Greece and Roumania, who had been its allies before, and now by Russia as well; and Russia was the greatest of all the Slav countries. Now there were many millions of Slav people in the lands which were ruled by the Austrian Emperor, but these people were not allowed to have the same rights as the Austrians or the Hungarians, who had all the real power. These Slavs did not like being kept down in this way at all, and they felt very friendly to those people of their own race who had freed themselves from Turkish rule, especially the Serbian people. In 1914 the Archduke Franz-Ferdinand, who was the heir to the thrones of Austria and Hungary, was murdered by one of these discontented Slav people, though he himself had wanted to make their position better. The Government of Austria-Hungary blamed Serbia for this murder, and ordered the Serbians to do impossible things to make up for it. The Government of Serbia could not agree to all these things, though it wanted to do all it could to satisfy the Government of Austria-Hungary. The Austrian ministers insisted that the Serbians should do what they asked, though they hesitated when they found that the Russian Government was ready to support Serbia. So everything depended on what Germany did. The military leaders of Germany decided that this was a good time to make a war in Europe, so the German Government supported the Government of Austria-Hungary. Their reason was that Germany was ready to make war then, and knew that neither Russia nor France were ready. So the Germans thought that they could fight very quickly, and easily win a victory, as they had done in their two wars before. The German ministers were not so sure as the military leaders that they could win the war quickly, so when Sir Edward Grey, who was the British Foreign Secretary, tried to make peace, they were ready to listen to him; but the military leaders were too

strong for the other ministers. On the 28th of July, Austria—Hungary declared war on Serbia, and the Russians started to get their armies ready to fight. At the same time Germany declared war on Russia. Because the French had an agreement with Russia, the French declared war on Germany on the 3rd of August, so as to help Russia. Next day the German armies started to attack France, and came through the small country of Belgium to do so. Belgium was neutral, that is, it was not on either side, and all the countries in Europe, including Germany, had promised faithfully that they would leave Belgium alone. This attack on Belgium made the British very angry, so at midnight Britain joined France and Russia, and all the countries of the British Commonwealth joined in to help Britain.

IV. THE COURSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The Germans had planned that their armies were just to defend themselves against Russia, and to swallow up the French armies altogether by a great drive through Belgium. This was because, as Belgium was a neutral country, the Belgian frontier was not fortified, but the frontier between France and Germany was; so the Germans expected that their armies would be able to march straight through Belgium to attack France without being stopped. But the Belgians did defend themselves, led by their brave King Albert, and they fought against the Germans just long enough for the British army, which was small but very well-trained, to be able to land and move up to help the Belgian army. But the Belgians were not able to fight for long, and the French and British armies were pushed back nearly as far as Paris, though they fought very hard all the way. But at this stage one of the German generals made a mistake, and the armies of the British and the French were able to push the German army back at the battle of the Marne. The Germans then tried to seize the French ports on the north coast, nearest to England, but they failed. But the Germans did succeed in stopping the Allied armies from going any further in Northern France, and before the year 1914 ended both sides had dug a long line of trenches which stretched

all the way from the border of Switzerland to the English Channel, and were protected with strong barriers of barbed wire. The German armies on one side and the French and British armies on the other side stayed opposite to each other in these lines of trenches for over three years, and hardly moved backwards or forwards. Although both sides made terrific efforts to break through, and millions of men were killed, neither side was able to break right through the line opposite to it until 1918.

On the Eastern Front the Russian armies advanced into East Prussia early in 1914, but they were severely defeated. But the Russian armies held their own against the armies of Austria-Hungary, and not very much happened in the war there, except that first one side and then the other won a series of great battles. The Russians on the whole lost rather than gained in these battles, because their armies were not well run. The armies of Austria-Hungary were not very successful when they fought against Serbia either, but in the end the forces of Serbia were completely defeated, as Serbia was a very small country. After that the allies (that is to say, at that time, Britain, France, Serbia and Russia) only kept a small part of the Balkan Peninsula in their hands. This was the country round the port of Salonica. At Salonica a small force of French and British soldiers helped all that was left of the Serbian army to fight against the Bulgarians, who had joined Germany in 1915. The year before, Turkey had also joined in the war on the side of the Germans. The British tried to break through the Dardanelles Straits so as to be able to reach the Russians who were their allies, but they were not able to do this. On the other hand, the Turkish forces failed when they made an attack on the Suez Canal.

As you have already learnt, Italy was the third party with Germany and Austria-Hungary in the Triple Alliance; Italy did not join in the war but stayed neutral till 1915. In 1915 Italy changed sides and joined France and Britain. For some time very little happened on the frontier between Austria and Italy, as it was difficult country to fight in.

At sea the British fleet was supreme; the Germans were very proud of the new fleet which they had built,

but it only came out into the open sea in 1916, and then it only just escaped being destroyed. So by means of their navies, the British and the French were able to stop any supplies from reaching their enemies by sea, and their forces were able to capture all the German Colonies. But in revenge for this the Germans destroyed many of the allied supply ships; they did this partly by sowing the sea with mines, (these mines also protected the Germans' own coast from being invaded), and also they used raiding ships which broke through the blockade: but most of the supply ships were destroyed by submarines (ships which can travel under the water altogether), firing torpedoes. But though the Germans destroyed many of the allied supply ships, they never quite managed to stop all the supplies which had to be brought from overseas into France and Britain.

In 1917 a revolution broke out in Russia, and the party which came to the top, who were called the Bolsheviks, made a separate peace with Germany. This meant that Roumania, which had also joined the allies, was defeated by the Germans. But although these losses were great, when America entered the war on the side of the allies, this more than made up for them. (In Chapter XXII you learned the reasons why America entered the war). When America entered the war this was really its turning point. After that the Germans and their friends came to realise that they could not win. Because of the sea blockade the German supplies were getting less and less, whereas, compared with theirs, the supplies of the allies went on and on. The Turks were defeated by the British in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and the Bulgarians were defeated by the French and British in the Balkans. When the Germans attacked them in 1917, the Italian armies had nearly given way, but they were just saved by the help of the British and the French. In March 1918, the Germans made a last furious effort to try to break through the French, and British lines in France, and they very nearly succeeded. But by July it was clear that they had failed, and a general advance by the French, the British and the American armies altogether, under the supreme command of the French Marshal Foch, drove the

Germans back towards their frontiers. At the same time the British under General Allenby chased the Turks out of Palestine and Syria. In September the Bulgarians stopped fighting, and in October the Turks also stopped fighting. A revolution broke out in Germany, which was started by sailors. These sailors refused to take the fleet out because they knew they would be defeated. The revolution quickly spread among the ordinary German people. These people had suffered very badly from not having enough food because of the blockade. So before the allied armies could reach the German frontier, the leaders of Germany asked for an armistice. The allies were very strict when they allowed this armistice. By this time the German Emperor and all the German kings and other royal rulers had been turned off their thrones; the Emperor had escaped into Holland. So the peace was made by the leaders of a new German Republic.

When the nations of the world saw that Germany and her friends were likely to be defeated, many countries joined in the war against them. By 1918 there were very few countries which were not fighting. In Europe only Switzerland, Spain and the Scandinavian States stayed neutral. Even in the Far East, Japan and China joined in the war; Japan joined in quite early in the war.

This was much the greatest and most destructive war that had ever yet taken place. Many new inventions were used in the war. The most important of these were: (1) aeroplanes which were used to watch the enemy's movements and to drop bombs on the enemy's troops and supply bases; (2) artillery and machine guns which were used with much greater force than they had ever been before; (3) sea battles in which the ships fighting each other were very far apart; (4) the use of submarines; and (5) the beginnings of 'mechanisation'—that is to say, the armies used vehicles to fight with which were protected by thick metal armour; these were usually known as 'tanks'. Everybody thought that because of all these new inventions war had become so terrible that civilized men would never allow it to happen again. But you will learn that they were wrong.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Peace Movement and Its Frustration (I)

I. THE PEACE TREATIES

Because the terms of the Armistice which Britain and the other countries which fought on the same side made so severe, the Germans could not fight any more, and had to do whatever the winning side ordered. Britain and her allies were determined to make such a peace that the Germans would not be able to make war again for many years to come. Not only that, they wanted to make such terms that the peace would last for ever. But they did not succeed in doing this. The Peace Conference met in Paris early in 1919, and in July some treaties were drawn up which contained the terms of the peace. The most important of these treaties was the treaty with Germany and was called the Treaty of Versailles. These treaties were mainly made by the leaders of four countries. They were Woodrow Wilson, who was the President of the United States, Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain, Clemenceau, the Premier of France and Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy. It was very difficult to draw up the peace terms because people could not agree about them. Some people thought that the peace terms should be very severe, so as to punish the Germans because the war had brought so much misery. Other people thought that the peace terms should be fairly light, so that the Germans would have a chance to make a fresh start under new leaders, who would give the people a chance to share in the government. Their work was made still more difficult because some of the countries which had been fighting on the side of Britain had made secret agreements with some of the others, and these agreements had to be included in the peace treaties. Another difficulty was that President Wilson insisted that the peace terms should include some way to prevent any more wars in the future. Because people had so many different ideas about the peace treaties, in the end they did not work at all well.

The people who made the treaties chose a middle way, by which the terms of the peace were severe enough to make the Germans feel bitter, but they were not severe enough to prevent them from preparing for another war. The League of Nations was started in order to bring peace for ever, but it was not nearly strong enough to do this.

