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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

NAPOLEON IS ONE OF THOSE WATERSHED FIGURES IN HISTORY. HIS TIME IS OFTEN CONSIDERED THE BEGINNING OF MODERN HISTORY, THE TIME BEFORE BEING CALLED EARLY MODERN.

He deals in some way with all of the things that make up modern history: constitutional rule, the role of the common people in society and government, non-traditional leadership, demagoguery, dictatorship.

It is important to remember that Napoleon could never have come to power without the French Revolution. It was the French Revolution that created opportunities for men like Napoleon, not only, as in Napoleon's case, to dominate France and Europe for a couple of decades, but also to wind up on the guillotine after a short time in the spotlight. The Revolution opened up fame and fortune, failure and disgrace to a number of people, and Napoleon is someone who took advantage of it.

We will start with Napoleon's early life, because that in itself is illustrative of the opportunities that the revolution opened for people. First of all, Napoleon Bonaparte, as some of you may be able to tell by the name, was not French. He was born and raised on the island of Corsica in a family that was Italian. His father was a minor nobleman. But when he was born in 1769, Corsica had come under French rule, so, when he became old enough, his family sent him to a French military school to prepare for a career in the King's army.

When the Revolution occurred, Napoleon went with the flow, serving whatever government happened to be in power. He had no particular loyalty to the king or to any other French government. In 1793 he won attention in France when he participated in the defense of the city of Toulon against the British, but what really brought him respect occurred in 1795 when the newly-formed government of the Directory ordered him to break up a demonstration against it by using armed force. Napoleon did so efficiently with what he called “a whiff of grapeshot.”



Born Napoleone di Buonaparte in 1769, his family was minor Italian nobility living in Corsica. He attended school in France and became an officer in the French army in 1785 at the age of 16. He would become the darling of the revolutionary military.

Revolutionary Career

Napoleon's slaughter of French civilians at the behest of the Directory won him in 1796 the command of the French army in Italy, which was fighting against the Austrians.

As commander of the French army in Italy, he showed himself to be a military genius. He won battle after battle and finally forced the Austrians to sign a treaty in 1797, which turned over all of Italy to the French. Napoleon was proclaimed a national hero. In fact, he became so popular that the French revolutionary government began to fear him. They did not want a popular leader who might be a rallying point for another revolution, this time against them! While campaigning in Italy, General Bonaparte became increasingly influential in French politics. He published two newspapers, ostensibly for the troops in his army, but widely circulated within France as well. In May 1797 he founded a third newspaper, published in Paris, entitled *Le Journal de Bonaparte et des hommes vertueux*. Napoleon's dabbling in politics made him even more dangerous. The government tried on a couple of occasions to get Napoleon killed in campaigns where he was outgunned and outnumbered, but in each case, he emerged victorious and even more popular.

In March 1798, Bonaparte proposed a military expedition to seize Egypt, then a province of the Ottoman Empire, seeking to protect French trade interests and undermine Britain's access to India. The Directory, although troubled by the scope and cost of the enterprise, readily agreed to the plan in order to remove the popular general from the center of power. Napoleon's expedition was successful at first.

Then, in early 1799 he led the army into the Ottoman province of Syria, now modern Israel. After a couple of victories, the fortunes of war turned and Napoleon, his army weakened by disease and short of supplies, began to lose battles and wither from disease. But, Napoleon kept sending reports of amazing victories to the government in France and the French newspapers and his popularity in France grew even further.

In August, 1799, he received word from his friends in Paris that he should get home fast. They told him that the Directory was in the midst of a political crisis, and needed his help. He sped home as fast as he could—leaving his army in Egypt, by the way—but he didn't help the Directory. He met up with a group of conspirators looking for a general of sufficient popularity to help them stage a coup—Napoleon was their man!

Bonaparte joined up with them, and on November 9th, 1799, armed troops loyal to Napoleon cleared the legislators from the chambers of the National Assembly. The new men

in power decided to proclaim a new kind of Republic which Bonaparte, given the title of Consulate, would preside over. The conspirators hoped to use Napoleon and his loyal army to maintain order while they actually ran France. Little did the conspirators realize that this 30 year-old general was



Napoleon the Consul (1800)

using them to establish himself in power rather than the other way around. After 1799, and until 1814, Napoleon was the master of France and much of the continent of Europe.

First Five Years

For the first five years of his rule — from 1799 to 1804 — Napoleon spent much of his effort on the reconstruction of France herself. He is considered by some people to be the culmination of the French Revolution — that is, the man who took all the scattered and confused ideas of the Revolution and turned them into an orderly system. Others, however, believe that Napoleon put an end to the Revolution,

and under him France reverted to a form of enlightened despotism. Each interpretation has elements of truth.

There can be no doubt that the new regime was despotic. Napoleon did set up a variety of elective offices and election systems, but none of them had any real power. The main agency of government was the so-called Council of State, and within that Council the only person who had any real power was Napoleon himself. He made all of the decisions and always gave the impression that he understood everything. Even the artificial Democratic machinery that he set up rapidly fell into disuse.

At home, Bonaparte kept internal order, partly through the use of the secret police, but more especially through a powerful and centralized bureaucracy. The key figure in this bureaucracy was the prefect, who governed the provinces and was under direct orders from the Ministry of the Interior. Napoleon also used his armies to quell any sort of rebellion or resistance to his rule and generally restored peace and security to France. He also made peace among the various factions of the Revolution by offering a general amnesty to everyone and actually inviting back all of the people who had emigrated abroad during the long years of the Revolution. All he required was that they work for him and stop quarreling with each other. In fact, for his most important jobs he used men from all different camps, from the most radical of the Jacobins to the most noble of the nobleman.

Napoleon then introduced sweeping reforms in the fields of law and administration. The state which he created was truly modern in form. All public authority was in the hands of paid civil servants, and the authority of government fell on everyone alike. There were no more estates, legal classes, privileges, local liberties, guilds or manors. Judges, officials and army officers received specified salaries and none of their offices could be bought or sold.

All citizens were able to rise in government service purely according to their abilities. There were careers in government available for the talented, which was one of the things that the bourgeoisie had been demanding from the very start of the Revolution.

Another reform which was badly needed and which Napoleon introduced was in public finance and taxation. Taxes had been collected largely by local persons who simply assigned an amount to each individual and squeezed it out of him. Under Napoleon's Consulate, taxes were placed in the care of professional collectors employed by the government. There were no tax exemptions because of birth, status or special arrangement. The government now

could collect taxes regularly, and could thus create a regular budget.

