

M.A. (History)
FIRST YEAR
MAHIST-404



**INSTITUTE
 OF DISTANCE
 EDUCATION** **IDE**
 Rajiv Gandhi University

**HISTORY OF THE WORLD
 (1453-1815)**

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HISTORY OF THE WORLD (1453-1815)

MA [History]

First Year

MAHIST - 404



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education. Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14.

The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

- (i) At Par with Regular Mode
Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.
- (ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)
The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.
- (iii) Contact and Counselling Programme (CCP)
The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.
- (iv) Field Training and Project
For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.
- (v) Medium of Instruction and Examination
The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.
- (vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators
For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counselling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University. The Counselling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counselling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

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INTRODUCTION

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According to several historians, the modern period of history starts at the beginning of the 19th century, specifically with the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. That treaty ended a period spanning between the ruin of the Byzantine Roman Empire and the end of the Napoleonic Empire. It also saw the matuarization of the world capitalist system. From another angle, it saw the growth of most of the modern ideas and attitudes of human beings spanning the Reformation, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and nationalism. The period between 1453 and 1815, which is the subject of this book, may be called the prelude to the modern period.

The book, *History of the World (1453-1815)*, has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with **Check Your Progress** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary**, **Key Terms** and **Activity** further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into ten units:

- Unit 1: Traces the fall of Constantinople, the decline of feudalism and the rise of Capitalism
- Unit 2: Discusses Renaissance, the birth of a cultural movement
- Unit 3: Examines the rise of absolutist states in Europe and the emergence of nation states
- Unit 4: Introduces you to the longest war in Europe, the Thirty Years' War. It also looks at the growth of parliamentary institutions in England
- Unit 5: Outlines the emergence of scientific view in modern Europe and the Age of Enlightenment
- Unit 6: Describes the Industrial Revolution that saw the transition to new manufacturing processes
- Unit 7: Examines the American Revolution, the political upheaval during the last half of the 18th century in which thirteen colonies in North America joined together to break from the British Empire
- Unit 8: Discusses the French Revolution, a period of radical social and political upheaval in France that had a fundamental impact on French history and on modern history worldwide
- Unit 9: Analyses the rise and fall of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Napoleonic era begins roughly with Napoleon's coup d'état, overthrowing the Directory, establishing the French Consulate, and ends during the Hundred Days and his defeat at the Battle of Waterloo
- Unit 10: Examines how the Congress of Vienna resulted in the redrawing of the continent's political map, establishing the boundaries of France and other European states

UNIT 1 FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

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Structure

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

A new period in the history of Western civilizations began in the 7th century, when it became clear that there would no longer be a single empire ruling over all the territories bordering on the Mediterranean. By about AD 700, in place of a united Roman empire, there were three successor civilizations that stood as rivals of each other on different Mediterranean shores: the Byzantine, the Islamic, and the Western Christian. Each of these had its own language and distinctive form of life. The Byzantine civilization, which descended directly from the eastern Roman Empire, was Greek-speaking and dedicated to combining Roman governmental traditions with intense pursuit of the Christian faith. The Islamic civilization was based on Arabic and inspired government as well as culture by the idealism of a dynamic new religion. Western Christian civilization in comparison to others was a laggard. It was the least economically advanced and faced organizational weaknesses in both government and religion. But it did have some base of unity in Christianity and the Latin language, and would soon begin to find greater political and religious cohesiveness. Since the Western Christian civilization ultimately outstripped its rivals, Western writers till recently have tended to denigrate the Byzantine and Islamic civilizations as backward and even irrational. Of the three, however, the Western Christian civilization was certainly the most backward from about the 7th to the 11th centuries. For some four or five hundred years, the West lived in the shadow of Constantinople and Mecca. Scholars are only now beginning to recognize the full measure of Byzantine and Islamic accomplishments. These greatly merit our attention both for their own sakes and because they influenced western European development in many direct and indirect ways.

In this unit, you will study the fall of Constantinople and its impact on the other countries of the world. In addition, the unit throws light on the decline of feudalism and how the decline led to the rise of capitalism.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Identify the factors responsible for the fall of Constantinople
- Recognize the impact of the fall of Constantinople
- Analyse the reasons behind the decline of feudalism
- Describe the rise of capitalism

1.2 THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND ITS CULTURE

Once dismissed by historian Gibbon as 'a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery,' the story of Byzantine civilization is today recognized as the most interesting and impressive one. It is true that the Byzantine Empire was in many respects not very innovative; it was also continually beset by grave external threats and internal weaknesses. Nonetheless, it managed to survive for a millennium. In fact, the empire did not just survive; it frequently prospered and greatly influenced the world around it. Among many other achievements, it helped preserve ancient Greek thought, created magnificent works of art, and brought Christian culture to pagan peoples, above all the Slavs. Simply stated, it was one of the most enduring and influential empires the world has ever known.

It is impossible to date the beginning of Byzantine history with any precision because the Byzantine Empire was the uninterrupted successor of the Roman state. For this reason, different historians prefer different beginnings. Some argue that 'Byzantine' characteristics already emerged in Roman history as a result of the easternizing policy of Diocletian while others say that Byzantine history began when King Constantine moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople, the city which subsequently became the center of the Byzantine world. (The old name for the site on which Constantinople was built was Byzantium, from which we get the adjective Byzantine); it would be more accurate but cumbersome to say Constantinopolitine. Diocletian and Constantine, however, continued to rule a united Roman Empire.

Justinian's reign was clearly an important turning point in redirection of Byzantine civilization because it saw the crystallization of new forms of thought and debate. Some scholars emphasize these newer forms, while others state that Justinian continued to speak Latin and dreamt of restoring old Rome. Only after AD 610 did a new dynasty emerge that came from the east, spoke Greek, and maintained a fully Eastern or properly 'Byzantine' policy. Although good arguments can be made for the early Byzantine history with Diocletian, Constantine or Justinian, we will begin here with the accession in AD 610 of Emperor Heraclius.

It is also convenient to begin in AD 610 because from then until 1071 the main lines of Byzantine military and political history were determined by resistance against successive waves of invasions from the East. When Heraclius came to the throne the very existence of the Byzantine Empire was being challenged by the Persians, who had conquered almost all of the empire's Asian territories. As a symbol of their triumph the Persians in AD 614 even carried off the relic believed to be part of the original cross from Jerusalem. By enormous effort Heraclius rallied Byzantine strength and turned the tide, routing the Persians and retrieving the cross in AD 627.

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Once Persia was subjugated, Heraclius ruled in relative peace till AD 641. However, in the last few years of his rule, new armies began invading the Byzantine territory, swarming out of hitherto placid Arabia. Interestingly during this period, the Arabs were becoming blustering, taking advantage of the exhausted Byzantine power and inspired by the new religion of Islam. To establish themselves as the only Mediterranean power, the Arabs took to the sea. By 650, they had captured most of the Byzantine territories, which the Persians had occupied briefly in the early 7th century, conquered all of Persia, and were making inroads towards the west, across North Africa. This was possible as the Arab fleets secured bases along the coasts of Asia Minor and then proceeded to install a loose blockade around Constantinople. In AD 677, they attacked Constantinople, but failed. In AD 717, they made renewed attempt to conquer the city by means of a concerted land and sea operation.

1.2.1 The End of the Byzantine Empire

The Arab threat to Constantinople in AD 717 was a new low for Byzantine power. Emperor Leo the Asurian (AD 717-741) countered the Arab threat with the help of a secret incendiary device known as 'Greek fire' and military strength and was able to defeat them on sea and as well as land. Leo's victory is significant for the European history, not just because it saw the Byzantine Empire rule for several more centuries, but also because it saved the West from immediate onslaught of the Islamic power. Had the Arabs taken Constantinople there would have been little to stop them from sweeping through the rest of Europe.

Over the next few decades, the Byzantines were able to reclaim most of its lost territories along Asia Minor. This region, along with Greece, became the seat of the Byzantine Empire for the next three hundred years. Thereafter, there was a truce between the Byzantines and the Islamic power until they were able to take the offensive against a decaying Islamic power in the second half of the 10th century. In that period—the greatest in Byzantine history—Byzantine troops recaptured most of Syria.

In the 11th century, however, the Byzantine Empire faced its worst defeat in the hands of the Seljuk Turks and lost most of its gains. In AD 1071, the Turks annihilated a Byzantine troop at Manzikert in Asia Minor, a victory that granted them the passage to capture the rest of the eastern province. Constantinople was now thrown back, more or less, as it had been in the days of Heraclius and Leo.

After the battle at Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire lost its glory though it managed to survive. The phase marked the beginning of the end of the Byzantine fortunes. Another reason for this was that from 1071 till the fall of the empire in 1453, the rise of Western Europe unbalanced the power equation. Till now, the West had been far too weak to present any major challenge to Byzantium. But the state of affairs turned different in the 11th century. In 1071, the same year that saw the victory of the Seljuk Turks over the Byzantines in Asia Minor, westerners known as Normans, expelled the Byzantines from their last holdings in southern Italy.

Despite this, in 1095, Byzantine emperor Alexios Comnenus sought help from the West against the Turks. This was big mistake. His call ignited the desire among the Crusaders to attack the empire. During the first Crusade, the Westerners helped Byzantine win back Asia Minor, but they also carved out territories for themselves in Syria, which the Byzantines considered to be their own. With time frictions mounted and westerners viewed Constantinople as ideal for conquest. In 1204, they finally conquered it. Crusaders, who should have been intent on conquering Jerusalem

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conquered Constantinople instead and sacked the city with ruthless ferocity. By 1261, Byzantine state was an empire in name and a reminiscent of past glories. After 1261 it eked out a reduced existence in parts of Greece until 1453, when powerful Turkish successors to the Seljuk Turks, the Ottomans, completed the Crusaders' work of destruction by conquering the last vestiges of the empire and taking Constantinople—now Istanbul.

That Constantinople was finally taken was no surprise. However, the main reason for giving a thought is that the Byzantine state survived for so many centuries in the face of so many different hostile forces. This wonder becomes all the greater when it is recognized that the internal political history of the empire was exceedingly tumultuous. Since Byzantine rulers followed their late-Roman predecessors in claiming the powers of divinely appointed absolute monarchs, there was no way of opposing them other than by intrigue and violence. Hence, Byzantine history was marked by repeated palace revolts; mutilations and murders. Byzantine politics became so famous for their behind-the-scenes complexity that we still use the word 'Byzantine' to refer to highly complex and devious backstage machinations. Fortunately, for the empire some very able rulers did emerge from time-to-time to wield their unrestrained powers with efficiency, and, even more fortunately, bureaucratic machinery always kept running during times of palace upheaval.

Efficient bureaucratic government indeed was one of the major elements of Byzantine success and longevity. The Byzantines could count on having an adequate supply of manpower for their bureaucracy because Byzantine civilization preserved and encouraged the practice of education for the laity. This was one of the major differences between the Byzantine East and the early Latin West. Right from about 600 to about 1200 there was practically no literate laity in Western Christendom, while literacy in the Byzantine East was the basis of governmental accomplishment. Bureaucrats helped supervise education and religion and presided over all forms of economic endeavour. Urban officials in Constantinople, for example, regulated prices and wages, maintained systems of licensing, controlled exports, and enforced the observance of the Sabbath. What is more, they usually did this with comparative efficiency and did not stifle business initiative. Bureaucratic methods too helped regulate the army and navy, the courts, and the diplomatic service, endowing them with organizational strengths incomparable for their age.

Another explanation for Byzantine endurance was the comparatively sound economic base of the state until the 11th century. As historian, Sir Steven Runciman, said, 'If Byzantium owed her strength and security to the efficiency of her services, it was her trade that enabled her to pay for them.' While long-distance trade and urban life all but disappeared in the West for hundreds of years, commerce and cities continued to flourish in the Byzantine East. Above all, in the 9th and 10th centuries, Constantinople was a vital trade emporium for Far Eastern luxury goods and Western raw materials. The empire also nurtured and protected its own industries, most notably that of silk-making, and it was renowned until the 11th century for its stable gold and silver coinage. Among its urban centres was not only Constantinople, which at times may have had a population of close to a million, but also in certain periods Antioch, and up until the end of Byzantine history the bustling cities of Thessalonica and Trebizond.

Historians emphasize Byzantine trade and industry because these were so advanced for the time and provided most of the surplus wealth which supported the state. But agriculture was the heart of the Byzantine economy as it was of all premodern

ones. The story of Byzantine agricultural history is one of struggle of small peasants to stay free of the encroachments of large estates owned by wealthy aristocrats and monasteries. Until the 11th century the free peasantry just managed to maintain its existence with the help of state legislation, but after 1025 the aristocracy gained power in the government and began to transform the peasants into impoverished tenants. This had many unfortunate results, not the least of which was that the peasants became less interested in resisting the enemy. The defeat at Manzikert was the inevitable result. The destruction of the free peasantry was accompanied and followed in the last centuries of Byzantine history by foreign domination of Byzantine trade. Primarily, the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa established trading out-posts and privileges within Byzantine realms after 1204, which channeled off much of the wealth on which the state had previously relied. In this way, the empire was defeated by the Venetians from within before it was destroyed by the Turks from outside.

So far, we have spoken about military campaigns, the government, and economics as if they were at the centre of Byzantine survival. Seen from hindsight they were, but what the Byzantines themselves cared most about was religion. Remarkable as it might seem, Byzantines fought over perplexing religious questions as vehemently as we today might argue about politics and sports—indeed more vehemently because the Byzantines were often willing to fight and even die over some words in a religious creed. The intense preoccupation with questions of doctrine is well illustrated by the report of an early Byzantine writer who said that when he asked a baker for the price of bread, the answer came back, 'the Father is greater than the Son,' and when he asked whether his bath was ready, was told that 'the Son proceeds from nothing.' Understandably such zealotry could harm the state greatly during times of religious dissension but endow it with a powerful sense of confidence and mission during times of religious concord.

Religious practices

Byzantine religious dissensions were greatly complicated by the fact that the emperors took an active role in them. Because the emperors carried great power in the life of the Church—emperors were sometimes deemed by churchmen to be 'similar to God'—they exerted great influence in religious debates. Nonetheless, especially in the face of provincial separatism, rulers could never force all their subjects to believe what they did. Only after the loss of many eastern provinces and the refinement of doctrinal formulae did religious peace seem near in the 8th century. But then it was shattered for another century by what is known as the Iconoclastic Controversy.

The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints. Since the Iconoclastic movement was initiated by Emperor Leo the Isaurian, and subsequently directed with even greater energy by his son Constantine V (AD 740-775), historians have discerned in it different motives. One was certainly theological. The worship of images seemed to the Iconoclasts to smack of paganism. They believed that nothing made by human beings should be worshiped by them, that Christ was so divine that he could not be conceived of in terms of human art, and that the prohibition of worshipping 'graven images' in the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:4) placed the matter beyond dispute.

In addition to these theological points, there were probably other considerations. Since Leo the Isaurian was the emperor who saved Constantinople from the onslaught of Islam, and since Muslims zealously shunned images on the grounds that they were

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'the work of Satan' (Koran, V. 92), it has been argued that Leo's Iconoclastic policy was an attempt to answer one of Islam's greatest criticisms of Christianity and, thereby, deprive Islam of some of its appeal. There may also have been certain internal political and financial motives. By proclaiming a radical new religious movement the emperors may have wished to reassert their control over the Church and combat the growing strength of monasteries. In the event, the monasteries did rally behind the cause of images and as a result were bitterly persecuted by Constantine V, who took the opportunity to appropriate much monastic wealth.

The Iconoclastic controversy was resolved in the 9th century by a return to the status quo, namely the worship of images, but the century of turmoil over the issue had some profound results. One was the destruction by imperial order of a large amount of religious art. Before the eighth century, Byzantine religious art that survives today comes mostly from places like Italy or Palestine, which were beyond the easy reach of the Iconoclastic emperors. When we see how great this art is we can only lament the destruction of the rest. A second consequence of the controversy was the opening of a serious religious breach between the East and West. The pope, who until the 8th century had usually been a close ally of the Byzantines, could not accept Iconoclasm for many reasons. The most important of these was that extreme Iconoclasm tended to question the cult of saints, and the claims of papal primacy were based on an assumed descent from St. Peter. Accordingly, the 8th century popes combated Byzantine Iconoclasm and turned to the Frankish kings for support. This 'about-face of the papacy' was both a major step in the worsening of East-West relations and a landmark in the history of Western Europe.

Those were some consequences of Iconoclasm's temporary victory; a major consequence of its defeat was the reassertion of some major traits of Byzantine religiosity, which from the 9th century until the end of Byzantine history remained predominant. One of these was the re-emphasis of a faith in traditionalism. Even when Byzantines were experimenting with religious matters they consistently stated that they were only restating or developing the implications of tradition.

Now, after centuries of turmoil, they abandoned experiment almost entirely and reaffirmed tradition more than ever. As one opponent of Iconoclasm said, 'If an angel or an emperor announces to you a gospel other than the one you have received, close your ears.' This view gave strength to Byzantine religion internally by ending controversy and heresy, and helped it gain new adherents in the 9th and 10th centuries. However, it also inhibited free speculation not just in religion but also in related intellectual matters.

Allied to this development was the triumph of Byzantine contemplative piety. Supporters defended the use of icons not on the grounds that they were meant to be worshiped for themselves but because they helped lead the mind from the material to the immaterial. The emphasis on contemplation as a road to religious enlightenment, thereafter, became the hallmark of Byzantine spirituality. While westerners did not by any means reject such a path, the typical Western saint was an activist who saw sin as a vice and sought salvation through good works. Byzantine theologians on the other hand saw sin more as ignorance and believed that salvation was to be found in illumination. This led to a certain religious passivity and mysticism in Eastern Christianity which makes it seem different from Western varieties up to the present time.

Literature, art and architecture

Since religion was so dominant in Byzantine life, certain secular aspects of Byzantine civilization often go unnoticed, but there are good reasons why some of these should not be forgotten. One is Byzantine cultivation of the classics. Commitment to Christianity by no means inhibited the Byzantines from revering their ancient Greek inheritance. Byzantine schools based their instruction on classical Greek literature to the degree that educated people could quote Homer more extensively than we today can quote Shakespeare. Byzantine scholars studied and commented on the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, and Byzantine writers imitated the prose of Thucydides. Such dedicated classicism both enriched Byzantine intellectual and literary life, which is too often dismissed entirely by modern thinkers because it generally lacked originality, and helped preserve the Greek classics for later ages. The bulk of classical Greek literature that we have today survives only because it was copied by Byzantine scribes.

Byzantine classicism was a product of an educational system for the laity which extended to the education of women as well as men. Given the attitudes and practices in the contemporary Christian West and Islam, Byzantine commitment to female education was truly unusual. Girls from aristocratic or prosperous families did not go to schools but were relatively well educated at home by private tutors. We are told, for example, of one Byzantine woman who could discourse like Plato or Pythagoras. The most famous Byzantine female intellectual was the Princess Anna Comnena, who described the deeds of her father Alexius in an urbane biography in which she freely cited Homer and the ancient tragedians. In addition to such literary figures there were women doctors in the Byzantine Empire.

Byzantine achievements in the realms of architecture and art are more familiar. The finest example of Byzantine architecture was the Church of Santa Sophia (Holy Wisdom), built at enormous cost in the 6th century. Although built before the date taken here as the beginning of Byzantine history, it was typically Byzantine in both its style and subsequent influence. Though designed by architects of Hellenic descent, it was vastly different from any Greek temple. Its purpose was not to express human pride in the power of the individual, but to symbolize the inward and spiritual character of the Christian religion. For this reason the architects gave little attention to the external appearance of the building. Nothing but plain brick covered with plaster was used for the exterior walls; there were no marble facings, graceful columns, or sculptured entablatures. The interior, however, was decorated with richly coloured mosaics, gold leaf, coloured marble columns, and bits of tinted glass set on edge to refract the rays of sunlight after the fashion of sparkling gems. To emphasize a sense of the miraculous, the building was constructed in such a way that no light appeared to come from the outside at all but to be manufactured within.

The structural design of Santa Sophia was something altogether new in the history of architecture. Its central feature was the application of the principle of the dome to a building of square shape. The church was designed, first of all, in the form of a cross, and then over the central square was to be erected a magnificent dome, which would dominate the entire structure. The main problem was how to fit the round circumference of the dome to the square area it was supposed to cover. The solution consisted in having four great arches spring from pillars at the four corners of the central square. The rim of the dome was then made to rest on the keystones of the arches, with the curved triangular spaces between the arches filled in with masonry. The result was an architectural framework of marvelous strength, which at the same

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time made possible a style of imposing grandeur and even some delicacy of treatment. The great dome of Santa Sophia has a diameter of 107 ft and rises to a height of nearly 180 ft from the floor. So many windows are placed around its rim that the dome appears to have no support at all but to be suspended in mid-air.

As in architecture, so in art the Byzantines profoundly altered the earlier Greek classical style. Byzantines excelled in ivory carving, manuscript illumination, jewelry-making, and, above all, the creation of mosaics—that is, designs of pictures produced by fitting together small pieces of coloured glass or stone. Human figures in these mosaics were usually distorted and elongated in a very unclassical fashion to create the impression of intense piety or extreme majesty. Most Byzantine art is marked by highly abstract, formal, and jewel-like qualities. For this reason many consider Byzantine artistic culture to be a model of timeless perfection. Modern poet W. B. Yeats expressed this point of view most eloquently when he wrote in his *Sailing to Byzantium* 'of artificial birds made by Byzantine goldsmiths . . . tosing / To lords and ladies of Byzantium / Of what is past, or passing, or to come.'

Probably the single greatest testimony to the vitality of Byzantine civilization at its height was the conversion of many Slavic peoples, especially, those of Russia. According to the legend, which has a basic kernel of fact, a Russian ruler named Vladimir decided around 988 to abandon the paganism of his ancestors. Accordingly, he sent emissaries to report on the religious practices of Islam, Roman Catholicism and Byzantine Christianity. When they returned to tell him that only among the Byzantines did God seem to 'dwell among men,' he promptly agreed to be baptized by a Byzantine missionary. The event was momentous because Russia, thereupon, became a cultural province of Byzantium. Since then until the 20th century Russia remained a bastion of the Eastern Orthodox religion.

1.3 IMPACT OF THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The impact of the fall Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire. Thus, their ruler took the title of Tsar—which simply means Caesar—and Russians asserted that Moscow was 'the third Rome'. 'Two Homes have fallen,' said a Russian spokesman, 'the third is still standing, and a fourth there shall not be.' Such ideology helps explain in part the late growth of Russian imperialism.

The fall of Byzantine led to the blockade of trade route to the eastern world from Europe, so Europe had to suffer. The inland trade was greatly affected and that led to the misery of the European states. The Silk Route saga was going to be altered by now.

Now Byzantine was in the hands of Muslims who had a upper hand. From then onwards the Europe and Middle East would be in the domination of Muslims from Ottoman Empire.

The impact of the conquest of Byzantine would be greatly felt on the high seas also. Europe had started sea exploration searching for new routes where they would search for new colonies as well. By now, instead of trade taking place on land, sea routes were being discovered. Vasco Da Gama, Columbus, Magellan and scores of others had set off for finding new sea routes and they not only found them but also found new continents.

Check Your Progress

1. Who defeated the Persians?
2. Which emperor countered the Arab threat?
3. Who were the Iconoclasts?

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Unfortunately, just at the time when relations between Constantinople and Russia were solidifying, relations with the West were deteriorating to a point of no return. After the skirmishes of the Iconoclastic period, relations between Eastern and Western Christians remained tense, partly because Constantinople resented Western claims (initiated by Charlemagne in 800) of creating a rival empire, but most of all because cultural and religious differences between the two were growing. From the Byzantine point of view, westerners were uncouth and ignorant, while to western European eyes Byzantines were effeminate and prone to heresy. Once the West started to revive, it began to take the offensive against a weakened East in theory and practice. In 1054 extreme papal claims of primacy over the Eastern Church provoked a religious schism which since then has never been healed. Thereafter, the Crusade drove home the dividing wedge.

After the fall of Constantinople in AD 1204, Byzantine hatred of westerners became understandably intense. 'Between us and them,' one Byzantine wrote, 'there is now a deep chasm: we do not have a single thought in common.' Westerners called easterners 'the dregs of the dregs . . . unworthy of the sun's light,' while easterners called the westerners the children of darkness, alluding to the fact that the sun sets in the West. The beneficiaries of this hatred were the Turks, who not only conquered Constantinople in 1453, but soon after conquered most of southeastern Europe up to Vienna.

1.4 DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

During the early Middle Ages, at the close of the 5th century, the tribes which invaded the Roman Empire seized a large part of its territory. Initially, the land was common property, but soon tribal chieftains began to acquire people's property and a monarchical form of government appeared. Large tracts of land came into the hands of the church, which now became a strong supporter of the monarchy. The kings distributed the land among their retinue, first for life, and later converted it to hereditary tenure. Those given land were obliged to render military services to the king. The land was, as earlier, cultivated by individual farmers known as serfs. The serfs were dependent on their new masters, who imposed manifold duties on them. The plots held on these conditions were called 'feuds' and their owners were called 'feudals', hence the name 'feudalism'. In these arrangements, there were also some elements surviving from the Roman period linked with conversion to Christianity. The settled inhabitants of Western Europe and the invaders underwent a long and slow process of mutual adjustment leading to widely varying social and political combinations which are described as feudalism. Feudal institutions were the arrangements—personal, territorial, and governmental—that made survival possible under the new system that replaced the centralized Roman administration.

Feudalism and feudal practice did not extend uniformly to the whole of Europe. northern France and the 'low countries' were the most thoroughly feudalized areas, Germany much less so. Some pieces of land never became fiefs but remained fully owned private property of the owners. They were called *allods*. Feudal practices varied from place to place, and developed and altered with the passage of time.

Feudal society was strictly divided into classes, i.e. nobility, clergy and peasantry, and in the later Middle Ages into burgesses. Private jurisdiction in this system was based upon local customs, and the landholding system was dependent upon the fief or

Check Your Progress

4. What was the impact of the fall of Constantinople?
5. What was the impact of the Byzantine fall on trade?

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fee. Feudalism was based on contracts made among nobles, and although it was intimately connected with the manorial system, it must be considered distinct from it. Although some men held their land allodially, they were exceptions rather than the rule. In feudal society, the ownership of all land vested in the king who theoretically occupied the apex of an imaginary pyramid. Immediately below him were his vassals, a hierarchy of nobles, who held fiefs directly from the king and were called tenants-in-chief. Thus, the most important nobles held land directly from the king, and the lesser lords from them, down to the seigneur who held a single manor. The system was local and agricultural, and its base was the manorial system. Under the manorial system the peasant-labourers, or serfs, held land they worked on from the seigneur, who granted them the use of the land and his protection in return for personal services (especially on the demesne, the land he retained for his own use) and for dues generally in kind. In course of time, many lords preferred cash payments so that they could purchase the goods that the manor could not produce. In such a system, a personal relationship was formed between the lord and the vassal. Gradually, the system of subinfeudation evolved, by which the vassal might in his turn become an overlord, granting part of his fief to one who then became his vassal.

Originally, the fief had to be renewed on the death of either party. However, with the advent of hereditary succession and primogeniture, renewal of the fief by or to, the heir of the deceased, became customary, and gradually, the fief became hereditary. Since the system rested on the unsettled conditions of the times, and thus on the need of the lord for armed warriors and the need of the vassal for protection, the nobility was essentially a military class, with the knight as the typical warrior. Since equipping mounted fighters was expensive, the lord could not create his armed force without the obligation of the vassal to supply a stipulated number of armed men. The gradations of nobility were, therefore, based on both military service and landholding. At the bottom of the social scale was the squire, originally the servant of the knight. Above the knight were classes that varied in different countries—counts, dukes, earls, barons, etc. In addition to military service the vassal owed other dues and services that varied with local custom.

The church also played a great role in shaping feudalism. The church hierarchy paralleled the feudal hierarchy. The church owned much land, held by monasteries, church dignitaries and by the churches themselves. Most of this land, given by nobles as a bequest or gift, carried feudal benefits. Thus, clerical land, like lay land, assumed a feudal aspect.

The feudal economy was a natural economy, i.e. a 'subsistence economy'. The peasants produced mainly for their own consumption and rarely exchanged commodities. The feudal lords likewise, rarely resorted to trade, except for luxury goods, because everything they needed was produced by self-labour. Agricultural methods were primitive in the beginning, though towards the later feudal age, techniques of growing grain and vegetable as well as that of making wine and butter were improved. However, towns gradually began to expand under the feudal system, so that exchange and trade flourished. In the Middle Ages, most of the goods in the towns were produced by small craftsmen. Gradually, production expanded with the growth of trade.

M.M. Postan classified scholars working on feudalism into those who stress the political or military features of the feudal order, and those who relate the feudal order to its economy. In the military interpretation, the essence of feudalism was in the fief, a knightly estate, which fulfilled the military needs of the state and the society.

Here, the concentration of landed property was in the hands of feudal lords, and the political, administrative and judicial authority was vested in the landed estate. The humbler ranks of society were subordinated to the higher ranks.

In the political interpretation, feudalism is described as a system wherein administrative and judicial functions of the government were fragmented, and as a rule vested in a feudal lordship. Feudal societies so fragmented, are accordingly assumed to have risen on the ruins of states and empires, and owed their existence to the inability of the state to fulfill its functions.

Marc Bloch described the fundamental features of European feudalism as 'subject peasantry; widespread use of service tenement (i.e. fief) instead of a salary which was out of question; supremacy of a class of specialized warriors; ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man and, within the warrior class, assume the distinctive form called vassalage; fragmentation of authority, leading inevitably to disorder; and in the midst of all this, the survival of other forms of association, family and state, of which the latter, during the second feudal age, was to acquire renewed strength'. This description stresses the subjugation of the peasantry to coercive forms of extraction of a part of their surplus. It suggests that money was relatively less used and emphasizes the importance of the warrior class and warfare as also the value attached to the maintenance of a hierarchy of status in society.

In the economic interpretation, Marx and Marxists defined feudalism as a political and social order appropriate to natural economy, in which land is the main source of income and the only embodiment of wealth. In such a system, goods were acquired by barter, gifts or booty. The allegiance of the upper classes was secured by grants of land, and labour was extracted by extra-economic coercion rather than wage contract; hence the view of feudal villeinage and servility as by-products of a natural economy. Marx used the term 'feudalism' to describe a whole social order whose main feature was domination of the rest of the society, mainly peasants, by a military landowning aristocracy. The essence of the feudal mode of production in the Marxist sense is the exploitative relationship between landowners and subordinate peasants. In this the surplus beyond subsistence of the peasant, whether in direct labour or in rent in kind or in money, is transferred under coercive sanction to the landowner. The feudal mode of production according to Marx was one in which the direct producer was not separated from the means of production. Thus, feudalism rests on a solid base of petty production. Since the dominant class, the nobility, did not perform any economic function production, the form of surplus appropriation was extra-economic or political. The basic characteristic of feudalism was the political domination of the peasant producers. Maurice Dobb defined feudalism as a system under which economic status and authority were associated with land tenure and the direct producer (who was himself the holder of some land) was under obligation, based on law or customary right, to devote a certain quota of his labour or his produce for the benefit of his feudal superior. Thus, as a system of socioeconomic relations, it was virtually identical to that of serfdom but also included direct labor service and tribute or feudal rent in produce or money. Thus, serfdom is an essential condition of feudalism.

Rodney Hilton stated that the basic feature of a feudal society was its agrarian character and petty production, based on the peasant family. However, the surplus produced by the peasantry was appropriated by a class of landlords who did not fulfill any economic function. The peasantry was politically and juridically dependent on the landlord in several ways.

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Closely related to this model of feudalism is the model defining it as a manorial order. According to it, a typical feudal system is one in which the large estate functions not only as a unit of ownership and power, but also as one of productions, hence its regime of dependent cultivation and its accompanying traits—enforced labour, description of tenants to the soil, etc. According to Perry Anderson the feudal mode of production was dominated by land and a natural economy, in which neither labour nor its products were commodities. Agrarian property was privately controlled by a class of feudal lords who extracted a surplus from the peasants by politico-legal relations of compulsion which were exercised both on the manorial demesne and on the peasant's land. This situation led to a juridical amalgamation of economic exploitation with political authority. But political sovereignty was never concentrated in a single centre. While the peasant was subjected to the jurisdiction of his lord, the lord too held his estate as a fief, being subordinate to his feudal superior and providing military assistance in times of war. The chain of such dependent tenures linked to military service extended to the highest peak—the monarch. The functions of the state were disintegrated in a vertical allocation downwards, while the political and economic relations at each level were integrated. This parcellization of sovereignty was constitutive of the whole mode of production.

The military school model defines feudal societies as those which meet other military needs solely or mainly by knightly services and derives all the other features of social order from the fief. This definition applies to a period far too short to cover the entire stretch of the feudal age anywhere in Europe. The political model is equally restrictive geographically and chronologically because it defines feudalism as an order in which the estate replaced the State. Thus in Europe, such feudalism would be confined to a century or two following the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, (AD 751-987) and would not be found in most parts of Europe. However, this transition to the new mode of production took time.

1.4.1 Crises of the 14th and the 15th Centuries

As a consequence of the crisis of feudal rents, the lords tried to impose a variety of new obligations, thus transgressing the ideology of paternalism and protection by which feudal rents were legitimized in the first place. The late medieval rebellions were, thus directed not against the lordship itself, but against the abuse of lords power. The causes of the crisis of feudalism, was purely coercive and extra economic nature of feudal benefits was exposed. Since the 13th century, with the growing monetization of social relations, the legitimation of feudal relationships in terms of military and political hierarchy of subordination was weakened. But it was only in the 14th and 15th centuries that the feudal ideology of paternalism was finally destroyed. One of the features of peasant rebellions was that they were marked by a 'negative class-consciousness'. Basically, these movements were not rebellions by the entire peasantry but were combinations of rich peasants voicing their protests against restrictions and the small marginal peasants protesting against the regulation of wages. These peasant movements included not just peasants but also various other groups that were essential for the functioning of the peasant society like artisans, small traders and wage labourers.

The social organization of agricultural production varied everywhere in Europe. In western Europe, the demesne was the largest because denser population required the relative efficiency of larger units. In Central Europe, the effects of economic recession led to desertions of marginal land—Wustungen, and were due to enclosures as well as to abandonment. Further east, in Brandenburg and Poland where population

density was thinner and where lords collectively owned much less land than peasants, the lords soon acquired all the lands deserted due the sudden demographic collapse. This step would be very profitable to them in the 16th century. It altered the social structure of Eastern Europe and was also very important for the development of Western Europe. In England, the manor was the typical unit for organizing production. During the 13th century, demesne farming developed in a very big way. Labour services were also intensified and the difference between the free peasants and the dependent peasants, i.e. villeins, increased. With the depopulation of Europe and the subsequent rise in wages, production by wage labour became unprofitable. Since there was a vast decline in the prices of food grains, commercial production lost its profitability. There was severe decline in demesne cultivation by the landlords. Land was now leased out in family-sized units and not in big units. There was also a decline in labour services.

In France too, there was a decline in commercial production by the landlords. There was a rise in rented farms with tenants. As there were no demesnes left, there was no serfdom or labour service. The French nobility was unable to deal with the widespread rural rebellion in France, and it facilitated the consolidation of State power. During the 14th and the 15th centuries, the French monarchy supported by the lesser nobles and the peasants, to a great extent stopped the big nobles from levying dues which conflicted with centralized taxation.

In Spain, the 14th and the 15th centuries marked the peak of aristocratic power. Owing to the reconquest of the country from the Arabs, land was granted to nobles, and big estates of over 5000 sq km came into existence. With depopulation caused by epidemics, the vacant land was devoted to sheep farming. The big sheep owners belonged to an organization called 'Mesta'. The depopulation of the country did not bring about any benefits to the peasantry.

In the Mediterranean region, a system of long-term leases called Metayage developed. Metayage is a form of share cropping in which the landlord invested capital and shared the cost of production. The landlord was thus brought into closer collaboration with the peasant, and the production process. In Italy this system was called the Mezzadria system.

In Eastern Europe, the nobility solved the problem of declining rents by intensifying the labour services and in the 15th century the nobility increased its political power over the peasants in order to dominate them economically. In Eastern Europe, where the settlement was more recent, the village structure was also more homogeneous and conducive to control. In East Germany, during periods of depopulation, vacant land was appropriated by the lords and the peasantry was coerced into cultivating it as serfs. The nobles gave a subsidy to the state and were in turn granted rights to enslave the peasants. In this way, the area under the demesnes was expanded and labour obligations on the peasantry also increased.

From the 15th century onwards, there was also a growth in the export of grain from Eastern Europe by the merchants of the Hanseatic League. The nobility increased demesne production and thus its share in this grain trade. The development of the state on the other hand, was linked to the nobility's attempt to find free access to the sea. In the Baltic region the expansion in agricultural exports and demesne production was also linked to the enserfment of the peasantry. In Lithuania, there was a scramble for land and peasants by the nobles. In Denmark, serfdom was linked to dairy products. In Russia, the development of serfdom was linked more to the demands of the internal

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market than to the export trade in grain. During the 16th and the 17th centuries, there was a further intensification of the grain trade and the development of the 'second serfdom' which Engels talked of. The agrarian crisis of the 14th and 15th centuries thus, had different implication on different regions of Europe.

The very large demesnes in non-marginal arable lands of Western Europe were transformed into smaller landholdings giving rise to medium-sized peasantry on arable lands. There was simultaneously, a beginning of enclosures of the less arable land (which would be the basis of expanded animal husbandry), and the concentration of property into large estates (which would serve as grain export areas) in Western Europe.

1.5 RISE OF CAPITALISM

In Western Europe, with the decline in demesne production, serfdom and labour rents disappeared from the peasantry. The 14th and 15th centuries saw the rise of substantial peasant farms, owing to depopulation and the vacant holdings. It led to the emergence of the middle level peasants in both England and France. In England, the consolidation of peasant holdings weakened the role of the village community. The latter had enjoyed the right to decide about crops and production, and was an impediment in the transition to capitalism. The changed demographic situation affected both the composition of the peasantry as well as the structure of the peasant family. In England, the vacant lands weakened the family structure as peasants moved from one place to another, in search of holdings. In France, the problem of shortage of labour led to consolidation of patriarchal lineages. The peasant economy that developed in the 14th and 15th centuries was more self-sufficient than the manorial economy based on demesne production that existed in the 13th century. In Eastern Europe, where there was a seigniorial reaction, the peasantry was re-enslaved rather than freed of labour obligations. Michael Postan sees the 15th century as a period of regression from the development of the 14th century, a setback that was overcome later. The English merchant class responded to the recession of trade by adopting a policy of regulation and restriction, impeding the entry of new recruits into commerce and attempting to share out the available trade. Kosminsky viewed the collapse as a part of the liquidation of feudalism, hence a necessary step towards the development of a capitalist economy. So, it was not the depopulation but the liquidation of the manorial economy, the commutation and diminution of feudal rent which improved the condition of the peasant. At the same time, the expansion of simple commercial production, prepared the way for capitalist relations. The landowner or lord of the manor prospered when the State was the weakest.

According to Ferdinand Braudel, the territorial state, the rival of the city state, showed itself more capable of meeting the costs of modern war and its rise was an irreversible phenomenon. The 16th century saw the rise of Louis IX in France, Henry VII in England, and Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in Spain. By means of financial mechanisms, they created a civil and armed bureaucracy, strong enough to tax, and thus finance a still stronger bureaucratic structure. Marc Bloch says that from this time onwards, the state began to acquire that essential element of its financial supremacy, which was greater than that of any individual or community.

Feudalism gave way to capitalism but it was never a smooth transfer. It took around two more centuries before feudalism finally gave way to capitalism. There

were changes in and around feudalism as an economic and administrative system. The farmers had started growing cash crops and land was being enclosed for commercialization of agriculture. The Agricultural revolution had changed as instead of production for consumption the production for trade had started. There was growth of towns all around in the European states and thus businesses, commercial enterprises, trading depots had started coming up. The presence of factory system mostly in England had provided the base to industrial growth. Reformation movement also brought stimulus in the thinking as Protestants were much in favour of capital flow and investments so that businesses would grow, according to Max Weber it was the period which led to the growth of capitalism in Europe.

ACTIVITY

Collect information on the existence of Feudalism in ancient India.

DID YOU KNOW

Essential elements of capitalism include capital accumulation, competitive markets, and a price system.

1.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- It is impossible to date the beginning of Byzantine history with any precision because the Byzantine Empire was the uninterrupted successor of the Roman state.
- Some argue that 'Byzantine' characteristics already emerged in Roman history as a result of the easternizing policy of Diocletian, and others that Byzantine history began when Constantine moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople, the city which subsequently became the center of the Byzantine world. (The old name for the site on which Constantinople was built was Byzantium, from which we get the adjective Byzantine); it would be more accurate but cumbersome to say Constantinopolitine. Diocletian and Constantine, however, continued to rule a united Roman Empire.
- It is also convenient to begin in 610 because from then until 1071 the main lines of Byzantine military and political history were determined by resistance against successive waves of invasions from the East.
- Once Persia was subjugated, Heraclius ruled in relative peace till 641.
- Interestingly during this period, the Arabs were becoming blustering, taking advantage of the exhausted Byzantine power and inspired by the new religion of Islam. To establish themselves as the only Mediterranean power, the Arabs took to the sea.
- The Arab threat to Constantinople in AD 717 was a new low for Byzantine power.

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Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks.
 - Feudalism gave way to _____ but it was never a smooth transfer.
 - The presence of _____ system mostly in England had provided the base to industrial growth.
- State whether True or False.
 - In France, the problem of shortage of labour led to consolidation of patriarchal lineages.
 - The expansion of simple commercial production prepared the way for capitalist relations.

Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks.
 - The _____ also played a great role in shaping feudalism.
 - The _____ economy was a natural economy.
- State whether True or False.
 - Feudalism and feudal practices extended uniformly to the whole of Europe.
 - In the Middle Ages, most of the goods in the towns were produced by small craftsmen.

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- The Byzantines were able to reclaim most of its lost territories along Asia Minor.
- After the battle at Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire lost its glory though it managed to survive.
- In 1095, Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus sought help from the West against the Turks. This was big mistake.
- Jerusalem conquered Constantinople instead and sacked the city with ruthless ferocity.
- Since Byzantine rulers followed their late-Roman predecessors in claiming the powers of divinely appointed absolute monarchs, there was no way of opposing them other than by intrigue and violence.
- Efficient bureaucratic government indeed was one of the major elements of Byzantine success and longevity.
- Another explanation for Byzantine endurance was the comparatively sound economic base of the state until the 11th century.
- Historians emphasize Byzantine trade and industry because these were so advanced for the time and provided most of the surplus wealth which supported the state.
- Remarkable as it might seem, Byzantines fought over perplexing religious questions as vehemently as we today might argue about politics and sports—indeed more vehemently because the Byzantines were often willing to fight and even die over some words in a religious creed.
- The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints.
- Since Leo the Isaurian was the emperor who saved Constantinople from the onslaught of Islam, and since Muslims zealously shunned images on the grounds that they were 'the work of Satan' (Koran, V. 92), it has been argued that Leo's Iconoclastic policy was an attempt to answer one of Islam's greatest criticisms of Christianity and thereby deprive Islam of some of its appeal.
- The Iconoclastic controversy was resolved in the 9th century by a return to the status quo, namely the worship of images, but the century of turmoil over the issue had some profound results.
- A second consequence of the controversy was the opening of a serious religious breach between East and West.
- Byzantine classicism was a product of an educational system for the laity which extended to the education of women as well as men.
- Byzantine achievements in the realms of architecture and art are more familiar.
- The structural design of Santa Sophia was something altogether new in the history of architecture.
- As in architecture, so in art the Byzantines profoundly altered the earlier Greek classical style.
- Probably the single greatest testimony to the vitality of Byzantine civilization at its height was the conversion of many Slavic peoples, especially those of Russia.

- The impact of the fall Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire.
- Now Byzantine was in the hands of Muslims, they had upper hand now. From then onwards the Europe and Middle East would be in the domination of Muslims from Ottoman Empire.
- During the early Middle Ages, at the close of the 5th century, the tribes which invaded the Roman Empire seized a large part of its territory.
- Feudal institutions were the arrangements—personal, territorial, and governmental—that made survival possible under the new system that replaced the centralized Roman administration.
- The system was local and agricultural, and its base was the manorial system.
- Originally, the fief had to be renewed on the death of either party. However, with the advent of hereditary succession and primogeniture, renewal of the fief by or to, the heir of the deceased, became customary, and gradually, the fief became hereditary.
- Towns gradually began to expand under the feudal system, so that exchange and trade flourished.
- In the political interpretation, feudalism is described as a system wherein administrative and judicial functions of the government were fragmented, and as a rule vested in a feudal lordship.
- In the economic interpretation, Marx and Marxists defined feudalism as a political and social order appropriate to natural economy, in which land is the main source of income and the only embodiment of wealth.
- Closely related to this model of feudalism is the model defining it as a manorial order.
- The military school model defines feudal societies as those which meet other military needs solely or mainly by knightly services and derives all the other features of social order from the fief.
- As a consequence of the crisis of feudal rents, the lords tried to impose a variety of new obligations, thus transgressing the ideology of paternalism and protection by which feudal rents were legitimized in the first place.
- The social organization of agricultural production varied everywhere in Europe.
- In France too, there was a decline in commercial production by the landlords. There was a rise in rented farms with tenants.
- In Eastern Europe, the nobility solved the problem of declining rents by intensifying the labour services and in the 15th century the nobility increased its political power over the peasants in order to dominate them economically.
- The very large demesnes in non-marginal arable lands of Western Europe were transformed into smaller landholdings giving rise to medium-sized peasantry on arable lands.
- In Western Europe, with the decline in demesne production, serfdom and labour rents disappeared from the peasantry.

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- The English merchant class responded to the recession of trade by adopting a policy of regulation and restriction, impeding the entry of new recruits into commerce and attempting to share out the available trade.
- According to Ferdinand Braudel, the territorial state, the rival of the city state, showed itself more capable of meeting the costs of modern war and its rise was an irreversible phenomenon.

1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Constantinople:** It was renamed Constantinople by Constantine who made it the capital of the Byzantine Empire.
- **Iconoclastic controversy:** This took place between the mid-8th century and the mid-9th century in the Byzantine Christian Church over the question of whether or not Christians should continue to revere icons.
- **Feudalism:** A political and economic system of Europe from the 9th to about the 15th century, based on the holding of all land in fief or fee and the resulting relation of lord to vassal and characterized by homage, legal and military service of tenants and forfeiture.
- **Capitalism:** Is an economic system whereby the 14th and 15th centuries witnessed the rise of substantial peasant farms as a result of the peasantry becoming free from serfdom and labour rents.