The first work which the peace conference had to do was to settle the boundaries of the countries of Europe and Western Asia. Some entirely new countries were made, and some countries were made very much larger. The general idea in rearranging the countries was that only those people who felt that they would be loyal subjects of a country ought to live in that country. But the peoples were very mixed up, and also they had to think whether a boundary had to be in any particular place so that the country could defend itself. Because of this it was not always possible for all people to be in the country where they would have wished to live. So when the frontiers were drawn up for the different countries, there were in some of the countries many groups of people of a different race from the rest of the people of the country. These people were called 'minorities.' Many of these minorities did not like being part of the country they were in at all, and often made trouble. In South-Eastern Europe especially there were several countries which had minorities in them.

The new States were mostly those which were made when the Austro-Hungarian and the Turkish Empires were broken up. In Europe the most important new States were Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Both of these countries had been independent countries a long time ago. In Asia the most important new States were Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Serbia was made very much bigger so as to include as many southern Slavs as possible, and was given the new name of Yugoslavia. France and Italy got back lands which they had had before; France got back Alsace-Lorraine, and Italy got back Trieste and the Trentino. Roumania got Transylvania from Hungary and Bessarabia from Russia. To the north of Poland four new States were made out of land which the Russians had ruled over for many years.

These were Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. After the Second World War Russia got the first three of these countries back, but did not get back Finland.

Germany was only allowed to have a very small army and navy by the peace treaty. Many of the German ships, railway engines and rolling stock, and much of the German coal was divided between different allied countries. The peace treaty also said that an army from the allied countries was to occupy for a number of years the Rhineland, the part of Western Germany next to France. Germany was made to pay a very large sum of money (she was never told exactly how much) to the allied countries to make up for the damage which had been done by the German armies during the war; France was the country to which most money had to be paid, as large parts of France had been laid waste.

II. THE GERMAN COLONIES

Everybody agreed that Germany was not to keep any of her colonies. They also agreed that if a colony was to be handed over to any of the allied countries which had won the war, that country had to agree to do certain things. General Smuts of South Africa invented this 'mandate system'. On the mandate system, some of these countries were allowed to take over various colonies and rule them, provided that the colonies should be allowed to become free as soon as they proved that they could govern themselves properly. The British acted on this and let Egypt and Iraq become free almost at once. But they said that these two countries had to do a few things for the British in exchange. A little after that Transjordan was made free. The British were given mandates over Palestine and over lands in East and West Africa. The French were given some colonies as mandates in Syria and West Africa. The Union of South Africa took over what had been German South-West Africa. The United States of America, Australia and New Zealand each had some of the islands in the Pacific which had belonged to the Germans, and some more of them went to Britain and to Japan. All the countries which had former

German colonies given them to look after in this way had to give an annual report to the League of Nations on the way they were looking after them.

III. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The idea of the League of Nations came from President Wilson of the United States of America. It was to be 'a general association of nations. . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity'. That is to say that it was a League whose members would try to prevent any country from altering any of the boundaries which had been agreed on in the peace treaties, unless all the countries agreed that the boundary in question ought to be altered.

Any disputes between countries were to be brought before a law court, the 'Court of International Justice' to be settled. An 'International Labour Organization' was also set up. This was meant to make conditions better for working people and to help employers and the people they employed to get on better with each other all over the world. These bodies had to be run according to a fixed set of rules and by people who worked there as a whole time job. The League of Nations and the International Labour Organization were at Geneva, in Switzerland, and the Court of International Justice was at the Hague in Holland. The countries which had been defeated in the war, and Russia, were to be allowed to join the League as soon as all the countries agreed that they had shown that they were good enough to be members.

It was very unfortunate that President Wilson died soon after the League was started. When he died there was a new Government in the United States of America, and because of that the United States of America would not join the League. A democratic government was started in Germany, and Germany was allowed to join the League in 1926; Russia was allowed to join in 1934. Turkey, Brazil and Mexico never joined but all the other sovereign states in the world became members. In its early days the League did manage

to prevent some small wars, it also managed to settle some international problems and disputes. It did really do some very important work, but most people have forgotten this because it failed in the end to prevent the Second World War. It was never strong enough to prevent wars altogether because the countries which belonged to it were never willing to give up their sovereign rights; that is to say that the countries would not let any other country or the League of Nations tell them what to do or prevent them from doing anything that they intended to do. The failure of the League of Nations showed how important it was for there to be a very powerful set of people from all countries, much stronger than the League of Nations ever was, to stop the nations from making war. It is to be hoped that the countries which belong to the United Nations Organization will do better than the League of Nations. The main reason why the League of Nations failed was that Germany, Japan and Italy all gave up being members of the League between 1933 and 1938. These countries had made up their minds not only to take some of the lands belonging to neighbouring countries, but to make war on them to get what they wanted.

IV. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In Chapter XVII we learned that there would have been a revolution in the Russian Empire if war had not broken out in 1914. And in Chapter XXIII we learned that there was actually a revolution there three years later, and that this made a great difference to the war. The reason why the revolution took place when it did was that liberal-minded Russians who loved their country were afraid that the Tsar's Government was just about to make peace on their own with the Germans, and they did not want this to happen. As soon as the revolution had started the new democratic leaders of the people tried to go on fighting the war with new energy. But the Russian army and people were tired of fighting, and there were 'Committees of Workmen and Soldiers' in each section of the army who tried to stop the soldiers from fighting, and who quite often killed their officers.

The Germans wanted to win the war as soon as they could. There was a Russian revolutionary leader called Lenin, who had been living as an exile in Switzerland for a long time, so the Germans had him brought secretly across Germany to Russia. Lenin at once became the leader of a very violent group of people who were called 'Bolsheviks'. These Bolsheviks were very cruel and did not mind what suffering they caused. They soon turned out the democratic leaders. Lenin then told the Germans that the Russians would make peace with the Germans on certain terms. The Germans made peace with the Russians, but on their own terms. These terms were contained in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and were very hard on the Russians. The Russians had to give up a great deal of land to the Germans.

The Bolsheviks soon set up their rule which they called the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. 'Proletariat' means those people who are often called 'the working classes', and the words mean that the leaders of the working classes are the rulers of the country. The old rulers and the new democratic leaders tried to turn them out by armed force, but they were not able to. The Bolsheviks killed thousands of the nobles and of the middle class people, and sent many of them out of the country into exile or took away all their property. The Tsar and his family were murdered. This was called the 'Red Terror', and was rather like the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution. In this way the Bolshevik leaders made themselves all powerful.

Lenin is one of the great men of history. He and his closest followers, the two best known of whom are Trotsky and Stalin, set up an entirely new form of State. This State tried at first to carry out the ideas of a famous German Communist writer, called Karl Marx, who lived in the nineteenth century. Lenin found that he could not put all Marx's ideas into practice, and very nearly ruined the country when he tried to run it in a 'communist' way. That is to say that nobody was to be allowed to own any property for themselves, but it was all to belong to the State. He then set up a Socialist State, which was known as the 'Union of Socialist Soviet

Republics'. The biggest and most important of these republics was most of that part of Russia which was in Europe. Many of the other republics, especially those in Asia, had been the Russian colonies; these had some power of governing themselves, but the real power was always in the hands of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party. The State ran all the public works, that is to say electricity, gas and water, roads and buildings, all the transport, and the factories, and finally nearly all the farms. Because of this, private people were able to own less and less themselves. When Lenin died in 1924, the great experiment has got well started. In order to do all this, Lenin and Stalin, who were the new leaders, found it impossible to allow the Russian people to be free to do as they liked, or to take any real share in the government of their country. Stalin took over the power from Lenin; he soon got rid of Trotsky, who had also wanted to become leader after Lenin died. Trotsky was sent out of the country into exile, and was murdered some years later. Stalin thought that Trotsky was not practical enough. Trotsky wanted to bring about revolutions at once in all countries, but Stalin did not think that this was a good thing. He thought at first that it was better to make Russia a socialist country and to leave other countries alone. Up to 1939 there had been vast schemes of economic planning in Russia and the great experiment of making Russia into a socialist country was partly succeeding. But in spite of that, the people in Russia were still very much poorer than the people in the United States of America, or the countries of Western Europe. Stalin was able to build up a huge army and air force which were fairly well armed, because he was sure that there was going to be war between Russia and Germany.

V. THE FASCIST REVOLUTION IN ITALY

After the war Italy was very disturbed, and for a time it looked as if a communist revolution might break out there. But though there was a revolution, it was made by the enemies of the communists, and was led by a former socialist called Mussolini. Mussolini and

his followers, who were called Fascists, set up a kind of government which kept the king, but did away with all the freedom for which the Italians had fought so hard in the nineteenth century. Instead of a free government, Mussolini tried to give the Italians a kind of socialist government which would be very well run, but which would have to do exactly what Mussolini wished. Mussolini started many big public works; he tried to stop the government officials from being lazy and taking bribes, and he brought in some reforms. But he did away with the free parliament, and put instead a parliament made up entirely of Fascist members, who did what Mussolini told them to. He would not allow the Italian people to say anything against the government, or to write anything against the government, and would not allow the people to think for themselves, so far as he could stop them. If anyone did not do what he ordered, he made them do it by force. This is what is called a dictatorship. There is no doubt that Italy needed reforms very badly, especially in the running of the government. Freedom and the right to vote are not of very much use to the people unless the people who are free will take the trouble to see that the leaders whom they have elected, and their government officials, carry out their duties properly. Mussolini was able to become powerful because, while the people were free, they had not taken the trouble to see that their government was properly run. We can see that this is a very dangerous thing and that it is very easy for a bad democracy to turn into a dictatorship. Several other European countries, especially Germany, copied Italy.