Perhaps the most important reform Napoleon instituted for the sake of posterity was the codification of the laws. Virtually every enlightened despot since Hammurabi has left some kind of codified laws to posterity, but none had been so thorough as Napoleon. Napoleon's legal specialists brought forth five codes of law. The most famous of these is the Civil Code, which has been remembered as the Code Napoleon. It is the most famous civil law code since Roman times. In fact, the Code Napoleon borrows very heavily from the Roman civil law. The legal codes made France legally and judicially uniform. They assured legal equality and equal civil rights for all citizens. They embodied the principle of reason, for they held that custom, local practice court decisions in earlier cases were insufficient to make a rule actually lawful, and that positive law must somehow correspond to a natural law of abstract justice. The law codes drawn up by Napoleon are essentially the same ones that France uses today, and much of the Napoleonic civil code is embodied in Louisiana civil law.

All of these were essential reforms which Napoleon placed upon France. It might be possible to say that Napoleon was in some ways both the culmination of the French Revolution and the destroyer of the spirit of the French Revolution. In France itself, it seems that he brought together some of the best ideas of the Revolution and of the Old Regime and tried to mold them together so they would produce a strong and stable nation.

Creating an Empire

After 1804, Napoleon began his drive which almost made him master of the whole European continent. In fact, Napoleon came closer than any man has ever come to imposing unity on Europe. He came nearer even than Adolf Hitler. Napoleon certainly ruled less by force than did Hitler. At the high point of his conquests he was diplomatically recognized by, and at peace with, all of the great European powers except Britain.

Perhaps the greatest years of Napoleon's conquests were between 1805 and 1807. Within these three years Napoleon crushed the armies of the Habsburgs and of Prussia, and severely defeated the Russians. In 1807, he signed the Treaty of Tilsit with the czar of Russia, in which Russia kind of accepted Napoleon as the Emperor of the West. Although Britain never stopped the war and Habsburg lands rose to fight Napoleon once again in 1809, from 1807 to 1812 Napoleon was the master of Europe.



 **Napoleon's Empire.** By 1812, Napoleon directly ruled or controlled most of Europe.

After Napoleon had conquered such broad expanses of Europe, he established an empire with certain degrees of autonomy. At the center of Napoleon's European empire was the French Empire. The French Empire included all of the old French Republic plus Holland and the Italian seacoast down past Rome. It also included the German harbors of Hamburg and Lübeck.

Outside of the French empire were a series of dependence states which made up the Grand Empire. These included the Swiss Republic, and the Illyrian Republic, which included the Dalmatian coast and the city of Trieste.

Napoleon also established a revived Poland which he called the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

But perhaps the most important thing that he did in his Grand Empire was his treatment of Germany. You remember that the Peace of Augsburg and the Treaty of Westphalia had confirmed the division of Germany into a variety of small states. To give you an idea of how split up Germany was, there were approximately 1,700 German states in 1789. Napoleon conquered all of Germany and he transformed this splintered territory into what he called the Confederation of the Rhine. This Confederation was not

limited only to the area around the Rhine River. It contained virtually all of Germany. Napoleon reduced the number of German states from around 1,700 to around 35, and united all of them into one Confederation. After Napoleon, Germany underwent a significant revival of nationalism, and the destruction of the petty German states did much to encourage this revival. In fact under Napoleon the Holy Roman Empire finally breathed its last.

In all the states under French domination, the same course of events tended to repeat itself. The first stage included the military conquest and occupation by French soldiers. Then came the establishment of a native government with the support of local leaders who were willing to collaborate with the French. In some areas these two stages with the only ones ever completed. For instance, Spain was never really pacified and continued to resist Napoleon's troops throughout their occupation, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw remained not much more than a military outpost against Russia. But Italy and Germany witnessed a third stage, that of sweeping internal reform and reorganization, modeled on Bonaparte's reforms in France, and thus derived from the ideals of the French Revolution.

Napoleon the "Reformer"

Wherever Napoleon went, he considered himself a great enlightened reformer. He believed in "Constitutions" for every state, not because he was interested in representative assemblies or limited government, but because he wanted government to be rational and reasonable. He transplanted his Civil Code which he considered to be based on natural of justice and applicable to all countries, without regard to peculiar national character or history.

Also, Napoleon virtually liquidated the manorial system and serfdom, the bulwark of the old European aristocracy. The lords lost all legal jurisdiction over their peasants. It is curious to note that Napoleon decided that the peasants should pay for their freedom, so the lords continued to receive income from taxes paid by the peasants. Also, everywhere in the Grand Empire, the church lost its position of public authority. Church property was confiscated, monastic orders dissolved or severely regulated, and church courts were abolished. Even in the towns Napoleon introduced reforms. He abolishing the guilds and broke up the old great merchant ruling oligarchies.

The same plan of reform was initiated with some variation in all of the dependent states. These reforms were directed against all things feudal. They established the legal equality of individual persons, and gave government more authority over their individual subjects. Legal classes like the estates were wiped out, and society was considered to be made up of equally free individuals. The nobility lost its privileges in taxation, in office holding, and in military command. As in France, careers were open to talent.

I should mention that Napoleon did not do all of this out of the goodness of his heart. By breaking down the feudal barriers and making everyone equal before the state, he could raise taxes more abundantly and more quickly, and could recruit, train and equip his armies more efficiently. In fact, a large percentage of Napoleon's armies were made up of non-French soldiers.

Conclusions

Now, having said all of these glowing things about Napoleon, I should probably make one thing very clear. Napoleon Bonaparte was a dictator. While he did introduce representative government in areas of Europe that had never seen it before, his word, not that of any legislature, was law. Napoleon's policies, no matter how reasonable and humane they might appear, were intended to enhance his own glory, and that of France. In 1804, he even abandoned the fiction that France was a consular republic based on republican political values and Enlightenment ideas, and had himself crowned Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. He might also be considered the father of modern militarism. He created the largest army the world had ever seen. He used national conscription, and forced his enemies to do the same out of self defense. His wars of consolidation in Europe, thought allegedly based on the rights of man, caused, directly or indirectly, the deaths of millions, and caused hardship and grief for millions more for nearly two decades.

Thus, it is not surprising that the massive changes and reforms of Napoleon produced opposition. In fact, the Napoleonic era gave birth not only to liberalism and conservatism in the modern sense, but also nationalism, which would become the dominant ideology in the 19th, and even into the 20th, century.



The Battle of Eylau...

fought on 7-February 8, 1807, was a bloody and inconclusive contest between the forces of Napoléon and a mostly Russian army under General Bennigsen. It was fought near the town of Eylau in East Prussia. Eylau was the first serious check to the French Grande Armée, which Napoleon had led to two years of victories. Here Napoleon is shown rallying his cavalry.

Nationalism in Europe rose as a protest against the Napoleonic idea of a united and uniform continent. Nationalism was very complex and appeared in different countries in different ways:

Virtually every nation on the Continent that resisted Napoleon had to employ a national conscription to raise a large enough army to defend itself against Napoleon's Grand Army. In the 18th century national armies had been small, well trained bodies that fought for, and were commanded by the king. To raise large armies through conscription, it became necessary to promote nationalism among the people. So, these new armies fought to preserve the nation, not the ruler.

