

*NATIONS AND EMPIRES*

Documents on the History of Europe and on  
its Relations with the World since 1648

# *NATIONS & EMPIRES*

Documents on the History of Europe and on  
its Relations with the World since 1648

*edited by*

R. C. BRIDGES, P. DUKES

J. D. HARGREAVES & W. SCOTT

*Department of History, University of Aberdeen*

Macmillan Education

ISBN 978-0-333-10598-6      ISBN 978-1-349-15338-1 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-15338-1

© *Introduction and editorial matter R. C. Bridges, P. Dukes,  
J. D. Hargreaves and W. Scott, 1969*

*Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1969 978-0-333-10541-2*

*First published 1969 by  
MACMILLAN AND CO LTD  
Little Essex Street London WC2  
and also at Bombay Calcutta and Madras  
Macmillan South Africa (Publishers) Pty Ltd Johannesburg  
The Macmillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd Melbourne  
The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd Toronto  
St Martin's Press Inc New York  
Gill and Macmillan Ltd Dublin  
Library of Congress Catalog no. 76-85482*

# Contents

|                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>List of Maps and Diagrams</i>                                    | 8   |
| <i>Preface</i>                                                      | 9   |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i>                                             | 11  |
| <b>Chapter One: Absolutism and its Critics</b>                      | 15  |
| 1 The French Nobility Complains to Louis XIV                        | 15  |
| 2 Fénelon Complains to Louis XIV                                    | 20  |
| 3 Police Report on Popular Reaction to the Capture of Cambrai, 1677 | 26  |
| 4 Temple on the Dutch Government and People                         | 27  |
| 5 Alexander Gordon's Appraisal of Peter the Great                   | 32  |
| 6 Catherine the Great's Political Confession                        | 35  |
| 7 Peasant War in Russia                                             | 43  |
| 8 The Encyclopædia Advances the Enlightenment                       | 48  |
| 9 The Dutch Urged to Join the Atlantic Revolution                   | 52  |
| <b>Chapter Two: The French Revolution and Napoleon</b>              | 55  |
| 10 The Grievances of the Third Estate                               | 56  |
| 11 The Principles of the National Assembly                          | 65  |
| 12 The Terror at Lyon                                               | 67  |
| 13 Robespierre and the Revolutionary Government                     | 77  |
| 14 The Babeuf Conspiracy of 1796                                    | 79  |
| 15 The French Revolution and Europe                                 | 82  |
| 16 Napoleon and Europe                                              | 87  |
| <b>Chapter Three: Europe Overseas to the Revolutionary Period</b>   | 91  |
| 17 The Dutch East India Company and Colonisation in Ceylon          | 92  |
| 18 New France                                                       | 96  |
| 19 Atlantic Trade                                                   | 98  |
| 20 An Assessment of Eighteenth-century Overseas Enterprise          | 101 |
| 21 New Horizons                                                     | 103 |
| 22 Implications of the French Revolution in the Caribbean           | 107 |
| 23 Revolutions in the Western Hemisphere                            | 109 |

6 *Contents*

|                                                          |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Chapter Four: Nationalism, Socialism and Reaction</b> | <b>115</b> |
| 24 Towards the Vienna Settlement                         | 116        |
| 25 Metternich's European Outlook                         | 122        |
| 26 Mazzini's Concept of Nationalism                      | 126        |
| 27 Marx and the 1848 Revolution in France                | 131        |
| 28 Palacký, Czech Nationalism and the Austrian Empire    | 135        |
| 29 The Commune                                           | 140        |
| 30 The Rise of the German Empire                         | 143        |
| 31 The Effects of Industrialisation                      | 145        |
| 32 Antisemitism and the Dreyfus Case                     | 148        |
| 33 The End of Russian Absolutism                         | 152        |

**Chapter Five: Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth Century** 154

|                                                       |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 34 Emigration                                         | 155 |
| 35 After the Slave Trade                              | 158 |
| 36 The Celestial Empire Rejects Europe                | 161 |
| 37 India                                              | 164 |
| 38 Landward Expansion                                 | 168 |
| 39 From Informal Empire to German Empire              | 171 |
| 40 The New Imperialism                                | 174 |
| 41 Securing the Route to India in the Heart of Africa | 179 |
| 42 The Scramble for China                             | 180 |
| 43 A New Imperial Power                               | 183 |
| 44 Informal Empire in the Middle East                 | 184 |
| 45 The Radical Conscience and the Congo               | 187 |