VI. THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE NINETEEN-TWENTIES

Once the League of Nations settled down, people thought for a time that there really would be peace all over the world. Countries which had quarrels were beginning to bring their quarrels to the League of Nations or to the Court of International Justice to have them settled, and the countries were beginning to get richer. The countries which had been defeated began to get less poor, and many countries gave up some of their

arms. The armies of the countries which had won the war and which had been occupying the Rhineland were taken away long before people had thought they would be, and Germany was allowed to be a member of the League of Nations and given a place on its Council. In 1925 the countries of Western Europe reached an agreement at Locarno in which they said that the boundaries of Western Germany were to remain the same for ever, and that there should never be any more wars fought about these boundaries. Three years later nearly every country in the world agreed that they would never again make war. This was suggested by an American called Kellogg, and by a Frenchman called Briand.

In Germany the first President of the Democratic Republic died in 1925; he was called Ebert. The famous General, von Hindenburg, was President after him. This was really a sign that the Germans were beginning to get warlike again; but the other countries outside Germany did not understand that this was so at that time. The Treaty of Versailles had allowed Germany to have a small army and a small fleet. The Germans were careful to build up this army and this fleet so that they could be added to and made large, if they ever got the chance to do so. But when people who were very nationalistic and warlike tried to turn the government out openly, they were stopped, because the government was a free government in name at least. The most important of these efforts to turn the government out was in 1923 and was led by an ex-corporal named Adolf Hitler. Because of this he was sent to prison for a time. While he was in prison he wrote a book which was called *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). We shall learn more about all this later.

VII. SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE AND WESTERN ASIA

The countries which were on the eastern frontier of Germany and in the Balkan Peninsula had suffered very badly and had become very poor because of the war. These countries seemed to be peaceful for a few years after the war ended, but they were not really peaceful. After the allied countries had won the war, when they

made the peace treaties, they made a ring of republics which stretched all along the borders between Russia and what had been the German and Austrian Empires. As far as possible each of these republics was to be made up of people of the same race. Only people of the Germanic races were to live in Germany and Austria. In the north there were the three Republics of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania; next to these came the larger Republics of Poland and Czechoslovakia, which was on the west of Poland. Land was taken from Hungary and was given to Roumania and Jugoslavia. Hungary had had a Communist Revolution, but this had been put down and a kind of republic ruled by the nobles was set up. In the Balkan Peninsula Albania went on being independent, and lands had been taken away from Bulgaria, which became very dissatisfied because of this. Some land in Asia Minor was taken from Turkey and given to the Greeks, but the Turks drove out the Greeks. They were led by a very strong man called Mustapha Kemal. Turkey had been very backward and badly ruled, but Mustapha Kemal turned it into a well-ruled modern state. The boundaries of Turkey included the ancient capital city of Constantinople and this allowed Turkey to control the Straits which led to the Black Sea.

The States of Western Asia which had been ruled by Turkey before the war were at first in a very confused condition, but they gradually settled down. Ibn Saud, who was a very capable ruler, joined nearly the whole of Arabia together in one country, except for the kingdom of the Hedjaz. Two other States, called Iraq and Transjordan, were set up under their own rulers, but Britain was given a mandate over them. As you have already learned, Britain gave them both their independence willingly. France was given a mandate over Syria, and very soon the Syrians came to dislike the French very much and wanted to be independent. Things in Palestine were very difficult. The Jews had been

promised a national home there, and many Jews went back to Palestine, a country which their ancestors had left nearly 2,000 years before. The Arabs who lived there did not like this at all; and Palestine became one of the most disturbed parts of the world. After the Second World War a large part of Palestine has been made into the Jewish National State of 'Israel'.

CHAPTER XXV

The Peace Movement and Its Frustration (II)

I. THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

During the first few years after the war, the industrial countries of the world had become poor because of the war, but they were slowly getting wealthy again. Some of the clever men who studied economics warned these countries that unless they were careful they would not go on being prosperous. But most of these countries did not pay any attention to these warnings, and did not go the right way to make sure that their recovery would last. In particular they would not trade freely with each other, because each country wanted to support itself altogether, so that it would not have to rely on any other country. For a time the countries which had been defeated found it hard to carry on, but they were helped by other countries which lent them money. They also found that they could not pay the vast sums of money which they had been ordered to pay to the countries which had won the war to make up for the damage which they had caused. Germany in particular had been ordered to pay a lot of money to France because Germany had done a lot of damage to France by invading it. But gradually things got better, and what is called a 'boom' came in trade. This means that people in most countries were producing large quantities of raw materials and finished goods, and were selling them very easily. This happened especially in the United States of America. But unfortunately in the United States of America things went on much too fast, and

many people were living on borrowed money. They were growing or manufacturing too much at a time, and borrowed money from the banks or from other places to do this. After a time they found that they could not any longer sell what they made and grew, and when people found that they could not pay back the money they had borrowed, things became very serious. The effects of this were soon felt all over the world. Because of this millions of people were thrown out of work in many industrial countries: world trade dropped by about a half, and there was a great deal of misery. This was called the economic depression, or 'slump'. It was particularly bad in Germany and Austria, where several big banks failed, and thousands of people lost all their savings. In Britain it seemed as if even the famous Bank of England was in danger of failing. But the different political parties put aside their disputes for the time being and joined together, in the same way as they had done during the war, so as to try very hard to prevent Britain from going bankrupt. The British felt that they had to give up the old idea of 'free trade'. This was because other countries had brought their goods into England and had sold them very cheaply there, so that the English manufacturers were ruined because they could not afford to manufacture goods themselves at such a cheap price, and no one would buy their goods as they were dearer. So the government decided to stop some foreign goods from being brought in to England. In the United States of America there was a very clever President, called Franklin Roosevelt. He brought in what was called the 'New Deal', and took very strong measures to stop the slump. After about four years, things got better all over the world. But it was too late. The economic depression in all countries had produced results which led directly to a Second World War.

II. JAPAN AND CHINA

When the slump came the great industries which had been growing up in Japan, especially for manufacturing cloth, suffered like all the other industries in the world.

There were a great many people out of work and everyone was very discontented. One of the parties in Japan was run by the army; this party tried to make war somewhere all the time; and when everyone was very discontented this military party took advantage of their being so discontented to get control of the government and at once started to carry out their plans to attack China, which was very disturbed at that time. When China complained about this to the League of Nations, and the League decided that Japan was wrong, Japan gave up being a member of the League. But all the countries in the world were very busy trying to find some way to get out of the slump, and get rich again. They would not join together to fight Japan, and make the Japanese stop attacking China. This was in spite of the fact that all the countries had agreed when they joined the League of Nations that if one country attacked another country, all the countries would join together to stop that country. So the Japanese went on making war on the Chinese, as we learnt in Chapter XXI.

III. RISE OF THE NAZIS IN GERMANY

Of all the countries the people of Germany suffered most because of the depression. They had not got used to being governed as a democracy and most of them did not like it. Most of the German people preferred to be governed by others rather than to govern themselves. They felt that it was no use to be free if they were starving and if there were many people out of work. For a long time they had been used to being ruled by a single ruler who did what he wanted. Besides that, many of them wanted to be revenged on their enemies because they had been defeated in the First World War. The party of the army was still very strong, and was working secretly on a big plan to re-arm Germany, and the German Government either could not stop them or did not want to stop them. So the Germans had no confidence in their democratic leaders, and a strong party grew up called the 'National Socialists'. It was led by Adolf Hitler, who was really an Austrian by birth, and who came from the 'lower middle' class which was made up of small traders and craftsmen. Hitler organized the

members of this party on military lines, and they wore brown shirts as their uniform. Hitler's book, called *Mein Kampf*, was read by everyone in Germany, and everyone thought that it was a good book. It said what the party ought to do. There should be no freedom, but there ought to be a single leader, called the 'Fuehrer'. The Germans were to be a 'master race', and were to be so well-armed that they could easily crush any other nation. But Jews were to be persecuted because Hitler thought that they had caused most of Germany's troubles. The State was to interfere with business and farming. (This is why the word 'Socialist' was part of the name of the party.) And all these things were to be brought about in ways which allowed the worst possible violence and brutality. The head of the industries in Germany supported Hitler because they thought that they would be able to get him to do as they wanted; the middle class people also supported him, because they had nearly all lost all their savings, and they were earning very much less money than they used to. Millions of workers who had no work also supported him. And the old military party also supported Hitler, because they planned to use him to turn out the democratic leaders, so that they could get back the power they used to have. The only people who were really against the Nazis and who had any strength were the Communists. Their ideas and the methods they used were like those of the Nazis in most ways, and they were the only party, apart from the Nazi Party, that the young people of Germany would listen to at all.