Nationalism in Spain took the form of determined resistance and guerrilla warfare against the French armies that desolated the land. Spanish nationalism was essentially conservative. The Spanish resistance to Napoleon was anxious to protect the Spanish king and the powerful Catholic church.

In Germany nationalism took a very different course. The Germans rebelled not only against Napoleon, but also against the century-old ascendancy of French civilization. The years of the French Revolution and of Napoleon were the first great years of German culture. In the first half of the 19th century, the Germans, and not the French, became the leaders in culture, scholarship, literature and art. Thus, the Romantic age, which followed the age of the French Revolution was dominated by the Germans. It was the tremendous surge of German nationalism, and the dogged determination of Great Britain, that helped to defeat Napoleon in the end.

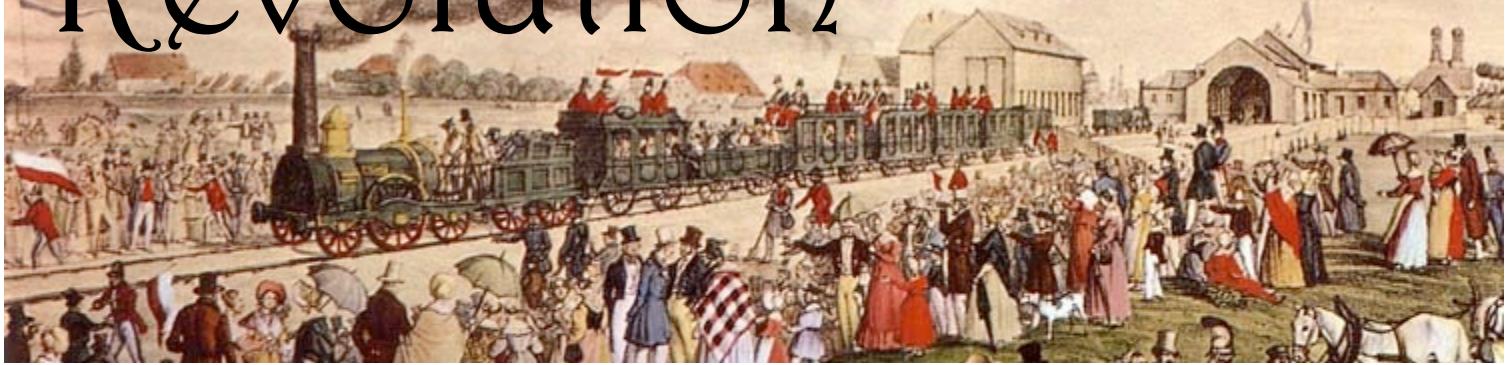
Next time we will look at another revolution that effected Europe during the late 18th and 19th centuries. This revolution truly created the modern world. It is the Industrial Revolution



Napoleon I, Emperor of the French

Crowned December 2nd, 1804

The Industrial Revolution



DESPITE ALL OF THE DISCUSSION WE HAVE HAD ABOUT THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND ABSOLUTISM, AND REVOLUTION, ONE COULD EASILY ARGUE THAT THE GREATEST EVENTS IN TERMS OF LONG-TERM IMPORTANCE THAT WERE GOING ON BETWEEN 1750 AND 1815 WERE NEITHER. INSTEAD, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT EVENTS WERE THOSE THAT WERE PART OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION CHANGED JUST ABOUT EVERYTHING IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS. AND ONE COULD ARGUE THAT IT IS STILL GOING ON, EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE MOVED FROM AN INDUSTRIAL AGE INTO A TECHNOLOGICAL AND COMMUNICATION AGE.

Prerequisites

Historians generally divide their discussion of the industrial revolution into two parts, the prerequisites and the process, and that is what we are going to do, beginning with the prerequisites. And the first thing you should write down is that the industrial revolution began in Britain, so today's lecture is going to almost exclusively about Britain.

The first prerequisite is people, not only to be the work force for the industries but also to be the consumers who buy the products. In eighteenth century, Britain was growing faster than any other country in Europe in population. England had about 5 million in 1700 and only 5.7 million in 1750, but after that the population rose quite remarkably for a pre-modern-medicine society. There were 6.1 million in 1761, 6.7 mil in 1771, 7 mil in 1781, 7.7 mil in 1791 and 8.7 mil in 1801. But what about the food supply? Did it grow at the same rate? It must have if all of these people are coming into being, and it did. In the 18th century in Britain there occurred an agricultural revolution of sorts that preceded the industrial revolution.

An Agricultural Revolution

Britain had an interesting social class known as the squires. These were the landlords of Britain and would be equivalent to the nobility that we talked about in places like France and Prussia. It was the squires who began the agricultural revolution in Britain mainly out of their desire to enhance their incomes. On the continent, if noblemen wished to get more income, they served the state in some way, as army officers or bureaucrats. But the government and the army in Britain were not really large enough to absorb many of these people, so the squires had to find other ways to get some cash. And the best way they discovered was agricultural improvements.

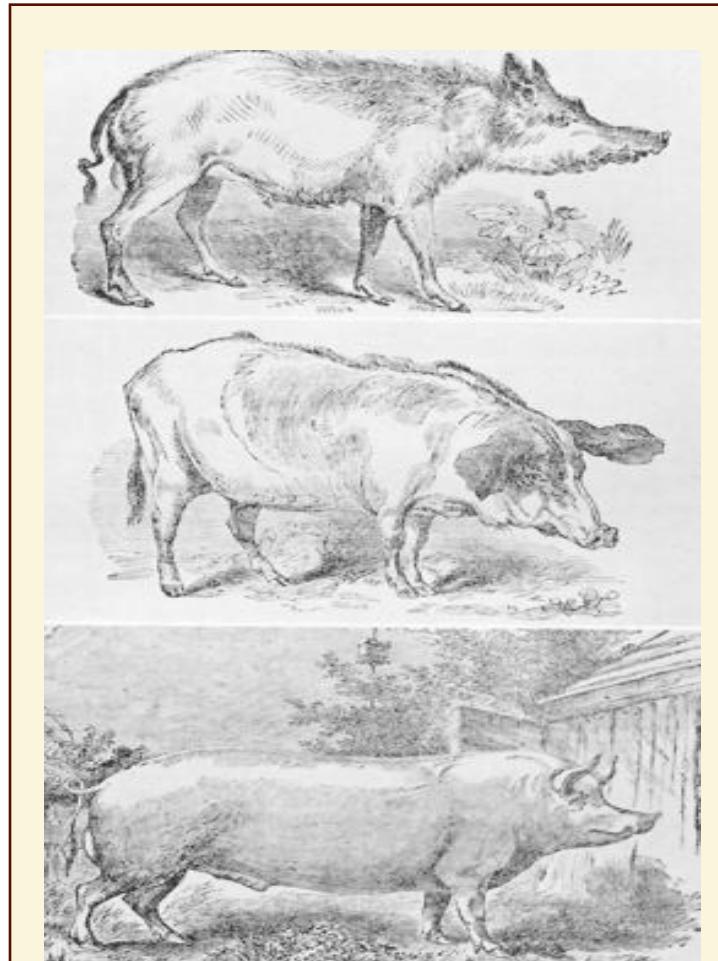
Part of these improvements were scientific. English agriculture, like 18th-century agriculture everywhere, was tied to the old two- or three-field system. That meant that plowable land was divided in half or into thirds and one field lay fallow while the other or other two were plowed. That meant that 1/2 to 1/3 of the usable land was unplowed every year. In the 18th century certain experimenters like Charles “Turnip” Townshend (see portrait below) recommended that this system be replaced by crop rotation. For example, wheat would be planted in one year, turnips the next, oats and barley the next, and clover the next. The clover and turnips would replenish the nitrogen in the soil that the wheat and oats used. Also, the clover and turnips could be used for livestock feed.