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Byzantine ruler Heraclius defeated the Persians in AD 627.
2. Emperor Leo the Asurian (AD 717-741) countered the Arab threat with the help of a secret incendiary device known as 'Greek fire' and military strength and was able to defeat them on sea and as well as land.
3. The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints.
4. The impact of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire. Thus, their ruler took the title of Tsar—which simply means Caesar—and Russians asserted that Moscow was 'the third Rome'.
5. The fall of Byzantine led to the blockade of trade route to the eastern world from Europe, so Europe had to suffer. The inland trade was greatly affected and that led to the misery of the European states. The Silk route saga too was to be altered.
6. (a) Church (b) Feudal
7. (a) False (b) True
8. (a) Capitalism (b) Factory
9. (a) True (b) True

1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Enumerate the various effect of the fall of Constantinople.
2. What were the weaknesses which led to the downfall of the Byzantine Empire?
3. Define feudalism.

Long-Answer Questions

1. How do you view the Byzantine Empire as the seat of Christendom after the fall of Roman Empire?
2. Discuss in details the clash between Islamic forces and Byzantine.
3. Describe feudalism as an important medieval administrative and economic unit.
4. How is the growth of capitalism linked to the decline of feudalism?
5. What are the various theories of decline of feudalism? How would you describe the growth of trade and commerce as important factor of decline?
6. What is transition phase in history of feudalism? Was the transformation from Feudalism to Capitalism direct? Explain its various aspects.
7. Describe recent theories for the rise of capitalism.

1.10 FURTHER READING

- Elton, G.R.; *Reformation Europe 1517-1559*, 2nd (ed.), Wiley-Blackwell, London, 1999.
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UNIT 2 RENAISSANCE—THE DAWN OF A NEW AGE

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- 2.7 Key Terms
- 2.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.9 Questions and Exercises
- 2.10 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The term 'Renaissance' is a French word and means 'rebirth'. It was used to describe the cultural movement that began in Italy in the 14th century and spread across Europe by the 16th and the 17th centuries. The movement was characterized by a revival of the classical sources in the sphere of learning. Linear perspective emerged in painting and there was reform in the educational system as well.

The emergence of capitalism and along with it the rise of the new middle class—the bourgeoisie—transformed the European cultural climate. There was a rise of great rivalry in the market as members of this capitalist class that controlled the means of production sought to outdo each other in producing goods that were cheaper and better than the other. As a consequence, it became necessary to have greater knowledge, a deeper understanding of the processes of life at large, rather than a having a restricted

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outlook. This became a fertile ground for the emergence of Renaissance, a cultural movement. Renaissance is, therefore, deeply entwined with the rise and growth of the market economy, capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The age of humanism, as Renaissance is often termed, coupled with deep emphasis on economic expansion totally upturned the hitherto practiced and preached ideas of the Catholic church. The medieval philosophy upheld in Western Europe laid all agency in the Lord. A just social order was considered beyond bounds in this world. However, the enterprising middle class wrested all agency and emerged as the masters of their own destinies relying on their own capabilities and enterprise. Hence, God was displaced and the man became the nucleus of the newly emergent order. This change gained currency throughout Europe and soon the humanist philosophy came to be known as Renaissance or 'rebirth'. This 'rebirth', in fact, signified an intellectual awakening. The movement began in Italy and soon encompassed the whole of Europe. It was marked by revival of classical style in the artistic sphere with humanists seeking to imitate the genius of Romans and Greeks. There emerged a greater engagement with scientific discoveries of the past and an effort to carry them forward.

The humanist movement received a shot in the arm in the middle of 15th century when Johann Gutenberg discovered printing in Germany. Another stalwart during the early years of Renaissance was Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), a Florentine poet. Coming at an age when the medieval beliefs were on the decline and the humanist movement was just gathering force, Dante became a defining figure. His *Divine Comedy*, written in Italian, was hugely acclaimed. That he chose to write a literary treatise in his native language highlighted an emerging trend i.e., the growing national consciousness amongst the humanist writers of the 14th and 15th centuries. While works on science still used Latin as the medium of discourse, literary works relied on native languages.

The literary pieces of the humanist writers were distinctly different from the bygone times. The subject of focus shifted from the sacred and grandiose to the secular and everyday life. The common man replaced the traditional knight as the hero. Some of the most revered names that belonged to this age were Francesco Petrarch and Giovanni Boccaccio in Italy, Francois Rabelais in France, Ulrich von Hutten in Germany, Erasmus of Rotterdam in the Netherlands, Miguel Cervantes in Spain and William Shakespeare in England.

Art also reflected the humanist ideal of celebration of the individual and the world around him. Therefore, paintings and sculptures were marked by a realism that celebrated man both in body and in spirit. Famous names amongst the artists are Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Velasquez, Rembrandt amongst others.

The third dimension of Renaissance was its scientific vigour. Great discoveries were made and with emphasis on empiricism the seed of many of the modern natural sciences was sown. Valuable contributions were made by Galileo in astronomy and mechanics apart from natural sciences. Other major contributions were by Cardano in natural sciences, Leonardo da Vinci in mechanics, Copernicus in astronomy, Francis Bacon and Giordano Bruno in the materialist perspective on nature and Vesalius and Harvey in anatomy and physiology.

The political thought of the humanists demonstrated a rejection of the Catholic Church and the subservience to God that it embodied. They sought to overthrow the

feudal setup of the Church where non adherence to a law was seen as a sin against God. Instead they believed in the ability of the state to maintain law and order and consequently upheld centralized state control.

Hence, in this unit, you will study how the rise of capitalism led to the rise of Renaissance. The students will also become familiar with the concept of mercantilism and colonialism and the Reformation movement.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Interpret the concept of mercantilism
- State the factors responsible for the growth of mercantilism
- Identify the various forms of mercantilism
- Explain the concept of colonialism
- Identify the types of colonialism
- Explain the causes responsible for the rise of Renaissance
- Analyse the impact of Renaissance on art, literature and science
- Describe the Reformation Movement

2.2 MERCANTILISM

Mercantilism is an economic system that essentially started in Europe in the 18th century. Its main aim is to increase a nation's wealth by government regulation of all of the nation's commercial interests. Between 1600 and 1800, most of the states of Western Europe were, to a great deal, persuaded by a policy commonly known as mercantilism. This was fundamentally an effort to attain economic unity and political power. No universal definition of mercantilism is completely satisfactory; however, it may be thought of as a compilation of policies made to keep the state affluent by economic regulation. These policies may or may not have been applied at the same time or place. Mercantilist ideas have developed over the centuries in reaction to the development of other theories of global political economy, namely liberalism and structuralism, and as the global political economy itself has altered. Mercantilism is an economic strategy where a nation tries to accumulate as much money as possible and by whatever means necessary. It was thought that the richer the nation, the more powerful it was. Mercantilism is an economic theory that states that the world only contained a fixed amount of wealth and that to increase a country's wealth, one country has to take some wealth from another through having a higher import/export ratio and through the actual conquest of new lands and resources. This was considered essentially fair as an effort to achieve economic unity and political control. The following concepts are also associated with mercantilism:

- (a) Mercantilism also refers to the supposed mercantilist period of European history (approximately 16th–19th century) when the contemporary idea of the 'nation state' was born.
- (b) Economic gains by one nation state usually came at the expense of other nation states (as states fought for territory) thus leading to a zero-sum game.

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- (c) In a zero-sum game, for example poker, what one party wins is equal to what the other loses.
- (d) The mercantilist phase of history overlaps with the phase of 'classical imperialism', when war, conquest and colonial developments were frequent occurrences.

2.2.1 Commercial Revolution and Mercantilism

The commercial revolution was a phase of European economic extension, which lasted from more or less the 16th century until the early 18th century. The commercial revolution, along with other changes in the early modern period, had spectacular effects on the world. Christopher Columbus and the conquistadors, through their tours, were ultimately responsible for the enormous depopulation of South America. They were straightforwardly responsible for annihilating the civilizations of the Inca, Aztec and Maya in their quest to create the Spanish Empire. Other Europeans likewise influenced the population of North America. An equally significant result of the commercial revolution was the Colombian Exchange. Plants and animals moved all through the world because of human movements. For instance, Yellow fever, until that time unknown in North and South America, was imported through water that ships took to Africa. Cocoa (chocolate), coffee, corn, cassava and potatoes were transported from one hemisphere to the other. Another significant change was the rise in population. Better food and more wealth permitted the sustenance of larger families. The relocation of people from Europe to the Americas permitted for European populations to increase as well.

2.2.2 Factors for the Growth of Mercantilism

The development of mercantilism was the consequence of the amalgamation of cultural, religious, political and economic factors. In order to examine these causes, what may be highlighted is that in the start of the 16th century, Europe came across great religious and intellectual awakening because of Reformation and Protestantism.

Erasmus and Martin Luther who started these two movements, respectively, gave a great stimulus to the concepts of individualism and private freedom. These movements went a long way in evolving the ideas of property and contract rights, which ultimately led to the growth of commerce and free exchange.

Before the appearance of these movements, the Pope used to enjoy a predominant position in religion. He could also interfere in worldly matters. With the rise of the Protestantism, the monetary aspect of life was emphasized and a bid was made to confine the authority of the Pope to the religious matters alone and prevent his interference in the economic and political spheres.

Even the international position of the Church was challenged by setting up national churches. For instance, in England, Henry VIII seized the church property and established the Church of England; he became its spiritual head.

Renaissance played an even more important role and stressed on the element of humanism. It challenged the medieval theologian idea that happiness in heaven should be preferred over worldly happiness; rather, it asserted that happiness on this earth was to be preferred over the promised pleasures of the other world.

In other words, it emphasized on the materialistic factor of human happiness. A large number of writers, artists and philosophers emphasized the economic basis of

the society in their works, once the principles of humanism and individualism were accepted. They shook the foundations of the edifice of the church theology.

In the economic sphere, the decline of feudalism contributed to the growth of mercantilism. The feudal system was distinguished by economic self-sufficiency, agricultural production and absence of exchange economy. The agriculturists were needed to work free of charge on the fields of the lords for a stipulated period.

They were also required to work as soldiers for the lords during war times. As there were no organized industries and even commercial crops were not in much demand, these agriculturists worked for local self-sufficiency in food grains. In the absence of organized markets, the manufacture was undertaken mainly to meet the local requirements.

This led to the development of an independent domestic economy. It was based on local self-sufficiency. Especially, there was no effective state organization. In the cities and towns, the guilds and municipalities tried to regulate the trade between the various localities.

However, with the increase of commerce, conflicting individual trading interests came to the fore. Almost all of them looked for a strong central authority to look after them against their competitors. In the absence of a national government, this was not feasible and the relationship was definitely a weak link.

The growth of commerce and development of domestic economy gave rise to the issue of labour and distribution. However, possibly the most significant factor that stimulated the development of mercantilism was the materialization of the exchange economy.

This resulted in the development of international trade and encouraged large-scale production. For a fuller exploitation of the available economic resources, it was felt that the economic life should be regulated. The urge for new markets resulted in the discovery of new islands and countries and thus, the development of colonialism.

In short, it can be said that mercantilism was motivated by factors like decline of feudalism, lack of state organization, rise of free labour classes, competition and development of exchange economy.

2.2.3 Forms of Mercantilism

The mercantilist policies took many forms. Domestically, governments tried to encourage mercantilism through the following means:

- Offered capital to new industries
- Exempted new industries from guild rules and taxes
- Established monopolies over local and colonial markets
- Granted titles and pensions to successful producers

In the trade policy, the government assisted local industry by imposing tariffs, quotas and prohibitions on imports of goods that had competition with local manufacturers. Governments also forbade the export of tools and capital equipment and the mass departure of skilled labour that would permit foreign countries, and even the colonies of the home country, to compete in the manufacturing of manufactured goods. Simultaneously, diplomats encouraged foreign manufacturers to move to the diplomats' countries.

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks.

(a) _____ is an economic system that essentially started in Europe in the 18th century.

(b) The _____ along with other changes in the early modern period, had spectacular effects on the world.

2. State whether True/False.

(a) The development of mercantilism was the consequence of the amalgamation of cultural, religious, political and economic factors.

(b) In the economic sphere, the decline of feudalism contributed to the growth of mercantilism.

Shipping was particularly significant during the mercantile period. With the increase of colonies and the shipment of gold from the New World into Spain and Portugal, the control of the oceans was thought to be crucially important to national power. The governments of the era developed strong merchant marines since ships could be used for merchant or military purposes. In France, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (Figure 2.1), the minister of finance under Louis XIV from 1661 to 1683, increased port duties on foreign vessels entering French ports and offered bounties to French shipbuilders.



Fig. 2.1 Jean-Baptiste Colbert

In England, the navigation laws of 1650 and 1651 forbade overseas vessels from engaging in coastal trade in the country and stressed that all commodities imported from the continent of Europe be transported on either an English vessel or a vessel registered in the country of origin of the commodities. In conclusion, all trade between England and its colonies had to be carried in either English or colonial vessels. The Staple Act of 1663 extended the Navigation Act by making it essential that all colonial exports to Europe be landed through an English port before being re-exported to Europe.

France, England, and other powers had strong navigation policies. These policies were mainly directed against the Dutch, who controlled commercial marine movement in the 16th and 17th century. During the mercantilist era, it was frequently proposed, if not believed, that the principal advantage of foreign trade was the import of gold and silver. According to this viewpoint, the advantages to one nation were matched by expenditures to the other nations that exported gold and silver, and there were no overall gains from trade. For nations almost regularly on the verge of war, draining one another of precious gold and silver was thought to be approximately as desirable as the direct advantages of the trade.

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ACTIVITY

Find out at least two leading mercantile companies that belonged to France, England, the Netherlands, Germany and Portugal each in the mercantile era. What were the commodities in which they traded? Which countries were engaged in trade activities with them?

DID YOU KNOW

The first phase of the British rule in India was largely exploitative in nature based on the concept of mercantilism.

2.3 COLONIALISM

Colonialism is the expansionist tendency of a territory by which it seeks to exercise domination over the other, acquiring and administering it according to its own rules and methods. The colonizer enjoys unquestioned sovereignty over the colonized penetrating all spheres of the life of the colonized and completely uprooting them from their territory. It is a hierarchical relationship of predatory nature that serves to benefit only the colonizer. These expansionist tendencies emerged in Europe and in the 15th century and were prevalent till the 20th century as European nation states acquired new territories to serve their economic interests.

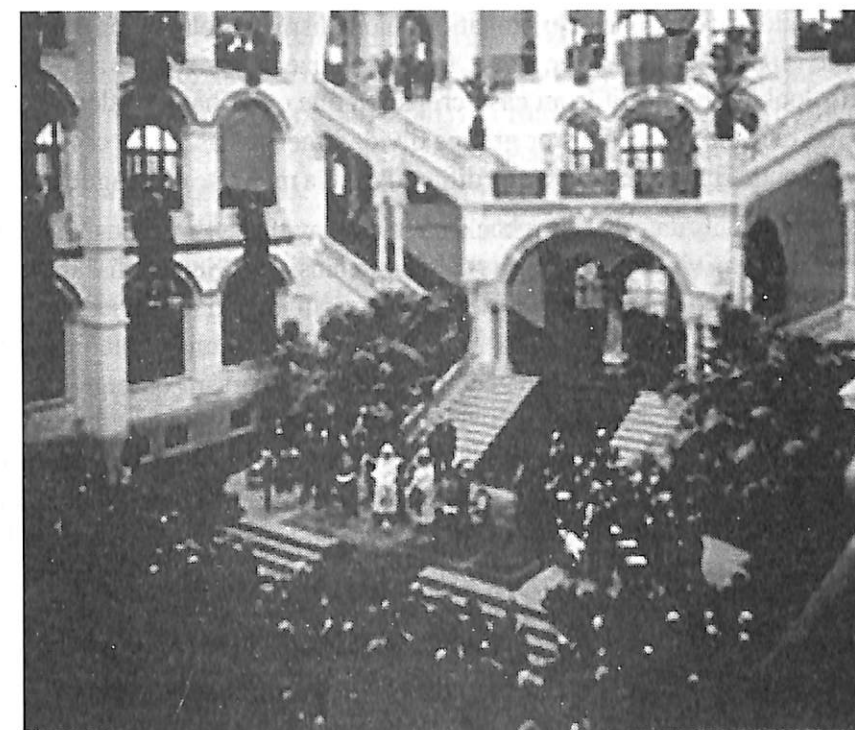


Fig. 2.2 The Opening of the Colonial Institute (now the Tropenmuseum) in Amsterdam by Queen Wilhelmina

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2.3.1 Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism is the subjugation of the natives of a place by a group of foreigners alien to the indigenous culture and most often unmindful of it too. All decisions regarding the governance of the colonized territories are made by this small minority or in places where the colonizers come from, only to serve their own interests. These colonizers are instilled with a sense of their cultural superiority which serves to justify their rule. Colonialism and imperialism are intertwined with mercantilism.

While colonialism and imperialism have often been used interchangeably, Robert Young has pointed out that imperialism is more of a theory while colonialism is that theory put into practice. However, the two are closely related. A colony is a cog in the wheel of the colonial empire, therefore, colonialism and imperialism cannot be separated. While colonization is the manifestation of the idea of Empire in practice, and is capitalist in intent, capitalism itself reinforces the idea of the Empire.

2.3.2 Types of Colonialism

Depending upon the size of the colonizing population in the colonized country, historians identify two kinds of colonialism.

- A large population of colonizers chiefly interested in fertile land suitable for farming is termed as settler colonialism.
- Exploitation colonialism involves a small group of settlers who are interested in economic gains and exports. When applied to large colonies, it refers to the ownership and control of property and the benefit accrued from it in the hands of the settlers and the colonized people working as labourers.

However, these distinctions are not watertight as exports happened in both cases to the state. An example of exploitation colonialism was plantation colony where slaves were employed. However, apart from colonizers this region also had other immigrants looking for profit from cash crops. On the other hand settler colonialism led to mixed races like Mestizos or groups divided racially, as in the case of French Algeria and Southern Rhodesia. Colony differed from a mandate of League of Nations.

Colonial activity dates very far back into history with the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans all undertaking territorial expansion. 'Metropolis' has a Greek root meaning 'mother city' while the Latin 'colonia' meaning an agricultural land is the root for 'colony'. The Vietnamese were the first to establish colonies, but they were military colonies, from 11th to 18th century. Colonialism emerged in Europe simultaneously with the Age of Discovery as new territories were discovered for purposes of trade. America was divided between Portugal and Spain by treaties like that of Tordesillas and Zaragoza of 1529 and earlier by the papal bull *Inter caetera*. The 17th century brought with it widespread colonial activity as the British, French and Dutch established their empire. Sweden also established some colonies in foreign lands. There was a lull in colonial activity in the 18th and 19th century due the revolutionary wars in America and the War for independence. The end of 19th century saw heightened colonial activity as European nations scrambled to gain control over the resource rich Africa. Consequently, the German and Belgian empires were also formed. Several other empires existed around the same time like the Russian, the Ottoman and the Austrian empires but their sights were fixed on the territories of their neighbours rather than securing distant conquests. However, Russia did manage to gain control over some American territories beyond the Bering Strait. The Japanese

also formed their own empire and America was not far behind in this respect once it gained territories post the Spanish American war. Post World War I, Germany and Turkey lost their territories to the victorious faction who classified them as per the League of Nation mandates depending on the feasibility of declaring their independence. However, the process of decolonization was carried forward by United Nation's special committee on decolonization (1962), also known as Committee of 24, after the end of World War II.

2.3.3 Colonialism and Geography

The supremacy in navigational skills of the European countries, aided by shipbuilding, cartography, explorations far and wide, not only increased their power and wealth, it also instilled a deep racial superiority. J. Painter and A. Jeffery confirmed how these advancements aided the European imperialist agenda. For most of them, colonizing was seen as a favour they did to the colonized rather than as a hegemonic act. Those colonizers that settled down in these colonies served as the link between the natives and the colonizers. However, the strengths of the West and their ingrained notions of their own superiority created a deep rooted feeling of inferiority amongst the colonized and deeply entrenched racial discrimination in the society. Colonialism also found legitimacy through ideas of environmental determinism that some regions of the world were lagging behind due the physical conditions prevailing there. Cartography also became a tool in the hands of colonizers, with maps marking the lands that were awaiting colonizers and separating them from those that belonged to the powerful empires.

2.3.4 The Commercial Revolution

Commercial activity in Europe started as early as the Crusades with the discovery of silk, spices and other rare commodities. Trade picked up in the second half of the middle ages and with the rise of the 'spirit of discovery', the network of trade routes multiplied as new lands were discovered, sea routes to the east were discovered by the likes of Vasco da Gama. The 15th and 16th century saw great amassing of wealth, rise of capitalism, and new economic practices. There was a shift from the Mediterranean to the west Europe countries as the hub of commercial activity virtually ending the monopoly of the Turks on trade with the East. These nations were now competing against each other in the quest for wealth and to meet their goals, extracted all the wealth from their colonies. It was the Portuguese who established their supremacy in trade with the east following their building a settlement in Goa in 1510. This led to trade between Europe and China in the 16th century and later a Portuguese establishment in Macau, South China, in 1557. This was followed by Dutch and later Transatlantic trade of the English empire as well.

The commercial revolution spanning from the 16th to the 18th century was marked by expansion, increase in trading activity and the rise of mercantile culture. There was also a spurt in the banking sector and rise in investment apart from the manufacturing sector. Close at the heels of the commercial revolution came the industrial revolution in the middle of 18th century.

2.3.5 Geopolitical Factors

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 necessitated the discovery of new trade routes as Turks controlled the Mediterranean region. The English altered their laws to the

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3. Fill in the blanks.

(a) _____ is the subjugation of the native of a place by a group of foreigners.

(b) The fall of _____ in 1453 necessitated the discovery of new trade routes as Turks controlled the Mediterranean region.

4. Commercial activity in Europe started as early as the Crusades with the discovery of silk, spices and other rare commodities.
(True/False)

5. Exploitation colonialism involves a small group of settlers who are interested in economic gains and exports.
(True/False)

6. The maritime inventions and scientific discoveries from the 16th to the 18th century did not help the colonial expansion of European nations.
(True/False)

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advantage of their navy so that their mercantile aspirations would not be hampered. A consequence of this was that the Hanseatic League that carried on trade in the northern region of Europe became dysfunctional. Spain remained a dominant force throughout this period because of its martial culture owing to the Reconquista and carried on its expansionist policies. However, competition grew between the European nations in their quest for wealth and greater power.

2.3.6 Monetary Factors

Trade grew as there was a greater need of precious metals with the introduction of silver currency. The Europeans faced a crunch of gold and silver as these were spent on trade with the East. With their ore mines also exhausted or containing metals too deep seated to be extracted the only available choice was furthering trade.

2.3.7 Technological Factors

The maritime inventions and scientific discoveries from the 16th to the 18th century helped the colonial expansion of European nations. The first atlas along with 53 other maps was published in a collection called Theatrum Orbis Terrarum in 1570. These were created by Abraham Ortelius and published by Gilles Coppens de Diest. By the end of 1572, Latin, French, Dutch and German editions of the atlas emerged and stayed in vogue till 1612. Experiments were carried on in ship building and skeleton theories on motion published in the Principia helped sailors manoeuvre using their knowledge of the motion of moon. By 1670, the earth was measured in latitudes. There was now the quest to determine longitudes and the British Parliament even announced a prize for this purpose in 1714.

2.4 RENAISSANCE

Renaissance means rebirth or renewal. As a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through the whole of Europe. In the context of Europe it marked a historic phase- the transition of Europe from the medieval to the modern age. Europe in the past had been under the domination of the Greeks and later the Romans. With the decline of the Roman Empire, Europe fell in to the 'Dark Ages'. This was an age when feudalism was the order of the day and the Catholic Church had an all pervading control on the society. False beliefs and blind faith perpetrated by the Church as well as a feudal set up led to the complete fragmentation of the society.

Renaissance proved to be the vital connect between the medieval times and the modern age. As an intellectual and cultural revival, it altered the history of Europe. And while, all spheres of everyday life from religion to politics, science and literature witnessed change, it was most expressly manifest in the artistic sphere. It was the genius of men like Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo that gave birth to notions of realism in art, depiction of human emotions and concept of the 'Renaissance man'.

2.4.1 Causes of Renaissance

The reasons that led to the beginning of Renaissance were as follows:

1. **Turkey's capture of Constantinople:** Constantinople was of vital importance as it was the centre of classical learning in the eastern Roman Empire. In 1453,

when the Turks seized control of Constantinople, there was a shift in the seat of classical learning. Greek scholars carried along with them rare manuscripts to the new centre of learning-Italy. Therefore, classical learning now flourished in Italy.

2. **Decline of feudalism:** With the emergence of monarchy in England, France and Spain and the birth of nation states, feudalism as perpetrated by the church through imposition of taxes was fast losing ground. These rulers kept the forces of feudalism in check and around AD 1300 feudalism was on its way out.

3. **Growth of towns:** Renaissance was marked by enterprise. Italy saw the spawning of large cities as trade and commerce flourished. Free from feudal overlords, the traders and craftsmen settled in the cities which become the new centres for learning. This spirit of enterprise and expansion ushered in Renaissance.

4. **The Crusades:** The Crusades or the holy wars were the prolonged conflict between Christians and Muslims for control over Jerusalem, the holy city. They also played a crucial role in transforming the European society.

5. **The spirit of enquiry:** With the decline of the church and a rejection of age old beliefs, ideas of realism in art, empiricism in science and humanism in general gathered force. These new ideas that stressed on reason and observation ushered in progress in science. Humanism ensured that man was now revered as body and form.

6. **Invention of printing press and other discoveries:** There was gradual educational reform, emergence of universities and rise of printing press that led to spread of education. Germany got its first printing press in 1455 while England got the same in 1477 due to the efforts of William Caxton. Other important discoveries included gunpowder and progress in shipbuilding, mariner's compass and maps that were essential for purposes of navigation.

7. **Encouragement to Art and Learning:** Art and learning found new patrons from amongst monarchs to merchants. Cultural activities were promoted through schools and universities set up by families of patrons. The humanist thinkers devoted themselves to the recovery of the relics of ancient Greek and Latin works of literature, oratory and history. Their interest in literary and historical treatises set them apart from a host of medieval scholars whose areas of interest were chiefly Greek and Arab works on natural sciences, philosophy and mathematics.

(a) Religion was not discarded in Renaissance but marked by a subtle shift in the way it was perceived by the intellectuals. Christianity found expression in art and many religious works of art were commissioned by the church as well. A fresh engagement began with Greek Christian texts including the Greek New Testament, when they were recovered from Byzantium. This exchange, promoted by Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus was one of the contributed to the reformation drive by the Protestants.

(b) The Renaissance engaged with the classics and used their ideas but only to promote an essentially secular society. Divergent view comes from a group of scholars like Rodney Stark, who believe that the source of Renaissance was Italian city states which were therefore, of more importance than the movement itself. Moreover these city states amalgamated a centralized state, church and capitalist culture successfully.

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It was the progress ushered in by the capitalism of Italian city states that paved way for the genesis of Renaissance. Quite contrastingly, other European states like France and Spain where monarchies while other parts of Europe were under the control of the church.

8. **New trade route between east and the west:** With trade flourishing, new trade routes opened between western and eastern Europe. Long distance trade became a crucial factor in the emergence of Renaissance. The Greek scholars were displaced to Italy following the invasion of Constantinople by Turkey. In 1498, Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. As new vistas opened before the traders and travellers, Renaissance spread from Italy to other parts of Europe. Trade also grew between Europe and the Middle East from the Italian cities of Naples, Genoa and Venice.

2.4.2 The Age of Discovery

The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped Renaissance spread far and wide. With Greek and Roman trade centres situated close to the Mediterranean, there was greater exchange with the outside world. Of the many explorations undertaken, Marco Polo's is very notable. He travelled from Venice to China and Japan brought back accounts of the prosperous and wealthy eastern parts of the world. The advent of science, new inventions and discoveries, the progress in navigational skills and the accounts of travellers inspired others to undertake such journeys.

The Portuguese explorers

The earliest patrons of explorers were the Portuguese and the Spanish. The Portuguese prince Henry, earned the title of 'Navigator' because of his immense interest in and promotion of navigation. With the aid of newly developed navigational tools such as the mariner's compass and astrolabe, his sailors explored as far as the West African coast. Other Portuguese sailors like Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama explored the Cape of Good Hope, the former in 1487 and the latter making greater progress in 1498 reaching Calicut. The discovery of Brazil in 1500 by Cabral was another feather in the cap for the Portuguese. They travelled far and wide reaching to the far East, exploring china, Japan, Indonesia and Ceylon. Ferdinand Megellan (AD 1480–1521) who lends his name to the Straits of Megellan was also from Portugal. He sailed around the Atlantic ocean to reach the Pacific, his entry point into Pacific being termed as the Straits of Megellan.

Other explorations led to the discovery of America, that got its name from an Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci. An Italian sailor, Christopher Columbus' (AD 1451–1506) voyage along the Atlantic Ocean was patronized by Spain.

2.4.3 Origin of Renaissance in Italy

Renaissance spread across Europe in different phases. Initially, Italy was the stronghold of the movement following the Turkish invasion of Constantinople. As new trade routes were discovered, Italy benefited due to its strategic location between western Europe and Middle East. Traders from across the world converged here and this enabled plenty of exchange. Cultural activities were patronized the Pope, headquartered at Rome and other wealthy Italian merchants. The arrival of Greek scholars from Constantinople added to the intellectual movement that was already gathering steam. The 16th century saw Renaissance at its peak with Italy producing some of the greatest literary and artistic geniuses.

2.4.4 Impact of Renaissance on Art

Renaissance brought about a shift in the artistic style from the medieval ages. The religious gave way to the celebration of the human man. The spirit of Renaissance and its ideals were found expression in its paintings. Renaissance marked a revival of the classical style but gracefully and aesthetically incorporated human passion interweaving it with religious themes. One of the most renowned Renaissance artists was Leonardo da Vinci (AD 1452–1519), a skilled musician, architect, engineer, mathematician apart from being a painter. Amongst his masterpiece is Mona Lisa. Mona Lisa is the embodiment of the painter's ideal woman. She is painted against the natural backdrop.



Fig. 2.3 Mona Lisa

Last Supper is yet another masterpiece that depicts the calmness of Christ in comparison to the reactions of his disciples when he shares with them his knowledge of the fact that one from amongst them would betray him.

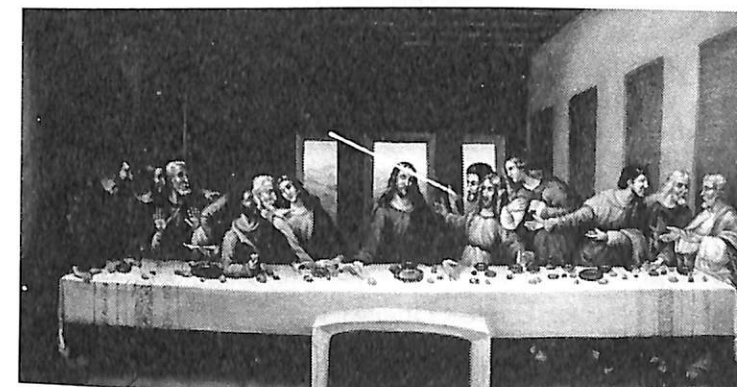


Fig. 2.4 Last Supper

Michelangelo Buonarroti (AD 1475–1564) a skilful sculptor apart from being an architect and painter was deeply interested in the study of the human form. His sculptures were a celebration of the magnificence and grace of human body. His Statue of David, the Pieta, Day and Night and Moses are most acclaimed.

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Fig. 2.5 Michelangelo's David

Raphael (AD 1483–1520), a contemporary of Michaelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, was widely celebrated for his work *Madonna and her Child*.



Fig. 2.6 Madonna and Child

2.4.5 Renaissance and Literature

Literature underwent a transformation with Renaissance. Humanist writers engaged with classical literature which in turn gave shape to a whole new corpus of work. New European languages gained prominence as writers like Dante and Petrarch transformed the literary scene. Dante's *Divine Comedy*, an Italian epic about a journey in to the other world and Petrarch's *Sonnets to Laura* gave humanism a new direction. Other writers of the age were Ariosto who composed *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso famous for his work *Jerusalem Delivered*.

2.4.6 Renaissance and Science

There was a stress on reason and observation during Renaissance. As science advanced and made new progress every day, people shunned the dogmatic beliefs that had hitherto restricted their lives. Reason was supreme and everything was to be governed by a rationale. Prominent scientists were:

1. Roger Becon (AD 1214–1294), who discovered uses of gunpowder and magnifying lenses. He also anticipated an improvement in ships with them becoming oarless and carriage that need not be horse drawn.
2. Copernicus (AD 1473–1543), a Polish priest who faced much flak for suggesting that the sun and not the earth was the centre of the universe and that the earth and other heavenly bodies revolved around it. His discovery was in contention to the belief held by the church. He also suggested that the earth rotated about its axis.
3. Galileo (AD 1564–1642) apart from being the inventor of telescope and studying the movement of heavenly bodies also proved the Copernican theory correct through his experiments and mathematical calculations.
4. Johannes Kepler (AD 1571–1630) discovered that the earth and the planets revolve around the sun in elliptical orbit and not in a circular one as earlier believed.
5. Newton, a British scientist, is famous for his theory of gravitation and laws of motion.
6. Halley theorized about the appearance of comets at regular periods.
7. There was great progress in the field of medicine.
8. Vesalius, a physician, wrote *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, a study of anatomy.

2.4.7 Other Effects of Renaissance

With the opening of new trade routes, the hub of trade shifted from Mediterranean region of Italy and Turkey to the Atlantic regions of England and Portugal gradually. As these places flourished there began a quest for expansion. This led to the rise of colonialism as the western world exploited its colonies in Africa, Asia and America by procuring cheap goods from there and selling its finished products to them at high prices. So helpless were these colonies eventually due to the imperialist agenda of their masters that they succumbed to the western culture. The discovery of America brought with it the plantation culture where slaves were employed to work on cotton, sugarcane and tobacco plantations and treated ruthlessly. With the mercantile theory propounding that wealth was determined by the amount of gold or silver a nation possessed, the colonizers launched in to action the quest for acquiring more and more of gold and silver by emphasizing on exports and taking payment for all the sales they made in these precious metals.

With the diverse changes that Renaissance ushered in, the European society was transformed forever. Humanity came to be celebrated and rationalism replaced unquestioning reverence to the divine. Catholic Church that had until now exercised unbridled control fast began to lose its grip. The intellectual revolution sought to overthrow the corrupt practices of the Church and this set in motion a reform movement that split the Christians into Catholics and Protestants, called Reformation.

2.5 REFORMATION

Capitalist countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church. They subjugated their churches to the control of their rulers thereby; depriving the church of the supremacy that it had long enjoyed. Moreover, they altered religious discourse in a manner that served the interests of the rising middle class.

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7. _____ underwent a transformation with Renaissance.
8. The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped _____ spread far and wide.
9. Renaissance spread across _____ in different phases.
10. Renaissance means _____ or renewal.

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A prominent supporter of Reformation was John Calvin. In keeping with the spirit of the times, he supported the ills perpetuated by capitalism like slavery and colonial expansion. Soon Protestantism became the new religion of all the capitalist countries as they shrugged off the authority of the pope and the supremacy of the church in favour of the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. Protestantism spread through the teachings of Martin Luther King in Germany who upheld princely rule and gave rise to the Lutheran Church and also through the teachings of Zwingli from Switzerland. His teachings were largely oriented towards the economic interest of the bourgeois class.

2.5.1 Meaning of Reformation

Reformation, the term, means an effort to bring about a change. In the context of European history, it emerged in the 16th century as a movement against the increasing corruption within the Catholic Church, the evil practises and rites and rituals that it imposed upon the people in order to maintain its supremacy. Those who protested against the malpractices of the Catholic Church and sought reform came to be known as Protestants and eventually Protestantism became a branch of Christianity.

The Reformation movement saw the setting up of new protestant churches in opposition to the rigid ecclesiastical order of the Catholic Church. To reclaim ground that they had lost, the Jesuit order amongst the Catholics soon launched Counter Reformation and ensured that the southern part of Europe, including Poland remained Catholic. The northern part of Europe except for Ireland and parts of Britain converted to Protestantism, while the centre became the battleground between the two sects. The new denominations that arose included Anglicans in England who were the largest group, the Lutherans in Germany and Scandinavia and the Reformed Churches in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Scotland.

2.5.2 The Causes of the Reformation

The causes of the reformation were as follows:

1. **Influence of the Renaissance:** The Renaissance had brought about remarkable changes in the European society. With the intellectual awakening, cultural changes, rise of humanism and generation of spirit of enquiry, there was irreverence for authority and meaningless dogmas that were upheld by the church. The scientific and geographical advancements, the crusades, the emergence of printing press and educational reforms all brought about a change in the perception of people.
2. **Corruption in the church:** Classical studies were not banished by the Catholic Church. The Church was aware of the all richness and value that these texts contained that would help men transcend their own mental boundaries. There were apprehensions from certain quarters about pagan associations plaguing the minds of the youth but by and large these were dismissed. Origen, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Basil, and St. Jerome were among a few of the Catholics who encouraged their followers to engage with classical text leading to the early efforts to bring together the religious and the secular, i.e., classical culture and Christian beliefs. The fall of the Roman Empire and the proceeding Dark ages saw a changing scenario when classical studies were relegated to Britain, Ireland and the western Isles. The Carolingian reform resurrected these dying classics and gave them a new lease of life in the

continent. Soon compilations of classics emerged in schools and colleges; however the glory days of classical literature were gone. The reform now was directed towards philosophy and not as it had been in the 12th century, when it was directed towards classics supported by men like John of Salisbury. Consequently, classical languages like Greek and Latin fast started disappearing from the school curriculum in Western Europe. There was now a thrust of rationality and logic amongst the scholars rather than beauty of expression and literary grace. The neglect was confined not just to the languages but also to monuments and other architecture. As a result there was widespread decline.

Scholasticism suffered as the successors of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure lacked the ingenuity to hold the interests of the scholars who chose to now engage themselves in other intellectual pursuits. Religion had been reduced to mere formalism in the absence of learned teachers. The world order was now slowly undergoing transformation as religion was fast losing its sway and making way for more secular order. With religion and philosophy not being on a pedestal anymore it was but natural to make a return to the classics and salvage what one could. There was a decline of the social order, a corruption of men, and intoxication of power as seen through the examples of tyrants like Agnello of Pisa, the Visconti and Francesco Sforza of Milan, Ferrante of Naples, and the de Medici of Florence. It went against the Christian notion of morality and justice. So seeped were they in the temporal pleasures that it was but natural that the Pagan Rome and the literary masterpieces that it produced would be more suited to their tastes rather than the piety enjoined upon people by the Catholic Church. Therefore, Reformation was a movement to overthrow the limitations that the Catholic Church had imposed upon the people.

- The decline of Italy and Rome aroused deep anger in Petrarch. He believed that the absence of Popes from Avignon was a cause of the downfall. Encouraged by nationalist feelings he supported Cola di Rienzi when in 1347 the latter announced the formation of Roman republic. He sought to protect the remaining pagan monuments and to bring alive the relics of the past to arouse nationalist sentiments among his fellow countrymen. Virgil was his inspiration in poetry. Most of his writing were in Italian but incorporated in them the ideals of Renaissance, the celebration of beauty as opposed to the self restraint practised in the middle ages. While his work *Africa* is a glorification of ancient Rome and full of nationalist zeal, Petrarch has received great acclaim for the *Canzoni* or his love songs. Petrarch however, did not see religion and paganism in conflict. He may have attacked the church at times in his nationalist fervour but he never sought a confrontation with religion and rather believed in confrontation. His disciple, Boccaccio (1313–1375) too reverted to the classics and had even acquired knowledge of Greek but unlike Petrarch he was chose paganism over Christianity. His works, including the famous *Decameron*, betray the pagan in him. His harsh criticism of the clergy, accusing them of hypocrisy put his followers in conflict with the religious mind. Yet he did not do this to promote paganism in the garb of promoting literature. He still believed in Christianity and in the later years of his life realized the mistakes he had made and bequeathed his library to the monks whom he had earlier taken pleasure in reviling.
3. **Influence of economic changes:** The flourishing trade and commerce changed the outlook of the people during Renaissance. The educated middle class began to question the authority that the church exercised over the common man. New trade routes were discovered, and as exports grew, the wealth of the mercantile

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class increased manifold. With irreverence towards the church on the rise, it was a matter of time that the humanist and the scholars of religion came at loggerheads. The corruption in the church made the humanist advocate not only a revival of the classical but went a step ahead to call for a revival of paganism itself. On the other hand the scholastics were determined to wipe out all pagan influences in Christian learning. Though a middle path was possible for revival of culture, those who supported this were far too few. They aimed at harmonizing religion and culture by respecting the place that the Church had given to the classics in its own domain. However, they could not bring about the two warring sections to reconciliation. The humanists took the opportunity to shed the yoke that Christianity had required them to carry in the form of piety and restraint. Laurentius Valla (1405-57) in his work, *De Voluptate*, preached excesses that were in direct conflict with the teachings of the Church. He advocated indulgence and gratification of sensual desires as against self restraint. His epicurean theory was accompanied by a rejection of the Pope and his authority. If this was not enough, Beccadelli went a step ahead and entirely devoted himself production of distasteful work against the Church.

Others who unleashed polemic against the church were the likes of Poggio Bracciolini who wrote *Facetiae*, and Filello. These men undermined Renaissance as a cultural movement and reduced it a glorification of paganism to triumph over the church. Morality was now in shreds and these works were lapped up in Florence, Venice and Siena. In the later stages, a number of schools though bearing Christian names betrayed pagan influence. However, most of the times it was not suspected as a rejection of religion but rather just their sophistry. What was apparent although was that Christianity was losing its followers. There were also a number of renowned people who made no effort to hide their leanings towards paganism. They were Carlo Marsuppini, Chancellor of Florence, Gemistos Plethon, who propounded the Platonic philosophy, Marsilio Ficino, Rinaldo Degli Albizzi, and the members of the Roman Academy (1460), under the leadership of Pomponius Laetus. It was the moral degeneration of the age that prevented the suppression of these ideas in Italy.

4. Efforts of intellectuals: The spirit of enquiry had its first victim in the form of the church. Guided by empiricism and scientific ideas, people no longer adhered to the blind faith that religion required. Reformation initially targeted the weeding out the corruption in the Catholic Church. The sale of clerical offices, simony, was evidence enough of the malpractices of the church. The ecclesiastical hierarchy with Pope at the apex was full of wrongdoings according to them. The successors of Martin Luther, John Wycliffe and Jan Hus were also involved in the reforms. Reformation as a movement started on 31 October 1517, in Wittenberg, Saxony at the castle church. Martin Luther's Ninety Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgence was unveiled which dissected the church's policies on indulgences, its ideas on worship of Mary, obligatory celibacy, following saints and power of the Pope as the head of the hierarchy of the priests. While Luther found many supporters for his cause, soon differences arose between them, leading to the rise of factions in Protestantism. For example, Zwingli distanced himself from Lutheran movement and later John Calvin also split, leading to divergent movements within the reformist movement. Several churches like the Lutheran, the reformed, the puritan and the Presbyterian emerged within Protestantism, though all traced their origins to the German

churches. In England, the offshoot of Protestantism was Anglicanism. The rise of Reformation was met with Counter Reformation movement in the Catholic Church.

2.5.3 The Counter Reformation

With the Reformation movement targeting the Roman Catholic Church and enlisting support of the middle class, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to take measures to salvage itself. Hence was launched Counter Reformation. A council was summoned at Trent, Italy, in circa 1545-1563 by Pope Paul III. The council was to reform the Catholic Church without altering its fundamental tenets. The Church was to be reformed in a way to make its teachings compatible with the changing society. This marked the birth of several Catholic organizations that aimed to do their bit to revive Catholicism.

2.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Colonialism is the expansionist tendency of a territory by which it seeks to exercise domination over the other, acquiring and administering it according to its own rules and methods.
- The term neo-colonialism has been used rather fluidly. It largely signifies colonization through processes that are not limited to expansionism.
- The supremacy in navigational skills of the European countries, aided by shipbuilding, cartography, explorations far and wide, not only increased their power and wealth, it also instilled a deep racial superiority.
- While colonialism and imperialism have often been used interchangeably, Robert Young has pointed out that imperialism is more of a theory while colonialism is that theory put into practice.
- The Commercial Revolution spanning from the 16th to the 18th century was marked by expansion, increase in trading activity and the rise of mercantile culture.
- The fall of Constantinople in 1453 necessitated the discovery of new trade routes as Turks controlled the Mediterranean region.
- The maritime inventions and scientific discoveries from the 16th to the 18th century helped the colonial expansion of European nations. The first atlas along with 53 other maps was published in a collection called *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1570.
- Mercantilism is an economic system that essentially started in Europe in the 18th century. Its main aim is to increase a nation's wealth by government regulation of all of the nation's commercial interests.
- The development of mercantilism was the consequence of the amalgamation of cultural, religious, political and economic factors.
- Renaissance means rebirth or renewal. As a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through the whole of Europe.
- Renaissance spread across Europe in different phases. Initially Italy was the stronghold of the movement following the Turkish invasion of Constantinople.

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Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks.
 - Those who protested against the malpractices of the Catholic Church and sought reform were known as _____.
 - The rise of Reformation was met with _____ movement in the Catholic Church.
- State whether the following statements are True/False.
 - A prominent supporter of Reformation was John Calvin.
 - The Renaissance did not bring about any remarkable changes in the European society.

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- The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped Renaissance spread far and wide.
- Renaissance spread across Europe in different phases. Initially Italy was the stronghold of the movement following the Turkish invasion of Constantinople.
- Renaissance had a significant impact on art, literature and science.
- Capitalist countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church. They subjugated their churches to the control of their rulers thereby, depriving the church of the supremacy that it had long enjoyed.
- The causes for the rise of Reformation were (a) Influence of the Renaissance (b) Corruption in the Church (c) Influence of economic changes (d) Efforts of Intellectuals.
- Reformation, the term, means an effort to bring about a change.
- Those who protested against the malpractices of the Catholic Church and sought reform came to be known as Protestants and eventually Protestantism became a branch of Christianity.
- With the intellectual awakening, cultural changes, rise of humanism and generation of spirit of enquiry, there was irreverence for authority and meaningless dogmas that were upheld by the church.
- Religion had been reduced to mere formalism in the absence of learned teachers.
- The decline of Italy and Rome aroused deep anger in Petrarch. He believed that the absence of Popes from Avignon was a cause of the downfall.
- The flourishing trade and commerce changed the outlook of the people during Renaissance.
- The spirit of enquiry had its first victim in the form of the church. Guided by empiricism and scientific ideas, people no longer adhered to the blind faith that religion required.
- With the Reformation movement targeting the Roman Catholic Church and enlisting support of the middle class, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to take measures to salvage itself.

2.7 KEY TERMS

- **Colonialism:** Practice by which a powerful country controls another country or other countries.
- **Mercantilism:** Economic theory that trade increases wealth.
- **Renaissance:** It means rebirth or renewal. As a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through the whole of Europe.
- **Reformation:** A religious movement of the 16th century that began as an attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church.

