

A LONGMAN PAPERBACK



Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries 1789-1950

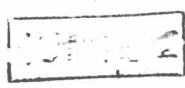
Sixth Edition Revised and
Edited by Lillian M. Penson

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EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH
AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES
(1789-1950)



NOTE TO THE SIXTH EDITION

THE present edition is in a sense a new venture. It has been extended to June 1950 in accordance with the practice of the original authors who tried as far as possible to keep this book completely up to date. The new material which this has involved has given opportunity not only for the consolidation of the additions made to the previous edition but for the revision of the later part of the book to a very considerable degree. The passage of time, and in particular the events of the War of 1939-45, has led to the necessity for a substantial revision of that part of the book which related to the post-1919 period. At the same time care has been taken to maintain the original wording as far as possible and thus to preserve the original character of the book.

Since the publication of the fifth edition in 1939, both the distinguished historians who were the authors have died. Professor Temperley died in July 1939 just before the events in which he was so closely interested led to the catastrophe of that year. Professor Grant, who was his elder by several years, lived until May 1948 and thus saw both the passage of the war years and the first stages of the new era which has followed them. The present editor, who was closely associated with both the original authors in historical work, was therefore able to discuss with Professor Grant the revision which has now taken place.

The combination of the two authors with their wide but differing experience and their common devotion to European history gave to the book its particular characteristics of individuality and original thought. It was their wish that there should be successive editions which should maintain some at least of these characteristics and at the same time take into account the differing outlook of a new era.

In the note to the fifth edition the authors referred to the personal experience of Professor Temperley in the British Imperial General Staff in the first World War and in the negotiations for peace. They acknowledged also the help given by a number of personal friends, some of whom are no longer available for consultation. In particular, acknowledgment was given for the criticisms made by Field-Marshal Lord Birdwood on the chapter relating to the War of 1914-18, and to Mr. J. M. (later Lord) Keynes for help in dealing with the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty of Versailles. Sir Arnold Wilson had given them advice in connection with all matters upon the then recent history of the East; Mr. L. S. Amery had commented upon the section relating to the reconstruction of democracy after the first World War and Major-General A. C. Temperley (the brother of one of the

authors) had given advice on the history of Disarmament and the later developments of the League of Nations.

In the note to the fifth edition the debt of the authors was also acknowledged to Mr. Raymond Postgate who had written part of the chapter which dealt with Marxism and with Russia. The debt to Mr. Raymond Postgate still remains, because much use has been made of the chapter to which he contributed. At the same time it has been necessary in the light of events which have taken place since the fifth edition was prepared to review this chapter and to give it to some extent a new orientation.

The editor of the sixth edition wishes to acknowledge not only the help which was given to the original authors, but also that given by Miss Winifred Bamforth, M.A., who has been of the greatest assistance in the research needed for the new edition. She has taken a substantial part in preparing the volume for the press as well as in the comprehensive checking of the references and quotations.

LILLIAN M. PENSON

July 1950

PREFACE REVISED FOR THE SIXTH EDITION

THE history of the last century and a half, up to and beyond the War of 1939, cannot be compressed into a volume of six hundred pages. At the most a sketch, a few outlines, some impressions can be given. But, as in a Japanese picture, if the right lines are put in, the general effect should be good. The original authors offered this book as their conception of how the main threads of the period cross and interweave with one another, and of how the tapestry was composed. The plan of the work is substantially unaltered, and runs on the following lines. Part I reveals the great explosion of the French Revolution and details how it spread over Europe, and what Napoleon retained, and what he rejected, of this great spiritual and national movement. Part II depicts how the Four Great Powers of Europe, after having overthrown Napoleon, struggled vainly to erect a system of international government. The failure of that attempt was rendered certain by Canning, who favoured the rise of strong national governments, and described the new international system as dangerous and premature. The rise of constitutionalism in France and Spain, of independence in Belgium, and the struggles of latent and suppressed nationality in Poland and Italy are likewise depicted. Part III opens with the tide of revolution breaking strongly over all central and western Europe in 1848. The tragic blunder of the Crimean War, the union of Italy, and the amazing triumphs of Prussia in diplomacy and war are related. The period ends with the revival of France.