One benefit from having more livestock feed was bigger and better livestock. At this time the first experiments in breeding occurred, and animals got bigger and provided far more food. The most striking experiments came in the breeding of hogs; the typical British hog was small and hairy, and it was breeding experiments in the 18th century that turned it into the large, fat, hairless animal that we know today.

There was another side to the people prerequisite of the agricultural revolution and that was the Enclosure Movement. A requirement for improved agriculture was the right to fence one's fields. After all, a squire did not want animals coming into his fields to eat the clover or the turnips he had planted, and he did not want his finely bred livestock wandering off to the woods. The problem was that common law in England reserved most land for the common good. In other words, the landlord and the

tenants all had rights to the land. The only way common law could be altered was to have Parliament pass a law to do it. But here was the catch: the squires controlled Parliament. So, Parliament passed literally hundreds of Enclosure Acts, which allowed squires to enclose their fields, and incidentally to deprive the common people from using the land. Most arable land was enclosed by 1790 and much marginal land was enclosed thereafter.

For those who held title to the land, enclosure was beneficial, but for the cottagers who lost the right to pasture their animals and farm the common land it was devastating. They were now without livelihood and had to find other kinds of work. And you can see what is coming; they make up the labor force that will move into the factories as the industrial revolution expands.



English country squires experimented with breeding for larger livestock. The most striking results came in the area of hog breeding. The pictures above show English hogs in the late 1600's, the mid-1700's and the late 1700's.

Infrastructure

The second was what we call today infrastructure, and Britain had lots of that too. The latter part of the 18th century was the great age of canal building. The first canal of industrial significance was completed to carry coal from mines at Worsley to Manchester in 1759. From then on canal building exploded. By 1800 over 3000 miles of canals had been built to go along with 1000 miles of navigable rivers. By 1790 London was connected with all of the major English cities, and the Scottish cities were connected as well with each other. Roads were also vastly improved by the introduction of the local turnpike trusts that had the right to charge tolls on the stretch of road they maintained. In 1754 it took a stagecoach four and a half days to go from Manchester to London; 34 years later it took 28 hours.

Consumers

The third prerequisite was customers. And like people and infrastructure, a good customer base had already appeared before the Industrial Revolution. There are no statistics available but 18th-century travel accounts indicate that individual wealth, incomes and abundance of goods were higher in England than anywhere on the continent. Also, English folks spent less proportionately on food than their European counterparts, so they had more income available for other things, including manufactured goods.

England had entrepreneurs eager to take advantage of this market. More and more wares were available to satisfy the middle-class market. The first advertising appeared in the early 18th century. Undoubtedly the master of 18th-century marketing was our friend Josiah Wedgwood, who created magnificent pottery for the rich and famous and then excellent but cheaper copies for the middle classes. His advertising always stressed quality, and he advertised shamelessly.

And this market fed the others: demand for better communication, larger population, rising incomes, and buyers for well-made, moderately priced products.

Technical Skill

An industrial revolution depends on inventions, and for inventions to appear, society must encourage technology at a fairly broad base of the population. During the first half of the 18th century, the Royal Patent Office issued about a dozen patents a year. In 1769 it issued 37 patents, 107 in 1802 and 250 in 1825.

Why Britain? Why did Britain have so many inventors in proportion to the population? Historians are not sure. Some have argued that it occurred



An upper-middle class English sitting room of the late 1700's. Note the furniture and "stuff" indicate that the family who lives there has disposable income to buy items that are not really necessary -- they are consumers with disposable income.

because British society was relatively open. Not only could the sons of yeomen farmers go to school, but sons of squires and even of the highest nobility often had to make their own ways in the world. Thus, there was more emphasis in Britain on people living by one's wits, and one way to do that was to tinker with machines.

Another reason offered by historians is that Britain had an unusual number of industries that had problems that could be solved by technical innovations. The most obvious example is mining. The biggest problem in mining is getting water out of the mines. The first steam engines were developed to hook to pumps to do that job, and before long engineers were tinkering with steam engines to see what else they could do.

Whatever the reasons for the inventive spirit of the British, it was certainly there and it was certainly sophisticated. One author has written that the ordinary millwright, the guy

who ran a mill to grind grain into flour, "was usually a fair mathematician, knew something of geometry, leveling, and the art of accurate measurement, and in some cases could calculate the velocities, strength, and power of machines, and could draw in plan and sections."

Capital

The fifth prerequisite is investment. There have to be financiers willing to put money into inventions. And there were plenty of those in Britain. This does not mean that Britain was an unusually rich country or had more millionaires per square block than anyone else. In fact, two countries that had more wealth to invest were probably Holland and France. But in both countries in the 18th century the favored investment was government securities. In Britain there was greater interest in putting money into machines that might make a lot of stuff that could be sold.

And helping this along was an institution I probably should have included in the lecture on British institutions but did not, and that is the Bank of England. One of the great events in the history of finance occurred in 1694 with the founding of the Bank of England. The Bank of England emerged because of two problems: one was the proliferation of paper money issued by all kinds of sources following the Glorious Revolution, and the other was that the government, now involved in war against Louis XIV, was deep in debt.

In 1694 a group of Whig financiers offered 200,000 pounds at low interest to the government in return for a charter for a bank that would issue bank notes, manage the government debt, and have a monopoly on joint-stock banking. That is the origin of the Bank of England.

As time went on, the Bank developed forms of revolving and open credits, standing overdrafts, and a national network of discount and payment that enabled areas that needed capital to draw on areas that were rich in capital, usually London and agricultural areas. It was this system that offered British investors the money to invest.

One last thing about investments. Usually inventions were not expensive, and neither were factories. What was expensive were housing and power, but even these were modest by our standards and British factory owners quickly learned that through company housing and company stores, costs could be controlled even further.