So, when the National Socialist Party got most of the votes in the general election of 1933, the old President Hindenburg made Hitler the Chancellor of Germany. Hitler at once began to do all the things that he had said in his book should be done. This was made easier for him the next year when Hindenburg died, and Hitler became President. He began by attacking the Jews and the Communists very savagely. He found work for everybody by getting all the Germans he could to work on making war materials, because he was getting ready to make war. The first thing he wanted to do

was to make Germany strong and united. He made Germany leave the League of Nations, because he did not believe in peace among the nations. He also ordered everyone to serve in the armed forces. This broke the orders made in the Treaty of Versailles that Germany was only to have a very small army and navy. He put down everything which was run freely by the people, including the trade unions. He carried out all these lawless acts by his private army who wore brown shirts, (the S.S.), and another picked body who wore black shirts (the S.A.) and the secret police, called the Gestapo. All these people were very violent and very brutal and they did very dreadful things. Civilized people had hoped that such things could never happen in Europe any more; though the Bolsheviks had done things which were just as bad in the Russian Revolution.

IV. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA

The Italian dictator, Mussolini, was not very pleased to see Hitler copying his aims and methods so successfully. So he watched carefully what Hitler was trying to do in Austria. He was quite sure that Hitler intended to join into one country all the people who spoke German. Hitler would rule this country. Mussolini felt sure that when Hitler had made Austria into part of 'Greater Germany', that this 'Greater Germany' would then be far too strong to be safe for Italy. In 1934 Mussolini did what all the other dictators have nearly always done, that is, he started to attack other countries. He had said for a long time that there ought to be a 'Greater Italy', that is to say that Italy ought to have a large Colonial Empire. This was because he thought that Britain had become great and wealthy through having colonies. So in 1934 he began a campaign against Abyssinia. Abyssinia was an independent African State which had defeated the Italian forces nearly forty years before. The Abyssinians could not stand up to the Italian army which had good soldiers and guns; and Mussolini conquered them and declared that their country belonged to the Italian Colonial Empire. France and Britain did not think this was a good thing and supported Abyssinia when Abyssinia appealed to the

League of Nations. But they did not really do anything to stop Italy, and all that happened was that Italy gave up being a member of the League of Nations. France in particular did not want to offend Mussolini because the French were afraid that Italy might attack the French colony of Tunis, which was next to Tripolitania. Italy had taken Tripolitania from Turkey before the First World War.

V. THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Spain has always been a country where the people like old-fashioned things, though at the same time there have been a lot of people there who wanted to make a revolution. The people who wanted to make a revolution came into power in 1931 and put an end to the very old monarchy. During the next five years the conservative people and the revolutionary people were struggling against each other. In 1936 the revolutionary party won another general election, and General Franco, who was leading the Conservatives, immediately fought against them. A civil war thus started, and both Germany and Italy helped General Franco by sending him arms and even soldiers, because Franco wanted to set up a dictatorship something like that of Hitler and Mussolini. Russia tried to help the revolutionaries, but other countries did not help either side. All the countries had agreed not to help either side, but Germany, Italy and Russia did not keep their promises. Franco was successful by 1938 largely because he had been helped by Germany and Italy, and set up a dictatorship.

VI. THE AXIS

Both the Germans and the Italians had used the Spanish Civil War to try out new weapons like the tank and the bombing aeroplane, and also new methods of making war. The two dictators, Hitler and Mussolini, now became friendly because they wanted to do the same sort of thing in the same sort of way, and because they had seen that other countries had not really tried to stop the Italians from conquering Abyssinia. So in 1936 they made an alliance which was called the 'Rome-Berlin Axis'. Before long the Japanese secretly joined

in this alliance, which then became the 'Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis'. The dictators said that this alliance was to defend themselves against Russian Communism, but at the same time it was really also a military alliance against Britain and France, because Britain and France had been very powerful since the Treaty of Versailles.

It is now easy to see that Hitler always intended to make Germany more and more powerful, and to bring all the people in Europe who spoke German under German rule by threatening to make war, and by actually making war if necessary. But there were many statesmen in Europe who did not seem to understand this at the time. It seems that Hitler did not really intend to have a war with Britain, but that he hoped to get back the colonies which Germany used to own by asking for them, though he was quite prepared to make war on Britain if he did not get these colonies back without a war. The first thing that Hitler wanted to do was to bring all the German people together. If there were any people who were not Germans but who were living in Germany, they were to be given a lower position than the Germans, because Hitler thought that the Germans were the master-race who should rule over all other races. He thought that the Jews were the most important of these non-German people, and the Jews included any Germans who were partly Jewish. Thousands of these unfortunate people were placed in concentration camps, and all the others suffered in some way. They lost the rights they used to have, often they had their work taken away, and sometimes they even lost their lives. An example of this was that even the most famous scientists were driven out of the German universities if they happened to be Jewish.

From the first Hitler paid no attention to what had been laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. He built up a big army and a big air force, which were both forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles; he gave the building of the air force to Hermann Goering who was his most important helper. This was quite easy because the German General Staff had secretly made plans for all this for a long time. He also built more warships than he was

allowed by the Treaty. By 1936 he decided to make the first move. This was to march German troops into the Rhineland, though by the Treaty of Versailles there were to be no German troops in the Rhineland at all. This was a big risk to take, because if France and Britain had decided to stop him by force he would have had to take his troops away again, as his preparations for making war were not really ready by then. If that had happened he would very likely have lost power. But unfortunately neither France or Britain did anything to stop him, because their statesmen did not understand what Hitler was really intending to do, and they very foolishly believed him when he said that he did not want anything but peace.

VII. THE ABSORPTION OF AUSTRIA

Two years later Hitler went even further towards making war. The peace settlement had turned Austria into a small republic. The people of Austria were almost all of German blood and speech, but most of them did not particularly want to join the German Republic. At first the Socialist Party was a strong party in the Austrian Republic. But in 1934 the Austrian Chancellor, who was called Dollfuss, put the Socialist Party down by force and set up a dictatorship. But he did not like the Nazis at all, and tried to suppress the small Nazi Party in Austria which Hitler's agents were trying hard to form. In 1936, he was brutally murdered by some of Hitler's agents. Hitler might have attacked Austria then, but the new Chancellor, who was called Schusnigg, got Mussolini to help him. Mussolini did not like to see his fellow dictator, Hitler, get too strong, nor did he want to have a 'Greater Germany' on the northern frontier of Italy. However, two years after the Axis had been made, Mussolini was persuaded not to object any more. And so in 1938 Hitler sent for Schusnigg, forced him to resign, and sent the German armies into Austria. The Austrian people did hardly anything to stop them. Hitler then told the world that Austria had been made part of Germany. Once more France and Britain did not do anything except to make protests. This time both France and Britain realised that if they had

done something, it would have meant war, and neither country was anything like ready for war. And they seemed to believe Hitler when he said that he would not attack any other countries again.

VIII. THE APPROACH OF WAR

When Hitler said that he would not attack any other countries this was not true, because there were two parts of Europe where a considerable number of German people lived who were ruled over by people who were not Germans. One of these places was the north-western corner of Czechoslovakia, where German people had lived ever since the Middle Ages. These Germans who lived in Czechoslovakia were called the 'Sudeten' Germans. The other place was called the 'Polish Corridor'.

The Polish Corridor was a strip of land which led to the sea. It cut German East Prussia off from the rest of Germany. At the northern end of this strip was the great port of Danzig. The people living in Danzig were Germans but the port was ruled by the League of Nations. In both these places Hitler's agents had built up strong Nazi parties. Hitler started a big publicity campaign in both these places and said that the German people had suffered very much while they were ruled by other peoples, which was not true at all. While he was saying this the Nazi parties there were doing all kinds of lawless things. If Hitler made trouble in either of these places it was bound to bring Germany into direct conflict with Czechoslovakia and Poland, which were both Slav countries. These two countries had alliances with France and Britain, the western democracies, and Hitler knew quite well that France and Britain might support them with their armies. However, Hitler hoped that as he had already managed to take Austria without a war, he might manage to avoid a war in the case of the Polish Corridor and the Germans in Czechoslovakia too. If he did not manage peacefully, then he was prepared to go to war, because he fully intended at some time or other to conquer lands towards the East which belonged to the Slav countries, as he was trying to make the Germans into a 'master-race'.

Czechoslovakia was the first country to suffer; and Czechoslovakia had always been afraid that Germany might become powerful again, so the Czechoslovakian people had built up a powerful army and air force, and had built strong defences of the German frontier. But after Hitler had captured Austria, Czechoslovakia was surrounded by the Germans on three sides, which made its position very dangerous. The alliance between Czechoslovakia and France and Britain seemed to be the only thing left which could help Czechoslovakia any longer. But both Britain and France seemed determined to try to please Hitler and not to run any risk of being involved in war. This was called 'appeasement'. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who was the British Prime Minister, was afraid that a war might break out because of these 'Sudeten' Germans in Czechoslovakia, and flew to Germany to see Hitler. With the French Prime Minister they made a settlement which gave the lands in which the Sudeten Germans lived to Germany. By this the unfortunate Czechoslovakians were made very much weaker and were unable to defend themselves. In return for being given these lands Hitler gave the usual false promise that this was the very last time that he would try to get any lands which did not belong to him.