2.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Mercantilism (b) Commercial revolution
2. (a) True (b) True

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3. (a) Colonialism (b) Constantinople
4. True
5. True
6. False
7. Literature
8. Renaissance
9. Europe
10. Rebirth
11. (a) Protestants (b) Counter reformation
12. (a) True (b) False

2.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is colonialism? What are the types of colonialism?
2. Write a short note on the origin of Renaissance in Italy.
3. Write briefly about Ferdinand Megallan.
4. Write briefly about Marco Polo.
5. Who was Martin Luther King?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss how colonialism is related to geography.
2. Identify the factors that led to the beginning of Renaissance. What was the impact of Renaissance on art, literature and science?
3. What were the causes of the Reformation Movement? What was Counter Reformation?
4. Discuss the development of capitalism during Renaissance in Europe.
5. Describe the factors that led to the spread of mercantilism. What were its consequences?

2.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 ABSOLUTISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATION STATES

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Age of Absolutism
 - 3.2.1 Rise of Absolutism
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 - 3.2.3 Absolutism of Louis XIV
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- 3.3 Emergence of Nation States – Factors and Impact
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3.0 INTRODUCTION

There are four essential characteristics or qualities of royal authority.

First, royal authority is sacred.

Second, it is paternal.

Third, it is absolute.

Fourth, it is subject to reason.

—Jacques Bossuet, *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*

As practiced by western European 18th century rulers, absolutism was not despotism. They did not understand it as a license for untrammelled (limited or restricted) and arbitrary rule, such as that practiced by Oriental potentates (people with power). Despite the best efforts of these European monarchs to consolidate their authority, they could not issue irresponsible decrees and achieve lasting limits of absolutism in compliance. Aristocrats, churchmen, merchants, and entrepreneurs remained strong enough within their respective orders to ensure that kings and queens would need to justify the actions they took. Moreover, rulers tended to respect not only the strength of their political adversaries but the processes of law; they quarreled openly and broke with tradition only under exceptional circumstances. No matter how 'absolute' monarchs might wish to be, they were limited as well by rudimentary systems of transportation and communication from interfering with any degree of consistency and efficiency in the daily lives of their subjects.

European society in the 18th century was dominated by various aristocratic houses. France was ruled by Louis XVI, Spain by Charles III, and Russia by Catherine

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the Great. Even the Parliament of Great Britain greatly depended on the patronage of the English nobility and its monarch George III. The monarchs of Europe in the 18th century were termed as 'Enlightened Despots'. Along with their relatives in the European aristocracy, these monarchs owned the majority of the land where common citizens worked for their livelihood. People had no power to influence how the aristocracy in these nations functioned. Many of them were considered serfs who did not have any individual rights granted to them. This resulted in the general public in Europe being strongly resentful towards the aristocracy.

The feudal structure of the society also contributed towards this resentment. In a feudal structure, the major burden of taxation is on the poor whose money is used for privileges that are only meant to be enjoyed by the nobility. European feudal landlords acted as petty sovereigns, while the state's concern for common citizens was limited only to the collection of taxes. This broke the humane link between the rulers and ruled and the exploitation of serfs at the hand of landlords became the order of the day. The church was of no help to people either. In fact, the church was one of the power centers which legitimized the exploitation of the masses by the nobility. Moreover, many of the monarchs also had megalomaniac tendencies without any moral or ethical considerations in their relations with other nations. According to historian Charles Downer Hazen, 'the old regime in Europe was disloyal to the very principles on which it rested'. Those principles were the respect for the established order and regard for regality and engagements.

Along with this prevailing situation, ideas of Renaissance were slowly influencing the masses of Europe. There was spread of scientific enquiry and increasing questioning of religious dogmatism. The invention of the printing press allowed many of the ideas of great thinkers to become widespread. Many pamphlets and journals were published that attacked the church. Perhaps most important of all, the theory of the 'divine right of kings' was also increasingly questioned. All of these factors combined together to become the fuel for the upheaval that was to come to Europe at the end of the 18th century. In this unit, we will measure the extent of royal power practiced by different monarchs in the late 17th and 18th centuries, and take note of the way in which the centralization of power contributed to the rise of an international state system.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the concept of absolutism
- Summarize the factors that led to the rise of absolutism
- Describe the factors that helped emergence of nation states
- Analyse the impact of the rise nation states

3.2 AGE OF ABSOLUTISM

The period from the accession to personal rule of Louis XIV of France until the French Revolution is known as the age of absolutism. Absolutism may be defined as

'conscious extension of the legal and administrative power of state sovereigns over their subjects, and over the vested interests of the social and economic orders in which those subjects were ranked'. A king may be called an absolute monarch as he has unlimited power in his hands and in that of his advisors. The ruler's power was not limited by having to consult with nobles, common people, or their representatives. In this period as a whole the activities of French monarchs most clearly expressed the doctrines of absolutist government. From about 1500 onwards, a general trend to make the state omni-competent had manifested itself in England and on the continent. Sixteenth century kings saw in Protestantism a way of asserting the sovereignty of their states as a challenge to papal and aristocratic power. Political thinkers, such as, Bodin were championing absolutist theory in their writings well before Louis XIV assumed personal ruler ship of France.

By establishing the French monarchs as prototypical early modern rulers, we risk ignoring variant modes of centralized government instituted by the rulers of Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Hence, we exclude the crucially important exception of England, where after 1688 absolutist tendencies gave way to oligarchy, and political power was shared among monarchy, aristocracy, and plutocracy.

3.2.1 Rise of Absolutism

Absolutism appealed to many Europeans for the same reason that mercantilism did. The French religious wars, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and the English Civil War all had produced great turbulence. The alternative, domestic order, absolutists argued, could come only with strong, centralized government. Just as mercantilists maintained that economic stability would result from regimentation, so absolutists contended that social and political harmony would be realized when subjects recognized their duty to obey their divinely sanctioned rulers.

Absolutist monarchs insisted, in turn, upon their duty to teach their subjects, even against their will, how to put in order their domestic affairs. The duties of the monarch as Margrave Karl Friedrich, 18th century ruler of the German principality of Baden, expressed it, 'We must make them, whether they like it or not, into free, opulent and law-abiding citizens.' Looking back to the 17th century wars that had torn Europe apart, rulers can be excused for believing that absolutism's promise of stability and prosperity—'freedom and opulence'—presented an attractive as well as an imperative alternative to disorder. Louis XIV of France remembered the experience of the *Fronde* (a series of civil war in France between 1648 and 1653) as a threat to the welfare of the nation, to which he had been appointed by God to rule so that he could exercise his powers and prerogative, was to survive and prosper as a great European state.

Later, the 'itists', building on those earlier precedents, wrested further power from the Church in Rome. Even Charles III, the devout Spanish king ruled from 1759 to 1788, pressed successfully for a papal concordat, thereby, granting the state control over ecclesiastical appointments, and shed his right to sanction the proclamation of papal bulls. Powerful as the church was, it did not rival the aristocracy as an opponent of the centralized state. Monarchs combatted the noble orders. Louis XIV controlled the ancient French aristocracy by depriving it of political power while increasing its social prestige. Peter the Great, the talented and erratic Tsar of early 18th century Russia, led the nobility into government service.

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In Prussia, under Frederick the Great, the army was maintained by nobles. Again, as in Peter's Russia, this was a case of co-option. Yet, wisely and justly, when the marauding Parisians entered his bedchamber one night in 1651 to discover if he had fled the city with Mazarin, Louis saw the intrusion as a horrid affront not only to his own person, but to the state. Squabbles among the nobility and criticisms of royal policy in the Paris Parlement during his minority left him convinced that he must exercise his powers and prerogatives rigorously, if France was to survive and prosper as a great European state.

If France was to survive and prosper as a great European state, then, the monarchs were aware, that in order to achieve that objective, the absolutist monarchs had to work to achieve the disposition of the state's armed forces, the administration, legal system, and the collection and distribution of its tax. This ambitious goal required an efficient bureaucracy that owed monarchs: army, primary allegiance, not to some particular social or economic order administration, and interests antithetical to the monarchy, but to the institution of revenue monarchy itself.

3.2.2 Goals of the Absolute State

This ambitious goal required an efficient bureaucracy that owed monarchical army, its primary allegiance not to some particular social or economic order administration, and with interests antithetical to the monarchy, but to the institution of revenue the monarchy itself. The church and the nobility, the semi-autonomous regions, and the would-be independent representative bodies (the English Parliament and the French Estates-General) were all obstacles to the achievement of strong, centralized monarchical government. And the history of absolutism is, as much as anything, the history of the attempts of various rulers to bring these institutions to heel.

One hallmark of absolutist policy was its determination to construct a set of institutions strong enough to withstand, destroy, the privileged interests that had stood in the path of power in the past. The history of absolutism is, as much as anything, the detailed account of the attempts of various rulers to bring these institutions to those major European countries where Roman Catholicism still enjoyed the state religion—France, Spain, and Austria—successive monarchs throughout the eighteenth century made various attempts. Absolutism and the Church with its clergy and Pope, in the 15th and 16th centuries, had consecrated powers to the temporal rulers of France and Spain.

We have already noted that in the church and nobility of the 15th and 16th centuries, how popes had conceded certain powers to the temporal rulers of France and Spain. Later absolutists, building on those earlier precedents, wrested further power from the Church in Rome. Even Charles III, the devout Spanish king who ruled from 1759 to 1788, pressed successfully for a papal concordat granting the state control over ecclesiastical appointments, and established his right to sanction the proclamation of papal bulls. Powerful as the Church was, it did not rival the aristocracy as an opponent of a centralized state. Monarchs combatted the noble orders in various ways. Louis XIV controlled the ancient French aristocracy by depriving it of political power while increasing its social prestige. Peter the Great, the talented and erratic Tsar of early 18th century Russia, co-opted the nobility into government service.

Later in the century, Catherine II struck a bargain whereby in return for the granting of vast estates and a variety of social and economic privileges such as

exemption from taxation, the Russian aristocracy virtually surrendered the administrative and political power of the state into the empress' hands. In Prussia under Frederick the Great, the army was staffed by nobles: again, as in Peter's Russia, a case of co-option nobility exemption from taxation and deliberately blurring the distinctions between nobles and commoners.

These struggles between monarchs and nobles had implications for the additional struggle between local privileges and centralized power. Absolutists in France waged constant war against the autonomy of provincial institutions, often headed by aristocrats, much as Spanish rulers in the 16th century had battled independent-minded nobles in Aragon and Catalonia. Prussian rulers intruded into the governance of formerly 'free' cities, assuming police and revenue powers over their inhabitants. These various campaigns, constantly waged and usually successful for a time, were evidence of the nature of absolutism and of its continuing success.

Absolutism had its theoretical apologists as well as its able practitioners. In addition to the political philosophies of men such as Bodin, defenders of royal power could rely on treatises such as Bishop Jacques Bossuet's *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Scripture* (1708), written during the reign of Louis XIV, to sustain the case for extended monarchical control. Bossuet argued that absolute government was not the same as arbitrary government, since God, in whom 'all strength and Bishop Jacques Bossuet all perfection were united,' was united as well with the person of the king. 'God is holiness itself, goodness itself, and power itself. In these things lies the majesty of God. In the image of these things lies the majesty of the prince.' It followed that the king was answerable to no one but God himself, and that the king was as far above other mortals as God was above the king. 'The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person; he is a public personage, all the state is in him. . . As all perfection and all strength are united in God, all the power of individuals is united in the Person of the prince. What grandeur that a simple man should embody so much. What grandeur indeed!'. Bossuet's treatise was the most explicit and extreme statement of the theory of the divine rights of kings, the doctrine that James I had tried to foist upon the English. Unlikely as it may sound to modern ears, the political philosophy of Bossuet was comforting to men and women who craved peace and stability after a century or more of international and domestic turmoil.

3.2.3 Absolutism of Louis XIV

Louis XIV as a modern ruler understood the importance of theater as a means of establishing his authority. Well into the 18th century, superstitious commoner continued to believe in the power of the king's magic 'touch' to cure disease. Louis and his successors used this belief to enhance their position as divine-right rulers endowed with God-like powers and far removed from common humanity. The advantages of strategic theater were expressed most clearly in Louis's palace at Versailles, the town outside of Paris to which he moved his court. The building itself was a stage, upon which Louis mesmerized the aristocracy into obedience by his performance of the Versailles daily rituals of absolutism. The main facade of the palace was a third of a mile in length. Inside, tapestries and paintings celebrated French military victories and royal triumphs. Outside, in gardens containing 1400 fountains, statues of Apollo, god of the sun, recalled Louis's claim to be the 'Sun King' of the French. Noblemen vied to attend him when he arose from bed, ate his meals (usually stone-cold, having traveled the distance of several city blocks from royal kitchen to royal table), strolled in his gardens, or rode to the hunt. As Louis called himself the Sun King, so his court

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was the epicenter of his royal effulgence. Its glitter, in which France's leading aristocrats were required by their monarch to share, was deliberately manufactured so as to blind them to the possibility of disobedience to the royal will. Instead of plotting some sort of minor treason on his estate, a marquis enjoyed the pleasure of knowing that on the morrow he was to be privileged to engage the king in two or three minutes of vapid conversation as the royal party made its stately progress through the vast palace halls (whose smells were evidence of the absence of sanitation facilities and of the seamy side of absolutist grandeur).

Louis understood this theater as part of his duty as sovereign, a duty which he took with utmost seriousness. Though far from brilliant, he, Louis XIV, on his duties was hard working and conscientious. Whether or not he actually remarked '*L'etat, c'est moi*' ('I am the state'), he believed himself personally responsible for the well-being of his subjects. 'The deference and the respect that we receive from our subjects,' he wrote in a memoir he prepared for his son on the art of ruling, 'are not a free gift from them but payment for the justice and the protection that they expect from us. Just as they must honor us, we must protect and defend them.' Louis defined this responsibility in absolutist terms; as a need to concentrate royal power so as to produce general domestic tranquility. While taming the aristocracy, he conciliated the upper bourgeoisie by enlisting its members to assist him in the task of administration. He appointed them as intendants, responsible for the administration and French absolutism: taxation of the thirty-six generalities into which France was divided. Intendants and revenue Intendants never served in the regions where they were born, and were thus unconnected with the local elites over which they exercised authority. They held office at the king's pleasure, and were clearly 'his' men. Other administrators, often from families newly ennobled as a result of administrative service, assisted in directing affairs of state from Versailles. These men were not actors in the theater of Louis the Sun King; they were the hard-working assistants of Louis the royal custodian of his country's welfare. Much of the time and energy of Louis's bureaucrats was expended on the collection of taxes, necessary above all in order to finance the large standing army on which France's ambitious foreign policy depended. In addition to the *faillie*, or land tax, which increased throughout the seventeenth century and upon which a surtax was levied as well, the government introduced a capitation tax, payable by all, and pressed hard for the collection of indirect taxes such as that on salt (the *gabelle*) and on wine and tobacco. Since the nobility was exempt from the *faillie*, its burden fell most heavily on the peasantry, whose periodic local revolts Louis easily crushed.

Regional opposition—and indeed regionalism generally—was curtailed during Louis's reign. Although intendants and lesser administrators came from afar, did not speak the local dialect, ignored local custom, and were therefore despised, they were generally obeyed. The opposition semi-autonomous outer provinces of Brittany, Languedoc, and Franche Comte (a part of that territory known collectively as the *pays d'etat*) came to heel as central administration crippled their provincial Estates. To put an end to the power of regional parlements (the courts responsible for registering laws), Louis decreed that members of those bodies which vetoed legislation would be summarily exiled. The Estates-General, the national French representative assembly last summoned in 1614 during the troubled regency following the death of Henry IV, did not meet again until 1789.

Louis was equally determined, for reasons of state and of personal conscience, to impose religious unity upon the French. That task proved to be difficult and time-consuming. The Huguenots were the only source of theological heterodoxy. Jesuits,

Quietists, and Jan-policies senists—all three claiming to represent the 'true' Roman faith—battled among themselves for adherents to their particular brand of Catholicism. Jesuits served Louis's interests best, since they advocated obedience to the secular power of the French state, Quietists preached was a French version of Calvinism which stressed the doctrine of original sin and rejected the belief in free will that was central to Jesuit teaching. Louis, adhering to the absolutist doctrine of *UN roi, une loi, une foi* (one king, one law, one faith) which had served as a rallying cry for both Catholics and Protestants in France during the preceding century, took drastic steps to achieve religious conformity as part of his program of national unification. He persecuted Quietists and Jansenists, offering them the choice of recanting or of prison and exile. Against the Huguenots he waged an even sterner war. Protestant churches and schools were destroyed; Protestant families were forced to convert. In 1685, Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, the legal foundation of the toleration Huguenots had enjoyed since 1598. French Protestants were, thereafter, denied civil rights, and their clergy was exiled. Thousands of religious refugees fled France for England, Holland, the Protestant states of Germany, and America, where their particular professional and artisanal skills made a significant contribution to economic prosperity. (The silk industry of Berlin and of Spital-fields, an urban quarter of London, was established by Huguenots.)

Louis's drive for unification and centralization was assisted by his ability to rely upon increased revenues to fuel the domestic and military machinery of his absolutist monarchy. Those revenues were largely the result of policies and programs initiated by Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), the country's finance minister from 1664 until his death. Colbert was an energetic and committed mercantilist who believed that until France could put its fiscal house in order it could not achieve economic greatness. Colbert assumed office at a time when France, because of costly wars, was deeply in debt. Although he could not rid the country of that burden, he did for a time establish an interest rate of no higher than 5 per cent, significantly lower than those the government had been accustomed to paying, and began negotiating directly with major creditors, rather than relying, as in the past, on fee-charging middlemen. Meanwhile, he tightened the process of tax collection, hounding corrupt officials who skimmed off a share of the taxes for themselves. He eliminated, wherever possible, the practice of tax farming, the system whereby collection agents were permitted to withhold a certain percentage of what they gathered for themselves. When Colbert assumed office, only about 25 per cent of the taxes collected throughout the kingdom were reaching the treasury. By the time he died, that figure had risen to 80 per cent. As a mercantilist, Colbert did all he could to increase the nation's income by means of protection and regimentation.

Tariffs imposed by Colbert as mercantilist in 1668 were designed to discourage the importation of foreign goods into France. He invested in the improvement of France's roads and waterways. And he used state money to promote the growth of national industry, and in particular the manufacture of goods such as silk, lace, tapestries, and glass, which had long been imported. Yet Colbert's efforts to achieve national economic stability and self-sufficiency could not withstand the insatiable demands of Louis XIV's increasingly expensive wars. Nor did his overseas trading companies ever achieve the stature of those of England and Holland. Unquestionably, however, France's economy was generally healthier as a result of his policies. Also, his championing of industrial enterprise did much to enhance the image of businessmen and entrepreneurs in the eyes of a nation which in the past had tended to disdain commerce and manufacturing.

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3.2.4 Absolutism in Central and Eastern Europe, 1660-1720

The degree of success enjoyed by Louis XIV as an absolutist monarch was in part the result of his own abilities, and of those of his advisors. Yet it was also due to the fact that he could claim to stand as supreme Absolutism and national embodiment of the will of all his people. Despite its internal division into territories and orders that continued to claim some right to independence, France was already unified before the accession of Louis XIV, possessed of a sense of itself as a nation. In this, it differed from the empires, kingdoms, and principalities to the east, where rulers faced an even more formidable task than did Louis as they attempted to weld their disparately constructed monarchies into a united, centralized whole. The Thirty Years' War had delivered a final blow to the pretensions of the Holy Roman Empire, which the French philosopher Voltaire dubbed as neither holy, Roman, nor an empire. Power, in varying degrees, passed to the over three hundred princes, bishops, and magistrates who governed the assorted states of Germany throughout the remainder of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Despite the minute size of their domains, many of these petty monarchs attempted to establish themselves as absolutists in miniature, building lesser versions of Louis XIV's Versailles, maintaining similar standards. Although these rulers often prided themselves on their independence from imperial control, in many instances, they were client states of France. A sizable portion of the money Louis devoted to the conduct of foreign affairs went to these German princelings. States like Saxony, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Bavaria, which were of a size, to establish themselves as truly independent, were not averse to forming alliances against their own emperor. Most notable among these middle-sized German states was Brandenburg-Prussia, whose emergence as a power of consequence during this period was the result of the single-minded determination of its rulers, principally Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg from Brandenburg-Prussia from initial insignificance, poverty, and devastation in the wake of the Thirty Years' War resulted from three basic achievements that can be credited to the Great Elector.

First, he pursued an adroit foreign policy which enabled him to establish effective sovereignty over the widely dispersed territories under his rule: Brandenburg, a large but not particularly productive territory in north-central Germany; Prussia, a duchy to the east that was dangerously exposed on three sides to Poland; and a sprinkling of tiny states—Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg—to the west. By siding with Poland in a war against Sweden, in the late 1650s, the Great Elector obtained the Polish king's surrender of nominal overlordship in East Prussia. Then, by some crafty diplomatic shuffling in the 1670s, he secured his western provinces from French interference by returning Pomerania, captured in a recent war, to France's Swedish allies.

Frederick William's second achievement was the establishment of a large standing army, the primary instrument of his diplomatic success. By 1688, Brandenburg-Prussia had 30,000 troops permanently large standing army under arms. That he was able to sustain an army of this size in a state with comparatively limited resources, was a measure of the degree to which the army more than repaid its costs. It ensured the elector and Prussians swearing allegiance to the Great Elector at Königsberg, 1663. The occasion upon which the Prussian estates first acknowledged the over lordship of their ruler, this ceremony marked the beginning of the centralization of the Prussian state. His successors absolute political control by fostering obedience

among the populace, an obedience they were prepared to observe if their lands might be spared the devastation of another Thirty Years' War.

The third factor contributing to the emergence of the Great Elector's state as an international power was his imposition of an effective system of taxation and his creation of a government bureaucracy to administer it. Here, he struck an important bargain with the powerful bureaucracy: bargaining with privileged landlords (junkers) without whose cooperation they would have had no chance of success. In return for an agreement which allowed them to reduce their peasant underlings to the status of serfs, the junkers gave away their right to oppose a permanent tax system, provided, of course, that they were made immune from the payment of taxes themselves. (As in other European countries, taxes in Prussia fell most heavily on the peasantry.)

Henceforth, the political privileges of the landlord class diminished; secure in their right to manage their own estates as they wished, the junkers were content to surrender management of the Hohenzollern the junkers and the army possessions into the hands of a centralized bureaucracy. The most important department was a military commissariat, whose functions included not only the dispensing of army pay and materiel, but the development of industries to manufacture military equipment. Frederick William's success was due primarily to his ability to gain the active cooperation of the Junker class, something he needed even more than Louis XIV needed the support of the French nobility. Without it, Frederick William could never have hammered together his absolutist state from the disparate territorial pieces that were his political raw material. To obtain it, he used the army not only to maintain order, but as a way of co-opting Junker participation. The highest honour that could befall a Brandenburg squire was commission and promotion as a military servant of the state.

Like Brandenburg-Prussia, the Habsburg monarch was confronted with the task of transforming three different regions into a cohesive state. In the case of Austria, this effort was complicated by the fact absolutism in the that these areas were ethnically and linguistically diverse: the south Habsburg Empire of Germanic lands that roughly comprised the present-day state of Austria; the northern Czech (Slavic) speaking provinces of Bohemia and Moravia; the German-speaking Silesia, inherited in 1527; and Hungary, where the Magyar population spoke a non-Slavic, Finno-Ugric language, also acquired in 1527 but largely lost to Turkish invasion just a few years afterward. For the next 150 years the Habsburgs and the Turks vied for control of Hungary. Until 1683, Turkish pashas ruled three-fourths of the Magyar kingdom, extending to within eighty miles of the Habsburg capital of Vienna. In 1683, the Turks besieged Vienna itself, but were repulsed by the Austrians, assisted by a mixed German and Polish army under the command of King John Sobieski of Poland. This victory was a prelude to the Habsburg reconquest of virtually all of Hungary by the end of the century. The task of constructing an absolutist state from these extraordinarily varied territories was tackled with limited success by the 17th century Habsburg emperors Ferdinand III (1637-1657) and Leopold I (1658-1705). Most of their efforts were devoted to the establishment of productive agricultural estates in Bohemia and Moravia, and to taming the independent nobility there and in Hun and Moravia. Landlords were encouraged to farm for export, and were supported in this effort by a government decree which compelled peasants to provide three days of unpaid robot service per week to their masters. For this support, Bohemian and Moravian landed elites exchanged the political independence that had in the past expressed itself in the activities of their territorial legislative estates.

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Check Your Progress

1. Thirty Years' War was fought in France.
(True/False)
2. Frederick William was from Brandenburg-Prussia.
(True/False)
3. Charles III, the devout Spanish king who ruled from 1759 to 1788, pressed for a papal concordat.
(True/False)
4. The period of rule by Louis XIV of France until the French Revolution is known as the _____.
5. Since 1613 Russia had been ruled by members of the _____ dynasty.
6. Prussia was ruled by _____.
7. Which age is known as the age of absolutism?
8. Why is the king known as an absolute monarch?
9. Name an early-modern absolutist ruler of Russia.
10. How did the Russian aristocracy lead itself into the empress' hands?

Habsburg rulers tried to effect this same sort of bargain in Hungary as well. But there the tradition of independence was stronger here. Hungarian (or Magyar) nobles in the west claimed the right Hungarian nobility to elect their king, a right they eventually surrendered to Leopold in 1687. But the central government's attempts to further reduce the country by administering it through the army, by granting large tracts of land to German aristocrats and settlers, and by persecuting non-Catholics were an almost total failure. The result was a powerful nobility which, while it insisted upon its right to exploit its serfs as it saw fit, nevertheless remained fiercely determined to retain its traditional constitutional and religious 'liberties.' The Habsburg emperors could boast that they too, like absolutists elsewhere, possessed a large standing army and an educated (in this case German-speaking) bureaucracy. But the exigencies imposed by geography and ethnicity kept them at some distance from the absolutist goal of a unified, centrally controlled and administered state.

Undoubtedly the most dramatic episode in the history of early-modern absolutist rule was the dynamic reign of Tsar Peter I of Russia (1682-1725). Peter's accomplishments alone would clearly have earned him his history-book title, Peter the Great. But his gigantic height—he was nearly seven feet tall—as well as his mercurial persona - Peter the Great. Previously the country's rulers had set their faces firmly against the West, disdaining a civilization at odds with the Eastern Orthodox, semi-Oriental culture that was their heritage, while laboring to keep the various ethnic ever-growing empire from destroying not only each other but the tsarist state itself. Since 1613 Russia had been ruled by members of the Romanov dynasty, who had attempted with some success to restore political stability following the chaotic 'time of troubles' that had occurred after the death of the bloodthirsty, half-mad Tsar Ivan the Terrible in 1584. The early Romanovs' severest test had come between 1667 and 1671, when the English usage of the term robot was derived from the Czech designation of a serf.

ACTIVITY

Brainstorm on the word 'absolute'. What words or ideas come to mind when you think of the word 'absolute'?

DID YOU KNOW?

The palace of Versailles is considered to be one of the greatest expressions of European absolutism. Louis XIV, also known as the 'Sun King,' reigned for 72 years; he is credited for building this monumental palace. His silver throne was 8 feet high; this reinforced the notion that the king was larger than life. Louis XIV had a statue of himself with the following inscription: 'World come and see what I see, and what the Sun admires, Rome in one palace, in Paris an Empire, and all the Caesars in one King.' This engraving on a statue shows that Louis XIV believed that he is as strong as the Roman Emperors. He also refers to himself as the 'Sun,' which is an allusion to the Greek Sun God Apollo.

3.3 EMERGENCE OF NATION STATE — FACTORS AND IMPACT

The nation state is a state, which identifies itself as deriving its political legality from serving as an independent entity for a nation as a sovereign territorial unit. The state is a political and geopolitical body; the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic body. The term 'nation state' means that the two geographically correspond with each other, which differentiates the nation state from the other kinds of state, which preceded it.

3.3.1 History and Origin

Most theories on the history and origin of the nation state see this emergence as a European phenomenon of the 1800s. It was facilitated by advances such as group literacy and the early mass media. Though, historians also notice the early materialization of a relatively unified state, and a sense of general identity, in Portugal and the Dutch Republic.

The French state encouraged the amalgamation of various dialects and languages into the French language. Under this theory, the opening of conscription and the Third Republic's 1880s laws on public training facilitated the formation of a national identity.

Theorist Benedict Anderson argues that the lessening of privileged right to use of particular script languages (such as Latin), the movement to put an end to the ideas of divine rule and monarchy, and the appearance of the printing press under a system of capitalism (or, as he calls it, print-capitalism) led to increase in nationalism. The 'state-driven' theories of the beginning of nation states concentrate on a few specific states, such as England and its rival France. These states grew up from core areas, and developed a national awareness and sagacity of national identity ('Englishness' and 'Frenchness').

Both incorporated peripheral nations such as Wales, Cornubia, Brittany and Occitania; these areas went through a revitalization of interest in the national culture in the 19th century, resulting in the formation of autonomist movements in the 20th century.

Some nation states, such as Germany and Italy, emerged at least to a degree as a result of political campaigns by nationalists, during the 19th century. In both examples, the territory was until that time divided amongst other states, some of them very undersized. The sense of general identity was at first a cultural association; for example, the Völkisch movement in German-speaking states, which quickly acquired a political implication. In these instances, the nationalist feeling and the nationalist association heralded the unification of the German and Italian nation states.

According to historians Hans Kohn, Liah Greenfeld, Philip White and others, nations, for example Germany or Italy, where cultural unification heralded state unification, can be classified as ethnic nations or ethnic nationalities. However, 'state-driven' national unifications, for example, France, England or China, are more likely to flourish in multiethnic societies, leading to a traditional national inheritance of civic nations, or territory-based nationalities.

The concept of a nation state is linked with the emergence of the modern system of states, frequently called the 'Westphalian system'. This refers to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). The balance of power, which is the main theme of that system, is

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founded on its emphasis upon clearly defined, centrally controlled, independent entities, whether empires or nation states, which identify others' sovereignty and territory. The Westphalian system did not lead to the nation state; however, the nation state congregates the criteria for its component states (by considering that there is no undecided territory).

The nation state received a philosophical foundation in the age of Romanticism. It was first mentioned in the form of the 'natural' expression of the individual peoples (romantic nationalism or Johann Gottlieb Fichte's idea of the Volk, which would be later opposed by Ernest Renan). The increasing stress during the 19th century on the racial and ethnic origins of the nation resulted in a redefinition of the nation state in these terms. The tie between racism and ethnic nationalism reached its peak in the 1900s in the form of Fascism and Nazism.

3.3.2 Characteristics of Nation States

Nation states have the following characteristics:

- They are not like the pre-national states.
- They have a different attitude to their territory, compared to the dynastic monarchies, as their territory is semi-sacred and non-transferable.
- They have a special type of border, which is defined only by the area of settlement of the national group, though several nation states also sought natural borders (rivers, mountain ranges).
- The most evident characteristic is the extent to which nation states use the state as a tool of national unity in economic, social and cultural spheres.
- They encourage economic unity by eliminating internal customs and tolls.
- They characteristically have a policy to form and keep a national transportation infrastructure that facilitates trade and travel.
- They typically have a more extra-centralized and uniform public administration than their imperial precursors, which were smaller and had less diverse population.
- They have a uniform national culture, which is promoted by state policy. The model of the nation state implies that its population constitutes a nation, united by a common descent, a common language and many forms of shared culture.
- Language and cultural policy play very important roles in the sustenance of the nation state. Language prohibitions are at times employed to speed up the adoption of national languages, and the decline of minority languages.

3.3.3 The New Order

The Papacy and the Empire had dominated the Middle Age. Both of them were cosmopolitan institutions, derived from the ancient Roman republic, and instinct with the ideas of unity and universality. They ignored distinctions of race, language and geographical situation, proclaiming a common citizenship in a holy state, and a common membership of a catholic church. If they had been able to maintain their ascendancy and had succeeded in welding the various peoples of Western Europe into a single community, without question a long series of destructive and idiotic wars would have been avoided. But both of them collapsed as political institutions towards the close of the Middle Age, and made way for a new international order. Differences of race

language and geographical situation proved stronger than the identity of religious belief and the common inheritance of the tradition of Rome.

The new order was marked by four features which distinguished it sharply from the medieval order which it superseded. These four were:

- formation of sovereign national states
- establishment of strong independent monarchies
- rise of a wealthy and powerful middle class
- revolution in methods of warfare

Let us briefly examine each of these four features:

(I) Formation of sovereign national states

Into the Roman Empire during and after the 4th century of the Christian era numerous barbarian tribes made their way and established themselves—Vandals, Visigoths and Sueves in Spain; Visigoths, Franks and Burgundians in Gaul; Angles, Saxons and Jutes in Britain, and so on. The Catholic Church did its best to convert, civilize, and unify them; but with only temporary and partial success. Paganism, barbarism, and particularism remained strong, if dormant, during the Middle Age, and at the end of that period they reasserted themselves. Nevertheless as the result of the forces at work during the Middle Age, some consolidation had taken place.

In Britain, for example, Angles, Saxons and Jutes had been welded together to form an English nation, into which also had been absorbed large numbers of Danish and Norman immigrants. At the same time, half-a-dozen small states—of which Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex were the most important—had been fused into a single national kingdom. The forces which effected this consolidation and fusion were mainly the ambition of aggressive kings and the pressure of foreign wars. By the end of the fifteenth century 'the commonwealth of the Realm of England' had come into conscious existence. The passion of patriotism had been roused into active life.

In a similar manner the French national state had been created by the growth of the French monarchy, and by the absorption into the kingdom of numerous feudal duchies and countries which for many centuries had enjoyed an almost complete independence. The last to be thus absorbed were—the duchies of Aquitaine (1453), Burgundy (1477) and Brittany (1491).

At about the same date, too, Spain attained to national unity. The process, however, was rather different from that seen in England and France. For Spain had been conquered by the Mohammedan Moors in the eighth century of the Christian era, and not until 1492 was the last Moorish stronghold, Granada, recovered by the Christians. Moreover, the Christians themselves had been divided among a number of small states—Leon, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, and so on—and not until the fifteenth century was approximate unification effected. The outstanding event was the marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand of Aragon and Catalonia to Isabella of Castile and Leon. It was their joint forces that accomplished the conquest of Granada in the very same year that their fleet under Columbus discovered the Islands off the coast of America.

(II) Establishment of strong monarchies

The unification of England, France and Spain at the close of the 15th century not only brought to an end a long series of debilitating civil wars, but it also placed at the

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disposal of their respective rulers far larger resources in men and in money than had been available before. Moreover, just at the time when this new internal tranquility, and this new accumulation of power, made foreign enterprise possible, the discovery of the new routes to the East and of the New World in the West, roused the desire of the unified nations to the highest pitch of intensity. Hence, the dawn of modern times saw the beginnings of fierce international conflicts; on the one hand, for hegemony on the continent of Europe, and, on the other hand, for possession of the command of the sea and the development of overseas empires. Now to wage these conflicts successfully, strong, dictatorial governments were necessary. Hence, in place of the weak constitutional kings of the late Middle Age—of whom Henry VI of England was an extreme example—we find ruthless but efficient tyrants, such as Henry VIII of England, Francis I of France, and Philip II of Spain. They were men of the same type as Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin of the present day.

(III) Rise of a wealthy and powerful middle class

It is doubtful whether even the unified nations and the new monarchs could have carried out their ambitions designs if they had behind them to larger resources than those available during the greater part of the Middle Age. But during the later medieval centuries a new social order had been springing up whose strength lay in wealth, and in the influence and culture which wealth confers. The three main medieval classes had been the 'bellatores' (warriors) 'laboratores' (peasants) and 'oratores' (clergy). The new class which came into existence as the result of the extension of commerce and the growth of cities was that of the 'mercatores' or merchants. Their class, drawn mainly from the ranks of emancipated and enterprising peasants, was eager to secure new markets, new sources of supplies, new outlets for energy. It was also determined to throw off the yoke of the 'bellatores' who for a thousand years had kept the peasantry in subjection, and also the authority of the 'oratores' who had held their minds in bondage. Thus, they were eager to support kings like Henry VIII who fiercely suppressed the feudal nobility of England and challenged the supremacy of the decadent clergy.

(IV) Revolution in methods of Warfare

The long ascendancy of the medieval class of 'bellatores', that is, the nobility with their massive castles as dwelling, places, was due to their supremacy in war. As long as spears, swords, bows and arrows, and battle-axes were the most effective weapons known, so long the feudal baronage retained its ascendancy. But the invention of gunpowder (first used effectively in the 14th century), and the development of firearms, rendered useless both armour and castles, and so enabled the 'third estate'—the estate of the middle-class—to assert its equality with its former masters.

Thus, at the end of the 15th century the stage was set for the performance of the new international drama. The protagonists were the states of western Europe—Spain and Portugal, France and England. Within them the by-play was enacted by social struggles in which the new middle class, with or without royal support, vindicated itself against nobles and clergy.

3.3.4 States of Western Europe

The time has come when we must survey a little more closely the condition of the states that constituted Europe at the opening of our period. Let us begin with those in the West, and particularly those that had recently attained to unity.

England

The year that saw the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453), also saw an event of importance in the history of England. This was the final expulsion of the English from all their possessions in France, with the single exception of Calais. Ever since the Norman conquest of England in 1066, the kings of England had possessed large provinces across the Channel; in the 14th century they had even claimed the crown of France. The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) was fought to decide this and other matters of dispute. It ended in the complete defeat of the English. This disaster, attributed to the incompetence of Henry VI and his ministers, was followed by a long-drawn civil war, known as the Wars of the Roses (1455-85) during which the Lancastrian Henry VI was deposed and murdered, and a new line of kings—Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, of the House of York—set up. In 1485 Richard III was overthrown and killed in the battle of Bosworth by the Lancastrian, Henry Tudor, who became King Henry VII.

Henry VII (1485-1509) established the 'new monarchy' in England. With a strong hand he enforced law and restored order; he built up an army equipped with the new artillery; he laid the foundations of a royal navy; he made peace with Scotland and reasserted English authority over Ireland. In foreign affairs he frankly abandoned the idea of re-conquering the lost French provinces and aimed at establishing friendly relations with the Continental Powers. Having kept the country at peace, he died leaving behind him a well-filled treasury and a prosperous people.

France

The Hundred Years' War with England, although it ended victoriously, reduced France during its course to the very depths of misery. The lowest point was reached in 1428 when half of France was in English occupation, and the English Henry VI had been proclaimed king. The turn of the tide came with the appearance of Joan of Arc that year, and as we have observed, by 1453 the English dominion had been brought to an end.

Charles VII of the House of Valois (1422-61) was then King. He was a poor creature. His country was cleared of the invaders almost in spite of himself. The one important achievement of his anaemic reign was the formation of a standing army (gens d' wdomwnce) supported by a special permanent tax known as the *taille*. His son, Louis XI (1461-83) was a monarch of a very different character. Full of craft, and diabolically clever in diplomacy, he carried on a long and successful struggle with the great serai independent nobles, of whom the chief were the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Berry, and Bourbon. Incidentally, he considerably extended French territory by the incorporation of the immense Duchy of Burgundy in 1477, and the County of Provence in 1481. With the advent of Charles VIII (1483-1498) the modern era began. This king secured the last of the great semi-independent duchies by marrying in 1491 the Duchess Anne of Brittany, last of her line by an expedition into Italy.

Spain

The Italian expedition of the French king Charles VIII brought France into violent conflict with Spain. Spain at that date was under the strong united rule of Ferdinand and Isabella. We have remarked that these two capable rulers were married in 1469. At the time of their marriage neither of them expected to reign. But unlocked for

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circumstances brought Isabella to the throne of Castile in 1474, and Ferdinand to that of Aragon in 1479. They reigned jointly until 1506 when Isabella died. During the next ten years Ferdinand administered both kingdoms, that of Castile in the name of his daughter Joanna. The period 1474-1516 was one of great importance in the history of Spain, and indeed of the world. The reasons are:

- (1) It was the establishment of the Royal Inquisition in Spain as a means of cementing the new national unity on the basis of rigid Catholicism;
- (2) The expulsion of the Jews as aliens;
- (3) The reduction of the Mohammedan Moors by the capture of Granada in 1492;
- (4) The discovery of America by Columbus and its formal annexation, confirmed by a papal Bull;
- (5) The conquests of Naples in 1504, and of Navarre, south of the Pyrenees in 1512.

Only Portugal remained to be incorporated, and Ferdinand strove to bring it within the Spanish sphere of influence by means of marriage alliances. He gave his eldest daughter, Isabella, in marriage to the Portuguese King Emmanuel; and when Isabella died he secured a special papal dispensation to allow her sister Mary to take her place. This marriage proved to be the basis of the annexation of Portugal by Spain in the generations later (1580). Two other Spanish marriages had important results, namely, that of Joanna to Philip of Austria, and that of Catherine to Henry VIII of England.

Portugal

This small kingdom, originally a dependence of Castile, had attained to a precarious autonomy in 1140. It remained weak and insignificant until the voyages of its mariners, under the inspiration of Navigator, opened up the Cape route to India. From that time Lisbon gradually superseded Venice as the great emporium of Eastern commerce. The acquisition of Brazil, moreover, in 1500 provided a new source of wealth, and a new outlet for energy, to the scanty population of the little kingdom. So King Emmanuel (1495-1521) was a person whose friendship and whose heritage were alike desirable. During his reign Portugal attained the height of its prosperity. Its seamen continued their fruitful explorations—the islands of St. Helena and Ascension (1501), Tristan da Cunha (1506), Malacca (1509), were added to the Portuguese empire. It was a Portuguese seaman, moreover, although in the service of Spain, who first circumnavigated the globe. In 1519 Fernando Magellan set out from Seville, and, having traversed the perilous straits that now bear his name, entered the uncharted wastes of the Pacific Ocean. In 1522, the scanty remnants of his crews reached Seville again and made their way, as penitents, to the cathedral there—as penitents because in some mysterious manner they had lost a day and had ‘knot their feasts and fasts all wrong’.

Germany and Italy

While England, France, Spain and Portugal, were thus establishing themselves as national states, Germany and Italy remained still unconscious of nationhood, split up into numerous—one might almost say innumerable—small political units, petty states, entirely impotent, yet extremely quarrelsome. At first sight it seems strange that this should have been so. For at one time during the Middle Age, namely under the Emperor

Henry III in the 11th century, Germany had appeared to be nearer to unification than any other European country. As for Italy, it was the very centre and seat of the Roman power which had consolidated the ancient world. During the Middle Age, however, Germany had become identified with the ‘Holy Roman Empire’ and Italy with the Papal Monarchy, and the efforts of popes and emperors to establish universal dominion had not only failed but had caused these potentates to lose, through neglect, control of their own countries. Like the dog in the fable that lost the bone that he carried in his mouth by snapping at its shadow in the water, so the pope and the emperor, snatching at world-power, lost the opportunity of unifying and consolidating their respective countries.

Germany

At the end of the Middle Age, Germany, under its emperor, Frederick III (1440-93), was utterly disintegrated. It consisted of some 360 separate and practically independent states—dukedom, margravates, counties; bishoprics, abbasies, free cities—not to mention hundreds of lawless and masterless ‘imperial knights’ (the Ritterschaft), a disorderly crowd, little better than bandits, all of whom owed no more than a nominal allegiance to the lethargic and absentee emperor. Among this vast mass of tiny principal, with their microscopic armies, a few stood out as larger and more important than the rest. With them the determination of the future mainly lay.

In the north were:

- (1) The Duchy of Saxony, with Dresden as its capital, held since 1422 by the House of Wettin;
- (2) The Margravate of Brandenburg, a frontier state facing the Slavs, over which since 1415 the Hohenzollerns had held sway;
- (3) The Hanseatic League, a confederation of free cities, of which Lubeck and Hamburg were chief, allied for mutual defence amid the late medieval anarchy.

In the south were:

- (4) The Duchy of Bavaria, as the principal power, with Munich as its centre, ruled by the House of Wittelsbach;
- (5) The Duchy of Austria, with Vienna as its capital, held since the thirteenth century by the acquisitive House of Hapsburg, and
- (6) The Country Palatine of the Rhine, with Heidelberg as its seat of government, ruled, like Bavaria, by a Wittelsbach.

There were, of course, the relics of a central government in Germany. The emperor himself was a symbol of a vanished unity. For if, as emperor, he claimed to rule on its temporal side the whole Christian world, he was also German king, claiming a peculiar sovereignty over all the petty potentates of his Konigsreich. Now the German kingship during the early Middle Age had been hereditary in the Merovingian House; but the revival of the Roman Empire by the coronation of Charlemagne in AD 800 had introduced the principle of election, with the result that the kingship had become the sport of faction and had gradually sunk into non existence. Efforts had been made from time to time to restore its power, e.g., by Charles IV (1346-78) and by his son Sigismund (1410-37), but they had failed and Frederick III had given up the attempt.

Below the king were the seven members of the ‘electoral college’ the constitution of which had been defined by the ‘Golden Bull’ of 1356: it consisted of the archbishops

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Check Your Progress

11. A nation state is an independent entity. (True/False)
12. Nation states do not encourage economic unity. (True/False)
13. Vandals were a tribe in the Gaul region. (True/False)
14. The origin of the nation state was facilitated by advances such as _____ and the early _____.
15. State-driven national unifications, for example, France, England or China, are more likely to flourish in _____.
16. The _____ and the _____ had dominated the Middle Age.
17. What does the term 'nation state' mean?
18. What factors led to an increase in nationalism?
19. What is the Westphalian system?
20. How was the French national state created?

of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves ; the King of Bohemia ; the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Braden-burg, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine. These seven electors fenced the nucleus of an imperial Diet. But under Frederick III all these central organizations became wholly inoperative. Germany as a political unit had ceased to exist.

Italy

In no better case was Italy. The Papal States stretching across the peninsula from Ravenna on the Adriatic to the vicinage of Rome on the Mediterranean, cut the country into two sections. The popes were not strong enough to unify Italy under their own authority; but they were strong enough to prevent any other power from doing so. Hence, Italy, like Germany, was split up into a number of small states, each centred in some dominant city. These Italian city-states in the 15th century were remarkable institutions. Although politically chaotic and torn by faction, they were the homes of the Renaissance. Their leading citizens had become wealthy by means of commerce and banking ; they collected libraries, patronized literary men, founded academies, encouraged artists, sculptors, architects, musicians ; developed the arts and sciences in a manner never done since the fall of the Greek city-states in the ancient world two thousand years before.

Apart from Rome, the other most important city—states was Venice. Venice, a republic, the supreme power in which since 1310 had resided with a Council of Ten under the nominal headship of a Doge of Duke. Venice was by nature and situation a sea-power, and her connections during the Middle Age were mainly with Constantinople and the Levant. The advance of the Turks tended to cut these medieval connections, and in the 15th century she began to build up a land empire to compensate her for her overseas losses. Thus, she acquired—mainly at the expense of Milan—Verona and Vicenza (1404), Padua (1405), Dalmatia and Friuli (1409-21), Brescia and Bergamo (1426-28), Ravenna (1441), Gremona (1499), and Rimini (1503). These aggressions, as we shall see, caused the formation of a powerful coalition against her early in the sixteenth century.