The Revolution Itself

The earliest stage of the industrial revolution was in textiles, particularly cotton. Cotton was the perfect product for the industrial revolution. The great fabric raised in Britain was wool. But wool is tough on machines; it is an animal fiber and very tricky in the way it acts. Cotton is a plant fiber and predictable in the way it acts. In the early Industrial Revolution when machines were simple and rough, cotton was just perfect.

Production of cotton cloth had five main operations: harvesting raw cotton, transporting it, combing and spinning it into thread, weaving the thread into cloth, and finishing it, usually dyeing. The revolution in cotton production began in the weaving sector, when in 1733, *John Kay* invented a shuttle that increased the production of the weavers so much that each weaver required four spinners to supply him with thread.

That meant a focus on improving the spinning process. In the 1770s two inventors, *Richard Arkwright* and *James Hargreaves*, invented separately spinning machines powered by water. Both were effective and widely used. But, they were big and could not fit into a weaver's house. So, the owners put them into larger buildings and hired shifts of workers to keep them going all of the time. That is the birth of the factory

Now the problem was in the harvesting of cotton, because demand for raw cotton was now on a huge rise. And the problem there was getting the seeds out. As every red-blooded American knows, this problem was solved by *Eli Whitney*, who invented the cotton gin. After that invention, the United States took over as the greatest producer of raw cotton, and raw cotton literally poured into Britain. In the 1770s 8 million pounds of raw cotton entered Britain annually; by the 1790s, it reached 37 million pounds, by 1815 100 million pounds, and by 1830 250 million. By 1830 the cotton industry in England employed more than half a million people and cotton products constituted 40% of all British exports.

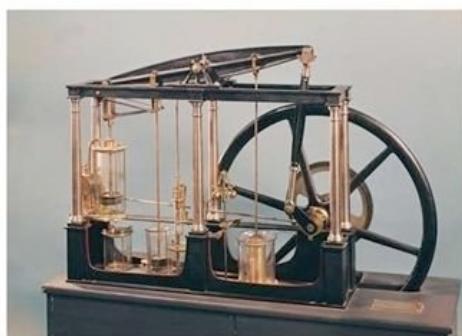
From then on the inventions in cotton production propelled the industry along. By 1815 power looms had been developed to speed up the weaving of cotton, and by 1800 chemists had reduced the finishing process for cotton from a span of several months to a few days and by 1830 to twenty hours.

Driving the Factory

Cotton was the product but what made a wide-ranging industrial revolution possible was the development of power. And that means steam. *James Watt* in the 1760s is credited

with developing the steam engine (see model left) because he perfected a way to run a piston continuously through a condenser and a way to connect the piston to a wheel so that reciprocating motion became rotary motion. This made it possible for the steam engine to power all kinds of things. By 1800 there were more than a thousand steam engines in Britain, and it would be the steam engine that would solve problems in the other major sector that we discussed above: transportation. As

you all know, the first steam-powered ship was first developed by an American, *Robert Fulton*, but an Englishman, *George Stephenson*, invented the first practical steam-driven railroad locomotive.



One More Thing

One last thing about the industrial revolution in Britain. The real take-off period of British industry occurred between 1790 and 1815 and the coincidence of that period with political events in Europe provided Britain with a tremendous advantage in industrial development that did not really end until the last years of the 19th century.

As you know, Britain fought against France from 1793 to 1815 except for a small break in 1802-03. As part of that struggle, Britain and France did not trade with each other, and in 1806 Napoleon, who by then controlled most of Europe, proclaimed the Continental Blockade, declaring that all of Europe would be closed to British goods.

In the short run, that was a real blow to the British economy; in the long run it might have been the best thing that could have happened to it. For most of the 25 years between 1790 and 1815 Europe was not able to import the technology that the British were developing. When the Napoleonic wars finally ended in 1815, Europe was incredibly far behind in technological development and would take decades to catch up. Thus, the nineteenth century is Britain's economic golden age, when it led the world in commerce, industry, and power and influence.

“Isms” of the 19th



FOR THE LAST FEW DAYS WE HAVE LOOKED A DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE IN THE 18TH CENTURY — FIRST THE ENLIGHTENMENT, THEN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, THEN THE CAREER OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. TOWARDS THE END OF THE LAST LECTURE, I MENTIONED THAT NAPOLEON’S EMPIRE BUILDING HAD CAUSED EUROPEAN NATIONS TO REACT AGAINST HIM, BOTH IN POLITICAL AND MILITARY WAYS, AND IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW IDEAS, NEW WAYS OF THINKING. I WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE ALONG THAT TRAIN OF THOUGHT TODAY.

I said that the one way the Germans reacted against Napoleon, was by rejecting everything culturally French. Well, part of French culture in the 18th century had been the thought of the Enlightenment. In the early 19th century some German thinkers reacted against the reasonableness of the Enlightenment by stressing just the opposite in their writing, art and music. This movement was called Romanticism. Where Enlightenment thinkers had appealed to reason, Romanticism appealed to the emotions. Romanticists rejected reason, order, rules, in favor of imagination. They rejected the Enlightenment model of the universe as a machine — ordered and harmonious — and viewed it as mysterious, magical, and spiritual. Romanticists stressed individualism, or the uniqueness of individuals. They also viewed the Deism of the Enlightenment as cold and impersonal, Romanticists deplored the decline of Christianity, and looked back to the mystical religious piety of the Middle Ages for their faith. In fact, the Middle Ages were something of an obsession for them. Their authors wrote about the period, their historians focused on the Middle Ages to try to find out how the world came to be in the mess they thought it was in. They often emulated the dress and hair styles of the Middle Ages — long hair and beards were popular among male Romantics, for instance. Female Romantics wore long flowing dresses, and wore their hair very long and straight. Romantic painters often used Medieval themes, but just as often painted wild rocky landscapes that stressed the beauty and mystery of nature before man had messed it up. Romanticist was a reaction against the reason, logic and fundamental order that Enlightenment thinkers wanted to impose on the universe.



Romantic artists liked to show Medieval or Classical themes or nature at its wildest. This painting by John Martin (c. 1851) called The Bard portrays both wild nature and a Medieval theme.

Conservatism

Another reaction to the Enlightenment and political upheavals of the late 18th and early 19th centuries was conservatism. The foundations of conservatism were laid out by the English writer and politician, Edmund Burke (1729-1797). At first, Burke had welcomed the French Revolution. But as the Revolution became increasingly more excessive, Burke's love affair with it ended. In 1790 he wrote a book in reaction to the Reign of Terror called *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. He attacked the Revolution as a monstrous crime against society. He argued that national institutions developed over time and in response to history, and should not be overturned all at one go. Burke argued that to do so would destroy the fabric of a nation. Burke believed that rights and duties were not the result of any social contract, but were traditions that bound a nation together.