**Chapter Six: International Rivalries and the First World War**

|                                                        |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------|
|                                                        | <b>191</b> |
| 46 Germany's Special Relationship with Austria-Hungary | 192        |
| 47 Overseas Expansion and European Alignments          | 195        |
| 48 French Attitudes to Germany, 1905                   | 198        |
| 49 A British View of German Policy                     | 201        |
| 50 German War Aims                                     | 208        |
| 51 Trench Warfare and the Soldier                      | 211        |
| 52 The Conditions of Peace                             | 215        |

**Chapter Seven: The Russian Revolution and Stalin** 224

|                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| 53 The February Revolution        | 224 |
| 54 The October Revolution         | 226 |
| 55 Trotsky on October             | 227 |
| 56 A British Report on Bolshevism | 233 |

|                                                    |                                                        |            |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------|
|                                                    | <i>Contents</i>                                        | 7          |
| 57                                                 | The Kronstadt Revolt                                   | 239        |
| 58                                                 | Lenin on Dangers Confronting the Revolution            | 241        |
| 59                                                 | Stalin Considers the Forced Pace of His Revolution     | 248        |
| <b>Chapter Eight: The Second World War</b>         |                                                        | <b>256</b> |
| 60                                                 | A New International Order?                             | 257        |
| 61                                                 | Fascism                                                | 261        |
| 62                                                 | Japanese Expansion                                     | 268        |
| 63                                                 | Hitler's Germany and Europe: An Early British Reaction | 270        |
| 64                                                 | France and the German Revival                          | 273        |
| 65                                                 | Soviet Foreign Policy                                  | 275        |
| 66                                                 | Germany's United Europe                                | 279        |
| 67                                                 | Total War                                              | 284        |
| 68                                                 | Preparations for Peace                                 | 287        |
| <b>Chapter Nine: Decolonisation</b>                |                                                        | <b>292</b> |
| 69                                                 | In Behalf of his Countrymen                            | 293        |
| 70                                                 | New National States in the Middle East                 | 295        |
| 71                                                 | The Comintern in China                                 | 299        |
| 72                                                 | Indian Nationalism                                     | 303        |
| 73                                                 | Imperial Reconstruction?                               | 306        |
| 74                                                 | 'He Who Enlightens' Declares Independence in Indochina | 309        |
| 75                                                 | Some Roots of West African Discontent                  | 312        |
| 76                                                 | Prelude to Mau Mau                                     | 314        |
| 77                                                 | The Third World                                        | 317        |
| 78                                                 | International Pressures                                | 320        |
| 79                                                 | After Empire                                           | 324        |
| <b>Chapter Ten: A Perspective of the Mid-1960s</b> |                                                        | <b>329</b> |
| 80                                                 | General de Gaulle surveys Europe and the World         | 329        |
|                                                    | <i>Index</i>                                           | 335        |

## LIST OF MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

|                                          |                                |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Diagram of Système des Connaissances     | <i>between pages 50 and 51</i> |
| Map of the Sykes–Picot Agreement of 1916 | 297                            |

## Preface

THIS anthology has grown out of the working experience of a group of university teachers concerned to introduce first-year students to methods of historical study by reference to contemporary documents on some of the problems of European history since 1648. A single volume of texts obviously could not hope to cover the period in a comprehensive manner. This collection therefore attempts to elaborate certain themes, the nature of which is implied in the titles of the chapters and in the introductions to them. Each of the themes is an aspect of the basic process of European history in the modern era, which we take to be the consolidation and expansion of the states comprising the Continent and their readjustment to rising super-powers on the oceanic and continental frontiers and to changing conditions in Africa and Asia. Although we regard Europe as a meaningful entity, we strongly believe that its modern history can be understood only if its relations with the rest of the world are given full consideration. Hence, three chapters (Three, Five and Nine) are devoted to these relations while two more (Six and Eight) consider the world wars and their backgrounds not only as episodes in relations between European governments but also in wider and deeper perspectives. Within European states, some of the varied attempts by governments and statesmen to develop social and political institutions which could guarantee internal order in a period of accelerating change are examined (Chapters One and Four). The great occasions when they most significantly failed to do so and when new ideas and expedients were tested with far-reaching results – the French and Russian Revolutions – are treated in considerable detail (Chapters Two and Seven). The final chapter (Ten) provides a coda to the collection in the form of a *tour d'horizon* of Europe and the world in the mid-1960s by an historically minded European statesman. The chosen documents generally emphasise the socio-political aspects of our themes; while



not ignoring economic and cultural forces, we have given comparatively less attention to them.