3.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- European society in the 18th century was dominated by various aristocratic houses. France was ruled by Louis XVI, Spain by Charles III, Russia by Catherine the Great, etc.
- The Parliament of Great Britain greatly depended on the patronage of the English nobility and its monarch George III.
- The feudal structure of the society also contributed towards this resentment. In a feudal structure, the major burden of taxation is on the poor whose money is used for privileges that are only meant to be enjoyed by the nobility.
- Along with this prevailing situation, the ideas of the Renaissance were slowly taking shape among the masses of Europe. There was spread of scientific inquiry and increasing questioning of religious dogmatism.
- The period from the accession to personal rule of Louis XIV of France until the French Revolution is known as the age of absolutism. Absolutism may be defined

as 'conscious extension of the legal and administrative power of state sovereigns over their subjects, and over the vested interests of the social and economic orders in which those subjects were ranked'.

- Absolutism appealed to many Europeans for the same reason that mercantilism did. In theory and practice, it expressed a desire for Absolutism's appeal end to the constant alarms and confusions of Europe's 'iron century.'
- Absolutist monarchs insisted, in turn, upon their duty to teach their subjects, even against their will, how to order their domestic affairs.
- In Prussia, under Frederick the Great, the army was by nobles.
- If France was to survive and prosper as a great European state, then, the monarchs were aware, that in order to achieve that objective, the absolutist monarchs had to work to achieve the disposition of the state's armed forces, the administration, legal system, and the collection and distribution of its tax.
- This ambitious goal required an efficient bureaucracy that owed monarchical army, its primary allegiance not to some particular social or economic order administration, and with interests antithetical to the monarchy, but to the institution of revenue the monarchy itself.
- The church and the nobility, the semi autonomous regions, and the would-be independent representative bodies (the English Parliament and the French Estates-General) were all obstacles to the achievement of strong, centralized monarchical government. And the history of absolutism is, as much as anything, the history of the attempts of various rulers to bring these institutions to heel.
- One hallmark of absolutist policy was its determination to construct a set of institutions strong enough to withstand, destroy, the privileged interests that had stood in the path of power in the past.
- These struggles between monarchs and nobles had implications for the additional struggle between local privileges and centralized power.
- Absolutists in France waged constant war against the autonomy of provincial institutions, often headed by aristocrats, much as Spanish rulers in the sixteenth century had battled independent-minded nobles in Aragon and Catalonia.
- Prussian rulers intruded into the governance of formerly 'free' cities, assuming police and revenue powers over their inhabitants. These various campaigns, constantly waged and usually successful for a time, were evidence of the nature of absolutism and of its continuing success.
- Louis XIV as a modern ruler understood the importance of theater as a means of establishing his authority. Well into the eighteenth century, superstitious commoner continued to believe in the power of the king's magic 'touch' to cure disease.
- Louis and his successors used this belief to enhance their position as divine-right rulers endowed with God-like powers and far removed from common humanity.
- The advantages of strategic theater were expressed most clearly in Louis's palace at Versailles, the town outside of Paris to which he moved his court.
- Jesuits, Quietists, and Jan-policies senists—all three claiming to represent the 'true' Roman faith—battled among themselves for adherents to their particular brand of Catholicism.

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- Louis's drive for unification and centralization was assisted by his ability to rely upon increased revenues to fuel the domestic and military machinery of his absolutist monarchy.
- Colbert assumed office at a time when France, because of costly wars, was deeply in debt. He tightened the process of tax collection, hounding corrupt officials who skimmed off a share of the taxes for themselves.
- Tariffs imposed by Colbert as mercantilist in 1668 were designed to discourage the importation of foreign goods into France. He invested in the improvement of France's roads and waterways.
- Frederick William's first achievement was that he pursued an adroit foreign policy which enabled him to establish effective sovereignty over the widely dispersed territories under his rule.
- Frederick William's second achievement was the establishment of a large standing army, the primary instrument of his diplomatic success.
- The third factor contributing to the emergence of the Great Elector's state as an international power was his imposition of an effective system of taxation and his creation of a government bureaucracy to administer it.
- Frederick William's struck an important bargain with the powerful bureaucracy: bargaining and privileged landlords (Junkers) without whose cooperation Junkers would have had no chance of success.
- The nation state is a state which identifies itself as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as an independent entity for a nation as a sovereign territorial unit. The state is a political and geopolitical body; the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic body.
- The term 'nation state' means that the two geographically correspond with each other, which differentiates the nation state from the other kinds of state, which preceded it.
- The nation state received a philosophical foundation in the age of Romanticism. It was first mentioned in the form of the 'natural' expression of the individual peoples (romantic nationalism or Johann Gottlieb Fichte's idea of the Volk, which would be later opposed by Ernest Renan).
- The Papacy and the Empire had dominated the Middle Age. Both of them were cosmopolitan institutions, derived from the ancient Roman republic, and instinct with the ideas of unity and universality.
- The new order was marked by four features which distinguished it sharply from the medieval order which it superseded. These four were:
 - o formation of sovereign national states
 - o establishment of strong independent monarchies
 - o rise of a wealthy and powerful middle class
 - o revolution in methods of warfare
- **England.** The year that saw the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453), also saw an event of importance in the history of England. This was the final expulsion of the English from all their possessions in France, with the single exception of Calais.

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- **France.** The Hundred Years' War with England, although it ended victoriously, reduced France during its course to the very depths of misery. The lowest point was reached in 1428 when half of France was in English occupation, and the English Henry VI had been proclaimed king. The turn of the tide came with the appearance of Joan of Arc that year, and as we have observed, by 1453 the English dominion had been brought to an end.
- **Spain.** The Italian expedition of the French king Charles VIII brought France into violent conflict with Spain. And Spain at that date was under the strong united rule of Ferdinand and Isabella.
- **Portugal.** This small kingdom, originally a dependence of Gastile, had attained to a precarious autonomy in 1140. It remained weak and insignificant until the voyages of its mariners, under the inspiration of Navigator, opened up the Cape route to India.
- **Germany.** At the end of the Middle Age, Germany, under its emperor, Frederick III (1440-93), was utterly disintegrated. It consisted of some 360 separate and practically independent states—dukedom, margravates, counties; bishoprics, abbacies, free cities.
- **Italy.** In no better case was Italy. The Papal States stretching across the peninsula from Ravenna on the Adriatic to the vicinage of Rome on the Mediterranean, cut the country into two sections. The popes were not strong enough to unify Italy under their own authority; but they were strong enough to prevent any other power from doing so.

3.5 KEY TERMS

- **Absolute monarch:** Unlimited power in the hands of the King and his advisors. The ruler's power was not limited by having to consult with nobles, common people, or their representatives.
- **Divine right:** The political idea that monarchs receive their power directly from god and are responsible only to God for their actions. This allowed monarchs to go unchallenged by their subjects.
- **Balance of power:** Each nation helps to keep peace and order by maintaining power that is equal to rival nations.
- **Dynasty:** This is a family that governs a country based on the idea of divine right passed down from one generation to the next.
- **Parlement:** The political institutions of the Parlement in ancient régime France developed out of the previous council of the king.
- **Concordat:** An agreement or treaty between the Holy See of the Catholic Church and a sovereign state.
- **Fronde:** Series of civil wars in France between 1648 and 1653, during the minority of Louis XIV.
- **Gabelle:** Form of tax in France before the Revolution of 1789—in particular, from the 15th century onward, the tax on salt.
- **Junkers:** In Prussian history **Junkers** were members of the landed nobility in Prussia. They owned great estates that were maintained and worked by Slavic peasants.

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- **Westphalian system:** It is the concept of the sovereignty of nation-states on their territory, with no role for external agents in domestic structures.

3.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. False
2. True
3. True
4. Age of absolutism
5. Romanov
6. Frederick the Great
7. The period from the accession to personal rule of Louis XIV of France until the French Revolution is known as the age of absolutism.
8. A king is an absolute monarch as he has unlimited power in his hands.
9. Tsar Peter I
10. Catherine II struck a bargain whereby in return for the granting of vast estates and a variety of social and economic privileges such as exemption from taxation, the Russian aristocracy virtually surrendered the administrative and political power of the state into the empress' hands.
11. True
12. False
13. False
14. Group literacy, mass media
15. Multiethnic societies
16. Papacy, Empire
17. The state is a political and geopolitical body; the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic body. The term 'nation state' means that the two geographically correspond with each other, which differentiates the nation state from the other kinds of state, which preceded it.
18. Theorist Benedict Anderson argues that the lessening of privileged right to use of particular script languages (such as Latin), the movement to put an end to the ideas of divine rule and monarchy, and the appearance of the printing press under a system of capitalism (or, as he calls it, print-capitalism) led to increase in nationalism.
19. The Westphalia system refers to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). The balance of power, which is the main theme of that system, is founded on its emphasis upon clearly defined, centrally controlled, independent entities, whether empires or nation states, which identify others' sovereignty and territory.
20. The French national state had been created by the growth of the French monarchy, and by the absorption into the kingdom of numerous feudal duchies and countries which for many centuries had enjoyed an almost complete independence.

3.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Who was Louis XIV? How did he declare himself a divine monarch and what did he do?
2. What is the idea of nation state? Describe.
3. How did the nation states emerge in Europe?
4. How did the European rulers strengthen their personal positions as well as the state powers?
5. Which were the leading state powers who started asserting their sovereignty and dignity?
6. What were the factors responsible for the rise of absolutism?
7. What were the goals of the absolute state?
8. Why was the period 1474-1516 was one of great importance in the history of Spain under Ferdinand's rule?

Long-Answer Questions

1. How would you define absolutism? How did it begin in Europe and what was the objective behind this concept? Discuss in detail.
2. Which other European states believed in absolutism? Describe in detail.
3. Describe the absolutism of Louis XIV.
4. Outline the policies and programmes initiated by Jean Baptiste Colbert, (1619-1683), the finance minister of France.
5. Outline the origin of absolutism in Central and Eastern Europe during the period 1660-1720.
6. Describe the main characteristics of nation states.
7. Describe the features of the new order.
8. Outline the three basic achievements of Frederick William.

3.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND

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- 4.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
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4.0 INTRODUCTION

The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) was basically a series of wars predominantly fought in central Europe involving most of the European states. It was one of the longest continuous wars fought in the history of the world. The Thirty Years' War is considered to be the most destructive conflicts in the modern European history.

The origins of the conflict and goals of the participating states in the Thirty Years' War was composite, and no solitary cause can accurately be claimed as the major cause that led to the eruption of the wars. In the beginning, it took shape of a religious war between the Catholics and Protestants in the Holy Roman Empire. There were also disputes over internal politics of the European states and the balance of power within the Empire. Such disputes were quite significant in instigating the wars. In the later half, culminating as the general conflict, the Thirty Years' War involved almost all the great powers of the era.

The parliamentary institutions were first of all developed in England. The British Parliament is regarded as the mother of all parliaments. In fact, the British Parliamentary system is regarded as a model for parliamentary institutions the world over. It evolved over a period of seven to eight centuries. During this period of evolution, England passed from absolute monarchy to modern constitutional monarchy.

In this unit, we will be discussing the Thirty Years' War and parliamentary institutions in England in detail.

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4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes that led to the Thirty Years' War
- Describe the phases of the Thirty Years' War
- Discuss the significance of the Thirty Years' War
- Explain the growth of Parliamentary Institutions in England—origin of parliament system, development of constitutional monarchy and parliamentary institutions

4.2 PRELUDE TO THIRTY YEARS' WAR

In the German history, Peace of Augsburg (1555) could bring about only a temporary settlement of the conflict between Catholics and Lutherans in the Holy Roman Empire. The outcome of this settlement was extremely unsatisfactory. Not only were its terms vague and ambiguous; the settlement also provided no machinery by means of which its terms could be enforced. Its lack of clarity and the absence of provisions for its enforcement proved to be a constant source of friction, until it culminated in the armed conflict of 1618.

Moreover, the settlement was intensely obnoxious to Charles V. He could not bear to contemplate permanent concessions to heresy and schism. Emperor Charles had refused to attend the Diet of Augsburg when he discovered that such concessions had to be made. He had made up his mind on this and was determined never to visit Germany again. Therefore, he deputed the presidency of the Diet to his more complacent brother Ferdinand; and in 1558 he formally resigned the imperial crown recommending the same brother to the electors as his successor.

The election duly took place at Frankfurt in March 1558—it was a mere formality; for Ferdinand had administered the Hapsburg lands since 1521, and had been elected 'King of the Romans', that is, prospective emperor, in 1531.

Ferdinand I (1558–64) was a worthy man, pious, honourable and trustworthy. Although he possessed no shining abilities, Ferdinand was a good and steady administrator, with the interests of Germany at heart. He understood the concerns of the Germans, unlike his brother Charles V. Ferdinand's marriage to Anne, daughter of King Vladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia, led to important results.

For when Anne's brother, Louis II, died childless on the field of Mohacs in battle with the Turks (1526), Anne became heiress to the two kingdoms and conveyed the titles to her Hapsburg husband. But, the conveyance was for the time not much more than that of titles; for the Turks had taken possession of two-third of both Hungarian and Bohemian territory. Moreover, the Turks were constantly threatening to complete the conquest and to invade Austria.

To Ferdinand, the two crowns were a burden rather than an acquisition; they greatly complicated his government of Germany. For Germany, as such, had little interest in them, except as buffer states keeping them from direct contact with the Turks. Hence, Ferdinand had much difficulty in getting the Diet to vote men and money for his wars with Soliman II.

These wars, however, made Ferdinand very anxious to restore peace within Germany, so that external defence should not be weakened by internal strife. He also was by nature tolerant and easy-going. Ferdinand did not think much of the differences that divided Lutherans from Catholics. Ferdinand realized the need of reform in the papacy, and was willing to advocate concessions to the reformers in such matters as clerical marriages and administration of the sacraments.

Hence, when Ferdinand met his Diet for the first time as the emperor (1559), he urged the princes, both Catholic and Lutheran, to pledge themselves to accept and obey a General Council in respect of all matters in dispute. Ferdinand also brought great pressure on the reluctant pope, Pius IV, to call the necessary Council. But, Pius IV did not do what Ferdinand wanted, that is, call a new Council on definitely German soil. He rather compromised by re-calling the old Council to Trent (1562–63).

As a consequence of the Peace of Augsburg, Protestantism was on the advance again. On the one hand, in spite of the regulations respecting 'ecclesiastical reservations', bishops and their chapter were going over bodily to the Lutheran side, carrying all the episcopal property and patronage with them. On the other hand, Calvinism was making its way into western Germany with alarming rapidity, its most distinguished convert being Frederick IV, elector-palatine of the Rhine (1559–76).

From Ferdinand's point of view, the revived and completed Council was a positive disaster, for instead of providing a basis for Christian reunion, it issued a declaration of 'truceless war'. Also, instead of leaving doubtful doctrines undefined, this council enunciated them in clear and authoritative terms that permitted no heretical interpretations. Ferdinand was profoundly disgusted, and his disgust was more than equalled by that of his son and successor Maximilian II (1564–76).

Under Maximilian II, the entire defection of Germany to Protestantism seemed probable. Much new secularization took place in defiance of the Augsburg prohibition, and bishoprics galore were appropriated by perverted prelates and their conniving chapters. Two things only seemed to check complete apostasy.

First, Maximilian himself was prevented from professing Lutheranism by the prospect, at that time probable, of succeeding to the monarchy of his cousin, Philip II of Spain. Second, an embittered quarrel developed in Germany between Lutherans (led by Augustus of Saxony) and Calvinists (led by Frederick of the Palatinate). Thus the forces of the Reformation were divided, and that at a most critical moment. For under Maximilian's son and successor, Rudolf II (1576–1612), the Counter-Reformation set in strongly. But, Rudolf himself had little part in the movement. His interests lay in astronomy, and not theology. He was a weak man, under whom central authority in Germany almost vanished away.

The active counter-reformers were the Jesuits, vigorously supported by Ernest of Wittelsbach. The supporters included Archbishop of Cologne (1583–1612), his nephew Maximilian of Bavaria (1598–1651), and Ferdinand of Styria, who later became emperor in 1619. Under the influence of these powerful men, the minor Catholic rulers still left in the Empire began to expel Protestants from their dominions, as the Treaty of Augsburg entitled them to do. The bishops of Bamberg and Paderborn began the process in 1595; it was continued by the three electoral archbishops. Then Ferdinand of Styria carried on the process in the three duchies (Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola) that he administered. Emperor Rudolf allowed the Jesuits to harry the Protestants from Austria, Bohemia and Moravia. Max of Bavaria, of course, thoroughly purified his duchy. Never was such a furniture-removing. The resurgent Catholics,

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moreover, in the flush of success, began to take measures to recover the secularized properties of the church, and the bishoprics improperly taken over by renegade chapters.

Early in the 17th century, the menaced Protestants began to organize themselves for resistance. In particular, the Calvinists of the Upper Rhineland formed a defensive Union in 1608 under the Elector-Palatine, Frederick IV. The Catholics replied by forming a League in 1609 under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. All things indicated the renewal of the war of religion.

In the midst of the agitations and alarms that convulsed south Germany as the Calvinistic Union and the Catholic League braced themselves to fight, the astronomical emperor Rudolf II passed away (20 January 1612). The political incompetence and gross neglect of his duties had caused Rudolf II to be superseded in most of his dominions long before his death. So far back as 1596, the government of Styria, Canthia and Carniola had been placed in the hands of his cousin Ferdinand. In 1608, Austria and Hungary were assigned to his brother Matthias; and in 1611, Bohemia repudiated the hopeless incapable, and placed itself also under the rule of Matthias, who in 1612 succeeded Rudolf as the emperor.

The Protestant position in Bohemia had been considerably strengthened by a grant of a 'Royal Charter', made under threat of revolt in 1609, by the feeble and injudicious Rudolf. This charter conceded freedom of conscience to all in Bohemia; freedom of worship on all the royal estates in the kingdom; and the right to determine the form of worship to be reorganized—on the principle of '*cuius regio, eius religio*', that is, the religion of the ruler dictated the religion of the ruled, for the nobles and townships. The immense majority of these decided for Protestantism.

Now the Bohemians claimed that their crown was an 'elective' and not a 'hereditary' one. Matthias of Austria (1557–1619) had apparently acknowledged the claim, for in 1611 he had himself submitted to election. He was fully aware, however, that if on his death a free election were to be held, a Protestant king would certainly be chosen, and so Bohemia would be lost both to the Hapsburgs and to the Catholic Church.

And the consequences of such a loss would be immeasurably serious. For the King of Bohemia was one of the seven electors to the imperial office, and, of the other six electors three were Catholic (the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Treves) and three were Protestant (Saxony and Brandenburg, Lutheran; the Palatinate, Calvinist). The King of Bohemia, therefore, had the determining vote, and if he should give it to a Protestant, the 'Holy Roman Empire' itself would be won for the reformers. In the circumstances, Matthias realized that prompt and decisive action was necessary. On the one hand, he ignored the Charter, and began to enforce conformity to Catholicism upon the estates under his control. On the other hand, having done this without rousing opposition, he ventured on the crucial step in a specially-summoned Bohemian Diet (1617). Taking the representatives by surprise, and overawing them by a great display of force; Matthias compelled them to:

- (1) Acknowledge that the Bohemian crown was hereditary and not elective, and
- (2) Recognize Ferdinand of Styria as the rightful heir.

The Diet with inexplicable and almost incredible weak as Matthias commanded them, and went back home to, consider how they could obviate the consequences of the act of suicidal folly. Nothing but rebellion remained. Having secured this diplomatic

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triumph in 1617, Matthias at once handed over the administration of Bohemia to the heir-presumptive. Ferdinand, being fully occupied in his own duchies and in Hungary, placed the government in the hands of regents who proceeded to repress Protestantism and foster Catholicism to the best of their power.

The Protestant stalwarts, headed by Count Henry of Thurn, furious at the Diet's abject surrender in 1617, determined to repudiate the settlement, dethrone Ferdinand, expel the Hapsburgs altogether, and proceed to elect a king of their own. Accordingly on 22 May 1618, accompanied by a band of fully-armed men, the Protestant stalwarts made their way to the Castle of Prague, presented themselves before the two chief regents, Martinitz and Slavata. Treating them with scant courtesy, they charged them with violation of the Charter, with illegal persecution and unconstitutional tyranny. Having completed their argument, they seized the two regents and, by way of conclusion, hurled them out of the window, which was situated at a height of about 70 feet. By chance, the Catholic admirals had a miracle escape as from that giddy height they fell into a large and soft bed of manure, whence they were able to crawl with shaken nerves and ruined clothes, but otherwise, save in their dignity and unhurt.

This 'defenestration' at Prague was—as it had been intended to be—virtual declaration of war, and the two sides at once began to gather their forces together. The Bohemian rebels appointed a body of thirty 'directors' to manage their affairs, and assigned the command of their army to Count Henry of Thurn. Neither the 'directors' nor their general, however, showed the slightest capacity for either government (or war).

In spite of the fact that Matthias and Ferdinand had very scanty forces available—some 14,000 men under a Spanish commander named Bucquoi—they would have been speedily crushed, had it not been that they were joined by more competent allies who, for either religious or political reasons, were eager to assist in the abasement of the Hapsburgs.

These included Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who sent a couple of thousand men under Count Mansfeld to the aid of the Bohemians; Bethlem Gabor, the bandit-prince of Transylvania, who hoped to make himself master of such part of Hungary as Ferdinand still possessed with Turkish aid; and Frederick V, the young elector-palatine who had recently married Elizabeth (daughter of James I of England). On the other hand, the imperialists were seriously hampered by risings sympathetic with the Bohemian revolt in Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia and even Austria itself. If the rebels and their co-adjutors had acted in unison, and had managed their affairs with normal prudence, the ruin of the Hapsburgs would have been achieved.

4.3 PHASES OF THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Thirty Years' War began with the Bohemian revolt in 1618 and ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, as told in detail by German historians like Schiller and Gindely, or even as summarized by English writers like A.W. Ward and S.R. Gardiner, is one of infinite complexity and indescribable dreariness. The war passed through four main phases which may be distinguished as:

1. The Bohemian Period (1618–23)
2. The Danish Period (1624–29)
3. The Swedish Period (1629–35)
4. The French Period (1635–48)

Check Your Progress

1. What was the significance of Peace of Augsburg?
2. Who succeeded Ferdinand?

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We will observe that as the war proceeded, it wholly changed its character. Beginning as a purely local conflict between Catholics and Calvinists in one section of the Hapsburg dominions, it spread until it involved the whole of Germany and most of Germany's neighbours. The war finally degenerated into a mere struggle between Bourbons and Hapsburgs for frontier provinces and for ascendancy on the Continent.

4.3.1 The Bohemian Period (1618-23)

The support given to the Bohemian rebels by Gharles Emmanuel, Bathlen Gabor, and the elector Frederick, not only saved the rebels from extinction but actually brought the imperialists into peril. They were all but cleared out of Bohemia, and Austria itself was invaded.

When the fortunes of the Hapsburgs were at their lowest ebb, the emperor Matthias died (20 March 1619) and Ferdinand was elected to succeed him (28th August). To this imperial election, the Bohemian rebels instantly replied by proclaiming Ferdinand's deposition from the Bohemian throne and by offering the vacant seat to the elector palatine, Frederick V. With infinite folly, and against the advice of all his sane friends, the ambitious young man accepted the fatal offer. That one elector should hold two of the seven electorates was inconceivable; that either Catholics or Lutherans would tolerate so great an accession of power to the Calvinists was also unthinkable.

As a matter of fact, Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown was followed by the withdrawal from his side of both Charles Emmanuel and Bethlen Gabor. On the other hand, it brought to the cause of the emperor the powerful aid of:

- (i) Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria and Count Tilly;
- (ii) Spain (from the Netherlands and Franche Comte); and
- (iii) John George, the Lutheran elector of Saxony, who played during all these proceedings a part at once disgraceful and disastrous.

The basic consequences of these formidable developments were as follows:

- (i) The Palatinate was overrun by the Spaniards
- (ii) Bohemia was invaded by the army of the Catholic League, which on 8 November 1620 completely crushed the forces of Frederick in the battle of the White Mountain outside Prague
- (iii) The winter king fled to Holland, and he remained a wandering exile for the rest of his life. His electorate was transferred to the victorious Maximilian of Bavaria
- (iv) The Calvinistic Union was dissolved (1621)
- (v) Desultory fighting continued for two more years
- (vi) Mansfeld was still rampant in the Palatinate; he was joined by Christian of Brunswick and other minor German Protestants. But by 1623, they were all defeated and Catholicism was triumphant

4.3.2 The Danish Period (1624-29)

The decisive triumph of the Catholic League and the rehabilitation of Ferdinand seriously alarmed the Lutherans of Northern Germany; as they realized that their possession of the secularized ecclesiastical lands was threatened. James I of England, moreover, was moved to demand the restoration of his son-in-law, Frederick to the Palatinate.

Richelieu had just taken over in Paris, and was determined to abase the Hapsburgs, and at this stage Christian IV of Denmark was marked out as his agent. Christian of Denmark, a Lutheran, was, as Duke of Holstein, also a German prince, a member of the Lower Saxon Circle. He possessed the two important secularized bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which he was anxious not to lose.

Richelieu easily preyed upon his fears; he also encouraged his hopes of securing ascendancy in the Baltic. Further, he persuaded James I of England to promise to pay him £30,000 a month so long as he continued to wage war in Germany. Hence, in 1625 the war broke out again, this time as an attempt of the North German Lutheran powers, aided by Denmark, to overrun the South, and defeat both the Catholic League and the emperor. Their attempt was a spectacular failure. The advance of Christian of Denmark up the valley of the Weser was decisively stopped by Tilly and the forces of the Catholic League, the main battle being that of Lutter (27 August 1627).

Meantime, a march by Mansfield up the Elbe valley was checked at Dessau (25 April 1626) by a new imperial army under a new commander of a most remarkable character, namely, Albrecht von Wallenstein. This man, born in 1583, was a Bohemian noble; though the son of Lutheran parents, he was educated as a Catholic. By means of two prudential marriages, Albrecht von Wallenstein had become immensely rich. He used his wealth in 1620 to buy huge tracks of the landed property of proscribed Bohemian rebels. Thus, Wallenstein became owner of a large part of his native country, and the lord of multitudes of men.

Wallenstein had no enthusiasm for any form of religion; but he was zealous for the idea of the unification of Germany and the centralization of its government under the emperor. In the interests of this unity and autocracy, he advocated religious toleration, and included in his army men of all creeds and no character, provided they were prepared to fight efficiently on behalf of the empire.

In 1626, Wallenstein raised at his own expense a force of 50,000 men, and placed them under his own leadership at the emperor's disposal. Having defeated Mansfeld at Dassau, he succeeded in taking control of Silesia, Mecklenburg and Pomerania. The emperor made him Duke of Mecklenburg with almost independent power; and Wallenstein contemplated the establishment of complete Germanic control of the Baltic.

Simultaneously, Tilly and the forces of the Catholic League, after their victory at Lutter, overran Holstein and actually invaded Denmark, until finally they were brought to a halt at Gluckstadt, which they failed to take. By 1629, Christian IV of Denmark had more than enough of the war. He had been beaten in battle; his lands had been ravaged by relentless foes; the English subsidies had remained largely unpaid. He had come off badly. Hence, taking advantage of the successful resistance of Stralsund and Gluckstadt, Christian IV sued for peace, and secured the not unfavourable Treaty of Lubeck (May 1629). He was to withdraw from the war, and not to meddle in it again; he was to surrender all his secularized ecclesiastical lands; he was to recover his hereditary dominions. Thus the Danish period of the war but he was to recover his hereditary dominions. Thus the Danish period of the war came to an end. Once more there was an interval of apparent tranquility, and once more the joint cause of the League and the Emperor seemed to be decisively victorious. So secure, indeed, did Ferdinand feel in 1629 that he ventured to promulgate the Edict of Restitution which has been described as 'the most radical and dangerous document that has ever been issued in all the long course of German religious history'.

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The later phases of the war

The fateful Edict of Restitution (March 1629) at one stroke of the imperial pen ordered the restoration of all ecclesiastical properties secularized since the Augsburg settlement of 1555. The properties concerned included the vast estates and revenues of two archbishoprics (Magdeburg and Bremen), twelve bishoprics, and about 120 other religious foundations.

It came as a staggering blow to the North German Lutherans, many of whom—and in particular the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg—had enjoyed and developed these properties for periods extending to three-quarters of a century. Hitherto they had done their best to keep out of the war, although their territories had suffered much from the transit of the unsympathetic armies of Tilly and Wallenstein. Now, however, they realized that they would be called upon by the dominant Catholics to disgorge and make reparation. Where the Counter-Reformation would end, no one could say.

Beside John George, the ambiguous elector of Saxony, and George William the hesitant elector of Brandenburg, three other persons of greater importance viewed the Edict of Restitution with profound misgiving.

Firstly, Wallenstein denounced it as fatal to the unification of Germany which, he contended, must be affected on the basis of religious toleration and mutual concord. He, therefore, found himself thrown into active antagonism to both the Catholic League (which had always regarded him with loathing and horror) and to the Emperor himself (hitherto the very centre of bishops).

Secondly, Richelieu in France saw that if the Edict were carried into effect the power, of the Austrian Hapsburg would be enormously increased. He, therefore, determined that at all costs the edict should be rendered inoperative or, in other words, that the war should be renewed.

Thirdly, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden (1611–32), for reasons of his own, decided that the time had come for him to intervene in German affairs. On the one hand, as a strong Lutheran, he was unwilling to see his faith extinguished in its original home. On the other hand, as a Baltic ruler, Adolphus vehemently opposed the designs of Wallenstein in Macklenburg and Pomerania—he had, indeed sent 2,000 men to hold Stralsund against him.

In 1630, the active mover Richelieu, the consummate master of statecraft, with uncanny skill carried on simultaneously two sets of negotiations, both crowned with complete success. On the one hand, through the agency of a clever Capuchin, Father Joseph, he worked up Maximilian of Bavaria; and the other leaders of the Catholic League, who were assembled in the Diet of Regensburg (1630), to demand and insist upon the dismissal of the impious and ambitious Wallenstein.

On the other hand, through the agency of his confidential friend the Baron de Charnace, Richelieu stirred up Gustavus Adolphus to invade Germany, and helped to smooth his path by mediating a peace between Sweden and Poland who had been at war for a dozen weary years. He persuaded England, too, to promise subsidies to Gustavus. Finally, Richelieu himself concluded a formal Franco-Swedish alliance by the Treaty of Barwalde (1631).

4.3.3 The Swedish Period (1629–35)

On 24 June 1630, Gustavus landed at Usedom on the Baltic coast at the head of 13,000 men. They were veterans; for the Swedish king—a military genius of the first

order—who had already waged successful wars against Denmark (1611–13), Russia (1614–17) and Poland (1617–29). A fortnight after the unopposed disembarkation of the invader, the Diet of Regensburg met and compelled Ferdinand to dismiss the only man capable of contending against the new champion of Protestantism.

Wallenstein's army was disbanded, the more doubtful part of it being dismissed, the select remainder being incorporated with the forces of the Catholic League under Tilly.

In 1613, Tilly, now at the head of the powerful force, took the aggressive and laid siege to Magdeburg, which city had refused to admit the archbishop (a son of the emperor) to whom it had been assigned under the Edict of Restitution.

Gustavus implored John George of Saxony and George William of Brandenburg to join him in saving Magdeburg, or at any rate to give free passage for his troops. They hesitated and procrastinated, and in the meantime Magdeburg was stormed and sacked with most appalling ferocity. Schiller estimates that out of a population of 36,000; some 30,000 were massacred. The triumphant Tilly soon compelled the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to make up their minds, and so he began to harry their lands. Gustavus, too, made it clear that if they did not openly join him he would treat them as enemies. Hence, under pressure of necessity, north Germany and Sweden united their forces to face the host of Tilly.

The crucial battle was fought at Breitenfeld on 17 September 1631. It resulted in the total defeat of the South German army, which was driven in a rout that never ceased until the Danube was reached. North Germany was finally recovered for Protestantism.

In 1632, Gustavus and his allies undertook the conquest of South Germany. For a time they carried all before them. Tilly was later killed in trying to hold the Line of the Lech. Bavaria was overrun, Munich being occupied on 7th May. Bohemia was recovered, the fugitive elector-palatine being again proclaimed in Prague. The emperor was in despair. The Catholic League was impotent. He could do nothing but recall Wallenstein, who came back on his own terms, which included the revocation of the Edict of Restitution.

During the summer of 1632, the two masters of war played the great game against one another. Gustavus, deep in hostile country, strove to bring his opponent to early battle. Wallenstein, with time on his side, did all in his power to delay the inevitable clash until he had an overwhelming superiority of force. Finally, Gustavus ran Wallenstein down at Lutzen in Saxony (16 November). There the crucial conflict took place—it was a battle of giants, for long the issue was undecided. In the end, Wallenstein had to admit defeat; but Gustavus had been killed. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar took over the command of the victorious host.

Wallenstein, freed from the fear of someone superior in strategy and tactics, now, on his own account, opened up negotiations both with the Swedes and the Saxons. He offered to them the revocation of the Edict; the cession of Baltic lands to the Swedes; compensations to the Saxons; the restoration of the Palatinate to the son of the 'Winter King', Frederick V. This intrusion into the sphere of high politics on the part of the defeated condottiere was not unnaturally regarded as an outrage by the emperor, Max of Bavaria, by the Spaniards, and by the Jesuits. So no longer needing him and not knowing how to check him, they had him assassinated on 25 February 1634.

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After Wallenstein's extinction, the imperial army was reorganized and placed under the command of the emperor's son, titular King of Hungary, afterwards the emperor Ferdinand III. On 6 September 1634, he brought Bernard and his Swedish allies to battle at Nordlingen and utterly defeated them. This battle was as decisive for south Germany as the Battle of Breitenfeld had been for north Germany: it confirmed south Germany for Catholicism as its predecessor had confirmed north Germany for Protestantism. After the Battle of Nordlingen (1634), the inevitable lines of a general pacification began to display themselves—Lutheranism must remain dominant in north Germany, Catholicism in the South.

The beginning of a settlement along these lines was made by the Treaty of Prague, concluded on 30 May 1635, between the chastened emperor and the oscillating elector of Saxony—Lutheranism was recognized; the Edict of Restitution dropped; and ecclesiastical lands left as in 1627. Most of the Protestant princes and many towns accepted pacification on similar terms.

But, unhappily, the peace thus partially achieved did not end the war. It left too many unsatisfied people as:

- (i) The Calvinists still remained unrecognized
- (ii) The numerous Protestants who had been deprived of their secularized ecclesiastical lands between 1618 and 1627 were disappointed of recovery
- (iii) The Palatinate and its electoral hat still continued in the possession of Max of Bavaria
- (iv) The Swedes had not received the Baltic provinces that they coveted
- (v) The French had not achieved that rectification of the frontiers that they felt necessary for their security against Hapsburg attack

It was the French, indeed, under Richelieu's masterly but immoral direction, who were the prime movers in the war from 1635 to 1648. They took Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and his army into their pay; they entered into an alliance with the Swedes for the realization of their claims on the Baltic littoral; they formally declared war on Spain in May 1635. It was, indeed, the Spanish Hapsburgs, with Philip IV (1621–65) at their head, whom Richelieu now regarded as the most formidable foes of France.

The Austrian Hapsburgs were fairly well insulated by the now-independent Protestant princes of north Germany. But Spain still threatened France from Rousillon and Cerdagne, from Franche Comte and the Belgian Low Countries. The two particular objects of Richelieu's desires were the two Pyrenean provinces (Rousillon and Cerdagne) and the two Rhineland provinces (Alsace and Lorraine), for though the latter were not in Spanish possession, they were the main means of communication between Franche Comte and the Netherlands. The Austrian Hapsburgs connived at the Spanish use of Alsace; the Duke of Lorraine was too weak to offer any effective resistance to Spanish transit. The closing phase of the Thirty Years' War was, therefore, little more than a revival of the century-old struggle between France and Spain for frontier provinces and European hegemony.

4.3.4 The French Period (1635–48)

Under Richelieu's supreme direction, until his death in 1642, French armies contended against Hapsburg forces in the Netherlands, in Alsace; in Italy, along the Pyrenees;

the Weimerian Army held the Rhinland and harassed Spanish land communications; the Swedish Army made good its hold over Western Pomerania; the Dutch fleet was brought in to isolate the Netherlands from Spain by sea. After Richelieu's death, Mazarin took up the work and carried it to a triumphant conclusion.

The opening years of this period, it is true, saw a number of French reverses at the hands of the redoubtable Spanish infantry. Later on, however, France produced two generals of genius—Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Conde, and Henry d'Auvergne, Viscount Turenne. These men, before the end of the war, had made French arms supreme in Europe.

Outstanding events in this ragged and ubiquitous struggle—events that did most to determine the final issue were:

- (i) the Swedish victory at Wittstock 1636;
- (ii) the victory of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar at Rheinfelden in 1638;
- (iii) Conde's crushing defeat of the Spaniards in the Netherlands at Rocroi in 1643—a victory invaluable as confirming Mazarin in power; and
- (iv) the joint invasion of Bavaria in 1648 by the French under Turenne and the Swedes under Wrangel, culminating in the battle of Zusmarshausen. The savage devastation of Southern Germany subsequent to this victory of Turenne compelled the reluctant Catholics to accept a dictated peace.

Discussions with a view to a settlement had been going on for several years. The Catholic Powers—the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, the ecclesiastical electors, the Catholic princes—had had representatives at Munster in Westphalia. The Protestant Powers—the king of Sweden, the Lutheran and Calvinistic electors, princes, and cities together also with their ally the king of France, had representatives at the contiguous Osnabruck. The decisive events of 1648 brought discussions to an end and enabled the Protestant Powers to have a determining voice in the settlement usually known as the Peace of Westphalia (October 1648).

4.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR

The peace treaties signed in October 1648, known as Peace of Westphalia, established the principle of non-interference as a pillar of international relationships. The conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia marked the end of the Wars of Religion; henceforth, commerce, colonization, and command of the sea were the main subjects of contest. It also marked the establishment of the modern state system based on the principles of territorial sovereignty, theoretical equality, and internal autonomy. It signaled, too, the extinction of the mediaeval idea of a *Respublica Christiana* administered by a Holy Roman Emperor and a Holy Roman Pope.

Peace of Westphalia also displayed the utter disruption of Germany; the central authority had vanished away; the Hapsburgs had sunk into impotence, save as local rulers; the way had been opened for the sinister rise of Prussia to ascendancy in north Germany, and for the anti-national machinations of Bavaria in south Germany.

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Check Your Progress

3. What are the phases of the Thirty Years' war?
4. In 1630, what happened at the Diet of Regensburg?
5. Cite any four important settlement made in the Peace of Westphalia, October 1648.

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Fig. 4.1 Peace of Westphalia, October 1648

Source: <http://www.dafiblogger.com/differing-concepts-of-international-relationships-in-china-and-europe-at-the-dawn-of-modern-period/peace-of-westphalia/>

The Peace of Westphalia did not end the Franco-Spanish war which had begun in 1635. That dreary struggle dragged on for another eleven years, occupying the major part of Mazarin's attention during the closing period of his life. It was, of course, much impeded and protracted by the internal disturbances due to the Fronde (1648-53). In 1657, Mazarin, at last free and supreme, made an alliance with England, and the combined forces of the two countries, operating in the Spanish Netherlands, soon compelled Spain to accept defeat. One of Mazarin's last important acts was to conclude the Treaty of the Pyrenees (7 November 1659) with Spain.

The terms of this extremely important settlement are as follows:

1. France was to acquire Roussillon and Cerdagne, Artois and portions of Hainault and Luxemburg.
2. The young Louis XIV was to marry Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV—a fateful marriage.
3. The principle '*cuius regio, eius religio*' was to be maintained.
4. Calvinists were to enjoy the same rights as Lutherans.
5. Ecclesiastical lands were to remain as on 1 January 1624.
6. Catholics and Protestants to have equal representation in the *Reichskammergericht* (the sovereign court of the old German empire), as per the Second Territorial Settlement of Germany.
7. The Elector-Palatinate to recover the Lower Palatinate and to receive a new electoral hat.
8. Max of Bavaria to keep the Upper Palatinate with the old electorate.
9. The Elector of Saxony to receive Lusatia and part of Magdeburg.
10. The Elector of Brandenburg to receive the remainder of Magdeburg, together with various other bishoprics and duchies as per the Third Settlement of External Claims.

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11. The Swedes to acquire western Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, with representation in the Imperial Diet.
12. The French to secure Austrian Alsace with Breisach, but excluding Strasbourg, the fortresses of Phillipsburg and Pinerolo, together with confirmation of their possession of Metz, Toul and Verdun.
13. The independence of the city of Bremen was clarified.

4.5 GROWTH OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND

The parliamentary institutions were first developed in England. The British Parliament is regarded as the mother of all parliaments. In fact, the British parliamentary system is regarded as a model for parliamentary institutions the world over. It evolved over a period of seven to eight centuries.

During this period of evolution, England passed from absolute monarchy to modern constitutional monarchy. Prior to that, there was no parliament and the king ruled with the help of a privy council, even though he was not bound by its advice. The first formal body, which can be regarded as the forerunner of the modern parliament, was formed by King John (Figure 4.2) in 1213 when he called upon each of the counties to send four discreet knights to a meeting of the Great Council to accept taxes proposed by him.



Fig. 4.2 King John of England

This practice of getting tax approved from representative gathering was followed by the later kings. In 1265, Simon de Montfort also invited two townsmen from twenty selected towns to attend the meeting of the parliament. Thus, the parliament began to represent the barons, the clergy and the commons. These three sections of society met as a common body to hear the king's proposals and then held separate meetings to discuss these proposals and again met as a single body to vote upon them.

Thus, a sort of three houses of parliament came into existence. But subsequently, the greater barons and higher clergy, because of their common interests, began to hold joint meetings and, thus, the House of Lords came into existence. The commons, on the other hand, began to hold separate meetings and, thus, the House of Commons

Check Your Progress

6. What were the implications of Peace of Westphalia?
7. Mention, at least, two points of Treaty of Pyrenees.

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The powers of the parliament also underwent transformation over a period of time. Originally, it performed only judicial functions and was known as the High Court of Parliament. But gradually, it acquired control over finance. Finally, it acquired the power to make laws. Initially in matter of legislation, it only submitted legislative proposals to the king in the form of petitions and they became statutes only if the king accorded his assent.

In due course of time, the parliament acquired effective legislative powers. In the financial sphere, it came to be recognized as the sole authority for the imposition of taxes. With the passage of time, even legislation became the prerogative of the parliament, even though formally the monarch continued to be at the centre of the picture.

4.5.1 Origin of Parliament System

A parliament is made up of two components, the House of Commons and the House of Lords. It first met in the 13th century in the reign of Henry III. It met in medieval times only when the king wanted to raise a new tax or to make new laws that had the agreement of the powerful people of England. In those days, the House of Lords was far more important than the House of Commons. All the Lords of England could come to the meetings of the House of Lords. The House of Commons had two kinds of members. The first kind came from the counties. Each county could send two Members of Parliament to the House of Commons. The towns, whom the King invited to send member of parliaments' could each send two representatives to the House of Commons.

In those days, the parliament did not meet very often. However, the laws it made were the most powerful laws in the land. This was because the Lords and Commons had agreed with the King that they should be made. Let us now discuss the evolution of the parliament under the several influential kings and individuals.

Henry VIII (1509–1547) and Parliament

In the 16th century, Henry VIII wanted to leave the Roman Catholic Church and set up his own church. He wanted to do this in order to get a divorce from his wife Catherine of Aragon. The Pope would not give Henry a divorce so Henry decided to leave the Roman Catholic Church and give himself a divorce. He decided to do this by passing laws in the parliament. This meant that he had to call the parliament together to pass the laws he needed. The parliament met in 1529. It had to meet for a long time (until 1539) in order to pass all the laws that Henry wanted. They met for longer than ever before. They agreed to pass the laws Henry wanted because some members of parliament were jealous of the wealth of the Church. They also did not like the Pope because he was a foreigner. As Henry chose to use laws made in the parliament to change England's religion, any future king or queen who wanted to make changes to England's religion would have to call the parliament together to change those laws.

Edward VI (1547–1553) and Mary I (1553–1558) and Parliament

When Henry VIII died in 1547, he was succeeded by his son Edward. Edward VI was a very religious young man. He wanted to make England's religion truly Protestant. Although Henry had stopped the Pope being the head of the English Church, he had not changed the kind of religion followed in England. It was still really the same as the Roman Catholic religion, but without the Pope (Some people said Henry had become

his own Pope). Edward had to change the law to make England truly Protestant so he called the parliament to do this. When Edward died, he was succeeded by his half-sister Mary. Mary was a devout Roman Catholic. She wanted to change England's religion back to Roman Catholicism. This meant that she too had to call the parliament together to change the laws on religion. Mary made Roman Catholicism England's religion again before she died in 1558.

Elizabeth I (1558–1603) and Parliament

Mary's successor was her half-sister Elizabeth I. Elizabeth I (Figure 4.3) was not particularly religious. However, Mary had persecuted the Protestants very severely in her reign (she had over 300 burnt to death for their religion). Many people in England had turned against Roman Catholicism because of Mary's policies. In order to please these people, Elizabeth I decided to make England a Protestant country. This meant that she had to call the parliament to change the laws on religion. Her first parliament met in 1558, the first year of her reign. This parliament made England a moderate Protestant country in 1559.



Fig. 4.3 Elizabeth I (1558–1603)

Some people did not think that Elizabeth I had made England's religion Protestant enough. These people were called Puritans. They criticized her religious policy in the parliament.

James I (1603–1625) and Parliament

James I became king of England when Elizabeth died in 1603. He had previously been king of Scotland. Scotland was a more Protestant country than England. The Puritans hoped that James would make England like Scotland. However, James preferred England's religion to that of Scotland. James and the Puritans had a clash in the parliament. James had to call the parliament because when Elizabeth died, she left debts of around £300,000 (This would be several millions in modern money).

The only way James could pay off these debts and balance his budget was if the parliament granted him more taxes. This was not his only problem. At this time,

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many wars were being fought over religion in Europe. The parliament put James under pressure to join in to defend foreign Protestants. When he did this, they did not give him enough money to fight the war properly. This meant that England did badly in these wars. The parliament then blamed James for the failures and demanded an enquiry into how the money that they had given him had been spent.

Charles I (1625–1649) and Parliament

Charles became king in 1625. He did not get on with the parliament any better than his father had done. Things got so bad that from 1629, he decided to rule without a parliament. In order to pay for his government, he had to collect all sorts of taxes that were of dubious legality. He was quite successful. As long as he avoided war, he managed to get enough income to run his government.

In 1637, Charles made a big mistake. He decided to force the Scots to have the same religion as England. This led to a war, which Charles lost. The Scots invaded northern England and demanded that Charles pay them before they would leave. He had to call the parliament to raise enough money from taxes to get the Scots to leave. Consequently, Charles called the parliament for the first time in eleven years. The parliament met in 1640 and used the opportunity to express all its complaints about what Charles had done in the years 1629–40.