Conservatism was not opposed to democracy or to change as such. Conservatives only insisted that all change should be managed in such a way that established institutions of state and society — monarchy, Church, the social hierarchy, property, and the family — should not be threatened. Hence its name came from the Latin word *conservare*: "to preserve." Conservatives valued the individual, opposed authoritarian government, and feared a strong centralized active government. They were often very effective reformers, because they toned down the proposals of more radical groups. While it was not exactly the opposite of conservatism in the 19th century, liberalism was certainly a related viewpoint.

Liberalism

Liberalism developed along two parallel tracks. One version of liberalism was political, and the other economic. Political liberalism focused on the essential concept of government by consent. In English thought, its origins may be traced back to John Locke. In French thought it echoes Montesquieu and other thinkers of the Enlightenment. Its first lasting success may be seen in the American Revolution, though it drew heavily on the experiences of British politics. Its ideas are consistent with the earliest phase of the Revolution in France.

Political liberals embraced republicanism, though most liberals welcomed a popular, limited, and fair-minded monarch who would rule justly and promote stability. Its advocates stressed above all the rule of law, individual liberty, constitutional procedures, religious toleration and the universal rights of man. They opposed the favoritism of special classes — Crown, Church, or aristocracy — wherever they survived. Nineteenth-century liberals also

gave great weight to property. They believed that people with property exercised responsible judgment and made solid citizens. Liberals took the lead in ending absolutism, and may be viewed as the fathers of modern democracy. They were not, however, radical in their views. Ideas like universal suffrage or social welfare states were far to radical for 19th century radicals.

Another branch of 19th century liberalism had to do with economics. Economic liberals focused on the concept of free trade, and on the associated doctrine of laissez-faire, which opposed government regulation of trade through protectionist tariffs. Economic liberals believed that people would prosper most without economic barriers between countries, and if the government did little to control the market.

Given England's early industrial development, it is not surprising to find that liberal thought took root there. In fact the liberal movement in economics perhaps began with the works of the economists like Adam Smith. Smith's 900-page book, *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, shattered protectionist philosophy, and was the most important work on the subject for almost 200 years. Smith discussed the workings of production, of competition, of supply and demand, and the organization of labor in industry.

Among English liberal political thinkers, the works of John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) promoted a softer brand of liberalism. Mill defended laissez-faire economics, but only if the power of capitalist employers was matched by the rights of employees' trade unions. Mill argued that the rights of workers and women could never be completely protected until they had representation in Parliament, so that they could present their case to the nation. His philosophy became the basis for 20th century welfare-statism.



John Stuart Mill

Nationalism

Of all of the “isms,” perhaps the one that was the most widely embraced in Europe in the 19th century was Nationalism. At its basis is a sense of allegiance to one’s nationality — patriotism. Earlier Europeans felt a sense of loyalty, of belonging, to their community, which might historically have been to their village or city-state, or clan, or feudal overlord, even to their ruler. But in a world where masses of people have left their native villages, localism doesn’t work so well. We still see localism in many contexts — sports, school, neighborhood — but most people place their first allegiance, their primary identification in their nation.

The stimulus for nationalism was, again, the French Revolution. It began as an enthusiasm for national culture, and grew into a political nationalism. The idea that grew up was that people who shared a common language and culture should have their own political state. Leaders of the French Revolution proclaimed that the French people were a nation, and France was now their country to be ruled and defended by them.

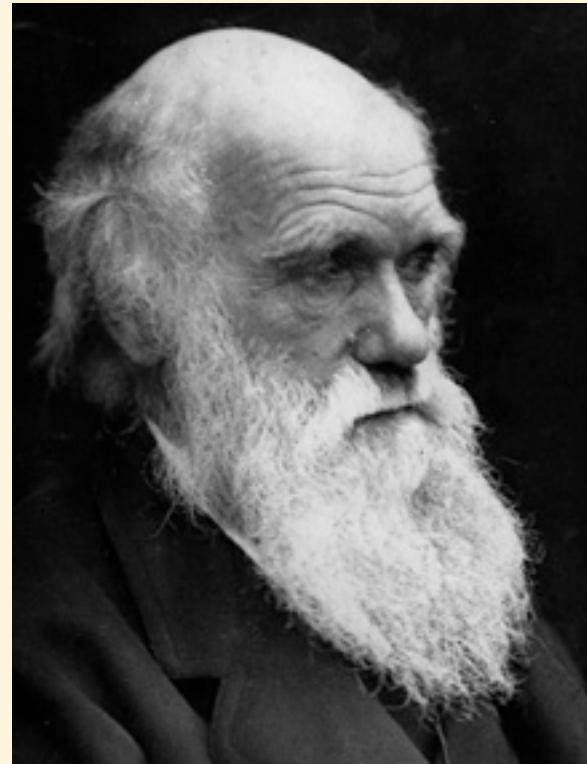
During the Napoleonic Wars, other European countries adopted nationalism in response to French invasion. Before the Napoleonic Wars, European armies were raised under the control of the ruler. These armies were small even in wartime, and wars were small and the goals of warfare were limited. But when countries like Britain, Prussia, Austria and Spain had to defend themselves against Napoleon’s enormous Grand Army, they needed much larger forces than they had ever raised before. Additionally, these forces were not raised to promote royal policy or to defend the ruler, but to defend the entire nation. So, raising these armies to defend against Napoleon became national endeavors. The armies were supplied, not by the ruler but by the whole nation. National leaders appealed to their citizens’ sense of national pride, their patriotism, to raise enthusiasm and encourage young men to join these new armies.

Nationalism also encouraged peoples who shared a language and culture but were either splintered into smaller states, like Germany and Italy, or were ruled by some other group, like Greece and Ireland, to work toward creating a nation of their own. Nationalism prompted the political unification of Germany and Italy in the 19th century. It also acted as a stimulus toward the rebellion of the Greeks against their Ottoman Turkish rulers, which ended with independence in 1832.

In the later 19th century, nationalism changed. Earlier nationalism was culturally and linguistically based, even though nationalists called for a political state that represented the self-identity of the people. Symbols of nationalism took the form of a national flags, like the Union Jack, and national anthems like the *Marseillaise*, and *God Save the King*. Other symbols of nationhood also evolved, people became often associated with their native soil, or with some important national trait. Nationalists began to talk about the Superior blood of the French, or the English, or the Anglo-Saxons. Nationalism took on a mystical reality, what the Germans called *Volkgeist*, or “Folk spirit.”

Nationalism and Race

Nationalism provided the stimulus for modern racism. Now, 19th century racists divided the human race in ways that we might call rather odd. They were often sloppy inconsistent categories based on national origins, on language and religion, or even just on nationalities.



Charles Robert Darwin (1809 – 1882) was a British naturalist who theorized that species originated through evolutionary change, at the same time proposing the scientific theory that natural selection is the mechanism by which such change occurs. This theory is now considered a cornerstone of biology.