Part IV opens with the Russo-Turkish War and the unloosing of passions in the Balkans during the years 1876-86. Chapter XXIII deals with colonial development and overseas empire through the century. The story of the formation of the two great systems of European Alliance is then told and how the Powers gradually grouped themselves in opposite camps. Chapter XXV shows how even England began to abandon her isolation and how she entered into an alliance with Japan, and into ententes with France and Russia. The next chapter deals with Europe on the eve of the War. The story of the three crises at Algeciras, over Bosnia, and at Agadir is told. Finally it is shown how the Balkan Wars increased the friction between Triple Entente and Triple Alliance and how, amid ever-increasing difficulties, the nations of Europe finally plunged into war.

In the period covered in Part IV, from 1878 to 1914, as well as in Part V, a somewhat fuller treatment has been adopted and references added to some of the documentary material available. It was thought desirable in a book such as this to give references to the most readily accessible book

wherever possible, but this does not mean that printed or unpublished sources have not been used in the preparation of the work.

Part V deals with the War of 1914-18, the Peace Treaties, and the rise of new nationalities. In Chapter XXIX, the War, the authors departed from their rule and gave a plan and a study of a battle, that of the Marne in 1914. But it was thought that the importance of this crisis justified the exception. The study of the military plans of Germany which failed at the Marne is one of very high interest and has also political and moral implications of a very far-reaching character. Equally instructive is Falkenhayn's view of the military situation during the years 1915-16, and his decision to strike first against Russia and then at Verdun. The direction given to German strategy by Hindenburg and Ludendorff and their reasons for acquiescing in a ruthless submarine campaign are of high interest. It is important again to estimate why the strategy of Ludendorff failed, and that of Haig and Foch triumphed, in 1918. In Chapter XXX the strategy is of peace, not of war. A study of the contrasted temperaments of Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau is not only interesting in itself, but is the real key to the mysteries of the Treaty of Versailles. It does much to explain the importance of the Covenant of the League, the origin of the Mandatory system, and the severity of the terms inflicted upon Germany.

Chapter XXXI deals with nation-making in the new Europe. Nations, not men, are the theme, and their origin and character reveal strange developments in national personality. Attention is also given to the problems raised by the racial and religious minorities scattered over so many of the new states. The Russian civil war is also touched upon. Chapter XXXII deals with the East and seeks to show how the European upheaval affected Asia. It tells how the Turks became a new people, how Armenians survived the appalling calamities inflicted by the Turks, how the Arabs rode from Mecca to Damascus, and how Persia, China and Japan began to work out their strange destinies.

Part VI has been considerably revised and extended to deal with the Powers of Europe after the first World War, with the inter-war years, and with the second World War and its immediate aftermath. In Chapter XXXIII there is some necessary repetition of the previous narrative in order to deal with the general or universal movements of the period. Among the many that might have been related, a few have been distinguished. A study of the growth of Marxism provides the background for a survey of the development of the Soviet Union from the Revolution of 1917 to the outbreak of war in 1939. This is followed by a description of the nature of the totalitarian régimes in Italy and Germany and of the events which led to their growth. The parliamentary governments of France and Britain are also treated in this chapter and some account is given of the political instability of France, which contributed to her collapse in 1940.

Chapter XXXIV opens with the problems which faced the League of

Nations, and records the successive attempts made to deal with them. The hopeful period of the twenties is followed by the preparations for war in the thirties, by the rejection of disarmament, and of the ideals of the League. One international crisis succeeds another until Europe becomes embroiled in the second major war of the century, which is treated in Chapter XXXV.

In Chapter XXXVI, the immediate aftermath of the war is considered, and some account is given of such political settlement as has been effected in Europe since 1945, and of the principles behind the treatment of ex-enemy states by the allied Powers. In the Epilogue, the aspects of movements towards European and international co-operation and unity, which had previously formed part of Chapter XXXIV, have been considerably revised and extended to include the United Nations Organisation.

New maps are included to exhibit Northern Africa and the Mediterranean at the outbreak of war in 1939; the extent of German conquests in Europe by January 1942; Europe in 1945 after the end of the war; and the division of Germany into zones in 1945.

Care has been taken to verify details, and to check dates and statements. But it is hardly possible to hope that some errors have not crept in.

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