However, early in the next year, 1939, Hitler quarrelled with the leaders of Czechoslovakia, marched his armies into Czechoslovakia, and seized the rest of the country. The leaders of France and Britain at once realised that this was an open act of war. So they began getting ready as quickly as possible for the war which they were sure they would soon be forced to fight. They did not take any direct action over Czechoslovakia, but they made agreements with several of the smaller countries which might be threatened next, that they would help them. This might have stopped Hitler if they had been willing to come to terms with Russia about these agreements, but they did not do so. In both England and France there were parties of people

who were just as afraid of Russia as they were of Germany. This was specially so in France, as the French people were anxious to keep the peace whatever happened, though they ought to have known that Hitler would never be satisfied till he had won back the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which Germany had had to give back to France by the Treaty of Versailles.

It was now Poland's turn to be attacked by Germany, and Hitler did exactly the same things as he had done before. Hitler seems to have thought that because Britain had no direct interests in Poland, Britain would not help Poland if Germany attacked that country. He also thought that if Britain did not help, France would not help either. But he was wrong in this. However, he had another plan which he thought would stop the British and the French from helping Poland. He knew that they were trying to get Russia on their side; but Stalin, who was really the dictator of Russia, did not wish to help Poland. One reason for this was that the Poles had always been very unfriendly to the Russians. Another reason was that the Russian armies were not quite ready for war. They were however more ready for war than anyone, even Hitler, realized. So at the end of August 1939, Hitler and Stalin made a pact, in which they agreed not to interfere with each other whatever happened. Britain and France were horrified at this, and other countries were very annoyed, especially as the Axis was supposed to be made against Russian Communism. Hitler now attacked Poland at once, though he knew that this might mean a war in Europe, but he hoped that he might still get his way without any other country interfering. On the first day of September 1939 he began his invasion of Poland, but on the third of September both France and Britain declared war.

CHAPTER XXV

The Second World War

I. THE WAR IN EUROPE AND AFRICA

The war began as a European war and went on for six years. It soon became a war which was fought all over the world, and very few countries were able to keep out of it. In Europe, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden and the Republic of Ireland were the only ones who did not take part.

To begin with, the Germans dropped many bombs on Warsaw, the capital city of Poland, and destroyed much of it. Their armies had made better weapons than the Polish army, especially 'tanks', those vehicles covered with steel armour and firing cannons and machine guns. The Germans took western Poland, and the Russians sent an army which took eastern Poland.

Italy and Japan were allies of Germany, but did not join in at first. The British army went to France as soon as war began, and with the French armies faced the Germans. The French had their armies all along the boundary between France and Germany, behind very strong fortifications called 'the Maginot line', through which they felt sure that the Germans could not fight their way.

In the first winter of the war, there was not much dropping of bombs from aeroplanes, after the destruction of Warsaw, though everyone had expected this to happen as soon as war began. But there was fighting at sea, where the German underwater warships (submarines) attacked British and French ships and sank some by torpedoes. The Russians made a quarrel with their neighbours, the Finns, sent an army into Finland and took some of their land.

After the winter the Germans were ready to attack. They sent armies and aeroplanes into the peaceful countries of Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway, with whom they had no quarrel. These countries had

very small armies and airforces and were not strong enough to fight for long against the strong power of Germany. This is a very bad thing which the Germans did. Having captured Belgium they were able to send their armies round the northern end of the Maginot line, moving them very much more quickly than the French and British had expected, by motor lorries and by tanks and armoured cars. The French and British armies were driven back. The British soldiers managed to get back to Britain across the English Channel because many people in England brought their boats, some of them quite small, to take them across. But they had to leave behind nearly all their guns, vehicles and stores. The Germans got behind the French armies and, with their better weapons and clever ways of fighting won all the battles, so that after six weeks of fighting the French had to surrender. During this time Mussolini brought his country of Italy into the war, and the Italian armies too, invaded France. It was a big defeat for the French, and the German soldiers stayed in France for the next four years.

This left Britain alone in Europe to fight the Germans and Italians. The Germans sent their aeroplanes to destroy the British airforce and to drop bombs on places in Britain. But the fighter aeroplanes of the British shot many of them down, and won what is called the 'Battle of Britain'. The other countries of the Commonwealth all tried to help Britain, and were able to send some soldiers; but there was little they could do for some time. The Germans had hoped to send their armies and conquer Britain. But the British airforce had beaten them in fighting, and the British navy was much too strong, so that the German soldiers could not get across the English Channel in ships. Hitler was very angry about this, because if the Germans had got to Britain they would have won the war.

Fighting went on in North and East Africa between the British and the Italians. The Italians had armies in Tripoli and in Abyssinia, but they were not very good soldiers, and most of their soldiers did not want to fight at all. The British navy was in the Mediterranean Sea to

stop the Germans from sending armies over to help the Italians, though they managed to do this later. The British navy also beat the Italian navy in sea battles. The Italians attacked Egypt and Kenya, but the British with help from the Indian Army and other soldiers from the Commonwealth drove them back, and turned them out of Abyssinia and Tripoli.

While this was going on, the Germans invaded and captured more countries in Europe. These were first Yugoslavia and then Greece. They did not attack Turkey, but they captured the Greek island of Crete by sending soldiers in aeroplanes and dropping them down by parachute—the first time this had ever been done. Now that they had captured these two countries, though both of them fought very hard, they were able to send aeroplanes over the sea to drop bombs on British warships, so that the British navy for a time had to leave the Mediterranean Sea.

Though Hitler's generals could not find any way of sending their armies into Britain, the Germans sent over aeroplanes which dropped many bombs on British cities, towns and even villages, which did terrible damage. But the British fighter aeroplanes shot down many German bomber aeroplanes, and the British bombers flew over and dropped bombs on Germany. This went on all through the war, and Germany was much more damaged than Britain.

All of Europe, except the countries you read about at the beginning of this chapter, was by the middle of 1941 under German or Italian rule, except Russia, Portugal and Finland. Spain was so friendly to Germany that many people thought Spain would join in the war on the German side. But this did not happen.

II. WAR ALL OVER THE WORLD

Hitler now made a very big mistake. He had agreed with the Russian ruler, Stalin, not to fight. But he broke the agreement, and in the middle of 1941 his armies suddenly invaded Russia. Stalin had never really trusted Hitler, and the Russians had been trying hard to get their big armies ready to fight if necessary. Though the

German armies went a long way into Russia, and won battles, they never managed to beat all the Russian armies, or to capture their great cities of Moscow and Leningrad. But for a time Russia was in great danger of being conquered.

At the beginning of the war the United States of America did not want to join in the war. But when the Americans saw that the free countries of Europe which believed in democracy were all in the hands of the Germans, except Britain, they began to change their minds. They let the British have some old warships and they made guns and ammunition and sent them to Britain, though the British had at first to pay big sums of money for this. But at the end of 1941 Japan, the third member of the Axis, decided to join in the war, and to fight not only Britain but also the U.S.A. In December of that year they suddenly sent bombing aircraft over Pearl Harbour in Hawaii, where a big American fleet was anchored, and dropped bombs which did so much damage that the warships could not sail. Britain declared war on Japan, but she had no armies to spare, and very few ships or aeroplanes in Asia. The Japanese, who had a very strong army, navy, and airforce, were able to capture the Philippine Islands, which had once belonged to America, and where there were American soldiers, all the islands which then were ruled by the Dutch (now known as Indonesia) and the British colonies of Hong Kong, Borneo and Malaya (including the strong fortress of Singapore), and also Burma. The Japanese decided not to go further west than Malaya and Burma. But they destroyed some British warships in the China Sea and the Indian Ocean, and dropped bombs on Colombo and Trincomalee. They also went south and landed an army on the big island of New Guinea. But here they were stopped by the Americans and Australians.

Though the Japanese seemed to have had wonderful successes, they had really made a very bad mistake in attacking the Americans. For though the United States were not at all ready for war, they were the strongest and richest country in the world. They were able to arm and train a very big army, navy and airforce, and to make

aeroplanes, guns, ammunition and stores for the British as well as for themselves. They were clever in building ships called aircraft carriers, big ships from whose decks aeroplanes could fly off and land again. With the aeroplanes from these ships they dropped bombs on the Japanese warships in several sea-battles and destroyed so many of them that the Japanese could not use the sea at all. So the Americans were able to land their armies wherever they liked on islands which the Japanese had captured, such as the Philippines, and take them back from the Japanese invaders.

All this took a very long time. But so rich and strong were the Americans that they were able to send many thousands of soldiers across the Atlantic Ocean to Britain. The British, too, got their armies together again. The leader of the British was the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. He was determined that Britain would go on fighting the Germans, and the British people followed him, listened to his splendid speeches, and made up their minds that they were never going to give into the Germans, but that in the end they would win the war. But the British people suffered very much from the bombing of their homes by the German aeroplanes and later on by rockets fired from across the English Channel.

III. THE SUCCESS OF THE ALLIES

In 1942 things began to go better for the Allies—America, Britain and the Commonwealth, and Russia. In Russia, the German armies, though they fought very hard, could not capture a town then called Stalingrad, on the big river Volga. If they had been able to do this they might have gone a very long way, perhaps into Asia. But they failed, and after this the Russian armies began to drive them back.

In North Africa the Germans had managed to get a big army across the Mediterranean Sea to help the Italians. At first these drove back the British. But with the Americans in the war, the British were safe from having Britain invaded, and were able to send their warships into the Mediterranean again. There were some

very clever British generals, who took their soldiers right back nearly as far as Egypt, and then fought a big battle at a place called El Alamein in Tripoli. They beat the German army, and drove them right back. Then the Americans sent an army to the western end of North Africa, with some British soldiers too, and the two armies of the Allies drove the Germans and Italians out of Africa. Not only this, but they followed them across the sea first into Sicily and then into Italy itself. This took some time, but by the end of 1943 the Italians decided to stop fighting. But the German armies stayed in Italy and went on fighting very hard against the British and American armies, and for some time stopped them from getting any further towards Germany.