Often nationalism and Darwinism were combined. We haven't talked about Darwinism yet, but in this context it had to do with Darwin's idea that fitness was a quality that allowed species to survive. So nationalists took up this idea and applied it to national cultures, societies and races. For instance, English and German nationalists began to argue that the fittest of the European races was the German, or "Nordic," race. They argued that the European nations that had been derived from Anglo-Saxon stock were therefore superior to other races. Italians argued that since they were descended from the Romans, they were superior to other Europeans, because Rome had been the Greatest Classical Empire. The Germans replied, "Oh Yeah, well our ancestors kicked the Romans' butts, so there." And so forth.

So, while this powerful idea of nationalism was first good and self-affirming, nationalists inevitably tended to focus later on the inferiority, even the menace of other races, or, if you prefer, the inferiority of their European neighbors. And the notion that They were racially superior to other carried into the notion that Europeans were racially and culturally superior to other non-Europeans. This dark side of nationalism would cause a great deal of misery. We will see in a future lecture, how nationalism eventually played into another of the European "isms" of the 18th and 19th century – Imperialism.



Dahlem-Beilage zu №. 29. 1879.

Aus der Zeit — für die Zeit.



Social Darwinism, racism and Nationalism

Nationalists adapted Darwin's biological theories to argue that some "races" were more fit, and thus were superior to other "races." Above is a Nazi poster from the 1930s showing a "superior" German family. Right is a print depicting German scientists in the late 19th century measuring skull size and other stuff to determine race.



UPHEAVALS OF 1848

TODAY'S LECTURE IS ENTITLED POLITICAL AND SOCIAL UPHEAVAL, 1815-1848, AND IT IS ANOTHER LECTURE ON ONE OF THOSE TIME PERIODS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION WHICH WAS JUST TURBULENT AND WHICH REACHED ITS ZENITH IN AN EVENT CALLED THE REVOLUTION OF 1848, THE ONE AND ONLY EUROPEAN-WIDE REVOLUTION TO OCCUR. WE ARE GOING TO START WITH THE CAUSES OF THE TURBULENCE, AND THERE ARE BASICALLY THREE CATEGORIES THAT CAN BE IDENTIFIED.

The first is national, or nationalism, which we talked briefly about a couple of days ago. When the wars against Napoleon ended, the governments of Europe wanted to restore as much of the pre-revolutionary Europe as was practicable. I say as much as practicable, because a lot of it was not practicable. It was not practicable, for example, to restore the little states of Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, so it was not done. But Germany was still divided into about 35 or so small states. Italy, which had been united as the Kingdom of Italy under Napoleon, was broken up into its old states again, and places like Poland, while not wiped out, were placed under the rule of their old masters like the Tsar of Russia.

But as much as many Germans, Italians, and Poles did not like Napoleon, they did like the idea of having unified nations in unified countries. This was especially true among young people—college students—and so there were organizations formed and demonstrations organized throughout this period in favor of creating unified national states.

A couple of examples: In Germany there arose fraternities, called *Burschenschaften*, which favored a unified Germany that would be Liberal in the sense that we talked about earlier—democratic with lots of freedoms. In Italy a society which had arisen to resist Napoleon called the *Carbonari* (charcoal-burners) set up chapters throughout Italy to campaign for a united Italy. An Italian nationalist named Joseph Mazzini created “Young Italy” to organize young people in favor of a single united Italian state, and that organization gave birth to Young Germany, which had the same goal for Germany.



Giuseppe Mazzini (1805 – 1872) was an Italian patriot, philosopher and politician.

There were demonstrations. In 1817 many German university students gathered at Wartburg Castle, where Luther translated the Bible into German, and demanded more liberal governments and steps that would lead to a united Germany. In 1840 there was a war scare for a little while between France and some of the German states, and there was a great outpouring in Germany of demands that the German people unite to fight the French. There were other expressions of nationalism in Europe at this time, but we are not going to talk about them.

Political Factors

The second reason for upheaval was political. As mentioned before, after the end of the Napoleonic wars, the victorious states were interested in reestablishing as much of the old European political system as they could. But a lot of Europeans had enjoyed too much for too long the kinds of things Napoleon had introduced—equal citizenship, constitutions, equal opportunity—and they were not really happy about going back to what they remembered were oppressive political systems that had existed long ago. Again, some evidence:

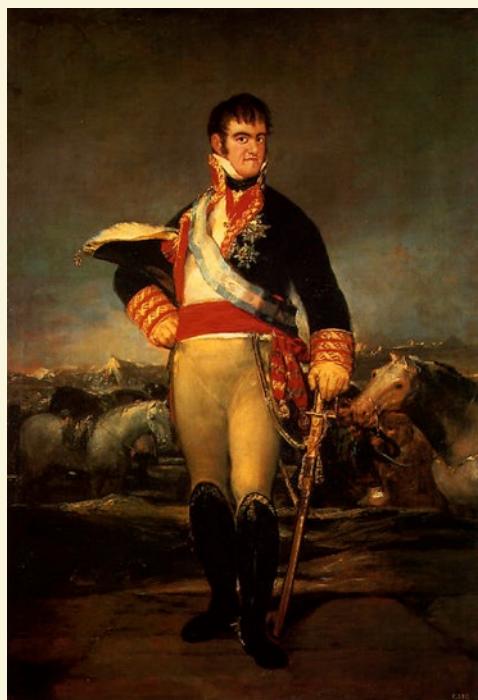
In 1820 there was a revolt in Spain carried out by the army against the king. On the surface this was a revolt about poor pay, bad training, and bad housing, but it soon turned into a political demonstration against the government of the king generally. This was a time, however, when the great European powers were still concerned about revolutionary activity generally, and this revolution was put down by the French army, authorized to do so by the other European great powers.

In Italy there were numerous political revolts during the 1820s against just about every government. Some were started by the Carbonari, others by unhappy students, and all demanding freedoms of various kinds and greater popular participation in government.

France had another revolution in 1830 when the people rose up and threw out the last brother of Louis XVI, Charles X, and replaced him with a cousin named Louis Philippe, who declared that he would provide a far more liberal government. The Belgians also rebelled, because they did not like the Dutch, to whom they had been given in 1815. The European powers agreed to make Belgium an independent state, which they did in 1830.

Amazingly, even Russia had a political revolution demanding more enlightened government. That occurred in December, 1825 and was led by junior army officers. It was crushed.

Ferdinand VII of Spain (right) refused to improve conditions for his soldiers and refused to liberalize his rule which led to a widespread rebellion in Spain in 1820. French troops were dispatched to put down the revolt lest it spread outside of Spain.



In France in 1830, Louis Philippe supported reform and was placed on the throne by a revolution. Louis Philippe was nicknamed the bourgeois king, because he acted very middle-class, even wearing a business suit to work and carrying a briefcase and umbrella when he walked to his office.