Although the editors have differed somewhat in their individual approaches to particular chapters, they have all agreed on making their selections with certain ends in view. Each document is intended to illustrate an important aspect of the evolution of modern Europe or of its relations with the world although in some cases the nature of the illustration may emerge only after careful scrutiny of the text itself or its context. Essentially, therefore, these documents are aids to study; they should prove suitable for use either in critical group discussions or as illustrations to lectures. The editors have in some cases added a few special suggestions for further reading in the notes which introduce each document. Providing general bibliographical guidance for the whole of the period is, however, a formidable problem, beyond the scope of this volume; the least unsatisfactory of the available solutions is that of *A Bibliography of Modern History*, ed. John Roach (Cambridge, 1968).

This collection of documents could not have been completed without the advice and other forms of assistance given to the editors by many friends and colleagues. It is impossible to mention all those who have been so generous with their help but we express particular thanks to Miss Rosemary Tyzack, Mrs Margaret Stone, Miss Ann Williams, Miss Elizabeth Smith, Mrs Ann Gordon, Mrs Jill Bridges and Miss Dorothy Smith, to Mr J. Forsyth, Mr C. Gossip, Mr R. Hallett, Dr J. Houbert, Dr E. Ranson, Dr G. Molland and Mr O. D. Edwards. The editors are also grateful to the authors and publishers of copyright material which we have been allowed to use; a list of acknowledgements is appended below. Translations of documents, unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes, are our own. His fellow editors would like to thank R. C. Bridges for co-ordinating their efforts and assuming the major share of the work involved in bringing the collection of documents together.

# Acknowledgements

SOME of the material in this collection is published by permission of those who hold copyright in original documents or translations. The editors express their thanks to the following. The number of each item in this collection is noted in brackets.

Akademie-Verlag GmbH, Berlin, for extracts from the *Instruction of the Commission temporaire de Commune-Affranchie* (12)

The Banco de Venezuela S.A. for extracts from the translation by L. Bertrand of Bolivar's address of 15 February 1819 (23b)

Extracts from the letter by Albert Einstein to President Roosevelt, 2 August 1939, reprinted by permission as found in *The Atomic Age*, ed. Morton Grodzins and Eugene Rabinowitch, © 1963 by Basic Books Inc., New York (67b)

G. Bell & Sons Ltd for extracts from Pitt's letter to Vorontzoff, 19 January 1805 (24)

Cambridge University Press Ltd for extracts from M. Oakeshott's translation of Mussolini's 'Doctrine of Fascism' (61), for extracts from W. F. Reddaway's edition of Catherine II's Instructions to the Commissioners, 28 February 1768 (6), and for extracts from Smuts's letter to Lloyd George, 26 March 1919 (52c)

The Government of Ceylon for extracts from the *Memoir of Joan Maetsuyker 1650* (17)

Bethman Hollweg's 'Provisional Notes on the Direction of our Policy on the Conclusion of Peace' (50) is reprinted from *Germany's Aims in the First World War* by Fritz Fischer by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. and Chatto & Windus Ltd. Copyright 1961 by Droste Verlag und Druckerei GmbH, Dusseldorf. Translation copyright © 1967 by W. W. Norton & Company Inc. and Chatto & Windus Ltd.

Professor Allan B. Cole and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University for the 'Declaration of Independence 2 September 1945' (74)

The Conseiller de Presse of the French Embassy in Britain for extracts from the text and translation of President de Gaulle's tenth Press Conference (80)