In that year, 1943, the Russians were able to drive the German armies out of their country, and were fighting them in some of the countries they had taken, like Poland and Hungary, while the American and British armies in Britain were getting ready to invade France and free that country from the Germans. This they did in the middle of 1944, and France was quickly made free again. About the same time the Allied armies were at last driving the German armies out of Italy; Mussolini, the Italian dictator, was caught and killed by some of his own people.

In 1945 the Allies were able to invade Germany, the Russians from the east and the Americans, British and French from the west and south. The Russians in the end got to Berlin, the capital of Germany, and when this happened Hitler and several of the Nazi leaders killed themselves. In May the Germans all surrendered.

In Asia the Japanese went on fighting, so the Americans decided to invade Japan. They did not try to get the Japanese soldiers out of many of the islands in south-east Asia, but they took two islands after very heavy fighting near Japan, and got ready to invade.

The Japanese army in Burma had tried to invade India in 1944, but the British and Indian armies drove them back, followed them into Burma, and got Burma back again from them. The British made a big headquarters in Ceylon, called 'South East Asia Command'

(S.E.A.C), and the British leader, Lord Mountbatten, got ready a big plan to invade Malaya and drive out the Japanese. But before this could be tried, something happened which ended the war in Asia almost at one blow.

The big American aeroplanes had been dropping bombs on Japanese cities and towns, and doing much damage, but the Japanese were ready to fight to death against any invaders. The Americans knew that if they invaded Japan many thousands of lives would be lost. But they had a secret weapon, a very terrible one. Their own and British scientists had found this out. It was the atomic bomb, which used the new force called atomic energy. This they decided to use, in order to save thousands of their own and of the Japanese soldiers and ordinary people being killed in an invasion.

They dropped on two Japanese towns, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two atom bombs which destroyed in a few seconds nearly the whole of these towns, killing hundreds of Japanese people. After this the Japanese Government felt that it could do nothing but surrender. So the war came to an end.

CHAPTER XXVI

The World after the War

I. THE UNITED NATIONS

After the war ended in 1945, the Allies kept armies in Germany and Japan for a few years. They brought some German and Japanese leaders, and others, before courts of justice, which were made specially for the purpose of trying them for 'war crimes', the wicked and cruel things which they had done or ordered to be done during the war. Some were condemned to death, others were sent to prison.

Millions of people all over the world now thought that there would be no more wars, certainly no more world wars. Even before the war ended, some of the leaders of

the Allies were beginning to do something about finding ways of settling all quarrels and disputes between countries without fighting wars. This was to be done by what was called the 'United Nations', which was something like the League of Nations, only better. So in 1945 it was started, and has met ever since in a big building in New York, U.S.A. It is better than the League of Nations, especially because it was joined at once by the two countries which had become the strongest in the world, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. or, as they are generally called, America and Russia. They had kept or been kept out of the League of Nations, between the two World wars, America altogether and Russia for many years.

II. THE COLD WAR

But trouble soon began. The three countries which had done the most to win the war, America, Britain and Russia, found that they could not work together in times of peace as they had in times of war. America and Britain let nearly all their soldiers, sailors and airmen, except those who were kept to look after Germany and Japan, go back to their ordinary jobs in civil life. But the Russian leaders kept millions of men in their armies, because, they said, they were afraid that the 'capitalist countries', meaning especially America, who had been their allies in war time, would attack them and destroy their communist way of life. These huge Russian armies, and the building by the Russians of many under-water warships (submarines), frightened the Americans and British, and other countries such as France and Italy, who believed that the Russians were doing all this because they wanted to force the communist way of life on the free countries of the West, and indeed on all the world. The Western countries also thought that the Russians ought to set free the three small countries of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania in north central Europe, which they had taken during the war, and that they ought not to force the communist way of life on the countries from which their armies had driven the German armies—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania, few of whose people wanted to

become communists. Yugoslavia had become a communist country, but her leader, Marshal Tito, would not let the Russians interfere in his country, and Russia quarrelled with him because of this. The two countries remained unfriendly to each other.

So from 1949 onwards the Americans and British, and other western countries, began to get their armies, navies and airforces together again, and to make them strong, well armed and well-trained. They made an alliance called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, (NATO) which was joined by France, Italy, and several other European countries, by Turkey, and by Canada. The armies, navies and airforces of these countries that joined NATO were brought together under one leader, for 'defence against possible aggression', which meant that they were going to be ready for war if Russia attacked any of them. The Russians in reply had all the armies and airforces of the countries under communist rulers brought together under Russian command. This they called the 'Warsaw Pact', which they also said was for defence against aggression, meaning attack by the NATO countries, particularly America. So once more a large part of the world was divided into two armed camps. They did not go to war, but there was always a great danger of war breaking out between them. These two alliances were so much against each other that this state of affairs came to be known as the 'cold war'.

At first the Americans were not so much worried about this because they knew how to make that terrible weapon the atomic bomb, and found out an even more terrible one, the hydrogen bomb. They could always say that they might use these if the Russians made war on any NATO countries. They thought that no one else knew how to make these weapons, but somehow the Russians found out the secret of how to make them both, so their scientists were able to get this done. The world was now faced with fearful dangers if a war broke out in which America and Russia took part, when these bombs would be used. One of them, if dropped on a big city, would

destroy it in a few seconds, and if many were dropped there would be danger to every living thing in the whole world.

One of the things on which the two sides disagreed was what to do with Germany. This was very difficult, much more so than what was to be done with Japan, about which you will read in the next chapter. Both sides agreed that Germany must not be given a chance of starting another world war, having started two already.

So after the death of Hitler and the surrender of the Germans, the Allies divided Germany into four parts, each of which was to be looked after by one of the armies of the Allies. The Russians had the eastern part, and the American, British and French armies had the other three parts. But in the eastern part was Berlin, which had been the capital city of Germany. So it was decided that all these four Allies should look after Berlin together. But this did not work well, because the Russians could not work with the others. So Berlin became divided into an eastern part and a western part, with the Russians looking after the eastern part.

The people of Germany behaved very well with foreign armies in their country, and it seemed to the Western Allies that they had learned their lesson and were never likely to try to start another big war; but that the real danger of this came from the Russians. So they decided to let the Germans begin to govern themselves in a democratic way. In that part of Germany which the British, French and American armies had looked after, a republic was started with a very clever old man, Dr. Adenauer, as Prime Minister. The Russians would not let the people in the eastern part of Germany join this new republic. Instead, they started a republic of East Germany, of which the leaders were communists, and they went on forcing the communist way of life on the people in East Germany.

The Russians and the communist leaders of East Germany wanted to get the American, French and British soldiers out of Berlin, but the governments of these three countries said they would not take them

away, as they did not like the new communist Republic and did not want the people of their part of West Berlin, to be forced to come under communist rulers, but wished them to be free to govern themselves. They had made an arrangement at the beginning with the Russians to have the use of some railways, roads and airways to Berlin, and these went through or over land which had become a part of the new East German Republic. The Russians and the East German rulers kept on trying to interfere with the use of these ways of getting to Berlin by the Western people. But the Allies said they would use force to prevent interference. So there was great danger of war here several times, and Berlin is a 'danger spot'. The Allies let the West Germans start an army, a navy and an airforce again to protect themselves if the Russians used force against them and allowed West Germany to join NATO. Both the Western countries and Russia kept soldiers in the parts of Germany which they had been looking after when the war ended, all ready to fight if the other side started a war. People all over the world were very much afraid about this, because if a war started it would probably become what is called a 'nuclear war', which means that the terrible hydrogen bombs would be used.

Owing to all this, the rulers and people of France, Belgium and Holland began to forget their fear of Germany and to become more friendly with the German rulers and people. The Germans are clever and very hard working people. After the war they set to work and rebuilt their factories and towns which had been knocked down by bombs during the war. After a few years hard work they became rich and strong again by selling the things they made in the new factories to countries all over the world.

The people of Russia, who have been under the rule of communist leaders ever since the First World War, are most of them, quite sure that the communist way of life is the best, indeed the only way of being well-off and happy. But most of the people in the countries of Eastern Europe which have communist leaders, except Yugoslavia, do not seem to feel the same as the Russian people,

though they are getting used to it. There has been trouble over this in Poland; and in 1956, in Hungary, there was a big rebellion and the communist rulers were turned out. But the Russian armies quickly came and put down the rebellion and brought the Hungarians under communist rule again. The Western countries and many others were angry about this, but they could not do anything without going to war with the Russians. The matter was brought up at the United Nations meeting, but the Russians would not take any notice of what was said or done there.

III. THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is the only thing that can do much to help to stop this cold war, unless the Russians and Americans can come to an agreement by themselves. So we must see how it works.