Social Upheaval

The third reason for upheaval is probably the most important, and that is social. It is a direct result of the industrial revolution. The Industrial Revolution created two kinds of unhappy workers. One was the factory worker, who believed that he was being exploited by the factory owner. He believed he was being paid too little, working too many hours (14 hours a day sometimes seven days a week), working in unsafe conditions, and having too much competition from women and children who were also working in factories. The other was the handicraft worker or craftsman. These people were losing their livelihood because the factories could produce so many more goods of higher quality and lower price than could the master craftsman. Both of these workers looked upon the

capitalist, the factory owner, the banker—and even the machines themselves—as responsible for their misfortune.

In 1811 occurred the first riot in which the participants attacked machines. It occurred in the Ludd coal fields of England, and the rioters destroyed machines. Luddite is a word that has entered the English language as someone opposed to new technology. From then on there were regular riots of discontented workers and often their targets were factories and the machines in them.

Famine

As mentioned before, in 1848 there occurred the first European-wide revolution. These three causes contributed to its outbreak, but there was one other event that made it possible too, and that was the last great European famine that hit in the 1840s.

The most famous part of this famine is the one that hit Ireland, the Irish Potato Famine, that led to not only a great migration of the Irish to the United States but also to Britain. But the Irish Potato Famine was not an isolated event. For one thing, there had been food shortages throughout this period from 1815 to 1848 that had caused a lot of discontent. And in the 1840s potatoes failed not just in Ireland, but all over Europe, and by the 1840s potatoes had become the staple food of last resort for many poor people.

Between 1844 and 1847 the price of food increased by 50% throughout Europe, and even areas that had been food exporters had run out. Families were reduced to selling whatever they had just to buy food. In late 1847 things were so bad that hunger riots occurred in almost every state in Germany and in many other European cities as well.

Revolutions

All of this trouble had reached a peak in early 1848. And the spark needed to send Europe into revolution came from that old revolutionary country, France, and began in that old revolutionary city, Paris.

As mentioned before, France had a change of government in 1830, replacing the last brother of Louis XVI with his cousin, Louis Philippe. Louis Philippe was known as a middle class monarch if that is possible. He wore regular clothes and walked to work, often carrying an umbrella. But a lot of people still did not like him. Some wanted a republic—harking back to the early days of the French Revolution—some wanted a more ceremonial king, some wanted another Napoleon, and there was one of those wandering around, a guy named Louis Napoleon who was Napoleon's nephew.



The Luddites were a social movement of English workers in the early 1800s who protested—often by destroying textile machines—against the changes produced by the Industrial Revolution that they felt threatened their jobs. The movement, which began in 1811, was named after a probably mythical leader, Ned Ludd. Note that Luddites also dressed in Women's clothing when they rebelled. Those English, huh?

All of that political discontent joined with the social problems we have talked about to make an explosive political situation. In February 1848 a huge anti-government political rally (actually a banquet) was scheduled in Paris, and Louis Philippe's government decided that it would be too dangerous for the public order and banned it. Well, people began to come into the streets to protest (there was beautiful February weather by the way, which is always a factor in revolutions except in Russia), soldiers were called out to preserve order, shots were fired, no one knows by whom, and the barricades went up. Paris was in the midst of another revolution.

But this time it was not confined to just Paris. In March 1848 revolution erupted in Vienna and then in Berlin, then in Rome, and a bunch of smaller cities in Germany and Italy.

Evolution of the Revolutions

The revolution of 1848 very much reflected those issues that we talked about. When they began, the revolutions had primarily political aims, and the demands among the revolutionaries just about everywhere was that of more popular participation in government. People were not demanding an overthrow of governments as much as they were greater participation in those governments. They wanted the franchise extended (everyone know what that is?), they wanted freedom of the press, freedom of assembly,

the right to create popular political parties—the kinds of things that the French Revolution began but never quite finished.

But this time those political demands quickly turned into social demands. In fact, in the cities of Europe, the revolutions did tend to follow a common pattern.

They began as primarily political revolutions led by the middle class with aims to implement what we talked about before as being Liberalism: more responsive representative government, freer trade, wider suffrage, those things we have discussed. But in making those demands clear, these Liberal elements also brought into play what we would call lower-class elements, the factory workers, the handicraft workers, and the peasants.

These people were interested in political liberalization, but they also wanted social programs. They wanted their jobs protected; they wanted legislation that would provide things such as minimum wage, social insurance, guaranteed jobs, things like that—which the middle class was not really keen on giving.

What happened was that, while in the spring of 1848 these revolutions began as political revolutions, by the summer they had become social revolutions, and the middle classes were less pleased with the way things were going. In the autumn the pattern was for the middle classes to seek alliances with the old conservative classes to bring the revolutions to an end.

That was what happened but in different ways. In France elections were held and the guy who won, believe it or not, was Louis Napoleon. By 1852 he had declared himself emperor like his uncle and started what is known in French history as the Second Empire. In Vienna the Habsburgs reasserted control but promised a new constitution that would satisfy some of their subjects' political and social demands. They even kept the most famous act of the Viennese revolutionaries: freeing the peasants. In Berlin the same thing happened, with the Hohenzollerns making the same kind of promises of liberal reform. In other European cities similar results occurred.

Outcomes

The national part of the revolution of 1848 was almost completely separate from the political and social parts, and a lot harder to get a handle on.

In Germany at the end of March a group of German Liberals established in the city of Frankfurt a parliament—called the Frankfurt Parliament—that they declared would be the first government uniting



The Frankfurt Parliament is the name of the German National Assembly founded during the Revolutions of 1848 that tried to unite Germany in a democratic way. Meeting in St. Paul's Church in the city of Frankfurt, the assembly was attended by 831 deputies.

all of Germany, and they invited all of the German states to send delegates to that parliament. Well, these were such uncertain times that all of the German governments did so, including Prussia and Austria.

So, while the social revolutions were going on in the German cities, delegates were meeting in Frankfurt to create a new, united German state. They met through 1848 and into 1849, but, by the time they finished their constitution, the old authorities had reasserted themselves and were no longer willing to pay attention to the Frankfurt Parliament. But the Frankfurt Parliament did reach one conclusion that you should note down: it decided that in the new Germany Prussia should be included—because it was mostly German—but Austria should be excluded because it had too many non-German people living in it. Anyway, the Frankfurt Parliament dissolved in March, 1849 and its decisions were ignored for the time being.

This was the most famous of the national revolutions, but just note down that there were others, and some were a little peculiar. The Italians began a little war with Austria in an effort to create a united Italy and lost; the Hungarians rebelled against the Habsburgs to set up their own state and lost; and even a group of Slavs held a conference in Prague demanding the unity of the Slavic people—and were largely ignored.

But you should note down that none of these issues would go away; if anything, they would intensify as time went on. And we can reach a couple of conclusions from them. One is that revolution is definitely a part of Western Civilization; there will be more and many people will think revolution is a good idea. Another is the lesson to governments: if governments do not keep up with changing times, they will be abolished—by violence if necessary. They have to find ways of dealing with the political, social, and economic issues of their people, or risk destruction.