12 *Acknowledgements*

- J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd for the translation in the Everyman's Library series by J. M. Thompson of Napoleon's letter to Jérôme (26a)
- The East African Publishing House, Nairobi, for extracts from Waruhiu Itote's '*Mau Mau*' General (76)
- Edinburgh University Press for John Chilembwe's letter of November 1914 (69)
- The Freedom Press and the editor of *Anarchy* for the Resolution of 1 March 1921 from Berkman's 'Kronstadt Diary' (57)
- Éditions Gallimard, Paris, for the extracts from the letter of Napoleon to Prince Joseph in M. Vox, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, © Éditions Gallimard 1943 (16b)
- Victor Gollancz Ltd and Mme Marguerite Bonnet for extracts from Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* (55)
- The Hakluyt Society and Cambridge University Press for the extract from the *Journal and Letters of Captain Charles Bishop* (21b)
- Harvard University Press, Su-yu Teng and J. K. Fairbank for the translation of the 'Placard of the Patriotic People of Kwangtung' (36b)
- The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office for extracts from official publications including Crown Copyright material: Gorchakov's Circular Dispatch (38), Crowe's Memorandum (49), Reports on Bolshevism in Russia (56), Sir Horace Rumbold's Dispatch (63), the Hamburg Police President's Report (67a), Grey to Cambon 16 May 1916 (70b), McMahon to Husayn 24 October 1915 (70a), The Anglo-French Declaration (70d), the Proceedings of the Indian Round Table Conference (72), the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Gold Coast (75). Transcripts of Crown Copyright records in the Public Record Office (19, 41, 44) also appear by permission of the Controller, Her Majesty's Stationery Office
- William Heinemann Ltd and Quadrangle Books Inc., Chicago, for part of a speech by Mr Nixon (78a); William Heinemann and Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, for part of a letter from Mr Eisenhower to Sir Winston Churchill (78c), © Dwight D. Eisenhower 1965
- The October Manifesto (33) translated by Basil Dmytryshyn is from *Imperial Russia: A Source Book 1700-1917*, edited by Basil Dmytryshyn, Copyright © 1967 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., Publishers, New York
- Éditions Julliard, Paris, for the Declaration to the French People of 1871 (29)
- Lawrence & Wishart Ltd for extracts from Karl Marx's 'Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' (27) and *On Colonialism* (37); for extracts from Lenin's speech of 27 March 1921 (58) and from Stalin's speech of 5 February 1931 (59)
- Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd, the Editor of the *Journal of Oriental Studies* and Hong Kong University Press for the translation by J. L. Cranmer Byng of the Edict of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (36a)

- The Macmillan Co., New York, for the translation by J. H. Stewart of the Declaration of Rights of 1789 (11)
- Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, for the use of extracts from *Documents Diplomatiques*: Pichon to Delcassé (42), St-Vallier to Waddington (46b), Courcel to Hanotaux (47), Notes on the Council of Ministers, 1905 (48a), Report of Meeting at General Gamelin's Residence (4)
- Oxford University Press Ltd, publishers for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, for extracts from the translations by Jane Degras of Stalin's Report, 10 March 1939 (65a), and the Comintern Resolution of 30 May 1927 (71); the translations by Margaret Carlyle of Funk's speech (66a), Friderici's Report (66b) and the memorandum by von Grundherr (66c); and for N. Frankland's edition of Bulganin's letter to Mollet (78b)
- Pall Mall Press Ltd for the translation by W. G. Brown of Ferry's speech of 28 July 1885 (40)
- Frederick A. Praeger Ltd, New York, for extracts from Chou En-lai's speech, 1955 (77)
- Prentice-Hall of Canada Inc. for Instructions to Gaudais (18a) and the Commission of the Intendant (18b) in Cameron Nish (trans. and ed.), *The French Régime* (Canadian Historical Documents Series, vol. 1, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall 1965)
- MacGibbon & Kee Ltd for extracts from C. E. Montague's *Disenchantment* (51)
- Extracts from Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (79), translated from the French by Constance Farrington are reprinted by permission of MacGibbon & Kee Ltd and Grove Press Inc. Copyright © by Présence Africaine 1963
- Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, for extracts from the Cahier of Remonstrances of the Nobility of the Angoumois (1) and the Cahier of the Third Estate of Rouen (10)
- Éditions Sociales, Paris, for extracts from Babeuf's letter to 'M.V.' (14b), 'the First Instruction of the Secret Directory' (14c), the 'Organisation of the Principal Agents to the Number of Twelve' (14d), *Peace and Socialism* by Jean Jaurès (48b) and 'Appeal for an International Demonstration for the First of May 1891' (31b)
- The Editor of the *Slavonic and East European Review* for W. Beardmore's translation of Palacký's letter to the Committee of Fifty (28)
- Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura for the letter from Buonaroti and Cerise to the Directory (15c)
- Stanford University Press, California, for the translation by J. Bunyan and H. H. Fisher of the Proclamation of 8 November 1917 (54)