At first, only a few members of parliament supported Charles. However, when the more extreme Protestants (Puritans) began to demand radical (very great) changes to England's religion, the more moderate members of parliament joined Charles in defending the English church. Relations between the king and the parliament finally broke down when an argument started over who would control the militia. This was the only armed force in England and whoever controlled it could run the country. Neither side could trust each other. In August 1642, Charles left London and called all loyal Englishmen to join him in fighting the disloyal parliament. The Civil War had begun.

Civil War (1642–49), Cromwell (1649–1658) and Parliament

The Civil War began in 1642, and by 1648 the parliament had won. In 1649, the king was executed and England became a republic. However, the troubles were not over. Many of the landowners and almost all of the aristocracy had opposed the execution of the king. This meant that the parliament depended on the army to run the country. The leader of the army was Oliver Cromwell (Figure 4.4).

During the 1650s, he repeatedly expelled the parliaments. This was because they would not give the religious toleration he wanted. Although he had several parliaments, he was really a military dictator. When he died, the gentry (landowners) who made up most of the House of Commons were determined not to have another military dictatorship. They worked with one of Cromwell's generals, George Monck, to prevent this. They wanted to have the parliamentarians again. They thought that the best way to prevent another dictatorship was to have a king. As a result, Charles II was recalled as king in 1660.



Fig. 4.4 Oliver Cromwell dissolving the Parliament

Charles II (1660–1685) and Parliament

At first Charles got on well with his parliament. However, things began to go wrong over Charles attitude towards religion. His foreign and religious policies suggested that he had a lot of sympathy for Roman Catholicism. This worried a lot of the gentry and made his relationship with the parliament very difficult.

Charles had no legitimate children to succeed him when he died. This meant that he would be succeeded by his brother James. James was a Roman Catholic. This worried many members of the gentry even more and led to a crisis in 1679–81. This was called the exclusion crisis. At the beginning of the crisis, the Crown was in a weak position with few supporters. The behaviour of some of the radical critics of Charles and James worried some people. They were frightened that if they did not let James become the king, there would be another republic and another military dictatorship. These people rallied to the support of Charles and James. They were called Tories. With their support, Charles beat the radicals (called Whigs) and James became king in 1685.

James II (1685–1688) and the Glorious Revolution

When he became the king, James, called James II (Figure 4.5), was so popular that he was given more taxes than any king before. James II used this to build up a large army. Things began to go wrong when he tried to bring in religious toleration for Roman Catholics. To do this, James II ignored the law. By doing this, James convinced the nobles and the landowners (called gentry) that he intended to rule without a parliament. Seven noblemen invited James' son-in-law William to invade England to protect their religion. William was a very strong Protestant and was the ruler of Holland. In November 1688, William invaded England.

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Fig. 4.5 James II (1685–1688)

During the autumn, he managed to scare James into running away to France. This meant that there was no king in England. The parliament was called by William to consider the situation. The members of parliament and Lords were worried that if there was no king, the country might descend into anarchy. The parliament decided that William and his wife Mary would be joint rulers. Before they declared that they were the rulers, the parliament passed a special law, in 1689. It was called the Declaration of Rights. It said that:

- Kings could not raise taxes without the parliament's agreement,
- The king could not be a Catholic, and
- The parliament should meet regularly.

William soon became involved in a war with James and his friend Louis XIV, the king of France. To fight the war, William needed a lot of money. This meant that he had to call the parliament. Because the war lasted so long, William had to call the parliament every year and had to work closely with it. William reigned from 1689 until 1702. He came to depend on the parliament for the money it provided to fight wars against France. Because the parliament met every year and was so involved in running the country, it became an essential part of the government. As a result, rest of the subsequent kings or queens have never attempted to rule without it.

4.5.2 Development of Constitutional Monarchy

A constitutional monarchy is a type of government in which a monarch is the head of state. He operates within the limits of a written (i.e., codified), unwritten (i.e., uncoded) or blended constitution. It is different from absolute monarchy because in the latter, monarch serves as the only source of political power in the state and is not lawfully bound by any constitution. Most constitutional monarchies use a parliamentary system.

In this system, the monarch may have stringently ceremonial duties or may control reserved powers, which the constitution allows him to have. Such a monarch has a directly or indirectly elected prime minister who is the head of government. The prime minister exercises valuable political power.

Nature of monarchy

The years between the reigns of Charles I and the first two Georges saw a series of important changes to the way the British Isles was governed. In 1625, at the start of Charles I's reign, power was vested in the person of the monarch, who was very clearly 'appointed by God'. The Divine Right of Kings had been promulgated as a doctrine by James I, Charles' father, and was believed in more strongly by Charles. All accepted the principle that it was God, acting through hereditary succession, who chose the king. To tamper with this was to tamper with the God ordained Chain of Being. To do so risked the collapse of all order in society. This would lead to anarchy and all those with property would lose. Consequently, none of the ruling classes contemplated any such thing.

Role of Parliament

At that time, the parliament was an occasional body summoned and dissolved at the whim of the monarch; if the king did not call the parliament for a long period that was his right, for he was not obliged to call the parliament at all. When it was called, the parliament met for as long as the king required its assistance.

The parliament was not a part of government. Its remit was to provide funds in the exceptional circumstances that had led the monarch to summon it into being. It could ask redress, by the monarch, of its grievances, and the king would graciously grant redress by the Act of Parliament. The initiative lay with the king. Since the reign of Henry VIII, the parliament could be asked to modify the legal basis of the Church of England, the parliament could be asked to modify the legal basis of the Church of England. Effective ruling was outside the parliament's remit and was the sole preserve of the monarch.

Need to work with the local 'rulers'

The British Isles were ruled as a series of separate kingdoms united only by their having a common monarch. Each kingdom had its own legal system, education, Church, social system and in the case of England and Scotland, its own parliament. Within each of these three kingdoms, the monarchs' power rested upon a good working relationship with the significant rulers of each locality. Without this, kings could make policy but they would find it very difficult to raise the funds needed to put policy into practice as well as ensure compliance with their policy in any or all of their separate kingdoms. Wise monarchs thus ruled through their local ruling classes and the chief individuals in those kingdoms. A secure and reliable source of income was a major limitation on royal power.

4.5.3 Development of Parliamentary Institutions

After a brief narrative of the development of parliament and its changing role in the UK, it shall be desirable to have an idea about the development of various institutions of parliamentary system in Britain. Some of the parliamentary institutions, which deserve our attention include electorate, political parties, frequent elections, cabinet and civil services.

1. Electorate

The parliament is not the only institution of democracy in Britain. The electorate, which elects the parliament and is the master of the country, is another important

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institution of the parliamentary democracy. The right to franchise (or right to vote) was very restricted about two to three centuries ago. Only rich people possessed franchise, while the poor were denied the same. Gradually, a number of reforms were carried out to extend franchise to the middle classes.

Subsequently, the working classes and women were also enfranchised. It was only in 1929 that right of franchise was granted to all citizens above 21 years of age. Further reforms were carried out under the Representation of People's Act 1948, which abolished two-member constituencies and the practice of two votes exercised by certain persons (on the basis of their education, property or status).

The Act of 1948, for the first time, introduced the principle of 'one vote'. Thus, right to franchise was granted to all men and women who had attained the age of 21 years, except lunatics, criminals, offenders against electoral laws and sitting peers, among others. Later on, the voting age was reduced to 18 years.

2. Periodical elections

Another notable British Parliamentary institution is the practice of conducting periodical elections. Though the system of elections has been in vogue in Britain for quite some time, the practice gained regular currency only in the 19th century. Initially, the parliament enjoyed a term of three years, which was fixed under the Triennial Act of 1694. The term of the parliament was increased to seven years through a Parliament Act in 1715.

The term was further reduced to five years under the Parliament Act of 1911. However, it is not essential that the parliament must enjoy full term of five years. It can be dissolved earlier also. Actually, elections are held more frequently than at the prescribed intervals.

There are adequate provisions in Britain to ensure fair elections. Voting takes place by secret ballot. Normally, the voters cast vote in person at the polling booth, but voters residing abroad, merchants and seamen can vote by proxy or post.

3. Political parties

The political parties, which are another important institution of British Parliamentary system, are not known to the law and are an extra-constitutional growth. In fact, their growth was gradual and unintentional. Generally, the beginning of the political parties in Britain is traced to 1642 when the politically conscious sections of the population divided themselves into royalists and parliament men. This division reflected the difference between the economic, religious and political ideals and paved the way for future party affiliation.

Between 1688-1714, the political parties assumed more concrete shape and two major parties—Whigs and Tories—made their appearance. It may be observed that the political groups formed so far cannot be strictly described as political parties because they lacked political organization.

The political divisions did not become clear until the French Revolution. The French Revolution sharpened political differences. The Tories regarded the revolution as objectionable because it deprived the French King and the French aristocracy of their rights, while the Whigs welcomed the Revolution and looked upon it as a movement to overthrow tyrannical privileges.

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The party system further hardened after 1794 and there was considerable decline in the number of independent members in parliament. With the extension of franchise, the political parties set up permanent central offices to find candidates for constituencies and constituencies for candidates, to collect and distribute funds, etc. The Conservatives formed their central office in 1863 and the Liberals in 1865.

It may be noted that the Conservatives projected themselves as Tories, a party which stood for the conservation of British Constitution. On the other hand, the Whigs renamed themselves as Liberals.

The British political parties assumed a new class basis after the Conservative Party split on the question of repeal of Corn Laws in 1846. On the one hand, there were members who favoured protectionist policies, who came to be known as the Conservatives. On the other hand, there were Whigs, Radicals and Liberal Conservatives who were bound by faith in principles of free trade. They formed themselves into the Liberal Party.

The party conflict was further accentuated in 1886 on the question of grant of Home Rule to Ireland. Thereafter, the Conservative Party came to be recognized as the representative of the propertied classes, while the Liberal Party came to be looked upon as party of salaries and wage-earning classes.

Towards the close of the 19th century, a new political party was formed by the non-Marxist socialists under the name of Independent Labour Party. It convened a conference of trade unions and socialist societies in 1899 to consider the means of securing the representation of labour members in the parliament. Gradually, this new party (the Labour Party) supplanted the Liberal Party as the alternative government.

In fact, a sort of perpetual duel has been going on between parties in Britain since the 17th century—Royalists and Puritans; Tories and Whigs; Conservatives and Liberals; and Conservative and Labour. The presence of two major political parties has been a basic feature of the British parliamentary system. Though a number of other political parties have also existed in Britain, in practice, the struggle for power has been confined to only two major political parties at all times.

The political parties have played an important role in the successful working of the parliamentary democracy in Britain. The majority party supports the government and helps it to carry out its policies.

The minority party forms the opposition and criticizes the government for its lapses. It forms the government in case a vote of no confidence is passed against it. Under the British Parliamentary system, the opposition can always hope to replace the majority party and form the government. As a result, the members of the party are bound by rigid discipline. The majority party loyally supports its leaders so that they may continue in power, while those belonging to the opposition party, solidly stand behind their leaders so that they may form the government.

Under the British parliamentary system, the opposition plays an important role. It knocks the government about, exhorts it if it makes mistakes and tries to prove that the ministers are incompetent and ought to be fired by the prime minister. It may be observed that the opposition does not play only a negative role, but also a positive role.

As political expert Lord Morrison has observed 'Denunciation, negative criticism, are parts of its job—an important part of its task....' So the opposition has its constructive proposals are also an essential part of its task....

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job to do; it should balance between criticism and denunciation and positive and constructive ideas.

Almost similar views were expressed by former British Prime Minister Gladstone about the role of the opposition party. He said, 'A party in opposition cannot afford to be irresponsible, to oppose for the sake of opposition, to obstruct the process of government, if it hopes to achieve power within ten or twenty years, for a bad reputation lives long.'

4. Cabinet

The cabinet is another important institution of parliamentary democracy in Britain. It can very well be described as an executive committee of the parliament because all the members of the cabinet (Council of Ministers) are taken from the parliament and are accountable to the popularly elected representatives of the people.

The members of the cabinet have to defend their policies on the floor of the parliament (House of Commons). The cabinet gradually developed in Britain. Generally, its origin is traced back to the year 1667 when Charles II invited a small group of intimate advisers to advice and assist him.

In all he invited five persons named Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale. From the initial letters of these five members, the body came to be named as CABAL, and became the forerunner of the present cabinet.

Generally, these members held their meetings in a small room or 'cabinet' and this body came to be named as the cabinet. The institution of cabinet further developed during the reign of George I (1714-27).

Due to ignorance of the English language and lack of interest in British politics, George I requested Walpole, his senior-most minister, to preside over the meetings of this body and thus contributed to the rise of the office of the prime minister and exclusion of king from the meetings of the cabinet.

Gradually, the other features of cabinet system also developed. These features were as follows:

- All the members of the cabinet must be members of either House of Parliament.
- All the ministers must be taken from the same political party.
- Cabinet is formed by the party, which has majority of members in the House of Commons.
- Members of the cabinet pursue the same policy and are jointly responsible to the House of Commons.
- The cabinet can be ousted from office through a vote of no confidence by the parliament (House of Commons).
- Prime minister is the leader of the majority party.
- During emergencies, national governments are formed which contain representatives of all the major political parties. This is done to ensure a united front against common enemies and threats.

5. Civil services

Finally, the civil services also play a vital role in the working of the parliamentary system of government in Britain. The civil servants place at the disposal of the ministers,

who are laymen, expert advice and assistance and enable them to take decisions regarding policy etc. Sometimes the ministers may leave the decisions to civil servants, but the ultimate responsibility for these decisions rests with the minister.

The civil servants, on the other hand, work impartially and act anonymously. During earlier times, the civil servants were recruited by the ministers from amongst their relatives, friends and admirers and were often quite inefficient. But Gladstone introduced the practice of recruitment of civil services through Civil Services Commission on the basis of a competitive examination.

This practice still persists and now recruitment is made on the basis of an open competition. These civil servants are expected to provide necessary data and information to the minister on the basis of which he formulates his policy. After the policy has been formulated, the civil servants are expected to faithfully carry out the policy, even if they do not agree with it.

In fact, it is difficult to imagine that the parliamentary system of government in Britain can work without civil servants. Over the years, the ministers have become increasingly dependent on the civil servants and often the civil servants make use of the ministerial powers without any responsibility.

In view of the enormous increase in the powers of the civil servants, British historian Ramsay Muir has alleged that bureaucracy thrives under the 'cloak of ministerial responsibility'. British economists Sidney and Beatrice Webb also say 'the government of Britain is, in fact carried on, not by the cabinet, nor even by individual ministers, but by the civil services'.

It is evident from this description that parliamentary institutions in Britain have gradually evolved. In fact, their evolution is intimately linked with the development of democracy in Britain.

ACTIVITY

1. Research on the Internet and list the European states that participated in the Thirty Years' War.
2. Find out what is the current states of monarch in the UK and who are the prominent individuals of the present-day British Parliament.
3. Visit www.labour.org.uk and find out more about the history and origin of the Labour Party. Then write a 750-word essay on its contribution to Britain.

DID YOU KNOW

A major consequence of the Thirty Years' War was the devastation of entire regions, denuded by the foraging armies. Famine and disease significantly decreased the population of the German states, Bohemia, the Low countries, and Italy; and most of the combatant powers went bankrupt.

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Check Your Progress

8. Who were 'Puritans' in the British Parliament?
9. What is 'constitutional monarchy'?
10. What was the 'Declaration of Rights' in the British Parliament during James II's rule?
11. What role do civil services play in the British Parliament?

4.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) was basically a series of wars predominantly fought in Central Europe involving most of the European states.
- In the German history, Peace of Augsburg (1555) could bring about only a temporary settlement of the conflict between Catholics and Lutherans in the Holy Roman Empire. The outcome of this settlement was extremely unsatisfactory.
- The election duly took place at Frankfurt in March 1558—it was a mere formality; for Ferdinand had administered the Hapsburg lands since 1521, and had been elected “King of the Romans”, that is, prospective emperor, in 1531.
- As a consequence of the Peace of Augsburg, Protestantism was on the advance again. On the one hand, in spite of the regulations respecting “ecclesiastical reservations”, bishops and their chapter were going over bodily to the Lutheran side, carrying all the episcopal property and patronage with them.
- Early in the seventeenth century, the menaced Protestants began to organize themselves for resistance. In particular, the Calvinists of the Upper Rhineland formed a defensive Union in 1608 under the Elector-Palatine, Frederick IV. The Catholics replied by forming a League in 1609 under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. All things indicated the renewal of the war of religion.
- The Protestant stalwarts, headed by Count Henry of Thurn, furious at the Diet's abject surrender in 1617, determined to repudiate the settlement, dethrone Ferdinand, expel the Hapsburgs altogether, and proceed to elect a king of their own. Accordingly on 22 May 1618, accompanied by a band of fully-armed men, the Protestant stalwarts made their way to the Castle of Prague, presented themselves before the two chief regents, Martinitz and Slavata.
- The Thirty Years' War began with the Bohemian revolt in 1618 and ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.
- The Wars passed through four main phases which may be distinguished as: (i) the Bohemian Period (1618–23), (ii) the Danish Period (1624–29), (iii) the Swedish Period (1629–35), and (iv) the French Period (1635–48).
- The British Parliamentary system is regarded as a model for parliamentary institutions the world over. It evolved over a period of seven to eight centuries.
- All the Lords of England could come to the meetings of the House of Lords. The House of Commons had two kinds of members. The first kind came from the counties. Each county could send two Members of Parliament to the House of Commons.
- Many people in England had turned against Roman Catholicism because of Mary's policies. In order to please these people, Elizabeth I decided to make England a Protestant country.
- The Civil War began in 1642, and by 1648 the parliament had won. In 1649, the king was executed and England became a republic.
- Though the system of elections has been in vogue in Britain for quite some time, the practice gained regular currency only in the 19th century. Initially, the

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parliament enjoyed a term of three years, which was fixed under the Triennial Act of 1694. The term of the parliament was increased to seven years through a Parliament Act in 1715.

- The beginning of the political parties in Britain is traced to 1642 when the politically conscious sections of the population divided themselves into royalists and parliament men. This division reflected the difference between the economic, religious and political ideals and paved the way for future party affiliation.
- Between 1688–1714, the political parties assumed more concrete shape and two major parties—Whigs and Tories—made their appearance. It may be observed that the political groups formed so far cannot be strictly described as political parties because they lacked political organization.
- Under the British parliamentary system, the opposition plays an important role. It knocks the government about, exhorts it if it makes mistakes and tries to prove that the ministers are incompetent and ought to be fired by the prime minister. It may be observed that the opposition does not play only a negative role, but also a positive role.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Apostasy:** Formal disaffiliation from or abandonment or renunciation of a religion by a person.
- **Calvinism:** Theological system associated with the Reformer John Calvin that emphasizes the rule of God over all things as reflected in its understanding of Scripture, God, humanity, salvation and the Church.
- **Constitutional monarchy:** Type of government in which a monarch is the head of state.
- **Cuius regio, eius religio:** The religion of the ruler dictated the religion of the ruled.
- **Diet of Augsburg:** Meetings of the Imperial Diet and the Holy Roman Empire in the German city of Augsburg; the most important being the one ensuing religious wars between the Roman Catholic Emperor Charles V and the Protestant Schmalkaldic League in the early 16th century.
- **Diet of Regensburg (1630):** A meeting of the prince-electors which occurred at Regensburg from July to November 1630; and resulted in a major loss of power for the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II.
- **Edict of Restitution:** Conducted in March 1629; here, at one stroke of the imperial pen ordered the restoration of all ecclesiastical properties secularized since the Augsburg settlement of 1555.
- **Heresy and schism:** the ones who generally refuse to follow the Pope and the bishops.
- **Lutheranism:** A major branch of Western Christianity that identifies with the theology of the German reformer Martin Luther.
- **Peace of Augsburg:** A treaty between Charles V and the forces of the Schmalkaldic League, an alliance of Lutheran princes, on 25 September 1555.

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- **Treaty of Barwalde (1631):** A treaty concluding an alliance between France and Sweden during the Thirty Years' War.
- **Treaty of Lubeck:** The treaty of June 1629, where Denmark was allowed to keep her possessions including the valuable state of Holstein.

4.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The outcome of Peace of Augsburg (1555) was extremely unsatisfactory. It could bring about only a temporary settlement of the conflict between Catholics and Lutherans in the Holy Roman Empire. Its terms were vague and ambiguous, and the settlement also provided no machinery by means of which its terms could be enforced. Its enforcement proved to be a constant source of friction, which led to the armed conflict of 1618.
2. Maximilian II, son of Ferdinand, succeeded him to the throne of Germany.
3. The Wars passed through four main phases which may be distinguished as:
 - (i) The Bohemian Period (1618–23)
 - (ii) The Danish Period (1624–29)
 - (iii) The Swedish Period (1629–35)
 - (iv) The French Period (1635–48)
4. In 1630, the active mover Richelieu, the consummate master of statecraft, with uncanny skill carried on simultaneously two sets of negotiations, both crowned with complete success. On the one hand, through the agency of a clever Capuchin, Father Joseph, he worked up Maximilian of Bavaria; and the other leaders of the Catholic League, who were assembled in the Diet of Regensburg (1630), to demand and insist upon the dismissal of the impious and ambitious Wallenstein.
5. One of Mazarin's last important acts was to conclude the Treaty of the Pyrenees (7 November 1659) with Spain. The terms of this extremely important settlement included:
 - (i) France was to acquire Roussillon and Cerdagne, Artois and portions of Hainault and Luxemburg.
 - (ii) The young Louis XIV was to marry Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV—a fateful marriage.
 - (iii) The principle '*cuius regio, eius religio*' was to be maintained.
 - (iv) Calvinists were to enjoy the same rights as Lutherans.
6. Peace of Westphalia (1648) marked the end of the Wars of Religion; henceforth, commerce, colonization, and command of the sea were the main subjects of contest. It also marked the establishment of the modern state system based on the principles of territorial sovereignty, theoretical equality, and internal autonomy. It signalized, too, the extinction of the mediaeval idea of a Respublica Christiana administered by a Holy Roman Emperor and a Holy Roman Pope.
7. Under the Treaty of the Pyrenees (7 November 1659) with Spain (i) Calvinists were to enjoy the same rights as Lutherans and (ii) Ecclesiastical lands were to remain as on 1 January 1624.

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8. Some people did not think that Elizabeth I had made England's religion Protestant enough. These people were called Puritans. They criticized her religious policy in the parliament. When James I became king of England in 1603, he preferred England's religion to that of Scotland. James and the Puritans had a clash in the parliament. James had to call the parliament because when Elizabeth died, she left debts of around £300,000.
9. Constitutional monarchy is a type of government in which a monarch is the head of state. He operates within the limits of a written (i.e., codified), unwritten (i.e., uncodedified) or blended constitution.
10. James II convinced the nobles and the landowners (called Gentry) that he intended to rule without a parliament. Seven noblemen invited James' son-in-law William to invade England to protect their religion. William was a very strong Protestant and was the ruler of Holland. In November 1688, William invaded England. During the autumn, he managed to scare James into running away to France. This meant that there was no king in England. The parliament was called by William to consider the situation. The members of parliament and Lords were worried that if there was no king, the country might descend into anarchy. The parliament decided that William and his wife Mary would be joint rulers. Before they declared that they were the rulers, the parliament passed a special law, in 1689. It was called the Declaration of Rights. It said that:
 - Kings could not raise taxes without the parliament's agreement,
 - The king could not be a Catholic, and
 - The parliament should meet regularly.
11. The civil servants, on the other hand, work impartially and act anonymously. During earlier times, the civil servants were recruited by the ministers from amongst their relatives, friends and admirers and were often quite inefficient. But Gladstone introduced the practice of recruitment of civil services through Civil Services Commission on the basis of a competitive examination. This practice still persists and now recruitment is made on the basis of an open competition. These civil servants are expected to provide necessary data and information to the minister on the basis of which he formulates his policy. After the policy has been formulated, the civil servants are expected to faithfully carry out the policy, even if they do not agree with it. In fact, it is difficult to imagine that the parliamentary system of government in Britain can work without civil servants. Over the years, the ministers have become increasingly dependent on the civil servants and often the civil servants make use of the ministerial powers without any responsibility.

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by the Thirty Years' War?
2. What led to the outbreak of Thirty Years' War? Enumerate.
3. In how many phases can the Thirty Years' War be divide? Discuss.
4. What was the role of religion in the Thirty Years' War? Elaborate your answer with historical incidences.

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5. List the characteristics of the British Parliament in the 17th century.
6. What are the special features of the British Cabinet and Opposition in the Parliament?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the origin of Thirty Years' of War.
2. Discuss the significance of the Thirty Years' War.
3. Explain in detail the growth of parliamentary institutions in England—origin of parliament system, development of constitutional monarchy and parliamentary institutions.
4. Explain the growth of parliamentary institutions in England.

4.10 FURTHER READING

Mays, Michael; *Nation States: The Cultures of Irish Nationalism*, Lexington Books, Maryland, 2007.

Dickinson, L.G.; *The Development of Parliament During the Nineteenth Century*, The Lawbook Exchange Ltd, New Jersey, 2003.

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UNIT 5 EMERGENCE OF SCIENTIFIC VIEW AND ENLIGHTENMENT

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Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Scientific Revolution
- 5.3 Age of Enlightenment
 - 5.3.1 Factors Responsible for Enlightenment
 - 5.3.2 Development in Arts
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- 5.4 Summary
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- 5.7 Questions and Exercises
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5.0 INTRODUCTION

The events of the 20th century were highly influenced by the socio-political development of the past. The massive changes set in motion in the previous centuries showed their consequences in the 20th and 21st centuries. The primary force behind this was the 'power of reason' that aimed to transform society and seek and explore new knowledge. The 'scientific view' emerged to challenge and oppose the intolerance of the Church and state.

This age of 'enlightenment' brought people out of a state of 'ignorance' and encouraged them to question the existing systems and work towards intellectual, cultural and architectural advancement.

In this unit, you will study about the emergence of scientific view and the factors responsible for 'enlightenment' and modernism in literature, art, architecture and music during the age of enlightenment.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe how the development of scientific view began with significant contributions from Copernicus, Galileo and Newton
- List the names of the scientists and philosophers who contributed significantly to the Age of Reason and Enlightenment
- Discuss the factors that led to the emergence of the Age of Enlightenment
- Analyse the changes brought about in the various art forms, such as painting and music, during the Age of Enlightenment
- Interpret the concept of neoclassicism

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5.2 SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

One of the most significant developments in the western intellectual tradition was the Scientific Revolution. It revolutionized the manner in which the individual observed the world. It was an epistemological revolution that altered man's thought process. It was definitely an intellectual revolution, that is, a revolution in the domain of human knowledge. During the European Enlightenment of the 18th century, new ways of thinking about societies started to emerge. A new, critical approach to intellectual inquiry evolved, which offered the groundwork for the development of specific scientific approaches for the acceptance of social processes. Let us look at some of the key concepts that took shape and the intellectual developments that took place during this period.

Nicolaus Copernicus (19 February 1473 – 24 May 1543) was a Polish monk and astronomer. He developed the heliocentric theory of the solar system. It replaced the geocentric theory of the cosmos, which had been developed by the Hellenistic astronomer Ptolemy. Just before his death, Copernicus published *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres* in 1543. This is actually considered as the starting point of contemporary astronomy and the emergence of the scientific revolution. The scientific revolution thus overshadowed the medieval view of the world and substituted it with our modern command over physics, nature, biology and humans.

Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) was a Danish astronomer. He examined the heavens with his naked eyes and kept precise records of where the planets were with regard to the Zodiac.

Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) was a German astronomer. He employed Brahe's observations to re-examine the Copernican theory. Copernicus had supposed that the planets travel in circular motions around the sun. In fact, we now know, they travel in ellipses with the sun as one focus. Kepler was the first to suggest elliptical orbit.

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) was an Italian astronomer. He propagated and encouraged the Copernican theory. Employing the information obtained from a Dutch telescope, he built his own telescope. Galileo was the first to examine sunspots and the moons of Jupiter. His work in ballistics resulted in the acceptance of the fact that cannonballs travel in hyperbolic motions. He also researched with vacuums and proved that a feather and a led ball fall at the same rate. He laid the basis for the works on gravity originated by Newton. The Catholic Church denounced his writings on the heliocentric theory; he was presented before the Roman Inquisition, and gave up his 'false beliefs'. Galileo did not believe in heroism. He did not wish to be executed as a heretic.

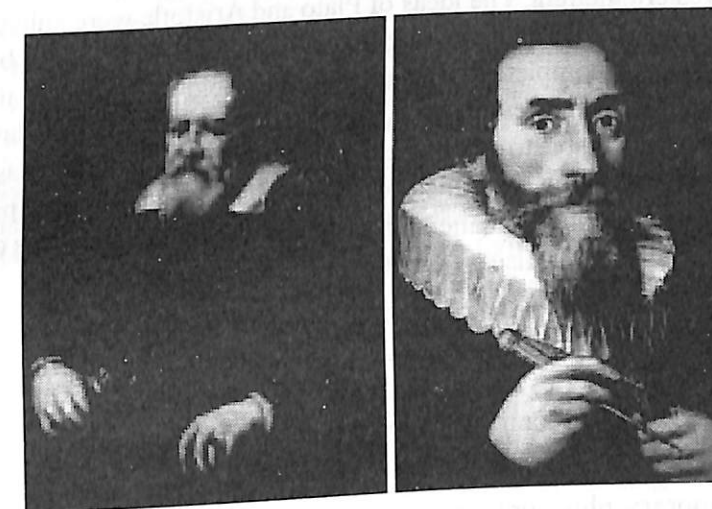
Isaac Newton (1642 – 1727) was an English scientist. He evolved the theory of gravity. Thus, he explained the motions of the planets. His mechanistic view of nature had a major impact on thinking. Compared to any other man, he ushered in the scientific revolution, which is still continuing. Figure 5.1 shows the scientists

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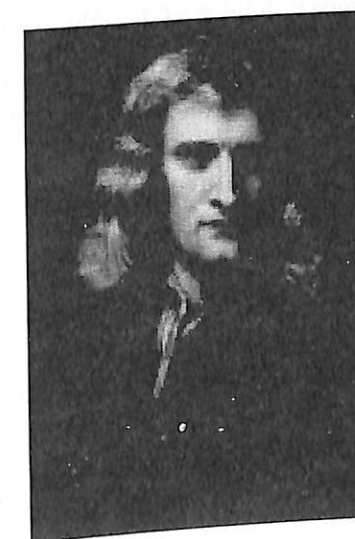
Nicolaus Copernicus

Tycho Brahe



Galileo Galilei

Johannes Kepler



Isaac Newton

Fig. 5.1 The Scientists whose works initiated the Scientific Revolution

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The scientific revolution gave birth to the Age of Reason, the Age of Enlightenment, the Age of Ideology and the Age of Analysis of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries respectively.

The following list comprises the names associated with the Philosophical Revolution or the Age of Reason:

- Rene Descartes (1596–1650)
- Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677)
- Francis Bacon (1561–1626)
- Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679)
- John Locke (1632–1704)
- David Hume (1711–1776)
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778)
- Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)

The Age of Reason was produced by a few intellectual giants who fundamentally transformed Western thought. The ideas of Plato and Aristotle were substituted with a new idea about nature, man and morality. Instead of a universe managed by teleology and a striving to reach complete perfection, nature is held to pass on to the material world of our senses, which emerges to be governed by mechanical laws, whose regularities our reason is able to determine. Newton asserted that force, mass, distance and gravity govern the universe. Instead of establishing the laws of physics and astronomy, scientists shifted their attention to the development of the laws of chemical reaction, the germ theory of disease and the laws of genetic evolution.

The Newtonian universe has deep implications on man's realization of himself. It has a huge impact on all our moral and religious convictions. Modern philosophy is established on the discoveries and implications of modern science. Philosophers have been trying to find solutions for many philosophical ideas with the inferences of modern science.

Contemporary philosophy is separated into rationalists and empiricists. Continental philosophers tend to be rationalists; while the Anglo-Saxons prefer empiricism. Kant brought these two lines of thought together.

French philosopher Rene Descartes could be considered the pioneer of modern, rationalist philosophy. His philosophy was based on doubt. He thought, 'How can I be sure that what I think is true is really true.' During this time, the truths of both religion and science had become tentative. The Protestants were challenging the Catholic Church's authority. Copernicus and Galileo had questioned the geo-centric view of the universe. According to Descartes, 'If concepts that had been held for over 1500 years were to be true, how could one find error in that now? How could one trust any authority?' However, Descartes also questioned the 'authority' of our senses. According to him, 'Our senses do not offer us with precise information. It looks like the sun rises in the East and sets in the West. It travels around the earth according to our senses. But actually, we are told, it is the earth that travels around the sun. Common sense tells us that objects do not move unless pushed. But objects in a vacuum once in motion remain in motion according to Newton. Have you ever seen an atom or an electron or a graviton? But modern physics tells us that these concepts describe the building blocks of nature.' Descartes answered his point of philosophical doubt with the well-known maxim: 'I think, therefore I am.' Thought is the starting point to his

philosophy. He distinguishes between mind and matter. According to him, thought is different from physical world that our senses unveil to us. It is actually, our mind, which offers us the ideas that allow us to think and to identify with the world.

Descartes is a dualist like Plato. For Plato, the difference was between the absolute forms and our sense or impressions. For Descartes, it was between mind and matter. He is said to have studied his mind and found within it certain 'clear and distinct ideas'. The most significant among these ideas was his view of God. According to him, 'God is perfection. God would not deceive us. Therefore, the physical world is really out there (not just a dream or a figment of our imagination) and we can proceed without scientific research of the physical world and its laws.' To prove his point, he employed the ontological argument for the reality. To him, God is the concept, which includes flawlessness. 'Physical reality should be a characteristic of an all-perfect concept. A God who exists only as an idea in my mind is not as perfect as a God who also physically exists. Hence, God must also have the characteristic of physical existence. This is a rational argument; it does not empirically prove His physical existence,' he said.

After him came British philosopher Thomas Hobbes who is considered pioneer of modern, empirical philosophy. One can include Francis Bacon, the English Renaissance thinker. But Hobbes was a materialist. According to him, desires and aversions govern human beings. They consider those things as good which they desire, and consider bad the things which could harm them.

Humans lived in a state of nature prior to the creation of governments and civil societies. In its former state, humans had natural rights and liberty. This included an individual's desire to live his own life on his own terms. The concept of owning property did not exist and each could take and make use of what was available.

Hobbes considered all individuals to be equal and even 'the weakest he' could kill 'the strongest he' when he is sleeping. In the state of nature, the life of man is 'nasty, brutish, cruel and short'. However, it is concluded that it is a completely undesirable condition. Hobbes, however, understood that every human action was backed by reason. They can recognize the undesirability of the state of nature and, through a social contract they can produce a government that will ensure order.

After King Charles I was executed during the English Civil War, Hobbes wrote, 'even the most tyrannical government is preferable to the shamelessness of the state of nature'. He advocated an absolutist government; but offered a modern 'explanation' for government by itself. According to him, the government is established through a social contract, which is permanent; once you renounce your natural rights, you cannot get them back.

John Locke, the father of modern democratic thinking, 'humanized' Hobbes' ideas. He agreed with the features of Hobbesian social contract theory. However, to him, life in the state of nature was not as bad as Hobbes had assumed. According to him, human beings were considerate and the state of nature was advisable. There were, however, the proverbial 'rotten apples'. In addition, the state of nature had its disadvantages too. Thus, creating a civil society and establishing a government were essential, as they structured the social life of people.

According to Locke, it is useful to have roads, property office to register titles to property, and even a militia for defence against invasions. Humans made social contracts to establish a government for limited purposes. 'When we create a

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government, we do not give up our natural rights. We even preserve a right of revolution, if the government becomes oppressive and oversteps the bounds of the contract whereby it was created,' he said. The philosophical basis for the justification of the limited, constitutional government is drawn from the Lockean version of the social contract theory. The American form of government is derived from Locke's ideas. Locke witnessed the Glorious Revolution in England. His writings give good reason for this relatively peaceful alteration of government.

5.3 AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT (ENLIGHTENMENT IDEAS)

The 18th century is remembered as the Age of Enlightenment. The Age refers to an era of European scholarly history that began in the early years of the 18th century. Many of the most significant thinkers, interest groups and missions connected with the Enlightenment were based in France.

The Enlightenment popularized the concepts created during the Age of Reason. The Enlightenment is on the whole the view or belief that contemporary science and our understanding of the social world obtained from contemporary science can help us to advance the living conditions on the Earth. War, poverty and injustice are not God-given penalties for our wickedness, but bad management. We can reform or overthrow the oppressive governments. Social disparity can be lessened and, maybe, overcome. Disease is not to be allowed enduringly but to be fought with new drugs. Poverty can be diminished by the productivity of new inventions and technologies. Ignorance can be conquered with the help of universal public education. Human societies can be made ideal if we have the will and employ our scientific information to plan and socially engineer for a better future. There is no frontier to what human rationale and resourcefulness can realize.

The French Enlightenment thinkers are also called philosophes. They are not actually philosophers; however, what we would nowadays call journalists or popularizers. One of the greatest achievements of the philosophes was the publication of the *Encyclopédie*. All those who supplied articles were called the Encyclopedists. Philosophes and encyclopedists are frequently used interchangeably while describing the French Enlightenment.

During this era, a new structure of concepts about human beings and their societies was developed in the work of an extensive variety of thinkers. Especially, a new obsession with the social world emerged. This was seen as a specific and significant realm of human activity. This spotlight on the social atmosphere generated new queries about human history, political and economic activity and types of social contacts.

To 'classical' authors or to religious texts for definite knowledge, this questioning of the social atmosphere was based in a new spirit of inquiry that no longer looked to why certain conditions of the present had arisen and, prominently, what might be done to alter these circumstances for the better. Enlightenment thinking occurred in an extensive paradigm in which certain essential tenets were accepted. A paradigm is a set of interconnected ideas, values, principles and facts within which logical theories (attempts to describe and to elucidate phenomena) are developed. An author of

Check Your Progress

1. Name the theory developed by Nicolaus Copernicus.
2. Name the theory disseminated by Galileo Galilei.
3. What was the basis of Rene Descartes theory?
4. Who is the father of modern democratic thinking?

Enlightenment, Hamilton, says that the key features of the Enlightenment paradigm comprised:

- **Reason:** Stressing on the fundamental significance of reason and rationality as ways of organizing knowledge
- **Empiricism:** This is the idea that all thoughts and knowledge of the natural and social worlds are dependent upon what we can capture through our senses. Much of Enlightenment thought relied upon using both rational and empirical techniques.
- **Science:** This is the initiative that the only way to increase human knowledge is through those methods (experimental, etc.) devised during the 'scientific revolution' of the seventeenth century.
- **Universalism:** The idea that reason and science are valid in all circumstances and that they can offer explanations for all phenomena in all circumstances. Science in particular was thought to expose universal laws.
- **Progress:** This is a key concept of the Enlightenment Age. It supported the belief that human beings could advance their natural and social conditions through the application of logic and science. The result would be an ever-increasing stage of happiness and well-being.
- **Individualism:** It is the concept, which explains that the person is paramount and that his or her individual logic cannot be subject to a higher (possibly irrational) authority (such as the Church) or traditional knowledge.
- **Toleration:** It is the idea that all human beings are fundamentally the same and that the beliefs of other cultures or 'races' are not essentially inferior to those of European Christianity.
- **Freedom:** It is just the opposite of the traditional restraints on belief, expression, trade, social interaction and so on.
- **Secularism:** Another key feature of Enlightenment thought opposed to traditional spiritual knowledge and to metaphysical speculation.
- **Anti-clericalism:** It is an opposition to the Church, organized religion, superstition and religious bullying.
- **Enthusiasm for technological and medical progress:** It is a massive enthusiasm for scientific discovery and its realistic application in the fields of technology and medicine.
- **A desire for political change and reform:** Enlightenment thinkers were not democrats, but they desired to see constitutional and legal reforms in the states in which they lived.
- **A belief in the pre-eminence of empirical, materialist knowledge:** It is a desire to find out the real reasons for the ways in which societies operate; the replica used was derived from the natural sciences.

The Enlightenment was mainly the 'work of three overlapping and closely linked generations' of thinkers. The first of these generations produced the French thinkers—Voltaire (1694–1778) and Montesquieu (1689–1755). This generation was powerfully influenced by the work of the English political philosopher John Locke and scientist Isaac Newton. For this generation of thinkers, rational query based on the natural sciences and an assessment of the social and political institutions of 'absolutist'

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monarchy was significant. The second generation of thinkers comprised Scottish philosopher David Hume and French philosophers Rousseau and Diderot. It was more openly 'anticlerical' and continued and developed the curiosity in the application of scientific method to 'moral' (or social) subjects developed by the thinkers of the first generation. The third generation of thinkers comprised German philosopher Kant and Scottish moral philosophers Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson.

Thus, Enlightenment thinking ceased to be so common and a series of more dedicated 'proto-disciplines' started to emerge, which comprised the following:

- Epistemology
- Economics
- Sociology
- Political economy

Enlightenment thinking was not in any accurate sense consistent; however, it is customary to refer to the whole period as the 'Age of Enlightenment'. This obviously implies that it was an era that saw itself as emerging into light from a 'dark age' of ignorance and superstition.

5.3.1 Factors Responsible for Enlightenment

This change in outlook was rendered possible due to the progress of science and its new laws and methods. During this period, effort was made to translate the advances of science into a new philosophy and worldview. The thinkers of this period involved themselves in the revaluation of all aspects of society. Thus, they established a rational faith and tried to lay the foundations of systematic disciplines of social sciences.

The spirit of reason, which pervaded this age, left a deep impact on literature, music and fine arts. It ushered in neoclassicism in literature and music. It resulted in the abandonment of the grandiose Baroque and daintier Rococo styles in favour of the pure neoclassical style.

It may be observed that all the leaders of the Enlightenment were not cast in the same mould, yet they all possessed ideas and attitudes, which were quite distinct from the earlier as well as the later thinkers. One of the outstanding features of their thinking was 'rationalism'. Under the impact of this rationalism, they were confronted with the problem of reconciling old faiths with new truths and thus created a sort of crisis in European conscience.

One of the earliest leaders of the Enlightenment was Rene Descartes, the famous French philosopher. He tried to reconcile the medieval religious faith with the mechanistic world in which supernatural phenomena were impossible and everything had to be explained rationally.

Therefore, he took a mathematical and rational view of the world and doubted everything. However, he perceived that he could not doubt that he existed or that there was something besides him. On the basis of these two premises, he rationally constructed a universe, God and an immortal soul for himself.

His universe was a mechanical one, which rigidly obeyed the laws of matter and motion proclaimed by Galileo and others and which could be easily understood by anyone who understood geometry. Descartes, in his *Discourse on Method*, tells us that he constructed his rational universe in one day and that his ideas were not based on experience, but spun out of his own inner consciousness.

Descartes left a deep impact on Baruch Spinoza (1632-77) who also tried to reconcile spirit and matter. However, he rejected the dualistic system of Descartes and following his methods, built a mathematical philosophy in *Ethics* (1663). He was essentially a spiritual person and has been described as the God-intoxicated man.

On the other hand, Francis Bacon, another prominent representative of the Age of Enlightenment and a lawyer, tried to learn the truth by observation and experiment. According to Prof. Swain, 'both types of minds were necessary for the advancement of science and learning. The Cartesian rationalists were devastatingly critical of accepted beliefs and practices, but the Baconian observers and experimenters provided solid knowledge that an experimental method enables men to learn something really new. The rationalists could then use the new knowledge as the basis of new generalizations and new beliefs.'

5.3.2 Development in Arts

The baroque forms maintained their popularity during this century. They were partially supplanted by a general lightening in the rococo motifs of the early 1700s. The trend was succeeded by formalism and balance of neoclassicism, with its resurrection of Greek and Roman models. Although strains of romanticism were visible at the close of the century, neoclassicism was the most dominant during the era.

Rococo painting

The focus of rococo painting was the airy grace, refined pleasures of the salon and the boudoir, of delicate jewellery and porcelains, of wooded scenes, artful dances, and women, particularly those in the nude. Portraits of aristocrats in their fineries were a speciality of rococo painters. Paintings of Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) were a fusion of fantasy and nature, portraying the comfort and easy life at the French court. His successors in France included Francois Boucher (1703-1770) and Jean Fragonard (1732-1806). Italian painters, such as Giovanni Tiepolo (1696-1730), also demonstrated rococo influences. But the distinctive rococo frivolity was lacking in English paintings; however, works of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), whose portraits intended to flatter the aristocrats, displayed the style, somewhat.



Fig. 5.2 Rococo Painting of Antoine Watteau

Neoclassicism

The neoclassicism form of art of the 18th was not very distinctive from the 17th century works. Although initially it started as reaction to the rococo style, neoclassicism

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often expressed dissatisfaction and criticism of the existing order, at times through stark realism and sometimes in colossal allegory. Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) is the most prominent artist of this style. His famous work, *Death of Socrates*, (Figure 5.3) shows his respect for Greco-Roman tradition. His sketch of Marie Antoinette, enroute to the guillotine, (Figure 5.4) illustrates his revolutionary sympathies. The best examples of pure realism and social criticism are the London street scenes by English painter William Hogarth (1697-1764) and the Spanish court portraits of Francisco Goya (1746-1828).

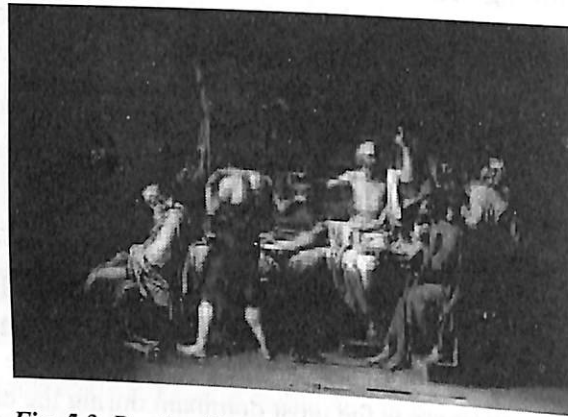


Fig. 5.3 *Death of Socrates* by Jacques Louis David



Fig. 5.4 *Marie Antoinette Enroute to the Guillotine: A Portrait in Pen and Ink* by Jacques-Louis David

An interesting development of this period was the surge in the number of women painters. But due to lack of professional training and dependency on the public for favour they were unable to establish their own style. Very few would go for academies, where they had some scope to show their work. In France, they were prohibited from working with nude models. This restricted their skill to draw portraits and still-life. Among rococo painters, the two best-known female artists were Rachel Ruysch (1664-1750), a court painter of flowers in Dusseldorf, and Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757), a follower of Watteau, who was admitted to the French Academy in 1720. Two very famous French portrait painters and members of the Academy, were Vigee Le Brun (1755-1842) and Adelaide Labille-Guiard (1749-1803). Swiss artist Angelica Kaufmann (1741-1807), who worked in England as well as Italy, was a tough contemporary of Le Brun and Labille-Guiard. Each produced grand scenes in the neoclassical style, but their limited accessibility restrained their skills to portrait making, at which they excelled.