It has two parts, the General Assembly and the Security Council. When the General Assembly meets, each country which is a member of the U.N. has one vote. There were at the beginning 56 member countries, but at the end of 1961 there were over 100. In the Security Council there are only 11 countries, five of these, America, Russia, Britain, France, and China are always there; the other countries have to take it in turn to be represented on the Council, when the turn comes round the members in the Assembly decide by vote which countries shall be on the Council. The General Assembly can decide by vote if it wants anything to be done, but it is only by vote of the Security Council that what the Assembly voted for gets done. And if any of those five countries which are always on the Council vote against what the Assembly has decided, nothing more can be done, except after a time and with very much difficulty. This voting against is called 'using the veto' By the end of 1957, Russia had used the veto more than 70 times. The other four countries have hardly used it at all.

There is one strange thing about the Security Council. When the United Nations began, China was under the rule of Chiang Kai-Shek. But although he was driven off

the mainland of China by the Chinese Communists to the big island of Taiwan (Formosa), it is his government called 'Nationalist China' which has the place on the Security Council, and not the Communist 'People's Republic of China' whose leaders rule over the whole of that huge country with 600 millions of people living there. The People's Republic is not even a member country of the United Nations.

Many very difficult things have come before the United Nations. To settle these the Assembly and the Security Council must both vote on what should be done. If they agree, and if they think that force has to be used, the United Nations itself can do nothing; it must ask some of its member-countries to lend soldiers, sailors and airmen, and money to pay these has to be got.

Every member country pays some money to the United Nations every year, though some are behind in their payments. Some countries pay much more than others, because they are richer. America (the U.S.A.) pays more than any other country. But however much member countries pay, no country has more than one vote in the General Assembly.

The United Nations has used force several times, though there has not had to be any fighting, except on two occasions. At other times force might have been used, only the Russians used the veto, so that nothing could be done. They used it when the Hungarians rebelled. In the next chapter you will read about the United Nations having soldiers sent to stop people fighting.

The great purpose of the U.N. is to find a way of settling disputes without war breaking out. Before this can be done properly there are several very important things which ought to be done. The countries which have atom or hydrogen bombs must destroy them and promise never to make any more. No other countries must be allowed to make them. Countries must make their armies, navies and air forces so small that they can only be used for keeping order in their own country when it becomes really necessary, rather like the armed forces are in Ceylon. The United Nations must have its own

army, navy and airforce, which must be strong enough to prevent any country making war on another country.

If this can be done, the United Nations will be one of the best things that have ever happened. But it does not seem very likely yet. It has done something to prevent wars, and it has a number of organisations made for special purposes which are doing very useful things. These are usually known by the initials of their names, like the World Health Organization, W.H.O. or the International Labour Organization, I.L.O. These have been very good in getting people of different countries to work together.

But until all the countries, especially the very strong ones, can agree to settle their disputes without the threat of making war, the United Nations will have to go on trying to persuade them how dangerous it is to all the human race to keep big armies, navies and air forces armed with terrible weapons of destruction.

CHAPTER XXVII

The New Independent Countries

I. INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON

Except for the coming of the United Nations, the most important thing that has happened in the world since the end of the Second World War is the beginning of many new independent countries in Asia and Africa.

It was the British who began this, for, as you read in Chapters XVIII and XIX, some of their colonies had become independent before the First World War. But all of these, except the Union of South Africa, were countries where most of the people were descended from people who had come into them from Britain and settled down. Still, the British government had said they were going to make India and some of the colonies independent at some

time in the future. After the Second World War they found that the time had come for this. The British government, which was then a Labour Party government, knowing that the leaders of India and Ceylon were getting very impatient and determined to be free, gave these countries their full independence, as you have read in Section IV of Chapter XIX, about India, and in Section IV of Chapter X in the first part of this book, about Ceylon.

The British government had hoped that the whole sub-continent of India would become an independent country, but when they found that the Muslim people of India did not want to live in a country where most of the people were of the Hindu religion, they agreed that it should be divided into two countries, India (Bharat) and Pakistan. Most of the Muslims lived in the north western part of the sub-continent, and in eastern Bengal, though in these parts there were also very many Hindu people. Also there were very many Muslim people living all over the other parts of the sub-continent. Pakistan had to be made out of two different places, 1000 miles from each other, separated by land which belonged to India (Bharat). So there were two provinces, West Pakistan and East Pakistan. This division of the sub-continent was a great disappointment to many Indians, especially to Mahatma Gandhi, who had done so much to bring about the independence of India with hardly any fighting, by preaching non-violent resistance against the British.

It looked at first as if this division into two countries might be done peacefully. But many thousands of Hindus did not want to live in Pakistan, while many thousands of Muslims wanted to leave their homes and go to the new Muslim country. Sad to say, fighting broke out, with the result that a very large number of people were killed, and many more lost everything which belonged to them. But the leaders of the new India and the new Pakistan did not make war on each other. Unfortunately a quarrel

broke out between them over one thing. In Section I of Chapter XIX you read that the 'Native States' no longer had their old rulers. The rulers agreed to hand over their powers to the new government. In the State of Kashmir right up in the north west the ruler was a Hindu, and nearly all the people were Muslims. The ruler gave up his power to the new India. This made the government of Pakistan very angry, because they thought that, as nearly all the people were Muslims, Kashmir ought to be part of Pakistan. The two countries sent armies into Kashmir and nearly went to war. Now India keeps most of Kashmir, but part is held by Pakistan. Both countries keep soldiers in the parts they hold. This has made very bad feeling between them, for neither country will give way. Another reason for dispute was about how the two countries should share the water of the great rivers of the Indus basin. But this dispute has been settled.

As you know, the change to full independence in Ceylon took place quite peacefully. The three countries India, Pakistan, and Ceylon said they wanted to stay in the Commonwealth of Nations. India and Pakistan have become republics: Shri Prasad was the first President of the Indian Republic, and Shri Nehru the first Prime Minister. Mr. Jinnah was made the first President of the Republic of Pakistan, but he did not live long. The people of India and Ceylon have kept what the British tried to show them was the best kind of government, parliamentary democracy. The Pakistanis did the same at first, but it did not work very well, and after a time the army turned out the parliament, saying it was corrupt. The army leaders are trying to rule the country better. They say that some day they will go back to democratic rule.

In India Shri Nehru and his government are doing all they can to raise the Indian people, especially the villagers, from being so dreadfully poor. They have worked through two big plans to do this, with some success, and now another very big plan has been started.

All three countries now have their own armies, navies, and airforces. They also send High Commissioners to some Commonwealth countries and Ambassadors to some foreign countries. All this, of course, costs quite a large

amount of money. Each of the countries has become a member-country of the United Nations.

II. SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Burma was one the countries taken away from the British by the Japanese army during the war. After the British had driven out the Japanese at the end of the war, they went back for a short time, but soon agreed with the Burmese leaders to give Burma independence. The government of Burma decided to leave the Commonwealth. There has been some rebellion and fighting in Burma, and things have not gone as well as they have in India and Malaya.

In Malaya, during the time the Japanese armies were there, the communists, who were nearly all Chinese people, had fought hard in the jungle against the Japanese. When the British came back to Malaya, these people wanted to make Malaya a communist country. But the people of Malaya did not want this any more than the British did. The communists went on fighting for several years in the jungle. They were dangerous at first, so the British sent soldiers, and soldiers also came from other Commonwealth countries such as Australia and New Zealand. The communists became few in number, and the British were able to go on with their plans to make Malaya independent. Most of the people living on the mainland of Malaya were Malays, and most of them were ruled by Sultans. They did not want to join with Singapore, which is a small island but a great port, because most of the people living there are Chinese. So the nine States of Malaya joined with the two colonies of Penang and Malacca into a new independent country called the 'Federation of Malaya,' with a King at its head, who is chosen every five years from among the Sultans of the States. Malaya was quite willing to stay in the Commonwealth, and to recognize Queen Elizabeth as Head of the Commonwealth.

Singapore stayed as a British colony for some time, but has become nearly though not quite self-governing. The three countries on the north coast of Borneo, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei, came back under British rule,

but got more self-government than before. Many people in those parts would like to see all five countries, Malaya, Singapore, and the three Borneo territories united into one independent State.

Further to the south-east the different peoples living in the many islands which were for many years under Dutch rule, known as the 'Dutch East Indies,' decided that they did not want the Dutch to rule them any longer, although they had been ruled by them for several centuries, and the Dutch had brought much wealth to the islands: they had also got many riches themselves from the trade they had carried in, especially in tea and rubber. They did not want to lose this trade, and to give up the islands, but in the end they gave way, and another new country came into being calling itself Indonesia. So far this country has found it difficult to govern itself properly. The people of the other islands like Sumatra and Celebes are rather jealous of the people of Java, where the government of Indonesia has been put.

The Philippine Islands were free before the war. After the Americans had driven away the Japanese armies they became free again, and stayed very friendly to the Americans. They had a very good President named Magsaysay, who did much, with American help, to put right the great damage which the Japanese had done to the country during the war.

III. FAR EASTERN ASIA

Before the war all the big peninsula known as Indo-China was under French rule, except Thailand (Siam). During the war the Japanese armies were in the countries of Indo-China, and after it the French, like the Dutch in Indonesia, never managed to get back to the old state of affairs. They sent an army to try to put down resistance to their government, but the rulers and people of the countries in Indo-China would not back them up, and the army was defeated. So the French saw that it was not worthwhile for them to try to keep these lands. The two kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia easily changed over to independence, but in the eastern part of the peninsula, which now came to be called Vietnam, the

communists had become very strong, and it was they who fought against the French, with help from the Chinese. But the people in the south part of Vietnam did not like the Communists. Much fighting has gone on in Vietnam, and it has become divided into a northern part which is Communist and a southern part which is against Communists. Later on there was trouble in Laos, where the Communists have tried to take over the government. Vietnam and Laos are called 'danger-spots,' because if big countries like China, Russia and America joined in the fighting there to help those friendly to them, a war in these places could easily spread into a world war.