5.3.3 Developments in Architecture and Sculpture

The architecture and sculptures of the period also illustrated neoclassical style. Architecture was marked by a return to the intrinsic dignity of what a contemporary called 'the noble simplicity and tranquil loftiness of the ancients'. The Madeleine of Paris had a close resemblance to the still-standing Roman temple, and the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin was modeled after the monumental entrance to the Acropolis in Athens. The English, who with their classical style had resisted the baroque influences, now constructed houses with portico with Corinthian columns. Mount Vernon is an outstanding example of neoclassicism in colonial America.

In sculpture, the revival of classical themes from Greek and Roman mythology were visible. The statues of Venus gained popularity. Claude Michel (1738-1814) and Jean Houdon (1741-1828) were two French neoclassical sculptors who achieved notable success with contemporary portraits. Houdon's *Portrait of Voltaire* (Figure 5.6) is a well-known example.



Fig. 5.5 *Brandenburg Gate in Berlin*



Fig. 5.6 *Houdon's Portrait of Voltaire*

5.3.4 Developments in Music

At the beginning of the 18th century, the baroque form of music was popular. The musical instruments too had special cords and organs for this purpose. Opera was the most typical baroque medium which demonstrated opulence and emotion. Religious music by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), a prolific German organ master and

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choir director, too had become popular in this era. His contemporary, the great German-born naturalized Englishman, George Frideric Handel (1685-1759), became famous for his grand and dramatic operas, oratorios, and cantatas; he is best known today for his religious oratorio, *Messiah* (1742).

In the latter half of the century, the complex baroque style was abandoned by composers who shifted to the classical format which was had greater clarity and was simple in structure. Even folk-like music became popular. As symphonies, sonatas, concertos, and chamber music evolved, less interest was shown in mere accompaniment for religious services or operatic performances. The works of Austrian composers Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) highlight the technical precision, melody, and orchestration. Haydn is credited for writing over 100 symphonies, while Mozart has more than 600 works to his credit, including 41 symphonies, 22 operas, and 23 string quartets. Three of Mozart operas became very famous — *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786) *Don Giovanni* (1787), and *The Magic Flute* (1791). German composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) became immortal with his compositions. His sonatas and symphonies expressed a revolutionary romanticism, which challenged the sedate classicism of his time.

5.3.5 Reflections of the Age of Enlightenment in Literature

The neoclassicism of the 18th century's fascination, reason and scientific law was reflected more in literature than in art. The verbal medium of poetry, drama, prose and exposition were frequently used to express new philosophic principles.



Fig. 5.7 Alexander Pope

A characteristic poetic voice of the Age of Reason in England was Alexander Pope (1688-1744) (Figure 5.7). The period, which endorsed optimism and upheld the reasoning, was exhibited by Pope in his work, *An Essay on Man* (1733). He explained a Newtonian universe in the following way:

'All are but parts of one stupendous whole, Whose body nature is, and God the soul... All nature is but art, unknown to thee; All chance, direction, which thou cannot see. All discord, harmony not understood; All partial evil, universal good And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite, One truth is clear: Whatever is right.'

The other two deserving poetic voices also call for attention here. One hails from the English Countess of Winchelsea (1661-1720), who praised reason and feminine equality in her verse. The other was that of a Massachusetts slave girl,

Phyllis Wheatley (1753-1784), whose rhyming couplets, matching Pope's style, implored the cause of freedom for the American colonies and for her race.

Reflecting the widespread contempt for irrational customs and outworn traditions were such masterpieces of satire as *Candide* (1759), by Francois-Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire, the Frenchman of letters. Another well-known satirist, England's Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), mocked the pettiness of human concerns in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), in which Captain Gulliver, in visiting the fictitious land of Lilliput, found two different factions: the Big-endians, who fervently advocated opening eggs at the big end, and the Little-endians, who fervently proposed an opposite process.

The novel emerged a major literary means in this era. It first became popular in France during the preceding century and was soon after popularized in England. *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), by Daniel Defoe (1659-1731), is frequently called the first modern English novel. The straight prose of the novel satisfied a customary demand for clarity and ease; but the propensity in this period to focus on middle-class values, for clarity and ease; but the propensity in this period to focus on middle-class values, gallant struggle and over-romantic love foreshadowed the forthcoming Romantic Movement. Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), while writing along these lines, produced *Pamela* (1740-1741). It is the story of a righteous servant-girl. During that time, Henry Fielding (1707-1754) wrote the similarly famous *Tom Jones* (1749), the rollicking tale of a young man's deep pleasures and shallow regrets. Each novel, in its own way, defined a natural human moral.

In both France and England, in the romantic novel, women discovered an exclusively promising passage for their long-ignored talents. Through the romantic novel they could articulate personal feminine concerns and domestic issues. Madame de Graffigny (1695-1758), whose *Lettres D'Une Peruvienne* (1730) became a best-seller, and Madame de Tencin (1682-1749), who wrote *The Siege of Calais*, a historical novel of love and danger, were the two among a huge number of able French women novelists. In England, Fanny Burney (1753-1840) was collectively praised after the publication of her first novel, *Eveline* (1778). It was about 'a young lady's entrance into the world'. Aphra Behn (1640-1689) was a playwright whose novel, *Oroonoko* (1688), was an appeal for the natural person, long before the works of Defoe and Rousseau.

DID YOU KNOW

In the Age of Enlightenment, Thomas Hobbes, caused great controversy with the release of his provocative treatise *Leviathan* (1651).

5.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- During the European Enlightenment of the 18th century, new ways of thinking about societies started to emerge. A new, critical approach to intellectual inquiry evolved, which offered the groundwork for the development of specifically social scientific approaches for the acceptance of social processes.
- Nicolaus Copernicus (19 February 1473 – 24 May 1543) was a Polish monk and astronomer. He developed the heliocentric theory of the solar system.

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Check Your Progress

5. Which century is known as the Age of Enlightenment?
6. What are French Enlightenment thinkers called?
7. Name the disciplines that started to emerge as a result of Enlightenment thinking.
8. What are the areas that were deeply influenced by the spirit of reason?
9. What was the method used by Francis Bacon to learn the truth?
10. What was the rococo style that developed in painting in the Age of Enlightenment?
11. Name women painters who emerged during the 18th century in the Age of Enlightenment.

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- Galileo was the first to examine sunspots and the moons of Jupiter.
- Isaac Newton (1642 – 1727) was an English scientist. He evolved the theory of gravity and explained the motion of the planets.
- Rene Descartes may be viewed as the pioneer of modern, rationalist philosophy. His philosophy was based on doubt. He thought, 'How can I be sure that what I think is true is really true.'
- Hobbes lived during the English Civil War, which resulted in the execution of King Charles I. According to Hobbes, even the most tyrannical government is preferable to the shamelessness of the state of nature.
- John Locke 'humanized' Hobbes' ideas. Locke agreed with all the elements of the Hobbesian social contract theory. However, he assumed that life in the state of nature really was not as bad as Hobbes had assumed.
- The Enlightenment popularizes the concepts created during the Age of Reason. The Enlightenment is on the whole the view or belief that contemporary science and our understanding of the social world obtained from contemporary science can help us improve the living conditions on the Earth.
- Enlightenment thinking occurred in an extensive paradigm in which certain essential tenets were accepted. A paradigm is a set of interconnected ideas, values, principles and facts within which logical theories (attempts to describe and to elucidate phenomena) are developed.
- The thinkers of this period involved themselves in the revaluation of all aspects of society. Thus, they established a rational faith and tried to lay the foundations of systematic disciplines of social sciences.
- Francis Bacon, a prominent representative of the Age of Enlightenment and a lawyer, tried to learn the truth by observation and experiment.
- In painting, the rococo style stressed the airy grace and refined delights of the salon and the boudoir, of delicate jewelry and porcelains, of wooded scenes, artful dances and women, nude women. Rococo painters also dedicated themselves to portraiture, showing aristocratic subjects in their fine clothes, idealized and beautified on canvas.
- Neoclassicism was also reflected in the themes of architecture and sculpture. The highlight of the architecture was a return to the intrinsic decorum of what ancients'. a modern-day author called 'the noble simplicity and tranquil loftiness of the ancients'.
- Mozart composed more than 600 works that included 41 symphonies, 22 operas and 23 string quartets, ending his career with his three most popular operas: *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786), *Don Giovanni* (1787) and *The Magic Flute* (1791).
- In his most popular work, *An Essay on Man* (1733), Pope articulated the optimism and respect for reason that marked the era.

5.5 KEY TERMS

- **Enlightenment:** A period of European intellectual history that has its beginnings in the early years of the 18th century.

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- **Universalism:** The idea that reason and science are applicable in all circumstances and that they can provide explanations for all phenomena in all circumstances.
- **Baroque:** Used to describe European architecture, art and music of the 17th and early 18th centuries that has a grand and highly decorated style.
- **Empiricism:** The idea that all thought and knowledge about the natural and social worlds is based on what we can apprehend through our senses.
- **Rococo:** Used to describe a style of architecture, furniture, etc. that has a lot of decoration, especially in the shape of curls; used to describe a style of literature or music that has a lot of detail and decoration.
- **Epistemological:** Associated with the branch of philosophy that studies the nature of knowledge, its presuppositions and foundations, and its extent and validity.

5.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Nicolaus Copernicus developed the heliocentric theory of the solar system.
2. Galileo Galilei propagated and encouraged the Copernican theory.
3. Rene Descartes theory was based on doubt. He proposed the well-known maxim: 'I think, therefore I am.'
4. Locke is the father of modern democratic thinking.
5. The 18th century is remembered as the Age of Enlightenment.
6. The French Enlightenment thinkers are called philosophes.
7. The disciplines that started to emerge as a result of Enlightenment thinking are (a) Epistemology (b) Economics (c) Sociology (d) Political economy.
8. The spirit of reason left a deep impact on literature, music and fine arts.
9. Francis Bacon, a prominent representative of the Age of Enlightenment and a lawyer, tried to learn the truth by observation and experiment.
10. In paintings, the rococo style stressed the airy grace and refinement associated with the salon and the boudoir, the delicate jewellery and porcelains, wooded scenes, artful dances and women, especially women without clothes.
11. The women painters who emerged during the 18th century in the Age of Enlightenment are Rachel Ruysch, Rosalba Carriera, Vigee LeBurn and Adelaide Labille-Guiard.

5.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Name a few scientists whose discoveries initiated the Age of Scientific Revolution.
2. What were the discoveries of the scientists in the Age of Scientific Revolution?

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3. What were the main philosophical ideas in the Age of Scientific Revolution? Name the individuals who advocated these ideas.
4. What is neo classicism?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the developments in the following fields during the Age of Enlightenment:
(a) architecture (b) sculpture (c) music
2. Explain the philosophical theories of Hobbes, Descartes and Locke.
3. Discuss the development in the arts in the Age of Enlightenment.
4. How is neo classicism reflected in the literature written during the Age of Enlightenment?

5.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Unit Objectives
- 6.2 Industrial Revolution
 - 6.2.1 Structure and the Organization of Industry
 - 6.2.2 Shortcomings of Family Businesses
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6.0 INTRODUCTION

The revolution resulted in permanent changes in the political conditions, and gave rise to the Industrial Revolution, which ultimately changed the economic conditions as well. This unit will attempt to shed light on the influences and driving forces associated with Industrial Revolution, and discuss the impact the growth of science and the advances in technology had on the development of technical education.

It was the Industrial Revolution that highlighted the need to develop a national system for elementary/secondary education and the equally important technical education system. The Industrial Revolution was the catalyst for the development of a national technical education system although the development was far from smooth throughout the 19th and early 20th century. One of the interesting issues during this development period was the heated debates about the relationship between science and technology, especially with regard to how these subjects were taught and their relative importance and place in the national education system.

In this unit, you will learn about the factors that up to industrial revolution the stages if went through and how it gave rise to industrial capitalism.

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6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the importance of the Industrial Revolution in human history
- Describe the scientific and technological background of the Industrial Revolution
- Evaluate the various stages of the Industrial Revolution
- Discuss the effects of the Industrial Revolution on society
- Explain the progress of science and technology during Industrial Revolution
- State the development of industrial capitalism
- Interpret the results of industrial capitalism

6.2 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Louis-Auguste Blanqui had coined the term Industrial Revolution in 1837, which was subsequently used by scholars during that period. In a series of lecture in 1882, entitled 'Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century in England', Arnold Toynbee widely used the word. It refers to the period between the late 18th and early 19th century when rapid industrialization was witnessed in Britain. Though several historians have countered this argument and gave different time periods, some say industrialization took place much before 1780s and this period only saw a gradual evolution.

Several studies, conducted through econometric techniques, illustrate that the slow production rates coupled with low national incomes would indicate 'industrial evolution' rather than 'Industrial Revolution'. There have been writers who identify the developments as piecemeal efforts in industrial innovation and in organizational structures. Most importantly, the industrial development was not confined to Britain, but was witnessed across Europe as well as in Asia.

Between the 15th and 17th century, artisans, craftsmen and other professionals from Europe had migrated to England. There are historical evidences to show that they exchanged their superior skills, technological methods and ideas with the locals. Historians argue this brought in a new form of technological revolution, which was later termed as the First Industrial Revolution.

The contribution of the Dutch in establishing the first proper drainage system in the Fens in the mid-17th century and improving the water mills is a big example of cultural and technological exchanges. The Dutch along with the Flemish refugees made significant contribution in development of cotton, silk and other textile trades in England. The French, on the other hand, were leading in scientific developments. They made major contributions to the blast furnace technology and also to the chemical industries which were coming up for dyeing and bleaching. The Germans did their bit in improving the smelting and refining of non-ferrous ores.

Although Britain was the center of activities, it too contributed by helping Belgium and France to modernize their industries. Interestingly, however, much of Britain's efforts were focused towards the USA. In fact, a number of Parliamentary Acts during the 19th century prohibited the emigration of workers into mainland

Europe as well as placing restrictions on the export of machinery, spare parts, design plans and expertise. These Acts limited and constrained the exchange of technology and technical knowhow between Britain and the continent. This characteristic highlights the fact that British companies pursued secretive and protectionist policies.

During this phase of Industrial Revolution, Britain went through transformations in almost all sections—agriculture, demographic trends, manufacturing and transportation. These had a massive impact on cultural, economy and the social climate of the country. For example, **Table 6.1** shows the dramatic growth in population between 1760 and 1901.

Table 6.1 Dramatic Growth in Population Between 1760 and 1901

Year	Population England and Wales	Population Scotland	Total population Britain
1760	6,736,000 (estimated)	-	8,000,000 (estimated)
1801	8,892,000 (1st census)	1,608,420	10,500,000
1851	17,927,609	2,888,742	21,000,000
1901	32,527,843	4,472,103	37,000,000

Another noteworthy transition that was taking place around the 1760s; this was in the labour economy. Machines were lowering the dependency on manual or physical labour. Craftsmen became less significant and even lost their status in the society as traders began to dictate terms and conditions, and the applied scientist replaced the amateur inventor. All these led to a surge in demand for unskilled labourers who were being paid by the hour. The social milieu was also changing as women were increasingly employed in factories and at times even women to keep the cost low. The production of coal rose from 2.5 million tonnes in 1700 to 10 million tonnes in 1800.

Three important technologies can be identified that formed the foundations of the first Industrial Revolution, namely:

1. Iron production
2. Steam engine
3. Textiles

The first steam engine was invented by Newcomen in 1712. This was further developed by James Watt and Boulton between 1763 and 1775. The steam engine was initially adapted to provide power to all types of machines. This made it the most 'enabling technology' of the time. With time, the steam-driven machines (Figure 6.1) were improved and adapted for wider applications, such as, for textile production and mining of iron. Complex machineries, such as, machine tools, lathes and farm machinery, too, were being operated with steam engines. In the later phase of industrialisation, the machine tools were further improved and refined by people like Henry Maudslay and Joseph Whitworth.

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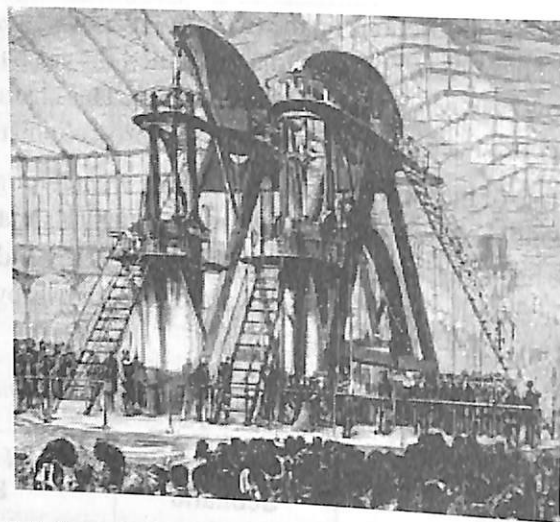


Fig. 6.1 Steam Driven Machines during Industrial Revolution

The development of national transport system with better roads and extensive network of canals, (from about 1773) and railways (from 1825) facilitated the movement of manufactured goods. In 1750 there were around 1,000 miles of inland navigation and by 1850 this had increased to 4,250 miles excluding a significant mileage that existed in Ireland.

Technological advancement also accelerated economic growth and the first phase of Industrial Revolution converged around 1850 into the next phase. Post 1850, the rapid development of steam-driven transport systems like shipping and railways (Figure 6.2), made inroads into new markets in Britain and across the world. In the second half of the 19th century, technological advancement was based on electricity. The internal combustion engine and the industrial processes related to chemicals etc., further accelerated the spread of industrialisation and international trade.

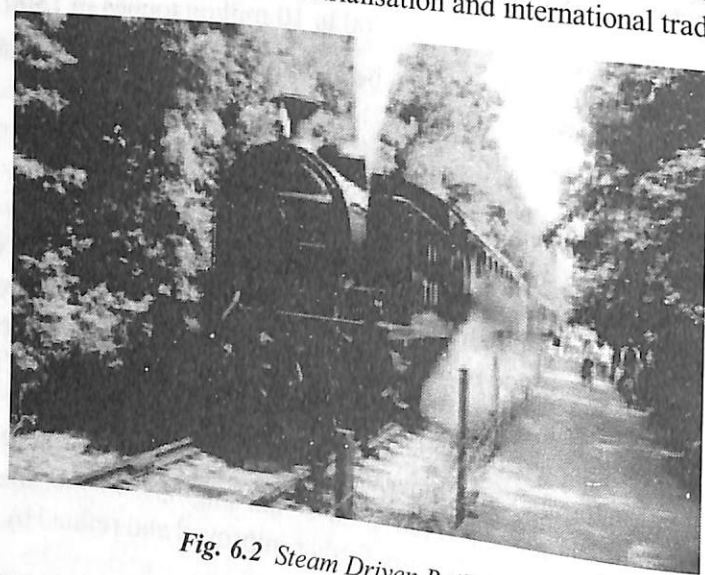


Fig. 6.2 Steam Driven Railways

By 1850, Britain became the biggest workshop and a leading industrial power producing over half the world's coal, cotton and iron. Manufactured goods were exported and this became the source of payment for essential raw materials for manufacturing and import of food. The services sector too was flourishing, which included financial, insurance and shipping services (Figure 6.3). Technical and industrial advancement put Britain in a better position, even economically. It not only became the country with most powerful navy and mercantile fleet, it allowed the

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country to maintain a huge empire and means to export its manufactured commodities. Sadly, the transportation of slaves to the new world until the trade was abolished in 1807, also contributed to Britain's wealth, particularly to the city ports of Bristol and Liverpool.

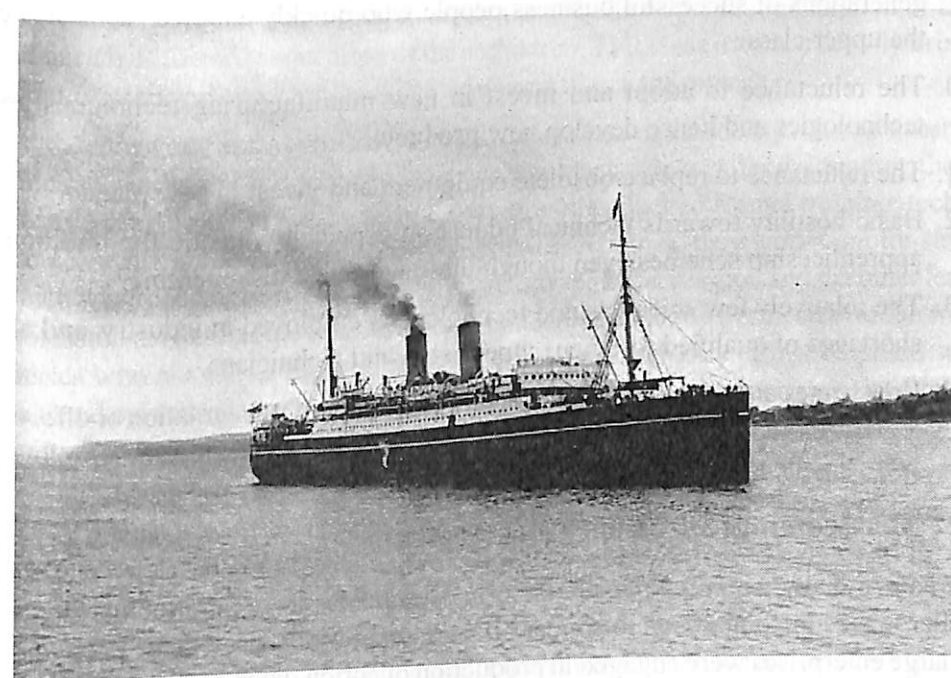


Fig. 6.3 A Steam Ship

6.2.1 Structure and the Organization of Industry

To understand the structure and the organization of industry in the late 18th and 19th centuries, we should consider factors, which according to a few historians undermined Britain's manufacturing performance and ultimately contributed to its economic and industrial decline. Several of these factors also highlight the lack of an effective and comprehensive technical and commercial education system as well as the continuing negative attitude towards competitiveness, entrepreneurialism and practical and technical activities. The following is a list of some of these factors:

1. The sizes of companies which were relatively small and in the majority of cases family owned.
2. Management and organizational structures dogged by amateurism, complacency and indifference.
3. Fierce and destructive competition within rival companies.
4. Incompetent and ineffective sales and marketing especially overseas, and an unwillingness to develop marketing and sales strategies and tactics to match and satisfy customer needs.
5. The inabilities of company staff particularly the marketing team, if they existed, to learn and converse in foreign languages.
6. The widespread use of indirect selling and marketing overseas by agencies and agents.
7. The relatively late adoption, (after 1851), of a distinctive or 'brand' or product mark when compared with other competitors; exceptions were in the china/pottery industries, such as Spode and Wedgewood.

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8. Reluctance to develop rigorous patenting techniques, when compared with the USA, Belgium and Germany, and thus highlighting the tendency for English businesses to be protectionist and secretive.
9. 'The gentrification', (Wiener's expression), of the first and subsequent generations of successful business people who quickly adopted the mores of the upper classes.
10. The reluctance to adopt and invest in new manufacturing techniques and technologies and hence develop new products.
11. The reluctance to replace obsolete equipment and invest in new plant.
12. Basic hostility towards technical education especially outside the traditional apprenticeship schemes even though these were fast disappearing.
13. The relatively few scientists and technologists employed in industry, and also shortages of qualified foremen, supervisors and technicians.
14. Low wages and status amongst workers as a result of no regulation or effective legislation that forced wages and conditions of work down; also, employers were hostile to the creation and membership of unions.

6.2.2 Shortcomings of Family Businesses

In Britain, initially, a number of manufacturing companies were family controlled and smaller in size in comparison to similar business operations elsewhere. These small and large enterprises were engaged in production of cotton, linen and silk, and even in operations such as brewing, cutlery, and pottery alongside thousands of workshops producing specialized products and artifacts, particularly around Birmingham and Manchester.

These family-run business houses had traditional outlook and were apprehensive about implementing manufacturing techniques. They were also skeptical about associating with manufacturers of similar goods or cooperating to share technology. This was in stark contrast with companies in Europe. These companies would even refuse to register themselves and patent their products for fear of plagiarism. This restricted the reach of the product and its development. This fear and secretive attitude constrained the growth of the companies, which became counter-productive for them and countries like the USA and others in the continent gained a competitive edge during the end of the 19th century.

Also, the relatively small size of the companies adversely impacted their sales activities, especially abroad. The home market was buoyant and marketing and sales were comparatively easy. This added to the culture of complacency and indifference. However, the strategy was not workable abroad and the weaknesses of the British companies got exposed. The companies were unwillingness to establish sales teams in offshore countries and instead preferred agents and agencies. This also affected sales, as these agents would refuse to learn the local dialects, communicate in native languages and conduct market research. There was lack of loyalty and commitment which gave rise to conflict of interests. While the Americans and Germans developed sales networks and carried out market research to assess customer needs. Dearth of education on commerce, management and technology slowed the pace of growth in the 19th century.

Another factor that reflected weak management was the poor relationships between workers and managers. Jon Wiener was one of the historians to study the

hostility towards industry and technical education and saw in it the influence of class and social stratification. In Britain, the gentry and upper classes had always been reluctant to send their sons to the industry, instead preferred them to go for services such as banking and merchants' offices.

It is, however, interesting to study the attitude of the first generation of British industrialists towards education of their children. This class invested heavily in estates in the country side and left no stone unturned to get acceptance,

recognized and assimilated into the upper strata of the society. This most certainly included sending their sons to Eton or other public schools. After graduation, the sons would mostly join the family business even as they lacked formal training, technical and scientific know-how and managerial skills. At times, they would opt for streams which were considered more dignified like law, politics, religion and the other learned professions. These somewhat orthodox concepts gradually permeated to the middle classes who not only adopted them but developed prejudices towards practical and technical pursuits, science, mathematics and technology. Sadly enough, most managers too were reluctant to adapt, innovate and invest in new plants and equipment.

The fact that Britain was the one to lead the Industrial Revolution contributed to its decline, fuelled by the degrees of complacency and arrogance. This created a culture of resistance to move with the times and overall industry failed to invest in new plant and equipment, develop new products and processes based on advancing scientific and technological ideas, and bring in scientifically and technologically qualified people. In the majority of cases, companies refused to recruit highly qualified people even though very few existed and many would often argue that a 'practical' person was preferred over a so-called 'theoretical one'. Investment towards scientific research and innovation was minimal.

One classic case was the hostility towards the introduction of scientific management techniques. This approach was developed with great success in the USA, but employers in Britain resisted its introduction, arguing strongly that workers were human beings and not machines and that there was no place for scientific routines or procedures in industrial and commercial businesses.

6.2.3 Nature of Technical Change

Technology was a critical element in the Industrial Revolution, though by no means, the only element. The fundamental technical developments associated with the Industrial Revolution occurred in four areas:

1. Mechanical power: It was derived first from the steam engine, which burned coal to heat water to create the steam that powered the engine, and later from engines that burned oil (internal combustion engines) or ran on electricity (often generated by burning coal).
2. Manufacturing: It resulted in the shift from handmade to machine-made products and from homemade to factory-made goods.
3. Transportation: Horses, mules and oxen were replaced by railroads and steamships driven by steam engines, and by cars, trucks and eventually aeroplanes powered by oil.
4. Communications: Messages carried by people were replaced by instantaneous communication over long distances via telegraph (Figure 2.4), telephone, and, much later, the Internet.

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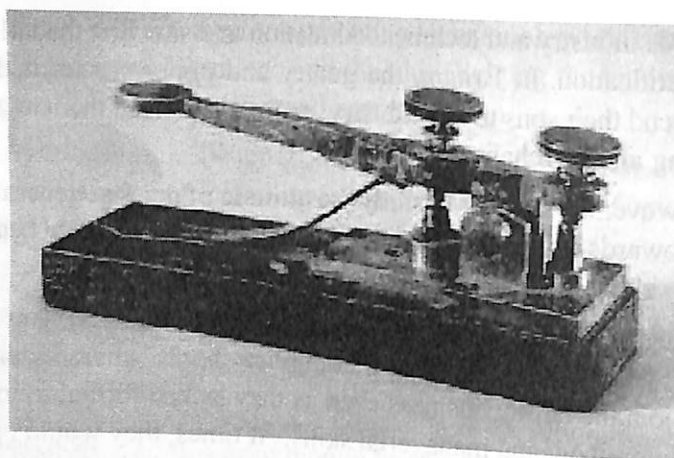


Fig 6.4 Telegraph Machine

Alongside the Industrial Revolution was an agricultural revolution, which brought similar changes to agricultural practices—the introduction of technology to manual farming, new procedures that greatly increased the output of both farmers and their land—and resulted in new attitudes toward the relationship between ‘natural’ and ‘scientific’ farming. The combination of new systems and new technology was first introduced on English farms around 1700 and has over the years greatly increased the productivity of farmers and the land. The agricultural revolution has also changed humankind’s relationship to animals and food and, to some extent, to the basic process of eating.

Check Your Progress

1. Who ran the business houses in Britain?
2. When did the second phase of Industrial Revolution begin?
3. How did the transport system aid Industrial Revolution?
4. Who was the first person to use the word Industrial Revolution?
5. What was the contribution of the Dutch in the Industrial Revolution?
6. Why did artisans and craftsmen become insignificant?
7. What was the attitude of the gentry and the upper class towards industry?

ACTIVITY

Make a list of the changes that you notice in the present-day railway engines (diesel or electronic) compared to the steam engines of the past.

DID YOU KNOW

Cotton textile was the key industry early in the Industrial Revolution.

6.3 SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF REVOLUTION

The biggest contribution to Industrial Revolution was the advancement in scientific ideas. The developments made in this field led to technological innovations. Till the advent of the scientific era, technology was confined to crafts, trade skills and experience gained mostly through apprentice model. The secrets of the craft or trade were jealously guarded and often shrouded in mystery.

As we have already discussed, the second phase of Industrial Revolution (1850s) were driven by science and technological advancement. One of the more intriguing aspects in writing this history is the identification of a number of perplexing and paradoxical issues, none more so than the interaction between science and technology

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Check Your Progress

8. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) The Elizabethan period was particularly productive in adopting, expanding and transforming technologies.
 - (b) Second phase of Industrial Revolution from the mid-18th century was driven by the chemical, communications and electrical technologies, which Britain did not fully capitalize on—Germany and America did.
 - (c) The Industrial Revolution took place simultaneously in all European countries.
 - (d) The most significant technical advances during the second Industrial Revolution (1850s) were driven by science as well as by the demands made on technology.

and the role and teaching of these disciplines in the emerging education systems. Attention has been drawn toward this paradox by various writers. Till today, it is believed that science is superior to technology as well as the subsequent application of scientific knowledge and ideas. This perception is based on two aspects— firstly, that science precedes technology since application is possible after the discovery is made, and secondly, the view that scientific education is superior to technical education.

Although the first assertion is valid, in most cases, it is not universally true. The existing technologies and their application can bring about the need for new scientific research and discovery.

As existing technologies and machines are operated in different working situations the demands and limitations of the machinery and the underlying technologies often precipitate the need for more original scientific research. Therefore, the belief that science is always ahead of technology and, therefore, is superior is a false one as it is clearly a two-way iterative process, i.e., science technology.

The invention of steam-engine is a classic example of technology preceding and interacting with science. Examples show that science and technology possess a synergistic relationship to one another and clearly feed off each other and that no one discipline is superior to the other.

But it remains a fact that the period from 1750 to 1850, particularly the Victorian period, witnessed a productive time of intense research and innovation in practically every field of scientific exploration, namely, biological, chemical, mathematical, physical and technological. This period was particularly productive in adopting, expanding and transforming technologies in such areas as electricity, industrial control engineering, lighting, photography, railways, steamships, telegraphy and telephony. Not all individuals behind these great achievements received formal education; instead they were self-taught and or possessed amazing creative abilities. This was the period of the first phase of Industrial Revolution driven by steam. The second Industrial Revolution from mid-18th century was driven by the chemical, communications and electrical technologies, which Britain did not fully capitalize on, but Germany and America did.

6.3.1 Stages of Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution did not take place in all European countries simultaneously, nor is it possible to fix the exact timing when the industrial revolution commenced because it is a continuous process. In fact, the four industrial countries of Europe—England, France, Belgium and Germany, underwent industrialization at different periods and under different conditions.

However, it is admitted at all hands that the Industrial Revolution began in Britain sometime in the middle of 18th century and spread in other countries of continent in the next century and a half.

Thus, Industrial Revolution took place in France and Belgium sometimes in the first decade of the 19th century; while in Germany it began still later viz., in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century, even though it spread with extraordinary rapidity. Thus, broadly speaking, the Industrial Revolution passed through two stages. The first stage is represented by England and the second by the countries of the Continent.

6.4 EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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The working conditions in mines were horrible, to say the least. Furthermore, women and children were employed as they could be paid lower wages than adult male workers. Child labourers possessed another advantage—they could easily crawl through the narrow passages in mines. The situation in factories was not very different. The workers could not bargain for better conditions and payments, as there was an abundant supply of workers available in the form of displaced peasants and farmers. If one would protest, he would be fired. There was always someone else ready to replace him. Also, the capitalists were becoming richer by the day. Using their wealth, they were influencing the policies and laws of the government. This influence was naturally harmful to the labour class. This led to the organization of labour unions, and subsequently to the development of the concept of Socialism. The migration of such a huge population to cities resulted in the overcrowding of cities and development of slums. The pace of urbanization quickened to unprecedented levels. The migration also broke the social ties the worker (i.e., the former peasant or farmer) was used to in villages. This, along with the deplorable living conditions, caused many other problems like alcoholism, illicit relationships, loneliness, etc. This degraded the quality of life to a great extent.

The capitalists emerged from the hitherto middle class. The Industrial Revolution was an expression of their strength. Their power increased in leaps and bounds. They had the funds to influence the government. They acquired a stranglehold over politics which continues until date. Other customs like the importance of punctuality and taking appointments before meeting people, also started during this age.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution were visible all over the world. A capitalist had two main requirements for making windfall profits. One was cheap supply of raw materials, and the other was a ready market. Both of these were available in colonies. This led to the colonization of many lands in Asia, Africa and South America. The economies of the colonies were comprehensively subordinated to the mother nation. This resulted in a scramble for colonies amongst the great powers of that age. Although England was the strongest power, France, Holland, Portugal, Denmark and, later, Germany and Italy also entered the race. This race led to imperialism, culminating in the two World Wars. English exports were creating problems for the industrial development of other powers. To control this, tariffs were imposed on British goods, leading to tariff barriers. As a result of colonization, events in one part of the world started influencing events in other parts of the world as well. This is the simplest description of globalization.

The revolution also affected many other areas. For one, there were the problems of urbanization during the Industrial Revolution. There was a lot of migration of the workforce to the urban areas. The population distribution everywhere did not remain equal, like it was before. This led to the many problems we face even today, like pollution, space crunch, family division, child labour, etc. On the other hand, on a positive note, there were quite a few important inventions of the Industrial Revolution. Things like the locomotive, steam engine, cotton gin (Figure 2.5) and many more, were all a result of the revolution. Many of the inventions are in use even today, and many others paved the way for different other technological advancements that we get to enjoy in today's world.

The origin of many modern phenomena and problems can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution was primarily the economic dimension of the change from the middle age to the modern age.

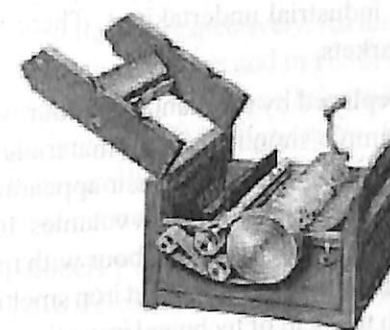


Fig 6.5 Cotton Gin

6.4.1 Progress of Science and Technology

The First Industrial Revolution started with moderately primitive technological advances that were directed by individual capitalists. These technological advances were perhaps less significant than the principle of the division of labour in the factories that permitted initial capitalists to enhance production and to make it more dependable. The amount of capital required to get the early factories off the ground was not considerable. Entrepreneurs could more often than not raise the money from their own savings and by having access to friends and relatives. Industrialization, in this phase, makes some use of technology but modest use of science.

This phase of industrialization, thus, matches to the classic notion of the capitalist as a highly individualistic self-made man who relies on his/her own wits and risks his/her capital on the supposition that profits will be earned by meeting some social demand for specific commodities. In this initial type of capitalism, it is rational to suppose that progress can be made best by permitting individuals the freedom to invest their savings and permitting the marketplace to balance supply and demand. If the classic entrepreneur or captain of industry does not succeed in reading the market correctly, he will fail. If he reads the market properly, he not only will be victorious, but will do good to society by offering goods that would not otherwise be accessible.

The fact that this unsophisticated formula could no longer be taken for granted by 1840 shows the complicated linkages between technological and capitalist development. Until then, the capital obligations for setting up some industries were so heavy that they were beyond the scope of several entrepreneurs. Capitalistic individualism became mainly rhetorical as enterprises became so intricate that corporations mainly replaced the former captains of industry and professional managers substituted owner bosses. Intense competition between the new individuals—the corporations—led to the need for massive investment in scientific research and progress. In some nations, technological competitiveness was thought to be too significant to be left in the hands of capitalist corporations. Governments, chiefly France and Germany, started to usurp the former role of the capitalist by investing in science centrally. In Germany, for example, quick industrialization was centrally supported, as it would later be in nations such as Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and, of course, the former Soviet Union.

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Check Your Progress

9. The effects of the _____ Revolution were visible all over the world.
10. There was a lot of _____ of the workforce to the urban areas during the Industrial Revolution.
11. The first Industrial Revolution started with moderately _____ technological advances that were directed by individual capitalists.
12. The fact that this unsophisticated formula could no longer be taken for granted by 1840 shows the complicated linkages between _____ and capitalist development.

6.5 DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

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The British bourgeoisie had driven the peasants from their lands and had employed cheap labour to expand its industrial undertakings. There was also a demand for a larger home and foreign markets.

Manual labour was replaced by mechanized labour which promised high level of production. Assured of ample supplies of raw materials from India and America mechanical looms and spinning Jennies made their appearance in the cotton industry in the 18th century and the production increased in volumes. It made the other industries follow the same example of replacing manual labour with mechanized labour. All the main industries, not to mention the coal mining and iron smelting were able to transform and perfect production with the help of technical inventions. James Watt, an engineer from Greenock invented the steam engine and different industries adopted this technique to enhance their production. The steam engine made a revolution in the transport system and was very important for acceleration and refinement of mechanical production. Robert Fulton invented the first steam ship in 1807 which chugged slowly down the Hudson River in America.

The designing of the first locomotive engine by George Stevenson in 1814 was major event in the history of industrial revolution. Having taken its birth in England, the industrial revolution had an enormous influence as far as economic development was concerned throughout the world. The European Countries and North America had the same kind of revolution with some local modifications.

Britain was the industrial power in Europe at the beginning of 19th century. It was the only country where the urban population was more than the rural population. Other than London, Birmingham, Manchester and New Castle had very large urban population. The peasantry dwindled rapidly in numbers.

Majorly factory workers dwelled in these towns. They owned nothing except their hands they worked with. The 'proletariat' or the labour class worked in abject conditions in the factories due to unmitigated poverty. In the early stages with labourers, being ignorant of laws pertaining to working conditions and wages, the capitalists exploited them relentlessly. They worked for 16 to 18 hours a day and women children were made to work for cheaper rates. The workers were eventually physically exhausted and dispirited.

The workers, reaching a saturation point of the hopelessness took the violent way to show their bitterness. They started wrecking the machines but soon realized that the owners of these machines were their tormentors and that they were growing rich by bleeding them dry. While the labourers lived in dingy and dilapidated hovels and basement tenements in the dark dirty districts, the rich factory owners, bankers and the members of the aristocratic society lived in splendid homes with gardens in other districts.

The aftermath of the industrial revolution saw England divided into two separate parts. The industrial bourgeoisie, colonialists and hereditary aristocracy formed one part and the other consisted of industrial workers, petty clerks, craftsmen, paupers and colonial labourers. These people had to struggle for their sheer existence. Mechanized labour displaced manual labour and the production process improved rapidly because of which the textile and metal working industries boomed. Owing to new inventions and improvements there were good growth in machine manufacturing

industries and transport systems. George Stevenson's steam ship was able to move at a speed of 4 miles per hour. Though somewhat clumsy and slow, it paved the way for a railway which opened in 1829 between Manchester and Liverpool, a distance of 40 miles in between. In the years 1831, 32 and 1837 railway construction work started in the United States, France and Russia respectively. An amazingly total length of 6000 miles were covered in 1840 by the railways and in 1850, Thirty thousand miles and in 1860, seventy thousand miles and in 1870 one hundred forty thousand miles. This fostered the growth of both internal and foreign trades. It also increased the demand for metal and fuel which in turn helped in the development of the corresponding industries. A large number of countries in Europe became industrialized.

The Steam ship of Robert Fulton was perfected and made more powerful to achieve long voyages. In 1818 a steam ship named Savannah crossed from the United States to Liverpool in 27 days. In 1838 the Great Western crossed in 14 days. Thus the water barriers between the continents were conquered by effective water transport system.

The bourgeoisie revolutions and reforms of the 1830s

The bourgeoisie had now become very wealthy and powerful and wanted to have a decisive political rule or to participate in the state administration in the monarchies.

Though very powerful financially they had one chink in the armour. They were afraid of the working class whom they exploited ruthlessly. While the arrogant monarchy could be placated with some sort of agreement, they were unable to come terms with the proletariat. This is one of the reasons for the bourgeoisie to avoid revolutions and focus on reforms with no participation of the people whatsoever. Their burning aim was to achieve State Power.

6.5.1 Introduction of Machines

Mechanized labour displaced manual labour and the production process improved rapidly because of which the textile and metal working industries boomed. Owing to new inventions and improvements there were good growth in machine manufacturing industries and transport systems.

6.5.2 Industrial Capitalism: Meaning and Definition

Industrial capitalism was the outcome of Industrial Revolution. It could be defined as a form social system that separates economy from the states. The capitalist owned the means of production and the workers worked for wages. It was named Laissez-faire by the Scottish philosopher Adam Smith. As capitalism was based on private ownership of property and production he advised the Governments not to intervene. People are permitted to run their own business in a free market and earn money for themselves. Each person should decide as to how much wealth he wants to accumulate. The capitalist feel that the governments only purpose is to protect the citizens from fraud or force. They believe that the force is protection of individual right, like the police force, the army and the law court. They also feel that force would impede the persons to do what he wants. They argue that the Government should not use force to stop any one from starting their own companies as in the capitalist society; all have the freedom to do any kind of business they prefer. To be successful in their business was in their hands. The law of the capitalists is that one must not infringe on the right of others. They give trust in holding individual rights as absolutes and freedom as absolutes.

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6.5.3 Socialism: The Position of the Working Class

In the early stage of capitalism, the state of working class was pathetic while the bourgeoisie were reaping profits from colonial wars and amassing riches from the labour of the proletariat. Majorly factory workers dwelled in these towns. They owned nothing except their hands they work with. The 'proletariat' or the labouring class worked in abject conditions in the factories due to unmitigated poverty. In the early stages with labourers being ignorant of laws pertaining to working conditions and wages the capitalists exploited them relentlessly. They worked for 16 to 18 hours a day and women children were made to work for cheaper rates. The workers were eventually physically exhausted and were dispirited.

The beginning of an independent working class movement

The workers reaching a saturation point of their hopelessness took the violent way to show their bitterness. They started wrecking the machines but soon realized that the owners of these machines were their tormentors and those were growing rich by bleeding them dry. While the labourers lived in dingy and dilapidated hovels and basement tenements in the dark dirty districts the rich factory owners, bankers and the members of the aristocratic society lived in splendid homes with gardens in other districts. The wrecking of machines was known as Luddite movement as it was started by a young apprentice named Ned Ludd.

Capitalism and Socialism are poles apart in their ideals. Unlike in capitalism, Government plays a key role in socialism. A society owns social properties such as banks and factories through the government. The resources of the socialistic society controlled by workers are used for the benefit of the whole economy and not just for the rich. Though the government controls production and economic activities it is the workers who decide what to produce, where to produce, how much to produce and how to distribute it equally to everyone. The accepted definition of socialism is equal distribution of society's goods to be achieved by the society. It concentrates on every citizen getting the basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter and a job. The government provides welfare to the needy and poor. Socialism proffers incentive to good workers and they work harder to get bonuses in the form cash, extra vacation, company parties and prizes. The workers have the basic knowledge and principles to run the economy. Training is given and institutions are provided for workers to extend their knowledge in their respective fields. In a socialist economy the government makes laws, based on the working class principles that all companies must follow. The laws are made principally to protect the working class. They should be treated fairly and equally. Good working conditions have to be provided for safety reasons. Child labour must not be allowed and no discrimination of sex to be practiced. Minimum wages should be set to all workers for them to receive. The wages must go up according to the type of job provided.

6.5.4 A comparison between Capitalism and Socialism

Capitalists and socialists disagree with each other's ideals. A Capitalist criticizes the socialist idea of man or an individual sacrificing his notions for the sake of the greater good in their economy and sacrificing his individual mind which denies him the sole means of survival and his nature as a rational being. A capitalist's idea caters for one standard of life, man's life, whereas socialism consists of the appraisal of the relationship between men and institutions that governs the form of association. The

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socialist defends this view with an opinion that the workers in a capitalist economy struggles against the greed of the corporate. People should work together socially to produce everything together. A capitalist takes the wealth to create more capital. One capitalist takes the wealth of the other capitalist and becomes wealthier and wealth gets accumulated with a smaller and smaller number of people. The capitalists declare that they do not exploit a large portion of society for the sake of a small number of wealthy businessmen. Capitalists feel socialism exploits the labourers by placing monopolist on labour and production. But socialism has more good points than capitalism. Capitalist exploits the workers as the government has no hand to play in their economy. There is no minimum wage set and it leads to racism with the poorer minorities getting no wage benefits and they are unable to buy the product they produce. Employer hires people who will work for lower wages and try to maximize their products as profit is their only motive. Socialist economy gives protection against discrimination but the capitalists argue that the workers are free to choose what they want to do, under whom and how much they want as wages. If they are underpaid it is their fault for having chosen the job. In capitalist economy, besides poor working condition for the workers unethical businessmen try to sell cheap, unsafe and unhealthy products to the ignorant public. The workers handle unsafe machinery and have no insurance to cover accidents. In a free market there is no government agency to dictate what goods, food and service can be sold. The free economy does not provide welfare system to help citizens who need financial aid and to make them fit to serve the society.

6.5.5 Free Market Economy

The free markets do not have protection from competition as they do not have monopolies. By having competitions a company would strive to give the best service and goods to the customers to get established and to oust any competition, other companies will do the same, vice versa. Therefore, the customers have many companies who all offer good products but they do not protect the workers because of unregulated safety standards. Capitalism stops pollution which is the key for its success. A publicly owned place like rivers, oceans, land and air could be polluted easily because it belongs to everyone with no real owner to stop pollution. In capitalism nothing is publicly owned and so one cannot pollute land air and water bodies owned by the private sector. Socialism is better and more successful than capitalism in many ways as governmental laws and regulations do not make the economy complicated and unfair by any means. In socialism people have a say over the conditions of the work, wages and their masters. Under socialism all workers are required to be treated respectfully and they have a job that gives them dignity. They are also protected by law from low wages, poor working conditions and exploitation of other kinds. It is illegal to discriminate any worker on the basis of sex, race, colour or religion. The wage that is set rises synonymously when the prices also rise. But in a capitalist society a raise in salary depends on the owner. A socialist economy teaches that if a person is skilful in his particular field he is paid according to that and education plays a key role to help employers to obtain extra skills.

Result of industrial capitalism

The Concentration of economic power in the hands of a few led to extreme social inequality. The living conditions became disgraceful with the development of the 'haves' and 'have nots'.

Check Your Progress

13. Capitalists and socialists totally agree to each other's views. (True/False)
14. Industrial capitalism resulted in equality of rights. (True/False)
15. Free market economy always has a monopoly to control the market. (True/False)
16. The Concentration of economic power in the hands of a few led to extreme social inequality. (True/False)
17. Industrial capitalism was the outcome of Industrial Revolution. (True/False)
18. The government plays a key role in capitalism. (True/False)

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6.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Industrial Revolution highlighted the essential need to develop a national system for elementary/secondary education and the equally important technical education system.
- The First Industrial Revolution, as it is more commonly called, spanned the period between the late 18th and early 19th century.
- There was an evidence of exchange and transfer of ideas, skills and technologies between Britain and Europe for many centuries before the first Industrial Revolution.
- During the first Industrial Revolution, Britain witnessed a massive set of transformations in such areas as agriculture, demographic trends, manufacturing and transportation. These and other changes had a profound effect on the cultural, economic and social climate of the country.
- The steam engine had been discovered before the Industrial Revolution and was subsequently improved by Watt and others after 1778. The steam engine and, as a result, was in many ways the most important 'enabling technology' of the time.
- Many manufacturing companies were family businesses and relatively small when compared with similar business enterprises overseas. In particular, industries involved in the production of cotton, linen, silk were dominated by families.
- Most company managers were reluctant to adapt and innovate and invested little in new plant and equipment.
- Messages carried by people were replaced by instantaneous communication over long distances via telegraph, telephone, and, much later, the Internet.
- The Industrial Revolution passed through two stages. The first stage is represented by England and the second by the countries of the Continent.
- The workers could not bargain for better conditions and payments, as there was an abundant supply of workers available in the form of displaced peasants and farmers.
- There was a lot of migration of the workforce to the urban areas. The population distribution everywhere did not remain equal, like it was before.
- The First Industrial Revolution started with moderately primitive technological advances that were directed by individual capitalists.
- In some nations, technological competitiveness was thought to be too significant to be left in the hands of capitalist corporations. Governments, chiefly France and Germany, started to usurp the former role of the capitalist by investing in science centrally.
- Manual labour was replaced by mechanized labour which promised high level of production. Assured of ample supplies of raw materials from India and America mechanical looms and spinning Jennies made their appearance in the cotton industry in the 18th century and the production increased in volumes.

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- Britain was the industrial power in Europe at the beginning of 19th century. It was the only country where the urban population was more than the rural population.
- The aftermath of the industrial revolution saw England divided into two separate parts. The industrial bourgeoisie, colonialists and hereditary aristocracy formed one part and the other consisted of industrial workers, petty clerks, craftsmen, paupers and colonial labourers.
- Mechanized labour displaced manual labour and the production process improved rapidly because of which the textile and metal working industries boomed.
- In the early stage of capitalism, the state of working class was pathetic while the bourgeoisie were reaping profits from colonial wars and amassing riches from the labour of the proletariat.
- The free markets do not have protection from competition as they do not have monopolies. By having competitions a company would strive to give the best service and goods to the customers to get established and to oust any competition, other companies will do the same, vice versa.
- The Concentration of economic power in the hands of a few led to extreme social inequality.
- The living conditions became disgraceful with the development of the 'haves' and 'have nots'.

6.7 KEY TERMS

- **Migration:** Movement of large numbers of people one place to another.
- **Telegraph:** Method of sending messages over long distances, using wires that carry electrical signals.
- **Machine Tool:** Tool for cutting or shaping metal, wood, etc, driven by a machine.
- **Raw Material:** Basic material that is used to make a product.
- **Entrepreneur:** Person who makes money by starting or running businesses, especially when this involves taking financial risks.
- **Wage:** Regular amount of money that somebody earns, usually every week, for work or services.
- **Industrial capitalism:** It was the outcome of Industrial Revolution. It could be defined as a form social system that separates economy from the states.
- **Socialism:** It stands for equal distribution of society's goods to be achieved by the society. It concentrates on every citizen getting the basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter and a job.

6.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The business houses in Britain were mostly run by families.
2. The second phase of Industrial Revolution started from around 1850.

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3. The development of national transport system with better roads and extensive network of canals, (from about 1773) and railways (from 1825) facilitated the movement of manufactured. In 1750 there were around 1,000 miles of inland navigation and by 1850 this had increased to 4,250 miles excluding a significant mileage that existed in Ireland.
4. The term Industrial Revolution was coined by Louis-Auguste Blanqui.
5. The Dutch were the ones to establish the first proper drainage system in the Fens in the mid-17th century and improve the water mills.
6. With the advent of machines, artisans and craftsmen lost relevance. Manufacturing of products were being dictated by traders based on economic profit.
7. In Britain, the gentry and upper classes had always been reluctant to send their sons to the industry, instead preferred them to go for services such as banking and merchants' offices. These somewhat orthodox concepts gradually permeated to the middle classes who not only adopted them but developed prejudices towards practical and technical pursuits, science, mathematics and technology.
8. (a) False
(b) True
(c) False
(d) True
9. Industrial
10. Migration
11. Primitive
12. Technological
13. False
14. False
15. False
16. True
17. True
18. False

6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is meant by capitalism?
2. How did the Industrial Revolution evolve?
3. What role did the steam engine and coal play in the rapid spread of the Industrial Revolution across the European continent?
4. How did science and technology progress during Industrial Revolution?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the concept of capitalism.
2. Discuss the structure and organization of the industry during the Industrial Revolution.
3. Describe the nature of technical change that occurred during the Industrial Revolution.
4. Analyse the scientific and technological background of the Industrial Revolution. Also, describe the stages in the Industrial Revolution.
5. Elaborate on the effects of the Industrial Revolution.

6.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 7 AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Unit Objectives
- 7.2 Revolution in America
 - 7.2.1 Ideologies behind the American Revolution
- 7.3 Causes of the American Revolution and War of Independence
- 7.4 Events of the American Revolution and War of Independence
- 7.5 Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Paris
 - 7.5.1 Declaration of Independence
 - 7.5.2 Treaty of Paris
- 7.6 Results and Significance of the American Revolution
- 7.7 Summary
- 7.8 Key Terms
- 7.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 7.10 Questions and Exercises
- 7.11 Further Reading

7.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the emergence of Industrial Revolution and the development of industrial capitalism.

Apart from the continents of Africa and Asia, the continent of America was also colonized by the European imperialist powers, the main among them being the British. America's revolt against the British broke out mainly as a result of the monarchic policies of governance. The revolution against the British government in America began in the latter half of the 18th century. After achieving victory in the American War of Independence, the thirteen American colonies that took part in the war established the United States of America. The Seven Years' War against the British ended in 1781 and America's independence was endorsed by Britain in 1783. The American Revolution saw a number of socio-economic changes in the American society. It had a huge impact on the events that later took place in the European countries, the key event being the French revolution about which you will read in next unit. This unit will discuss the causes of American Revolution and the ideologies behind it. It also discusses how the war of independence was fought and finally independence was gained.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Identify ideologies behind the American Revolution
- Discuss the causes of the American Revolution and War of Independence
- Describe the main points of the declaration of independence
- Analyse the results and significance of the Treaty of Paris
- Evaluate the significance of the American Revolution

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7.2 REVOLUTION IN AMERICA

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The American Revolution started with the Battle of Lexington in 1775 and ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783. When the war for the American independence broke out, the major American colonies from north to south, had been Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut (making up New England), New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, from North to South (Figure 7.1). The important cities were Boston in Massachusetts, New York, Philadelphia, the colonial capital of Pennsylvania, and Charleston, the capital of South Carolina.

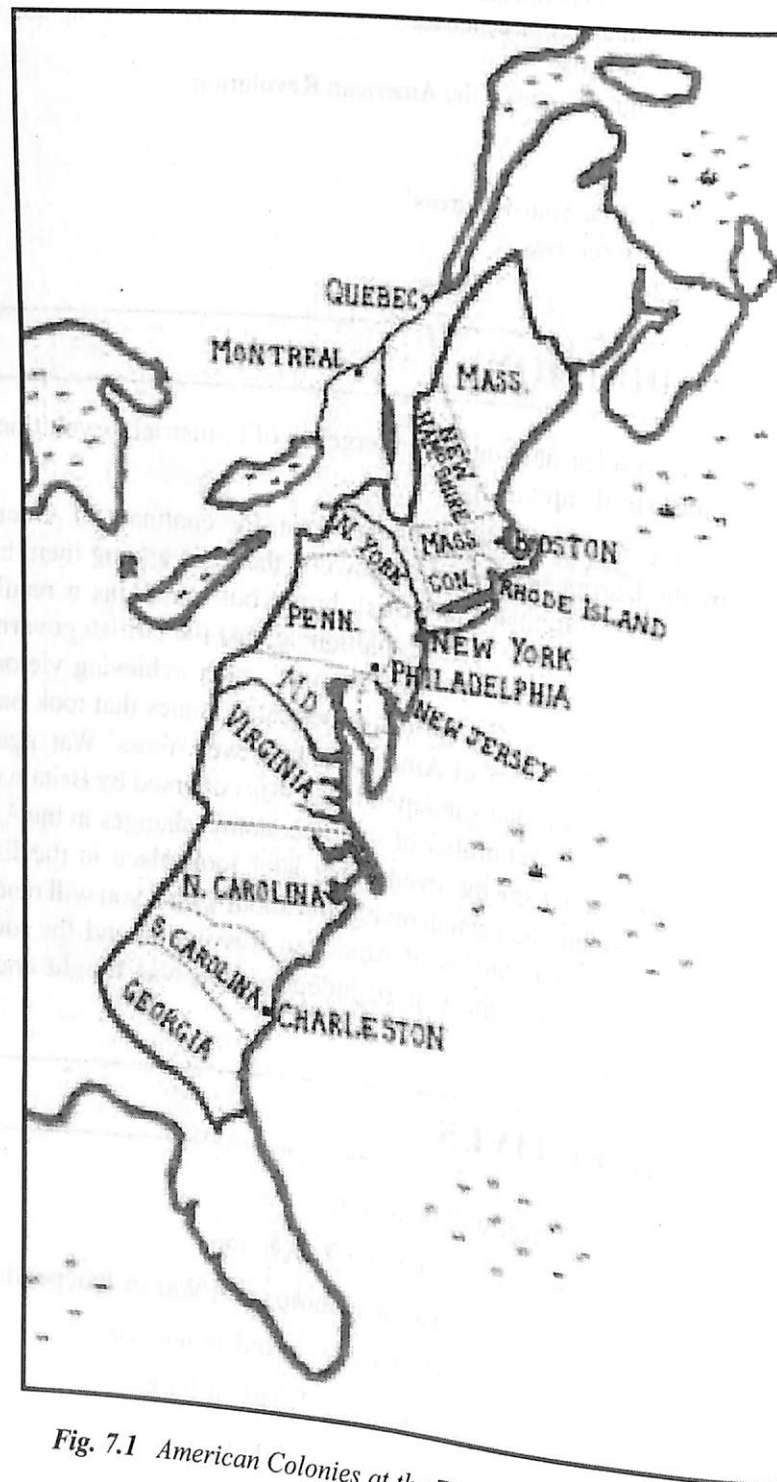


Fig. 7.1 American Colonies at the Time of War of Independence

Canada was part of the British Empire and formed the north colonies. French was the major language of the people and the American landmass lay to the west of this.

One of the busiest and most important ports in the English speaking world was Boston. The American colonies shared a rocky relationship with the British crown. There were many conflicts between the governors in the service of the crown and the assembly of elected members of colonies over matters of taxation. The French dominance in Canada along the St. Lawrence region as well as the western part of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia also affected the relationship between the crown and its colonies adversely. The British forces registered important victories and the assertion of their dominance that followed led to the beginning of American Revolution in 1763. In order to eke out the cost involved in the maintenance of their empire, they subjected the people to the payment of direct taxes and imposed such other laws that were demonstrative of their superiority. Since English residents of colonies did not enjoy representation in the British Parliament, they were deeply discontented with the laws and considered it a violation of their rights. Seeking to voice their opinions, they formed The Committees of Correspondence in 1772, with the agenda of having their own congresses in the provinces of colonies. As the mistrust against the crown grew, these provincial congresses overthrew the yoke of the British Parliament and assumed the role of administrators in the colonies. The British, in retaliation to the protests in Boston over demonstration of authority by the parliament, resorted to the dissolution of the government and bringing the people under the direct rule of royalty. Irked by the British response, the colonies launched a combat in 1775. At the Second Continental congress in 1776, the representatives of the colonized states adopted a declaration of independence and thereby, rejecting British sovereignty and control of its parliament. Thus came into existence the United States, a democratic but loose union of states involved. The representatives were chosen by members of the state legislatures.

7.2.1 Ideologies behind the American Revolution

John Locke (1632–1704) and his views on liberty greatly inspired the American Revolution. His successors like Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), were deeply influenced by his political ideas and views on governance that he expressed through his treatises on government published in 1689. Locke's influence on Rousseau is perceptible in the latter's work *Du Contract Social*, published in 1762. This treatise advocated it was the 'natural right' of the people to overthrow such leaders who deprived the English of their historic rights. The Americans relied on an analysis of the British constitution by Montesquieu to frame their state and national constitution. Republicanism was the major political ideology of the American colonies during 1775. It provided an impetus to the war of independence. This ideology was imported from Britain where the 'country party' highlighted the corruption prevalent in Britain. With a deep distrust about British sincerity towards American interests and an even greater fear that America may become corrupt like Britain, the Americans clung on to the ideas of Republicanism and a belief in their rights. This also helped them in their cause. To the Americans, corruption was associated with the aristocracy and the colonists, and hence, appeared as the biggest threat to their liberty. Among those who advocated republican values were:

- Samuel Adams
- Patrick Henry

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- George Washington (Figure 7.2)
- Thomas Paine
- Benjamin Franklin
- John Adams
- Thomas Jefferson
- James Madison
- Alexander Hamilton

It entailed that civic duty be prioritized over personal affairs. Those who had these civic responsibilities were required to protect the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens. In a letter written in 1776 by John Adams addressed to Mercy Otis Warren, he expressed his faith in the classical notions that the private is an integral part of public virtue and the foundation of a Republic is based on public virtue. He also wrote that:

There must be a positive Passion for the public good, the public Interest, Honour, Power and glory, established in the minds of the people, or there can be no Republican private Passions. Men must be ready, they must pride themselves, and be happy to and dearest connections, when they Stand in Competition with the Rights of society.



Fig. 7.2 General George Washington

Women could contribute by raising children who had republican values deeply instilled in them. It required them to lead a life free from ostentations. This ideal of 'Republican motherhood' was epitomized by the likes of Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren. Thomas Paine's pamphlet 'Common Sense' was widely received and was a huge success amongst the people. It did its bit in propagating the American cause and spreading faith in liberalism and republicanism. It also gathered support for the split from England and propagated enlistment in the Continental Army. Paine's work was a huge influence on the people of America as it urged the people to overcome the suppression that they had suffered and shirk the colonial yoke off their backs.

Check Your Progress

1. The American Revolution started with the Battle of Lexington. (True/False)
2. One of the busiest and most important ports in the English speaking world was Boston. (True/False)
3. The American colonies shared a rocky relationship with the British crown. (True/False)
4. _____ pamphlet 'Common Sense' was widely received and was a huge success among the people.
5. _____ was the major political ideology of the American colonies during 1775.
6. _____ and his views on liberty greatly inspired the American Revolution.

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ACTIVITY

Select any four individuals of your choice from among the names of the most influential people in the American history mentioned in this section and gather information about their lives and works.

7.3 CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Some the factors that led to the war of independence have already been discussed before. Some additional and interesting facts about this revolution are as follows:

1. **The French and Indian War:** The North American drama of the European Seven Years' War is also called the French and Indian War.

The war was fought between Britain and France from 1754 to 1763 for colonial supremacy in North America. British officials tried to muster up the public opinion for the war at the Albany Congress in 1754; however, they could gather only half-hearted support throughout the colonies. Even so, American colonists unquestioningly fought alongside British soldiers, while the French colonists unquestioningly fought alongside British soldiers, while the French joined several Native American tribes (hence the name 'French and Indian War'). This war finished when the British captured most of France's chief cities and forts in Canada and the Ohio Valley.

2. **Pontiac's Rebellion:** Pontiac was the powerful Ottawa chief. He had no aim of allowing land-hungry whites to appropriate more tribal lands. Thus, he united several tribes in the volatile Ohio Valley and led a chain of raids on British forts and American settlements. British forces ultimately squashed Pontiac's Rebellion. As a peace-making sign toward the Native Americans, the parliament issued the Proclamation of 1763, forbidding American colonists to settle on Native American territory unless native rights to the land had first been obtained by purchase or treaty.

3. **End of salutary neglect:** The French and Indian War also encouraged the British Parliament to end the era of salutary neglect. Then British Prime Minister George Grenville started implementing the ancient Navigation Acts in 1764, passed the Sugar Act to tax sugar and passed the Currency Act to get rid of paper currencies (many from the French and Indian War period) from distribution. A year later, he passed the Stamp Act, which put a tax on printed materials, and the Quartering Act, which needed Americans to house and feed British troops.

4. **Taxation without representation:** The Sugar Act was the first completely implemented tax levied in America exclusively for the reason of raising revenue. Americans all through the thirteen colonies cried out against 'taxation without representation' and made unofficial non-importation agreements of certain British commodities in protest. Several colonial leaders assembled at the Stamp Act Congress in New York to petition the parliament and King George III to revoke the tax. In 1766, parliament bowed to public pressure and revoked the Stamp Act. However, it also silently passed the Declaratory Act, which specified that the parliament reserved the right to tax the colonies anytime it decided.

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5. The Townshend Acts and Boston Massacre: In 1767, the parliament passed the Townshend Acts. This Act levied another chain of taxes on lead, paints and tea known as the Townshend Duties. In the same sequence of acts, Britain passed the Suspension Act, which suspended the New York assembly for not implementing the Quartering Act. In order to avoid violent protests, Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson took the assistance of the British army, and in 1768, four thousand redcoats (The British Army men) landed in the city to help preserve order. However, on March 5, 1770, an angry mob clashed with many British troops. Five colonists died, and news of the Boston Massacre rapidly spread throughout the colonies.

6. The Boston Tea Party: In 1773, the parliament passed the Tea Act. The Act granted the monetarily troubled British East India Company a trade monopoly on the tea exported to the American colonies. In several American cities, tea agents resigned or cancelled orders and merchants declined consignments in reaction to the unpopular act. Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts was determined to uphold the law; thus, he ordered that three ships arriving in Boston harbour should be permitted to deposit their cargoes and that suitable payments should be made for the goods. On the night of December 16, 1773, while the ships lingered in the harbour, sixty men, disguised as Native Americans, boarded the ships and dumped the entire shipment of tea into the harbour. That event is now prominently known as the Boston Tea Party (Figure 7.3).



Fig. 7.3 The Boston Tea Party

7. The Intolerable and Quebec Acts: In January 1774, the parliament passed the Coercive Act. This Act is also called the Intolerable Act. It shut down Boston Harbour until the British East India Company had been completely reimbursed for the tea damaged in the Boston Tea Party. Americans all through the colonies sent food and supplies to Boston via land to avoid death from hunger and cold in the bitter New England winter.

The parliament also passed the Quebec Act simultaneously, which granted more rights to French Canadian Catholics and expanded French Canadian territory south to the western borders of New York and Pennsylvania.

8. The First Continental Congress and Boycott: To complaint against the Intolerable Acts, the representatives of well-known colonies gathered in Philadelphia at the First Continental Congress in autumn of 1774. They once

more petitioned the parliament, King George III and the British people to revoke the Acts and restore pleasant relations. For added motivation, they also made a decision to organize a boycott, or ban, of all British commodities in the colonies.

9. Lexington, Concord and the Second Continental Congress: On April 19, 1775, fraction of the British occupation force in Boston walked to the nearby town of Concord, Massachusetts, to grab the hold of a colonial militia arsenal. Militiamen of Lexington and Concord interrupted them and attacked. The first shot—the alleged ‘shot heard round the world’ made famous by poet Ralph Waldo Emerson—was one of several shots that hounded the British and forced them to move back to Boston. Thousands of militiamen from close by colonies gathered to Boston to lend a hand.

Meanwhile, leaders called up the Second Continental Congress to talk about other options. In one final effort for peaceful settlement, the Olive Branch Petition, they admitted their love and loyalty to King George III and asked him to attend to their grievances. The king refused the petition and officially declared that the colonies were in a state of revolt.

7.4 EVENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The revolution began in April 1775 when British troops staying in Boston tried to seize munitions amassed by colonial militias at Concord, Massachusetts. Disagreement spread and the outnumbered British garrisons in the 13 southernmost colonies were rapidly defeated. Fort Ticonderoga fell in May and Montreal in August. Boston was abandoned by British troops in October. By the end of 1775, Britain's holdings in North America had been decreased to the Canadian Maritimes and a surrounded garrison at Quebec City in Canada.

In 1776, the British sent 75,000 troops to North America to suppress the revolt. The colonists met in Philadelphia in June of 1776 and announced independence from England on July 4, 1776. The colonial army proved no competition for the well-armed British and endured an embarrassing sequence of defeats in the Battle of Brooklyn Heights. By the end of 1776, Quebec, New York City and maximum of New Jersey were in British hands. Though, during Christmas week, General George Washington, who had moved away into Pennsylvania, traversed the Delaware River back into New Jersey and rolled up faraway British garrisons at Trenton and Princeton. This started a pattern that held for the rest of the war. The British ruled the territory they captured with major forces — primarily New York City and Philadelphia. The colonists ruled rest of the territory.

In 1777, an army of 10,000 troops came from Quebec to divide the colonies in half. At the same time, the much larger army in New Jersey moved transversely the Delaware River and took Philadelphia — the colonial capital and the biggest city in North America. Though, after retaking Ticonderoga with little problem, the Northern army faced a series of severe defeats at Bennington, Fort Stanwix and in two battles near Saratoga. By October, the 5,700 survivors found themselves enclosed, outnumbered and short of supplies in the wilds 130 miles (210 km) south of Montreal with winter drawing near.

On October 17th, General Burgoyne admitted defeat and surrendered the entire British Army to the colonials. News of the British admitting defeat arrived in Paris

NOTES

Check Your Progress

7. The French and Indian War was fought between Germany and France.
(True/False)
8. In 1767, the British Parliament passed the Townshend Acts. (True/False)
9. The Sugar Act was the first completely implemented tax levied in America exclusively for the reason of raising revenue.
(True/False)
10. The Tea Act was passed in 1774.
(True/False)
11. In January _____, the British parliament passed the Coercive Act.
12. To complaint against the Intolerable Acts, the representatives of well-known colonies gathered in _____.
13. _____ was the powerful Ottawa chief.
14. The French and Indian War also encouraged the _____ to end the era of salutary neglect.

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hard on the heels of news that colonial troops had caused apparently unbeatable British regulars to flee in confusion in the initial stages of the Battle of Germantown. The French decided to side with the colonists after being convinced by Benjamin Franklin and the news from North America that the colonials had a sensible possibility of victory.

With the French participating in the war, the clash settled into a do or die situation. The colonials were too weak to extricate the British from Philadelphia and New York. The British attempted several plans, but were not capable to establish everlasting control over the countryside and the vast majority of the inhabitants. The economy of the colonies gradually crumbled and the British economy — exhausted by the expenditures of a war with France and sustaining the large occupation forces in America — also suffered considerably.

In 1781, the British plan altered. They started to focus on the Southern colonies. A force of 7,000 troops was led by General Cornwallis. Their mission was to support supporters in the South. Nathaniel Greene opposed him. Greene in spite of losing every battle was able to dishearten Cornwallis' troops. Running short on supplies, Cornwallis shifted his forces to Yorktown, Virginia to wait for supplies and back up.

Alongside the war on land between the British troops and the colonials' army troops, French naval forces overwhelmed the British Royal Navy on September 5th at the Battle of the Chesapeake. Thus, they cut off Cornwallis' supplies and convey. Washington shifted his troops from New York and a united Colonial-French force of 16,000 or 17,000 soldiers was assembled and started the Battle of Yorktown on October 6, 1781. Cornwallis' position rapidly became indefensible. On October 19th, a considerable British Army once more surrendered to the colonials.

In April 1782, the British House of Commons passed a bill to declare the end to the war with the American colonies. The supporter of the war, Lord North, was ousted. The British pulled back their troops from Charleston, South Carolina and Savannah, Georgia in the summer of 1782. In November 1782, a peace accord was reached though the formal end of the war did not happen until the signing of the Treaty of Paris in November 1783.

DID YOU KNOW

The most important battles of the American Revolution were the battles of Lexington, Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Battle of Long Island and Battle of Yorktown.

7.5 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE TREATY OF PARIS

The War of Independence ended with the Declaration of Independence, which was officially announced at the Treaty of Paris.

7.5.1 Declaration of Independence

The Second Continental Congress chose George Washington, a southerner, to control the troops besieging Boston in the north. It also sanctioned money for a small navy

and for transforming the unmanageable militias into the professional Continental Army. Encouraged by a sturdy colonial campaign in which the British scored only small victories (for example at Bunker Hill), several colonists started to advocate total independence as opposed to having full rights within the British Empire. The next year, the congressmen voted on July 2, 1776, to declare their independence. A young lawyer from Virginia Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence. After this declaration, the United States was born.

7.5.2 Treaty of Paris

The war was officially called off in September 1783, when Britain, the United States, France and Spain sat together to negotiate the Peace of Paris. It was called the Treaty of Paris. The treaty granted enormous tracts of western lands to the Americans and recognized the United States as a latest, new and independent nation. The last set of British forces abandoned New York in November 1783, leaving the American government in complete control of the new nation. The British House of Commons was in an uproar when they heard of the surrender at Yorktown. The fear of losing the war made them think otherwise. Consequently, British Prime Minister North resigned. He was replaced by Lord Shelburne (Figure 7.4). Lord Shelburne wanted to discuss an end to the war. He sent Richard Oswald to Paris to meet and discuss the peace with Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay, the American representatives.



Fig. 7.4 Lord Shelburne

On September 3, 1782, the Treaty of Paris was signed. It was ratified on April 17, 1783, and it formally recognized the American independence.

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Check Your Progress

15. The _____ Revolution began in April 1775.
16. In 1776, the _____ sent 75,000 troops to North America to suppress the revolt.
17. The colonial troops caused apparently unbeatable British army men to flee in confusion in the initial stages of the Battle of Germantown. (True/False)
18. In April 1783, the British House of Commons passed a bill to declare the end to the war with the American colonies. (True/False)

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Check Your Progress

19. The Second Continental Congress chose _____ a southerner, to control the troops besieging Boston in the north.
20. The last set of British forces abandoned _____ in November 1783.
21. Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, _____ agreed to pay all existing debts owed to Britain.
22. The War of Independence ended with the Declaration of Independence, which was officially announced at the Treaty of Paris. (True/False)
23. Following the Treaty of Paris, British Prime Minister North resigned and was replaced by Lord Shelburne. (True/False)
24. After the Treaty of Paris, the United States agreed to permit British troops still in America to leave peacefully. (True/False)

Self-Instructional
Material

Terms of the treaty

Under the terms of the treaty, Britain recognized the independent nation of the United States of America. It agreed to take away all of its troops from America. The treaty also set fresh borders for the United States involving all land from the Great Lakes on the north to Florida on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River.

The United States agreed to permit British troops still in America to leave peacefully. America agreed to pay all existing debts owed to Britain. They also consented not to persecute loyalists still in America, and permit those that left America to come back.

7.6 RESULTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The success of the American Revolution ushered independence for thirteen American states. New constitutions were written and charters adopted as these states became republics between 1776 and 1780. As the alliance of the states in a confederacy did not seem adequate, a new constitution was framed in 1787, which remains in effect to this day. While the constitution strengthened the American union, it also had certain provisions that stood in contradiction to certain others. For example, on one hand, it guaranteed to all its citizens' equality, on the other, it preserved African-American slavery.

The natives suffered immensely due to the formation of United States. It just translated into more colonizers; more white people encroaching upon their territory. This led to a number of clashes between them. The failures of the system need not, however, take away from its achievements. A republican government as early in time as 1776 governed entirely by the consent of the people was something to be cherished. The American Revolution became a reference point for the revolutions in France and Latin America. The ideals of the American revolutionaries, the principles of liberty and self-government became the beacon of light for future generations.

The movement of the American enlightenment provided the ideological basis for the American Revolution. Ideas such as liberty, democracy, liberalism and republicanism were deeply cherished. An adherence to these noble ideas by the American colonists led to a changing socio-cultural environment and also gave birth to an intellectual culture that led to a progressive society.

In 1787, the ideas of equality of women and granting equal political and economic rights to them, was still a novelty to the much of the English world. Post 1776, the Americans were in a constant pursuit of achieving wholesome citizenship that incorporated men without property, women and people of colour.

Significance of the American War

The American war of independence has been a remarkable event in the world history since it had the following far-reaching consequences and significances:

1. A new nation, that is, the United States of America was born. Through the Treaty of Paris (1783) England conceded the independence of its colonies in America.

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Check Your Progress

25. As the alliance of the states in a confederacy did not seem adequate, a new constitution was framed in _____, which remains in effect to this day.
26. The _____ suffered immensely due to the formation of United States.
27. The success of the American Revolution ushered _____ for thirteen American states.
28. The American Revolution led to the abandonment of ties between American and European churches, principally English churches. (True/False)
29. The First Amendment prohibited the federal government from naming any religion as the new nation's 'state church'. (True/False)
30. The American Revolution brought about an actual constitutional government with a classification of checks and balances. (True/False)

Self-Instructional
Material

2. Tobago in West Indies and Senegal in West Africa come under French acquisition. Spain gained control over Minorca and Florida.
3. England suffered great losses. Not only did it lose its colonies, its national debt soar very high. However, its naval supremacy lay untarnished as it defeated the French and the Spanish fleets.
4. France also bore great losses owing to its participation in the American Revolution. The expenditures incurred on the maintenance of its navy and military led to the bleeding of its national treasury finally leading it to bankruptcy. This precipitated the overthrow of the French monarchy as the Frenchmen had already witnessed firsthand how the Americans toppled monarchy. They were ready to implement the lessons that they had learned from America.
5. After the revolution, the constitution framed by the continental congress for the confederacy made way for the new constitution. This was framed at Philadelphia by a special body elected for this purpose and was referred to as the Constitutional Convention of 1787.
6. The new American State was a federal republic. It shunned the ideas of a monarchy and a unitary state as these entailed state control over the people. It also had the distinction of being a democracy. This was the first state that was truly governed by the will of the people.

The American Revolution brought about an actual constitutional government with a classification of checks and balances. When the war finished, the colonies first ratified the 'Articles of Confederation'. These articles freely bound the colonies together without any genuine cement to their tie. Due to terrific opposition, leaders abandoned the articles and adopted the present constitution in 1787. In April 1789, George Washington then became the United States' first president.

The revolution rendered havoc the American religious life. Americans drifted away from severe Reformed Calvinism since they believed 'men had rights by nature, that the pursuit of personal happiness was an inalienable right, that all men were essentially equal, that personal freedom was necessary for societal well-being . . .'

The revolution led to the abandonment of ties between American and European churches, principally English churches. Congregational churches became completely autonomous and Presbyterian churches severed all English ties. One significant result of the revolution and the aftermath was the 'Bill of Rights'. Among these first ten amendments to the constitution was one which started the disestablishment of religion. The First Amendment prohibited the federal government from naming any religion as the new nation's 'state church'; this meant that the national government would not name any Christian denomination as the United States' 'state church'.

Consequently, disestablishment encouraged competition among denominations. As states did not guarantee salaries, a preacher could only warranty his source of revenue if he gathered a huge congregation. Congregations soon developed wisdom of doctrinal and creedal advantage.

7.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The American Revolution started with the Battle of Lexington in 1775 and ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

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- John Locke (1632–1704) and his views on liberty greatly inspired the American Revolution.
- The North American drama of the European Seven Years' War is also called the French and Indian War. The war was fought between Britain and France from 1754 to 1763 for colonial supremacy in North America.
- The Sugar Act was the first completely implemented tax levied in America exclusively for the reason of raising revenue.
- The revolution began in April 1775 when British troops staying in Boston tried to seize munitions amassed by colonial militias at Concord, Massachusetts.
- The economy of the colonies gradually crumbled and the British economy — exhausted by the expenditures of a war with France and sustaining the large occupation forces in America — also suffered considerably.
- In April 1782, the British House of Commons passed a bill to declare the end to the war with the American colonies. The supporter of the war, Lord North, was ousted. The British pulled back their troops from Charleston, South Carolina and Savannah, Georgia in the summer of 1782.
- The war was officially called off in September 1783, when Britain, the United States, France and Spain sat together to negotiate the Peace of Paris. It was called the Treaty of Paris. The treaty granted enormous tracts of western lands to the Americans and recognized the United States as a latest, new and independent nation.
- The success of the American Revolution ushered independence for thirteen American states. New constitutions were written and charters adopted as these states became republics between 1776 and 1780.
- The American Revolution became a reference point for the revolutions in France and Latin America. The ideals of the American revolutionaries, the principles of liberty and self-government became the beacon of light for future generations.
- The American war of independence has been a remarkable event in the world history since it had the following far-reaching consequences and significances.
- The revolution led to the abandonment of ties between American and European churches, principally English churches.

7.8 KEY TERMS

- **Loyalist:** A person who is loyal to the ruler or government, or to a political party, especially during a time of change.
- **Revolutionary:** A person who starts or supports a revolution, especially a political one.
- **Republican:** A person who supports a form of government with a president and politicians elected by the people with no king or queen.
- **Liberty:** Freedom to live as one chooses without too many restrictions from government or authority.
- **Natives:** The people who originally lived in a country before other people, especially white people, came there.

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- **Treaty:** A formal agreement between two or more countries.
- **Garrison:** A group of soldiers living in a town or fort to defend it; the buildings these soldiers live in.

7.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. True
2. True
3. True
4. Thomas Paine's
5. Republicanism
6. John Locke
7. False
8. True
9. True
10. False
11. 1774
12. Philadelphia
13. Pontiac
14. British Parliament
15. Americans
16. British
17. True
18. False
19. George Washington
20. New York
21. America
22. True
23. True
24. True
25. 1787
26. Natives
27. Independence
28. True
29. True
30. True

7.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short-Answer Questions

1. Give an overview of the revolution in America.
2. What was the nature of the influences that played a key role in the American Revolution?
3. Write short notes on the following:
 - (i) French and Indian War
 - (ii) End of salutary neglect
 - (iii) The Townshend Acts and Boston Massacre

Long-Answer Questions

1. Give an outline of the course of the American War of Independence.
2. Discuss the Declaration of American Independence and the Treaty of Paris.
3. Describe the results and significance of the American Revolution and explain how it impacted future revolutions.

7.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 8 FRENCH REVOLUTION

NOTES

Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Unit Objectives
- 8.2 Causes of the French Revolution
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 - 8.3.1 States General of 1789
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 - 8.3.6 Declaration of the Rights of Man
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 - 8.3.8 The Varennes Crisis
 - 8.3.9 Overthrow of the Monarchy
 - 8.3.10 Struggle between the Jacobins and Girondins
 - 8.3.11 Uprising of 31 May-2 June, 1793
- 8.4 Aims of the New Constitution
 - 8.4.1 National Convention
 - 8.4.2 Working towards a Constitution
 - 8.4.3 The Revolution and the Church
 - 8.4.4 Constitutional Crisis
- 8.5 Impact of the Revolution
- 8.6 Summary
- 8.7 Key Terms
- 8.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 8.9 Questions and Exercises
- 8.10 Further Reading

8.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit you studied about the outcome of the American Revolution and the War of Independence, which had a critical influence on the subsequent major political events of the world. Its immediate impact was witnessed in the European countries, especially in France. In addition to the influence of the American Revolution, there were many other factors that led to the French Revolution. The French people began to yearn for a revolution to overturn their corrupt and despotic government, just as they perceived the American colonies had done. For years, the French government had promoted the cause of the American Revolution. Thus, it was but natural for the French government to say nothing against the American model. It could not so readily demonize the secular and humanist model of the United States as it had the Protestant model of bygone years. French hero Lafayette had fought for it, and French architect L'Enfant was busy designing its capital on property donated by America's most prominent Roman Catholic family. The United States embodied the Enlightenment ideals that so many in France yearned for.

Only in 12 July 1789, Camille Desmoulins, the French journalist, provoked the people of Paris to arm themselves in fear that King Louis XVI was about to attack the city. Two days later, on 14 July 1789, the people of Paris attacked the fortress of the

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Bastille, murdered its governor and defenders as well as the city's magistrates. This brutal event was the commencement of elementary political changes in France and Europe that are now summed up as the outcomes of the French Revolution.

In this unit, you will read about the causes of the French Revolution and its course, aims of the new constitution and achievements and significance of the Revolution.

8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes of the French Revolution
- Discuss the course of the French Revolution
- Describe the aims of the new constitution
- Interpret the achievements and significance of the Revolution

8.2 CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In France, in the summer of 1788, crops were destroyed after a bad harvest in many areas and this was followed by a remarkably harsh winter. The peasants revolted in a number of states in the autumn and winter of that year and it continued until 1789. The peasants, who were in despair due to hunger and poverty, plundered the granaries and distributed the corn among themselves; the grain dealers were driven to sell their grain at affordable prices or at 'fair prices'. There were agitations in many towns due to scarcity of bread. Though the authorities suppressed the revolt using force, it kept flaring up here and there. The people were troubled excessively by bad harvests and natural calamities and this did not happen for the first time! Earlier, the authorities had succeeded in curbing the widespread discontent but this was not possible in the years 1788-89.

These vital historical factors paved the way for the French Revolution that year. France was one of the richest and the most powerful nations of Europe, though it faced difficulties in its economy mostly relating to the equitability of taxation. The French people in general enjoyed more political freedom and a lower degree of autocratic punishment than any of their fellow Europeans. Yet Louis XVI (Figure 8.1), his ministers and the French nobles all over France became infamous. This was mainly because the peasants were crippled by the heavy taxes imposed on them and the middle classes were oppressed in order to find wealthy aristocrats and their way of like.



Fig. 8.1 Louis XVI, The King of France at the Time of French Revolution

The rigidity of the 'Ancien Regime' in France may have also been partly responsible for its decline. The merchants, tradesman, wealthy farmers and wage earners whose numbers were growing and the intellectuals who were motivated by the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers posed a great challenge to the aristocrats. As the revolution progressed, power was transferred from the royalty and the well-born to the more-authorized political bodies like legislative assemblies. But the differences of opinion among the formerly-allied republican groups became the cause for a great deal of hostility and bloodshed. An increasing number of French citizens had absorbed the ideas of 'equality' and 'freedom of the individual', which were put forward by Voltaire, Dennis Diderot, Turgot and other philosophers and the social theorists of the Enlightenment. The American Revolution established the fact that it was possible to implement the Enlightenment ideas of how a government should be run. Many of the French began to show their antagonism towards the undemocratic outlook of their own government. They pressed for freedom defied the Roman Catholic Church and condemned the privileges of the nobles.

The years between 1787 and 1789 was also marked by industrial and commercial exigencies. Many peasants were deprived of the opportunities of augmenting their income by working in manufacturing units during the winter or by migrating to the towns to take up temporary construction work or other means of livelihood. Poppers and tramps milled around the towns and highways. Similar setbacks had occurred earlier in manufacturing units, constructional work and trade. A spirit of discord prevailed in every part of the land between the years 1788-89 and there was a persistent talk of the need for an imminent change of a great magnitude. Assuredly, one can say that neither the grave situation in industry and commerce, nor the bad harvest of 1788-89 were the contributory factors behind the revolutionary crisis, which developed in France during this period. They only helped to trigger off a crisis that had deep-seated roots.

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The most significant fact which led to the nationwide conflict with the prevailing order was the fact that the present feudal authoritarian social patterns were no longer in tune with the country's economic, social and political stage of development. The so-called 'Third Estate' made up the 99 per cent of the French population while elite classes comprising of the aristocrats and clergy formed the remaining. Nonetheless, the entire nation was controlled by these numerically negligible elite classes. These aristocrats who thrived on the sweat of peasants depended totally on the treasury. They played no part in the production and were the chief well-spring of support for the king. The 'Third Estate' did not represent a heterogeneous class. It comprised of the peasants, who made up a major part of the population and the economically powerful middle class, who yearned for political power. The peasants were the hard-pressed slaves of a system, which exploited and persecuted them with endless demands that served to fill the pockets of the landowners, the clergy and the monarch. In conclusion, one may say that these town poor – the poverty-stricken workers and the artisans were stripped of any rights and were forced to lead a life of objection. They did not share common goals and interests. However, they were united in their decision to reassemble the representatives of different classes who yearned for political rights and for a reformation in the prevailing system so that they could oppose the elite classes.

The middle classes, the peasants and the labour force were opposed to the reign of the autocratic kings and to the feudal social system. The prevailing social structure was uncongenial to the welfare of their class and the development of the country's economy. Whether the members of the 'Third Estate' knew it or not, the country was now ready for a great historical advancement. There was definitely going to be a sea change from feudalism to capitalisms and at that period, it symbolized a more advanced and liberal form of society. Finally, when one analyses the situation, one finds that the dangerous class conflicts of that time were indeed ushering in a change. The authorities could not possibly put a stop or even control the growing trend of popular unrest because class conflicts were a deep and complicated part of the current social structure. Hence, the historical French Revolution became unavoidable.

The causes of the French Revolution can be listed as follows:

1. **Economic factors:** In the 1780s, King Louis XVI of France faced a financial crisis. The poverty-stricken sections of the population were afflicted by hunger and malnutrition. France was already facing a spate of bad harvest and a rise in food prices. The inadequate system of transportation, which impeded the shipment of bulk foods from the rural areas to the large population centers, only worsened the situation. All these factors added greatly to the destabilization of the French society during the years that led to the French Revolution. Many wars fought by the earlier rulers and the financial pressure caused by the participation of France in the American Revolutionary War resulted in the near bankruptcy for France. The national debt was equivalent to nearly two billion lives. The enormous war debt, which was a burden on the society, was made worse when France lost its colonies in North America. When Great Britain began to dominate the commercial scene, France was unable to cope with national debt due to its incompetent and outdated financial system.

2. **Masses against the government monarchy:** Majority of the people felt that they were being distanced from the King and that he did not care about the

difficulties faced by middle class. In theory, King Louis the XVI was an absolute monarch; however, in practice, he hesitated to take decisions and backed away whenever he was confronted. Though he did cut down on the expenditures of the government, his rivals in the parliament foiled his efforts to pass the much needed reforms. Those who resisted Louis's policies further threatened his royal authority by handing out pamphlets, which condemned the government and its officials and thus incited the public to rise up against the king.

3. **Intellectual uplift:** Many other factors involving resentments and aspirations were given focus by the rise of Enlightenment ideals. The people hated towards royal autocracy. The peasants, labourers and the bourgeoisie were bitter towards the traditional seigneurial rights, which were enjoyed by the nobles. They resented the Church's sway over public administration and institutions. They aspired for the freedom of religion. The poorer rural clergy hated the aristocratic bishops. The people aspired for social, political and economic equality and yearned for a people's government. They hated Queen Marie-Antoinette (Figure 8.2), who was wrongly blamed of being a spendthrift and a spy for the Austrians. There was anger against the King for dismissing Jacques Neckar, among others, who were seen as representatives of the people.

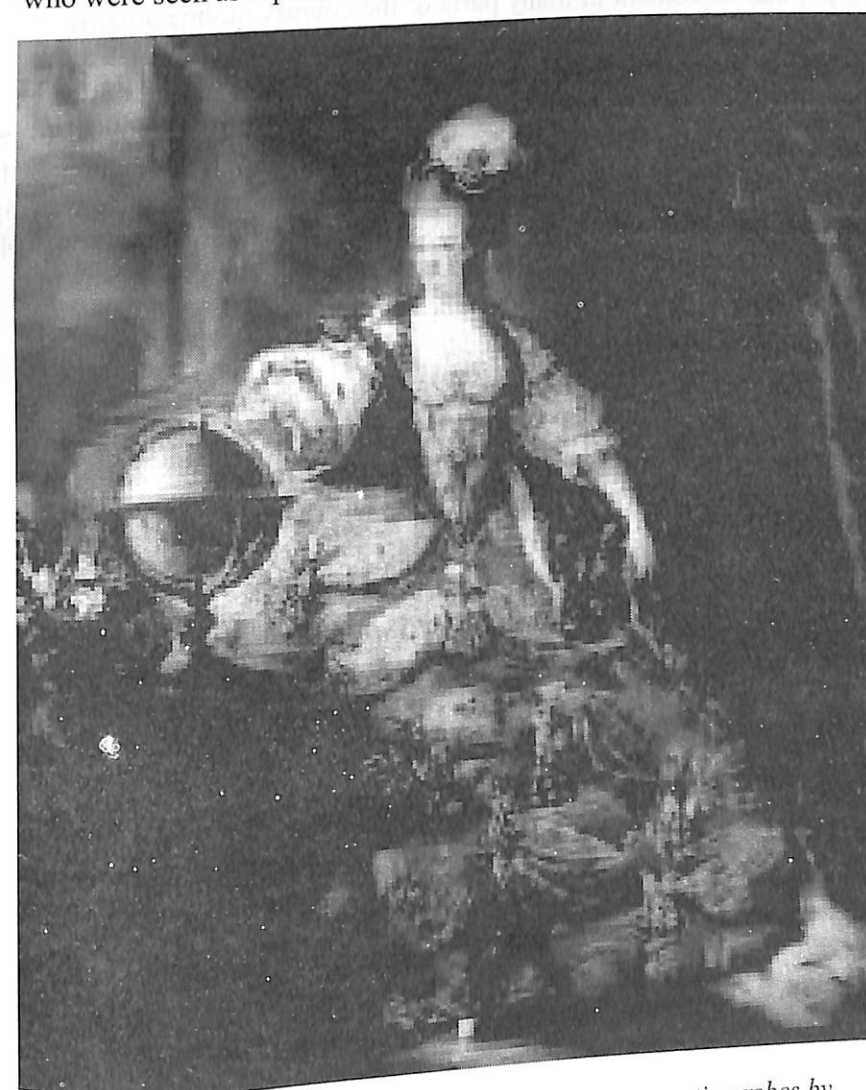


Fig. 8.2 Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, in coronation robes by Jean-Baptiste Gautier Dagoty, 1775

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Check Your Progress

4. The 'Third Estate' did not represent a heterogeneous class. (True/False)
5. The middle classes, the peasants and the labour force were in the favour of the reign of the autocratic kings and to the feudal social system. (True/False)
6. The year of 1787–89 was also marked by industrial and commercial exigencies. (True/False)

Check Your Progress

1. The peasants, who were in despair due to hunger and poverty, plundered the granaries and distributed the _____ among themselves.
2. An increasing number of French citizens had absorbed the ideas of 'equality' and 'freedom of the individual', which were put forward by Voltaire, Dennis Diderot, Turgot and other philosophers and the social theorists of the _____.
3. In the 1780s, King Louis XVI of France faced a _____ crisis.