The biggest and most important changes have been in the great country of China, in which live more than 600-million people. When Chiang Kai-Shek was driven off the mainland by the Chinese Communists, he went to the island of Taiwan (Formosa). His enemies could not follow him there because the American government sent its navy to stop them. Because of this, and because America is the biggest and strongest 'capitalist' country, there is very bad feeling against America by the Chinese. So here, too is another danger spot, for any invasion of Taiwan would make the Americans join in and perhaps lead to a world war.

The chief Communist leader in China, a very strong and clever man named Mao Tse Tung, who began life as a poor land worker, made up his mind to change all the Chinese people to the communist way of life. Most of the Chinese work on the land, and most Chinese land workers have always been poor. So when they heard that Mao Tse Tung was taking away land from the big landowners, and that he wanted to give the landworkers a better living, they were glad to follow him. China is a country that could be very rich, because many Chinese people are clever and hardworking, and because China has many minerals under the ground which could be but have not yet been dug up. But the Chinese have always been very set in their way of life, which has stayed much the same way for centuries. So Mao Tse Tung and the communist leaders had to force the new ways of life on them, like taking away their lands and making them work together,

doing better farming in big farms. Their leaders also had people taught modern way of making things in factories, and selling them abroad.

At first the Russians sent well trained people to show the Chinese how to do all the things like better farming and making things well. But later on they stopped doing this, because the leaders of Russia and of China did not agree about some very important things.

China with her size and vast number of people and all her possible riches is already a strong country, and some day may be one of the strongest and richest countries in the world. But this may take a long time, because the Chinese land workers have to learn how to grow more food on their land, and the workers in factories have much to learn about making new things.

Just before the end of the world war, the Russians declared war on the Japanese, who were already nearly beaten by the Americans. The Russians sent their armies into the peninsula of Korea, which the Japanese had taken more than 30 years before. They started a communist government in the northern part of Korea. The southern part was made free by the Americans, who started a democratic republic there. In 1950 the northern Koreans trained by the Russians sent an army to southern Korea to try to overthrow that republic. This was brought to the notice of the United Nations, who decided that this was wrong. This made the Russians so angry that they refused to go to meetings of the Security Council. So they could not use their veto. The United Nations asked some of their member countries to send armies to Korea to stop this invasion and try to make peace. The soldiers sent were mostly from the American armies still in Japan, but some came from Commonwealth countries. They drove back the North Koreans. But suddenly the Chinese government sent hundreds of thousands of soldiers, calling them 'volunteers,' to help their friends in North Korea and at first they drove back the United Nation soldiers. Fighting went on for nearly three years, but fortunately did not spread outside Korea. In the end it was decided to have two republics, North and South Korea, independent of each other, and bitter enemies.

The Japanese had lost all the lands which they had taken before, and during the world war. Some of their leaders were condemned to death or prison for their war crimes, because the Japanese had done many very cruel things to the soldiers whom they captured in the war. And they had to pay big sums of money to people who had suffered because of the Japanese armies invading their countries. At first Japan was ruled by an American general called MacArthur, who had been very clever in beating the Japanese in the war. An American army stayed in Japan. But the Japanese rulers and people came to understand that they had made a big mistake in going to war. So after some time the Americans left them to look after their own country in a democratic way. The Japanese people worked very hard indeed, and again built up big industries of the kind they used to have before the war, especially ship-building and the making of cotton clothes to wear, and indeed many other things which are sold all over the world. So Japan is becoming again a rich and strong country.

IV. CHANGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

What is usually called the 'Middle East' is the western part of Asia and the eastern part of North Africa. The thing which made very big changes in some countries of the Middle East was that many millions of gallons of oil were found beneath the ground in Persia, Iraq and parts of Arabia. At the end of Chapter XXIV you read about the changes which happened in this part of the world after the First World War. During the Second there was not much fighting there, except in Syria, when the French were turned out by the British, and in 1943 two independent republics were started, Syria and Lebanon. Millions of gallons of oil were wanted by the Allies during the war, so that the oil companies, mostly American and British, who had found the oil and worked the oil wells and pipe lines became very rich. So did the rulers of the countries where the oil was found.

When the war was over, the British after some trouble in Palestine with the Jews who had settled there, gave up their rule over that country. The country of Jordan

became independent, and the 'Jewish National Home', about which you read in Section VII of Chapter XXIV, became the Republic of Israel. Egypt and the new Arab countries of the Middle East were very angry about Israel being independent, for many Arabs who had lived in that part of Palestine left the country and became 'refugees,' who had to live in uncomfortable camps in Arab countries. So five of these countries joined together to make war on Israel. But the Israelis in a very short time had got together a small but well trained army, which beat the Arab armies. The United Nations managed to get the fighting stopped. But the Arab countries which are all around Israel are that country's bitter enemies still.

During the war, Egypt was full of British soldiers. After it, the Egyptians did not like two things. They did not like the way in which their King Farouk was behaving, and they did not like the British keeping a large number of soldiers near the Suez Canal. In 1954 some Egyptian army officers rebelled against King Farouk. They drove him away and made Egypt a republic. Very soon after this, one of them, Colonel Nasser, was made President. The British agreed with him to take away their soldiers, and at the same time to give up ruling over the Sudan, the country south of Egypt which they had been ruling along with Egypt ever since the beginning of the century. The Egyptians thought that the people of the Sudan would want to join Egypt, but the Sudan's leaders and people wanted to rule themselves, and became a new independent country in Africa.

President Nasser wanted to build a very big dam across the river Nile, so that more water could be brought to Egyptian land and therefore more food grown. The British and the Americans would not lend him the money to do this. So in 1955 he took away the Suez Canal from the French and British 'Suez Canal Company' which had managed it ever since it was first dug. This made the French and British governments very angry. Later in the same year war was just beginning between Israel and Egypt, when the French and British, instead of consulting the United Nations, sent soldiers

to Egypt. The United Nations and many countries, including the U.S.A. and some Commonwealth countries, did not like this at all, and told them to take their soldiers away. They agreed to do this, and the United Nations sent soldiers from other countries to stop the fighting between Israel and Egypt. Many people in France and Britain thought that the Egyptians would not be able to look after the Suez Canal and steer all the ships that go through it properly. But they have done it quite well.

V. NEW COUNTRIES IN AFRICA

After the end of World War II the countries of North Africa, along the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, which had nearly all been under French rule, began to try to get independence. The British were looking after Tripoli, taken from the Italians, but the British government very willingly gave that country independence, under the new name of Libya. The French not so willingly gave up their rule over Tunis and Morocco. But they would not do this for Algeria, where about a million French people lived and worked, and in 1954 some of the Algerian Muslim people rebelled.*

The French had been ruling over a very large part of north western Africa. They saw that the people there would like to have their independence, so they made 12 different parts of the land they had been ruling into new independent republics. All these new countries except Guinea said at first they would like to be in the French Community, which is something like the Commonwealth of Nations. Since then five of them have left this Community.

The British had four colonies in West Africa, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and The Gambia. Nigeria is very big, the others rather small. The Gambia is a very small place. The Gold Coast was given independence in 1957, and Dr. Kwame N'krumah, its leader, gave the new country the name of Ghana, and became the first

*At the time these words were being written the French Government under their President, General de Gaulle, let the Algerians have their independence. But this made the French people who had settled in Algeria very angry.

President of the Republic of Ghana. He is very powerful in Ghana. Nigeria became independent in 1960, and Sierra Leone in 1961. All those have decided to belong to the Commonwealth of Nations.

In the British colonies in East Africa too, changes were going on, though the people there were not so well prepared for independence as those in West Africa. The leaders of Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, and Zanzibar are all asking for independence, and when you read this chapter, it is possible that they will have got it.

VI. THE STATE OF THE WORLD

You will now have seen how much the world has changed since the Second World War. When it began, nearly all Africa and a large part of Asia were governed by European rulers. Now what used to be called the 'Colonial Powers' have hardly any colonies at all, and do not seem to want them much, except for Portugal, which still has two big colonies, Angola and Mozambique in Africa. As a result of this a number of new countries are trying to learn how to govern themselves, which is not at all an easy thing to do. They have all become members of the United Nations, from which they get much help.

The new countries are very anxious to give their peoples better ways of living. For this to happen, the older and richer countries will have to give them much help. If world peace can be brought about, with countries keeping only very small armies, navies, and airforces, and agreeing never to make war on another country, they will be able to give this help instead of spending huge sums of money on getting ready in case a war breaks out and they are attacked. Above all, nuclear weapons must be given up. Unless peace can come in this way, the new countries, which are all determined not to be drawn into any world war, will never feel safe or secure.

So everyone must hope that the United Nations will find the way to prevent war. But it will really depend on the big strong countries, especially Russia and America. As long as these countries are afraid of 'aggression' by

the other one, and feel they cannot trust each other, there will be no true peace. There will always be the danger of someone dropping a hydrogen bomb, and perhaps destroying a big city in a few seconds. If this happened and if more hydrogen bombs were dropped, as they probably would be, few if any people in the world might be left alive.