8.3 EVENTS DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

There were several events during the course of the French revolution. In fact, each of these events was strongly linked.

8.3.1 States General of 1789

The common masses of the city and the countryside were making it evident that they could not and were not ready to live the life they had lived in the past. The leaders of the country, the King and the privileged lot also showed that they could not rule the country as they had done so far. The state treasury was in a mess. The Kings and the first Two Estates had been extravagant in their expenditure and the state treasury was facing a grave financial crunch. The empire now found itself without the means to meet its immediate needs. After a number of futile ventures to improve the affairs, the King was forced to convene the States General – the assembly of representatives of the Three Estates, which had not met in France for 175 years. The States General was divided into three estates namely—the clergy or the First Estate, the nobility or the Second Estate and the rest of France or the Third Estate. Against a setting of growing popular discontent in many parts of the country in the spring of 1789 and extensive social insurgence, the States General was opened on May 5 at Versailles. With the help of the States General, King Louis XVI and his retinue of nobles hoped to win back the confidence of the public, to suppress the rebellion and to get the necessary finance to fill the state treasury. In contrast, the Third Estate hoped for a number of things from the States General. It hoped for important political changes in the country through its assembly. From the beginning, there was a difference of opinion in the States General between the Third Estate and the gentry as to how to conduct the meeting and the method of voting. The representatives of Third Estate called a National Assembly on June 17 and asked the representatives of the other ranks to join them in their undertaking. The National Assembly now became the chief representative and legislative organ of the French people, after the daring decision taken by them. Nevertheless, the King backed by his nobles declined to accept this step. On June 20, orders were given for the entrance to the palace, where the assembly was going on to be locked. But the deputies to the National Assembly were not in favour of obeying the orders of the King. Finding an almost empty, vast room earlier used a tennis court and encouraged to carry on by the cheering crowds of common people, they reopened their assembly there. At that unforgettable meeting in the Tennis Court on June 20, the deputies of the National Assembly affirmed that until a constitution had been drafted and endorsed, they would neither disperse, nor suspend their work on any account.

The last time the States General had met in 1614, each estate held one vote and any two could overrule the third. The parliament of France was afraid that the government would try to gerrymander (i.e., change the size and borders of an area for voting in order to give an unfair advantage to one party in an election) the assembly by manipulating the results. Therefore, they felt the need to arrange the estates as it had been in 1614. The practices of the local assemblies differed from the 1614 rules in which each member had one vote and the Third Estate membership was doubled. Elections were held in the spring of 1789. Only the French born of naturalized males

of the Third Estate of at least 25 years of age, who lived where the voting was to take place and who paid taxes, were required to vote.

8.3.2 National Assembly: 1789–1791

The following events were the highlights of the National Assembly held at that time:

- 20 June 1789: National Assembly members take Tennis Court Oath, pledging to create new constitution
- July 14: Mob of Parisian citizens storms Bastille prison and confiscates weapons
- July 20: Rural violence of great fear breaks out; peasants lash out at feudal landlords for several weeks
- August 4: August decrees release peasants and farmers from feudal contracts
- August 26: Declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen issued
- October 5: Parisian women march to Versailles in response to food crisis
- February 1790: Government confiscates church property
- July 12: Civil Constitution of the clergy issued

8.3.3 Tennis Court Oath

Three days after the delegates from the Third Estate (now the National Assembly) broke away from the States General, they found themselves locked out of the usual meeting hall. Hence, they assembled on a nearby tennis court. Except for one, every one of the members took the Tennis Court Oath (Figure 8.3), which stated in plain words that they would never be destroyed until they had succeeded in creating a new national constitution. As soon as King Louis XVI heard about the formation of the National Assembly, he held a gathering and tried to threaten the Third Estate to surrender. The assembly, that had grown too strong, forced the King to accept it. The Parisians received word of the rebellion and revolutionary energy flowed through the city. Influenced by the National Assembly, the commoners rebelled against the rising prices. Fearing violence, the King got the troops to surround his Versailles palace. The National Assembly was forced to relocate to a tennis court on June 20, since Louis XVI and the Second Estate stopped the delegates from meeting and also because of some misunderstanding about one another's intentions. There they took the tennis court oath affirming that it would not stop its proceedings until a new constitution had been drafted for France. Louis began to recognize their validity on June 27 when he did not succeed in dispersing the delegates. The assembly renamed itself the National Constituent Assembly on July 9 and began to work as a governing body and a constitution drafter. Even till this day, it is commonly referred to as the National Assembly or alternatively 'Constituent the States General' of 1789. It convened on 5 May 1789 but it reached a deadlock in his deliberations on 6 May 1789. Therefore, the representatives of the Third Estate trying to make the whole body effective met separately from 11th May as the Communs. On June 12, the Communs invited their other estates to join them. Some members of the first estate did join them the next day. On June 17, the Communs declared themselves the National Assembly by a vote of 490 to 90. The parish priest, who belonged to the First Estate and was almost as wealthy as the Third Estate as compared to bishops who were closer in wealth to the second estate, joined the Assembly on June 19.

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Fig. 8.3 Tennis Court Oath

8.3.4 Storming of the Bastille

On July 9, the National Assembly proclaimed itself a constituent assembly thus, emphasizing its duty to usher in a new social order and draw up its constitutional foundation. The King had no desire to accept the decisions of the National Assembly. But he was forced to conform it despite serious misgivings. Troops who were loyal to the King began to assemble in Versailles and Paris, while the people and the deputies followed with fear. The actions of the King and his supporters were construed as a threat to the National Assembly. On July 12, it was announced that the King had sacked Necker, who was esteemed to be the sole defender of change in the government. The people came to know that troops were being assembled in Paris. The counter-revolutionary forces were strong enough to show them the government's determination to begin an attack. The streets and squares of the city were filled with people who were in a rage. Clashes with the King's troops broke out in a number of places and the shots that were heard only added fuel to fire. The people of Paris instinctively rose to fight. The alarm was sounded early on the morning of July 13 and poor people of Paris armed with all kinds of weapons came out into the streets. The troops were forced to desert one district after another as the revolutionaries progressed and, the rebels grew from hour to hour. By the morning of July 15, most of the capital had already been captured by the rebels. But the eight towers of the guarded Bastille prison still appeared undisturbed. Seized with revolutionary fervor, the people got ready to attack this terrible fortress. Capturing the Bastille with its moats, drawbridges, large prison and cannon seemed a difficult task. But this was nothing for the revolutionaries. The people marching forward courageously stormed their way in (Figure 8.4). The commander of the prison was killed, his men gave up and The Bastille fell. The fall of The Bastille on July 14 was a great victory for the revolutionaries. That fateful day marked the beginning of the French Republic. From that day onwards, the strong-minded revolutionaries, the people, warred against their former masters. In the following months, it was their performance that made victory possible.

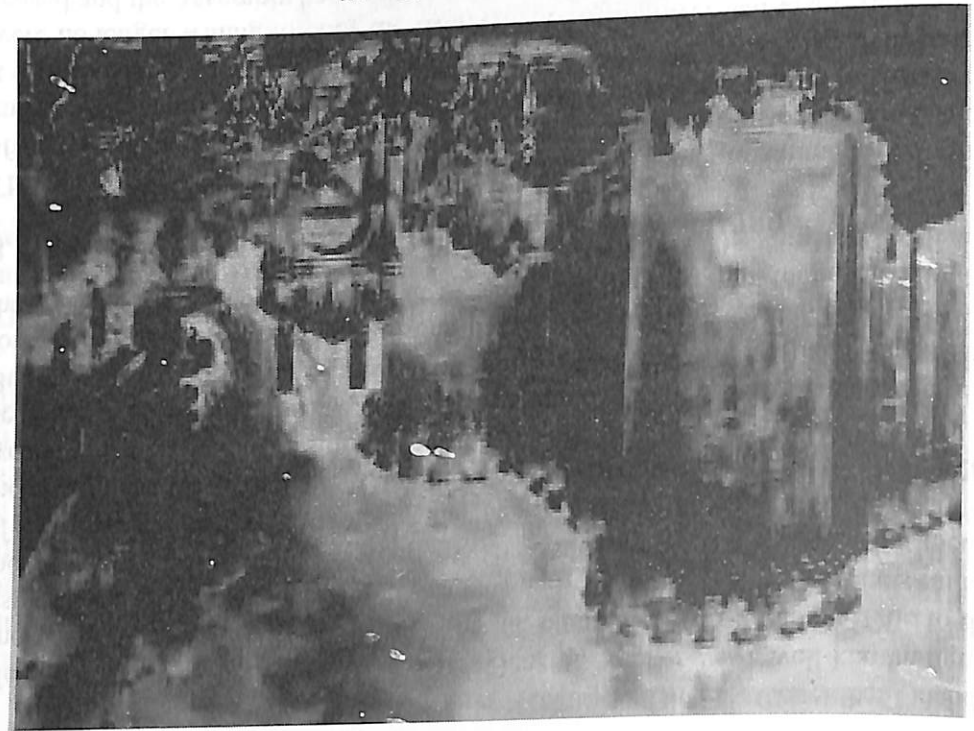


Fig. 8.4 Storming of Bastille

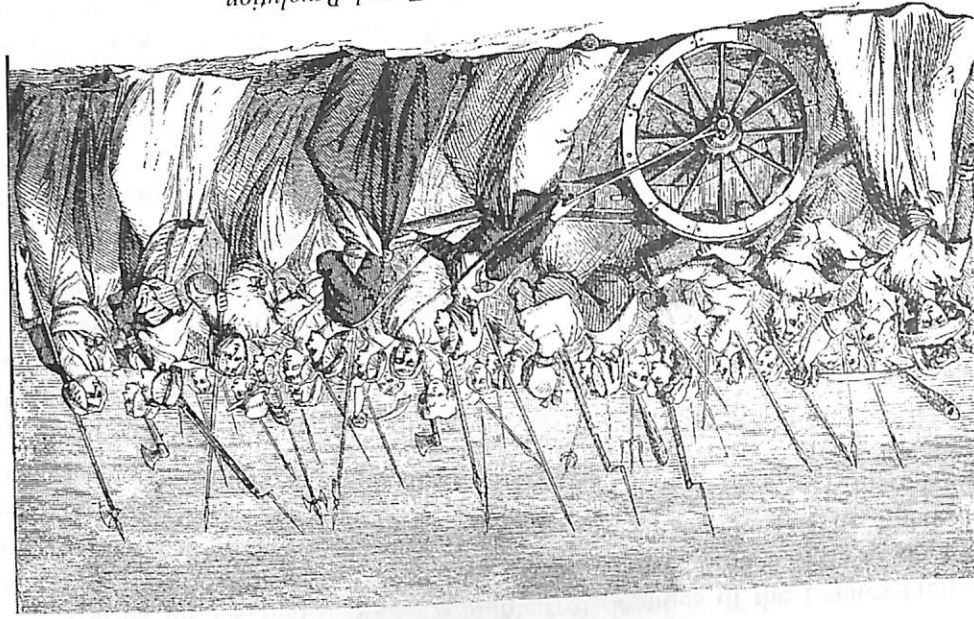


Fig. 8.5 Protests during the French Revolution

Unable to face the rage of the people, the King was forced to step down. On July 17, he came to Paris with the members of the Constituent Assembly to officially recognize the victory of the revolutionaries. Events in Paris were followed by revolutionary outbreaks throughout France. All over the country, government officials were stripped of their former official post and new city councils were elected. The revolutionary army came to be known as the National Guard. The peasants who heard of the storming of the Bastille took up arms, broke into the residences of their hated masters and destroyed them. In some places, they took over the fields and wood of their masters and divided it among themselves. They refused to pay taxes and to carry out their day to day tax. The peasants who had been abused and persecuted by their masters now rose against them. Peasant agitation and violence spread all over France.

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Louis XVI once again sacked Jacques Necker, the Director General of Finance. He was blamed for the failure of the States General. Necker was a well-known figure and when then people heard of his dismissal, enmities flared up again. Due to the rising tension, there was a rush for weapons and on 13 July 1789, the rebels raided the Paris town hall in search of weapons. There, they found few weapons but plenty of gun powder. The next day realizing that the Bastille accommodated a large armoury, the citizens on the side of the National Assembly attacked the Bastille. Though the weapons were useful, the storming of the Bastille was more symbolic than it was necessary for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionaries faced little but instant threat. But they were such a huge threatening number that they were capable of passive force. The revolutionaries, by storming the Bastille gained a symbolic victory over the Ancien Dynasty and conveyed the message that they were not to be taken lightly.

8.3.5 Socio-Political Structure in the Summer of 1789

The National Constituent Assembly became the most able government of France after the Bastille was attacked on July 14. Francois Mignet, the historian, said that the entire power was in the hands of the National Constituent Assembly to the extent that it was relied upon corporations and it was obeyed by the National Guards. The people were no longer willing to obey the King and so royal power had to a certain extent ceased and the Assembly had to work on its own.

During the election period, the number of deputies of the Estates-General increased. By mid July 1789, the Assembly had a total number of 1177 deputies comprising of nobles, the clergy and the representatives of the Third Estate. According to an American historian Timothy Tackett's *Becoming a Revolutionary*, there were a total of 1177 deputies in the Assembly by mid-July 1789. Among them, there were 278 nobles, 295 Clergy and 604 represented the Third Estate. For the entire duration of the Assembly, a total of 1315 deputies were certified, with 330 for the Clergy, 322 Estate comprised chiefly of men from the military while the Third Estate was led by the people from the legal profession.

The most prominent figures of the Assembly known as the 'Right' were: Jacques Antoine Marie de Cazales who represented the aristocracy and the Abbey Jean-Sifrein Maury who was a representative of the church. Pierre Victor, Baron Malouet, Trophime-Gerard, Marquis de Lally-Tollendal, Stanislas Marie Adelaide, Comte de Claire Mont - Tonniere and Jean Joseph Mounier - the royal democrats along with Jacques Necker, aimed at shaping the government of France on the model of the British constitution with a house of lords and a house of commons.

The National party was sympathetic to the extensive needs of the common people though it supported the interests of the middle classes and was all for the revolution and a democracy. Leaders like Mirabeau, the Marquis de Lafayette, Jean-Sylvain Bailley played a very important role in the revolution. There were also extremists like Adrian Duport, Antonie Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave and Alexander Lameth who were more progressive in their ideals than that which the revolution had reached; Lameth's brother Charles was one of them. One cannot forget the contribution made by abbey Immanuel Joseph Seiyes, for he was the first person to suggest a constitution.

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8.3.6 Declaration of the Rights of Man

The revolution initially gained significant victories because both the people and the bourgeoisie were united in their goals. The bourgeois were young and advanced and determined to fight against feudal autocracy. It did not fear the people and surged ahead shoulder to shoulder. 'The declaration of the rights of man' adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 August 1789 was a clear proof of the people's thirst for a new form of government. The declaration consisted of 17 articles. The first articles declared that men are born free and will remain thus all through their lives. This proclamation of freedom and equal rights was indeed revolutionary since most countries of the world followed autocracy.

The right to property was also proclaimed as a divine and basic right. The declaration of rights (Figure 8.5) also showed that the property of the bourgeois and the peasants were to be protected from violations by the land owners. It also affirmed that it would be preserved for all times.



Fig. 8.6 The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 26 August 1789

This declaration was a limitation for the bourgeois since it proclaimed that this freedom was based on inequality of property. Nevertheless, it seemed to forecast the end of dictatorship.

8.3.7 Wealthy Bourgeoisie Come to Power

However, the power soon came to be in the hands of the big bourgeoisie only and, neither the Third Estate, nor even the whole of the bourgeoisie were able to enjoy the fruits of victory. Count Honore de Mirabu was one of the most authoritative leaders in the Constituent Assembly. Marquis de Lafayette took the command of the National Guards and became the prominent leader in the Constituent Assembly. The representative of the big bourgeoisie in the

Constituent Assembly introduced laws that insisted on a system of electoral qualifications and these only served to divide the country into 'active' and 'passive' citizens. The active citizens, only males who possessed property and who could pay

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taxes on a different scale could vote and be elected. Hence, out of 26 million people, only about 4,300,000 were eligible for political rights.

The big bourgeoisie thus distanced itself from the Third Estate and was soon to legalize its power. But the Constituent Assembly brought in a number of laws of revolutionary significance. The administrative structure of France was revamped, class divisions were removed and aristocratic titles were abolished. In a decree of 2 November 1789, all church property and lands were declared 'National property' and were put up for sale. Registration of births, deaths etc., were given to the state. Various other laws were introduced and it removed all the constraints, which had been restricting commercial and industrial initiatives.

These laws were introduced to serve the interests of the common man and the Bourgeoisie who had been the motivating force behind them. But for the Bourgeoisie, it meant that there were still tasks to be carried out by Bourgeois revolution. The big Bourgeoisie however after they came to power to promote their own selfish interests soon began to oppose any progress in the revolution. The commoners and the bourgeoisie, who were in the favour of democracy, began to wonder about the progress of the revolution. The peasants wanted to put an end to all feudal practices and labour services and they insisted that land be given to them. In 1789, between August 4 and 11, serfdom was abolished by the Constituent Assembly but this was only on paper because it related only to a few aspects of the peasants' personal liberty. The agrarian system also remained unsolved. In 1790, the peasants openly rebelled refusing to pay their former claims and taxes to their masters. The urban poor became poorer and emigration of the nobles. To add to this misery, Paris and other towns experienced food shortages.

The poor people of France went to Versailles on 5 and 6 October 1789, to protest against the shortage of bread and high prices. They forcibly entered the apartment of Queen Marie Antoinette. The King and the Constituent Assembly shifted from Versailles to Paris since the people demanded it.

The Constituent Assembly on 21 October 1789 passed a law to use armed force to put down the demonstrations. Workers Unions and strikes were prohibited by the passing of Le Chapelier's law on 14 June 1789. But the rising discontent could not be quelled by the big bourgeoisie.

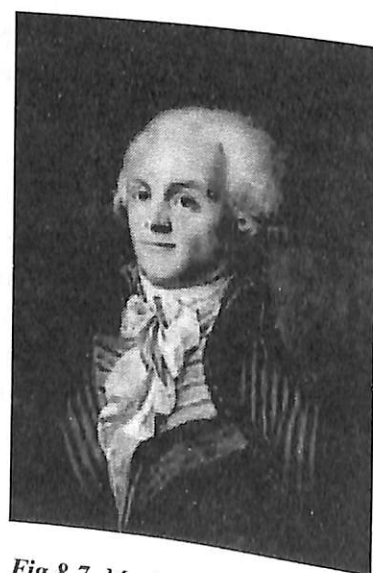


Fig 8.7 Maximilien Robespierre

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Fig. 8.8 Jean-Paul Marat

Revolutionaries like Maximilien Robespierre (Figure 8.6) and Jean-Paul Marat (Figure 8.7) revealed to the people the true nature of the big bourgeoisie who were anti-democratic in their policies. The counter revolutionary group was not willing to accept defeat. Marie Antoinette encouraged European Monarchs to launch a military attack on France.

8.3.8 The Varennes Crisis

The king and queen who disguised themselves and tried to flee abroad in June 1791 were caught in the small town of Varennes and were brought back to Paris. The French people, who were all for the revolution and yet trusted their King, could not accept this deceit of his and so more people began to opt for a republican form of government.

However, the Constituent Assembly continuing to support the king gave out a false report saying he was kidnapped and Louis was given back his earlier powers. The democratic circles in Paris were furious. A serious agitation for a republic began in a number of political clubs. On July 17, a huge peaceful demonstration against the monarchy took place on Champ-de-Mars. The assembly ordered squads of the national guards under the command of La Fayette to be sent to disperse the crowd. They opened fire and a large number of people were wounded and killed. This carnage signalled an open split in the ranks of the Third Estate. The big bourgeoisie began to defend itself by using arms against the people. Conservative elements in the assembly were now busy in counter-revolutionary action. On the eve of the massacre on Champ-de-Mars, there was a split among the Jacobins. The right wing gathered around La Fayette. The other leaders of the big bourgeoisie walked out of the club and set up a new club—the Feuillants.

The most influential club Jacobins split on the eve of the massacre and the right wing was headed by La Fayette. A new club—the Feuillants—was set up by the other leaders of the big bourgeoisie. Robespierre and Brissot took over the leadership of the Jacobins intending to put an end to the revolution. A constitution drafted by the assembly, which made provisions for constitutional monarchy and instituted anti-democratic electoral qualifications, was signed by the King on September 13. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on September 30.

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8.3.9 Overthrow of the Monarchy

A new legislative assembly elected only by 'active citizens' came to power on 1 October 1791 and power was in the hands of only the Feuillants. A war against Austria was declared on 20 April 1792 by France. The war seemed to be an answer to Louis XVI and his courtiers who hoped that foreign invasion would help save the 'shaky monarchy'. The war had also been planned by the European monarchs in order to suppress the revolution in France. Robespierre and Marat who were not in favour of the war pointed out that it was imperative to quell the revolution at home before dealing with it elsewhere. Brissot and his supporter known as the Jirondins favoured the war and a clash erupted between the supporters of Robespierre and the Jirondins. The Jirondins were asked to take over power in March 1792 by the King. The Jirondins made use of the power to hasten the war for quick easy victories. But the French were defeated and Feuillants came to power. Victories by the revolutionary army were totally opposed by La Fayette and his generals. The armies of Austria and Prussia were able to defeat the French army as they were secretly helped by Queen Marie-Antoinette who informed them of the plans of the French army. At this critical hour, people rose to their defence of the homeland. Robespierre, Marat and Danton said that it was important to conduct it in a revolutionary manner. The Jacobins, the main support of the revolution, pointed out that there was no possibility of any progress if treachery at home was not dealt with. A state of emergency was declared on June 11 by a law passed by the legislative assembly. The people wholeheartedly enlisted this decree since they were eager to bar the way to the interventionist. The battle hymn, the Marseillaise, was sung and also became popular during this period. It was during this revolution that people learnt that the legislative assembly and the government were incapable of dealing with treachery. Plots and criminal conspiracies were against them. People of Paris and the Provinces demanded the overthrow of Louis XVI from July onwards. The sound of bells together with the canon shots was once again heard on the night of August 9. The army marched into Tuileries. Though the Swiss guards opened fire, the people forcibly made their way into the palace. The imprisonment of King Louis the XVI and the dismissal of his ministers on 10 August 1792 heralded the collapse of the French monarchy and the provincial executive council. Consequently, a new government comprising mainly of Girondins was established. New elections for the next national convention were announced.

8.3.10 Struggle between the Jacobins and Girondins

The 10 August 1792 uprising brought in new developments. Power was transferred to the Girondins from the Feuillants both in the legislative assembly and the provinces were represented by the Girondins and their leaders Brissot, Roland, Vergniaud and others. Though this group was against feudal aristocracy, once they came to power they believed that the main ideal of the revolution had been achieved and soon began to represent the conservative force. In the meantime, the Jacobins who comprised of that section of the people, whose demands had not been satisfied, were still not united in their ideals. While the various classes and class groups of this block did not have the same aims, they resolved to defend the revolution and further its progress until all the demands had been fully satisfied. Content with the results that had been achieved the Girondins sought to check the revolutionary tide.

Check Your Progress

7. 'The declaration of the rights of man' adopted by the Constituent Assembly on _____ was a clear proof of the people's thirst for a new form of government.
8. Louis XVI sacked _____, the Director General of Finance.
9. The fall of _____ on July 14 was a great victory _____ for the revolutionaries.
10. Count Honore de Mirabu was one of the most authoritative leaders in the _____ Assembly.

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Amidst celebration of the victory over the Prussians and their withdrawal the day before the battle at Valmy, the opening session of the convention was held on 2 September 1792. The King was tried before the convention. The trial which should have lasted until January 1793 became an arena for struggle between the Girondins and the Jacobins. Louis XVI was sent to the guillotine on January 21, 1793 despite the saving efforts of the Girondins. The counter-revolutionary coalition was joined by England, Spain, Holland and a number of German and Italian states and Russia. France found that all of Europe was against it. Emboldened by the victory at Valmy, the French advanced into Belgium after driving out the interventionist. But the French began to retreat after General Dumouriez joined the enemy camp by plotting with the Girondins and betraying France. France was once again invaded by the interventionist.

8.3.11 Uprising of 31 May-2 June, 1793

An acute food shortage was faced by France due to the long war. The war had led to material damage and loss of life. France was cut off from other countries and the economy of the country was in a mess. To counteract hunger and poverty, the government had to curtail prices and had a firm hold on speculation. Agitators such as Jacques Roux, Varlet voiced the interests of the urban poor. In the villages, the peasantry still bound by feudal duties and taxes began to protest against these grievances.

The Girondins turned a 'deaf ear' and a 'blind eye' to the people's plight. They concentrated all their energies on their struggle with the Jacobins. They were neither interested in the suffering of the people, nor in the situation at the war front. An armed rebellion against the Girondins was organized by the Jacobins and the agitators. The Jacobins were in power once again after the mob in Paris drove out 29 Girondin deputies out of the convention.

ACTIVITY

La Marseillaise is the national anthem of France. Visit http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Marseillaise and read the English translation of this song. Find out about its history such as who wrote it and how it became so popular.

DID YOU KNOW

The King of France was executed in 1792, following the French Revolution that began in 1789.

8.4 AIMS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The course of the French Revolution was based on the main aims of establishing a government which is a 'welfare state'. The same was the aim of the constitution, which was worked out by the Constituent Assembly.

Check Your Progress

11. In a decree of 2 November 1789, all church property and lands were declared 'National property' and were put up for sale. (True/False)
12. Workers Unions and strikes were prohibited by the passing of Le Chapelier's law on 14 June 1789. (True/False)
13. The National Constituent Assembly became the most able government of France after the Bastille was attacked on July 14. (True/False)
14. The bourgeois were young and advanced and determined to fight against feudal autocracy. (True/False)

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8.4.1 National Convention (1792–1795)

To provide a new constitution to the country, the deputies elected the Convention Nationale (National Convention) on 10 August 1791 after monarchy was abolished. After verifying powers the 371 deputies who met at the Tuileries Palace, Paris, on 20 September 1792, called themselves the National Convention. The abolition of kingship in France was announced by the Convention. After the establishment of the republic was announced, it was said that from then on all public acts would bear the date of the first year of the French Republic.

The battle between the Montagnards and the Girondins, the two opposing revolutionary groups, dominated the first phase of the Convention. The Montagnards wanted to give the lower classes more political power. The Girondins who wanted a republican government by the bourgeoisie also wanted to reduce the powers of Paris over the revolution. They also rejected the anti-revolutionary European coalition. The revolutionaries expelled the Girondins from the convention. The second phase of the convention (June 1793–July 1794) was controlled by the Montagnards. The war and the revolts in the country resulted in a revolutionary government with autocratic powers. As a result, the constitution approved by the convention on 24 January 1793 was neither put into action, nor could it pass any act. It could only approve the suggestions made by the committee. Counter acting the committee's progressive procedures many members of the Convention participated in ousting Robespierre-prominent member of the committee. The moderate deputies of La Plaine now held the balance of power. The Montagnards having been expelled the Girondins were recalled to the assembly. The replacement of the constitution in place of the bourgeoisie-dominated directory convention was held on 26 October 1795. Philipp-Jacques Ruhl, the eldest deputy, presided over the first meeting of the convention in 20 September 1792. But a majority of deputies elected Jerome Petion de Villeneuve first president after the convention was constituted. According to the regulations of the Committee, the president's term of office was 15 days. Though he could not hold office for two consecutive terms, he was eligible to be reelected after an interval of 15 days. The elections were normally conducted in the session held in the evening and the president was expected to chair the next meeting though at times he was expected to officiate immediately. The president was just a figurehead for there was more emphasis on his post than his authority. Thus, he was reduced to being just a presiding officer at the meetings of the convention for a short term. The tentative suspension of the King was announced by the legislative assembly when the Parisians attacked Tuileries demanding the abolition of monarchy. It also decreed that the national convention be convened to draw up a constitution. Twenty-five year old landed French men who had been living in France for a year were to be elected as deputies to the convention. The National Convention was the first French assembly to have had elections by universal voting with no class distinction. The convention lowered the age limit of voting to 21 and the fixed the eligibility of standing for elections at 25 years. A decision was also taken to date all documents from the year of the French Republic. But the convention was fated to last for 3 years and a new constitution was to be set up only when peace reigned. The convention took over the executive power though it was only a law making body. This confusion of powers helped in empowering the revolutionary government, which was very active during the 'Reign of Terror'.

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The sessions of the convention were held in the Hall of the Tuileries, in the hall Manege and finally in the huge Hall of Spectacles. There were 749 deputies in the convention, but only a section arrived in France. Many could not attend the sessions due to a number of reasons and this made it difficult to find out the number of deputies present at a given date. On an average, only 250 voted during the Reign of Terror. The members of the Convention were drawn from all classes of society, but the most number of members were from the legal profession. Seventy-five members had sat in the Constituent Assembly and 183 sat in the Legislative Assembly.

According to the rules laid down by the convention, its president was elected every fortnight and reelection was allowed after a fortnight. The sessions of the convention were normally held in the morning. But sessions were frequent even in the evening and it extended late into the night. In some exceptional circumstances, it was a permanent session and they sat for several days without interruption. For the purposes of both legislation and administration, the convention used committees. Powers were widely extended and regulated by a series of laws. These committees-Powers were the most famous. The work of the public safety, general security and education were the most famous. The work of the convention was extensive in all branches of public affairs. France was saved from a Civil War and invasion from foreign powers by the assembly. The system of public education (Museum, Ecole Polytechnique, Ecole Normale Superieure, Ecole des Langues orientales, Conservatoire) and institutions of great importance (Grand Livre de la Dette publique) was established by the assembly. In addition to these, some major changes were carried out in the land sale-purchase rules.

8.4.2 Working towards a Constitution

Abolition of feudalism

Feudalism was brought to an end by the National Constituent Assembly on 4 August 1789. A declaration of the rights of the man and of the citizen was published by the assembly on 24 August. But the declaration contained only a statement of principles. It did not read like a constitution with legal effect. Besides functioning as a legislature, the Assembly acted as a body to write out a new constitution and it was primarily summoned to find a solution to deal with financial crisis, but it started attending to other matters and ended up in increasing the fiscal deficit.

8.4.3 The Revolution and the Church

The aftermath of revolution saw power changing hands in a colossal way. Under the Ancien Regime, Roman Catholic church enjoyed a lot of power. It owned 10 per cent of the land belonging to the Kingdom, and it was not levied any tax by the government. Huguenots, the Protestants minorities, did not approve of the Roman Catholics having so much power and wealth. As the catholic church did not favour them, they wanted a non-catholic regime. Great Enlightenment thinkers, notably Voltaire, made this resentment grow in strength by defaming the church and making the French monarchy shaky. Due to this, the church lost much of its power during the opening of Estates General in May 1789. The church, composing the First Estate with 130,000 of clergy members, voted to join the National Assembly created by the Third Estate in June 1789. Thus, it destroyed the Estate General as a governing body. Social and economic reforms were started by the National Assembly and on 4 August 1789. It brought out a legislature that abolished the Church's authority to impose tithe. On 7 August 1789, in an attempt to overcome the financial crisis, the Assembly announced that the property

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Check Your Progress

15. The course of the French Revolution was based on the main aims of establishing a government which is a ____.
16. According to the rules laid down by the convention, its ____ was elected every fortnight and reelection was allowed after a fortnight.
17. The Montagnards wanted to give the lower classes more ____ power.
18. The church, composing the First Estate with 130,000 of clergy members, voted to join the National Assembly created by the Third Estate in June 1789. (True/False)
19. The National government depended on the Revolutionary commune. (True/False)
20. These committees—public safety, general security and education were the most famous. (True/False)

of the church was at the disposal of the nation. The new currency the Assignats was duly backed up by the property and the nation took the overall responsibility of the Church, like paying the clergy members and caring for the poor, the sick and the orphans. In two years, the Assembly brought down the value of the Assignats by 25 per cent by selling the lands to the highest bidders.

8.4.4 Constitutional Crisis

The Tuileries palace was attacked by the revolutionaries, who were aided and abetted by a new insurrectionary commune. The Swiss guards who were on duty to protect the King were murdered en masse. The royal family was taken prisoners and a session was convened by some unimportant members of the National Assembly and the monarchy was suspended. The deputies, mostly Jacobins, were only present. Now, the National government, or whatever that was left of it, depended on the Revolutionary commune. The commune took law and order in their hands and sent gangs of ruffians to the prisons to conduct token trials and butcher the prisoners. They also sent a circular letter to the cities to follow their example. The Assembly was almost powerless to stop this anarchy and the reign of terror prevailed until mid-September, 1792. The Convention met on September 20 with a new constitution and became the actual government of France. On September 21, France was declared a Republic with the abolition of monarchy. So, September 21 has been adopted as the Republic Day of France.

8.5 IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION

The influence of the French Revolution was felt all through the Western world. Almost 2,000,000 army men were killed in the wars of the French Revolution.

The most significant impact of the Revolution was that the nobility was replaced by the bourgeoisie as the dominant political class. This assertion is challenged in the present-day analysis, but it is clear the men of property in spite of social background benefited from the Revolution. Women, not considering their rank, did not profit much from the Revolution and continued to be restricted to the private sphere.

In economic terms, the peasants profited from the end of the last remains of feudalism. But the confusion of the Revolution impeded the industrialization of France.

The major inheritance of the Revolution was in the sphere of politics. The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics. The Revolution brought about a massive growth of the power of government and gave it superior control over everyday life of its citizens. The Revolution also led to the rise of two major political ideologies—liberalism and nationalism.

The most tangible results of the French Revolution were almost certainly achieved in 1789–91, when land was set free from traditional burdens and the old communal society was rapped up. This 'abolition of feudalism' encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors. The bourgeoisie that acquired social preponderance during the Directory and the Consulate was chiefly comprised officials and landed proprietors,

and though the war enabled some entrepreneurs and contractors to make fortunes, it hindered economic development. The great reforms of 1789–91 however established a durable administrative and legal system, and much of the revolutionaries' work in humanizing the law itself was afterward incorporated in the Napoleonic Code, about which you will read in the next unit.

Politically, the Revolution was more important than successful. Since 1789, the French government has been either parliamentary, or constitutional, or based on the plebiscitary system that Napoleon inherited and developed. However, between 1789 and 1799, democracy failed. Recurrent elections bred apathy, and filling offices by recommendation became everyday event, even before Napoleon made it organized. The Jacobins' fraternal and Jacobin controlled community ended in 1794, the direct democracy of the sansculottes was squashed in 1795, and the republic expired in 1804; however, as principles they carried on to motivate French politics and keep right and left, church and state, far at a distance.

The Revolution nonetheless freed the state from its medieval past, releasing such unparalleled power that the revolutionaries could defy the rest of Europe. Furthermore, that power acknowledged no self-control: in 1793 unity was imposed on the nation by the Terror. Europe and the world have ever since been learning what violations of liberty can issue from the ideas of national autonomy and the will of the people.

Historians extensively regard the Revolution as one of the most significant events in human history, and the end of the early modern period, which started around 1500, is usually attributed to the onset of the French Revolution in 1789. The Revolution is, actually, repeatedly seen as marking the 'dawn of the modern era'. In France itself, the Revolution enduringly crippled the power of the aristocracy and depleted the wealth of the Church, though the two institutions survived in spite of the damage they sustained. After the disintegration of the First Empire in 1815, the French public lost the rights and freedoms earned since the Revolution, but they kept in mind the concept of the participatory politics, which characterized the period, with one historian commenting: 'Thousands of men and even many women gained firsthand experience in the political arena: they talked, read and listened in new ways; they voted; they joined new organizations; and they marched for their political goals. Revolution became a tradition, and republicanism an enduring option.'

Some historians debate that the French people underwent a deep-seated transformation in self-identity, evidenced by the abolition of privileges and their substitution by rights as well as the growing decline in social esteem that highlighted the law of equality throughout the Revolution. Outside France, the Revolution captured the imagination of the world. It had an insightful impact on the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.

8.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In the summer of 1788, crops were destroyed after a bad harvest in many areas and this was followed by a remarkably harsh winter. The peasants revolted in a number of states in the autumn and winter of that year and this continued until 1789.

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Check Your Progress

21. The influence of the French Revolution was felt all through the Western world. (True/False)
22. The Revolution is, actually, repeatedly seen as marking the 'dawn of the modern era'. (True/False)
23. The most significant impact of the Revolution was that the ____ was replaced by the bourgeoisie as the dominant political class.
24. The Revolution freed the state from its ____ past.
25. The Revolution had an insightful impact on the ____ Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in ____.
26. The Revolution also led to the rise of two major political ideologies, namely, ____ and ____.

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- The merchants, tradesman, wealthy farmers and wage earners whose numbers were growing and the intellectuals who were motivated by the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers posed a great challenge to the aristocrats.
- In the 1780s, King Louis XVI of France faced a financial crisis. The poverty-stricken sections of the population were afflicted by hunger and malnutrition.
- Against a setting of growing popular discontent in many parts of the country in the spring of 1789 and extensive social insurgence, the States General was opened on 5 May 1789 at Versailles.
- Tennis Court Oath stated in plain words that the people would never be destroyed until they had succeeded in creating a new national constitution.
- The fall of The Bastille on 14 July 1789 was a great victory for the revolutionaries. That fateful day marked the beginning of the French Republic.
- 'The declaration of the rights of man' adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 August 1789 was a clear proof of the people's thirst for a new form of government. The declaration consisted of 17 articles.
- Revolutionaries like Maximillien Robespierre and Jean-Paul Marat revealed to the people the true nature of the big bourgeoisie who were anti-democratic in their policies.
- The Convention met on 20 September 1792 with a new constitution and became the actual government of France. On 21 September 1792, France was declared a Republic with the abolition of monarchy. So, September 21 has been adopted as the Republic Day of France.
- The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics.
- The 'abolition of feudalism', as a result of the Revolution, encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors.
- Outside France, the Revolution captured the imagination of the world. It had an insightful impact on the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.

8.7 KEY TERMS

- **Protestant:** Member of a part of the Western Christian Church that separated from the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th century.
- **Convene:** Arrange for people to come together for a formal meeting.
- **Commune:** Smallest division of local government in France and some other countries.
- **Bourgeoisie:** Middle classes in society.
- **Demonstration:** Public meeting or march at which people show that they are protesting against or supporting somebody/something.

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- **Massacre:** Killing of a large number of people, especially in a cruel way.
- **Guillotine:** Machine, originally from France, for cutting people's heads off; it has a heavy blade that slides down a wooden frame.

8.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Corn
2. Enlightenment
3. Financial
4. True
5. False
6. True
7. 26 August 1789
8. Jacques Necker
9. The Bastille
10. Constituent
11. True
12. True
13. True
14. True
15. Welfare state
16. President
17. Political
18. True
19. True
20. True
21. True
22. True
23. Nobility
24. Medieval
25. Russian, China
26. Liberalism and nationalism

8.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What role did the States General play in the course of the Revolution?
2. List the events that were the highlight of the National Assembly (1789-1791).
3. Write a short note on the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man.'
4. List the achievements and significance of the French Revolution.

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the causes that led to the French Revolution.
2. Discuss the significance of the Tennis Court Oath.
3. Explain how the Bastille was assaulted by the revolutionaries.
4. Describe the role of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution.
5. Discuss how the Constitution was drafted once the National Assembly was convened.

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UNIT 9 NAPOLEON

Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Unit Objectives
- 9.2 Rise of Napoleon
 - 9.2.1 Early Life and Career
 - 9.2.2 Napoleon and the Revolution
 - 9.2.3 Napoleon and the French State
- 9.3 Defence of National Convention, Reforms and Foreign Policy
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 - 9.3.3 Foreign Policy in the Napoleonic Era
- 9.4 Beginning of Counter-Revolution in France
 - 9.4.1 Napoleon as the First Consul
- 9.5 Bourgeois Empire of Napoleon
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 - 9.6.3 Factors that led to the Downfall of Napoleon
- 9.7 Impact of Napoleonic Era
- 9.8 Summary
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- 9.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 9.11 Questions and Exercises
- 9.12 Further Reading

9.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the French Revolution. The Revolution had far-reaching impact on all the social classes of France. You have also read that the French Revolution was followed by and influenced the rise of Napoleon to power. In this unit, the Napoleon's regime has been discussed in detail.

The reign of Napoleon, popularly known as the Napoleonic era, holds great significance in the history of France and the rest of the world. This era symbolized the finest display of commitment and love for the motherland.

Napoleon Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy, which was under his direct rule, with his stepson serving as the Viceroy, brought together the city states in northern and central Italy. At the same time, the southern part of the peninsula was placed under Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat. Napoleon gave Italy a modern administration and Italians became aware of concepts of liberalism and freedom. The territorial re-arrangement showed how delicate the existing structure in Italy was. Due to the seepage of Napoleonic ideas, the revolutionary secret society of Carbonari (the Charcoal Burners) was set up. Its aim was the liberation of Italy from foreign control and the obtaining of constitutional government.

The defeat of Napoleon was followed by the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement Austria was given a commanding position in Italy.

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In this unit, we will discuss the early life and career of Napoleon, early victories, rise to power, reforms, foreign policy, war against Russia and the impact of his downfall on world politics.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Napoleon's early life and career
- Describe the defence of national convention and Napoleon's early victories
- Analyse Napoleon's rise to power, reforms and foreign policy
- Discuss the organization of the First Consulate and how Napoleon became the Emperor of France
- Explain the causes that led to Napoleon's war with Russia and his consequent defeat
- Assess the impact of Napoleon and his policies on modern history

9.2 RISE OF NAPOLEON

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes. France stood in the centre of the course of events in Europe. The French Revolution and the subsequent era of Napoleonic Wars brought about profound changes that shaped new Europe. The French Revolution abolished privileges of the noble class and separated the Church from the state. In 1793, the French Republic was established. These changes necessarily provoked reaction from old European monarchies. European monarchs were particularly afraid that revolutionary ideas would be 'exported' from France.

In spite of political and military interventions, the ideas of the Revolution were spread across Europe. These ideas attracted numerous supporters among intellectuals and artists. Same kind of reactions also provoked the person like Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1799, he became the First Consul in France and announced the end of the Revolution and chaos. Although he was a 'child of the Revolution', he made certain changes that surprised many of his supporters. In 1801, he negotiated the Concordat with the Catholic Church; in 1804, he made himself the Emperor of France. This event shocked many of his contemporaries as he seemingly denied the ideas of the Revolution.

The regime in France was not democratic at all; it was not democratic even during the revolutionary years. It was so because Napoleon acted as an autocrat. He was strictly against any possible opposition. He swept away the Holy Roman Empire and created numerous satellite states. Numerous contemporaries admired Napoleon not only for his military achievements, but also for the fact that 'Bonaparte was founding new Italian republics in which the ideals of the Revolution would be put into practise'. Although he seemingly 'exported' the Revolution, his rule was strongly centralized. He would never permit any resistance. To add to this, the annexed states served him mostly as sources of supplies of any kind for his military campaigns. Due to these wars, France had to face several anti-Napoleonic coalitions and Bonaparte emerged as the main threat for European monarchies.

9.2.1 Early Life and Career

Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769–5 May 1821) was a French military and political leader during the latter stages of the French Revolution. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815. Napoleon (Figure 9.1), at the age of 25, had been expelled from the army. He was disgraced, hopeless and suicidal. Within in one year, he became the youngest general in France, and started winning battles with ragged troops who were at the verge of malnourishment. Madame Germaine de Stael, a writer and intellectual, says: 'He was like an expert chess player, with the human race for an opponent, which he proposed to checkmate.'



Fig. 9.1 Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon belonged to the Jacobin club. His father was a poor noble. Napoleon joined the Jacobins for the reason that, as he wrote in a letter to his brother, 'since one must choose sides, one might as well choose the side that is victorious, the side which devastates, loots and burns. Considering the alternative, it is better to eat than be eaten'.

Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as France's leading military leader. He defeated the British when they entered France in 1793. In 1796, Napoleon beat the Austrians. The Austrian Hapsburgs wanted to reestablish the rule of the monarchs. Napoleon was defeated in Egypt; however, he did not let the news of the worst losses reach France. He sent people to study Egypt's history, and they found out the Rosetta Stone. Napoleon wished to set up a base there so that France could assault England in both Africa and India.

After a victory at Austerlitz, he declared that he would adopt the children of all the soldiers. It was due to this announcement that Napoleon gained the love of the French people. He then asked the state to shell out money for the children's support and education, organize marriages for the girls and get jobs for the boys; he allowed them all to add Napoleon to their names.

In November 1799, in a coup de'tat, Napoleon overthrew the Directory. Although France was to remain a Republic, he appointed himself the First Consul for Life by

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proclaiming, 'I am no ordinary man'. In 1804, people decided and voted for him to become the Emperor. Napoleon requested the Pope to preside over his coronation. He took the crown from the Pope's hands and placed it on his own head to show that he owed his throne to nobody (Figure 9.2).



Fig. 9.2 Coronation of Napoleon

Napoleon was a great Leader. He stabilized the national budget and set up the Bank of France. He controlled prices, began public works to put people to work and supported new industry. As the slogans of the new regime order, security and efficiency replaced liberty, equality and fraternity.

9.2.2 Napoleon and the Revolution

Napoleon used the radical vocabulary of the revolution. He presented himself as an ally of the common man and an encouraged the motto 'equality of opportunity'. However, as a ruler, he was authoritarian. Napoleon held cautiously orchestrated elections to legitimize his political initiatives. He retained representative institutions but rendered them useless. He can best be viewed as an heir to or child of the Revolution in the context that he continued to centralize the French state and carried out to expansion of France and the spread of the Revolution to other Europe countries.

9.2.3 Napoleon and the French State

After acquiring the power, Napoleon set out to consolidate the French state by establishing a well-organized and centralized bureaucracy and a uniform legal system. He also worked hard to settle the conflict between the Church and state that had emerged during the French Revolution.

To decide the dispute between the Church and state, Napoleon signed the Concordat of 1801 with Pope Pius VII (1800–1823). The Pope abandoned all claims to the property confiscated by the Revolution, agreed that the clergy would take an oath of loyalty to the state and agreed not to employ bishops without previous approval of the French government. Against this, Napoleon recognized Catholic Christianity as the religion of the maximum number of Frenchmen and decided to pay the salaries

of the clergy. When the French fundamentalists called ideologues objected even to the few concessions Napoleon had made to the Pope, he declared that the clergy read government verdicts from the pulpit and made the church a department of state.

Legal system

Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes to standardize the legal system. The most significant was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806. With this, he guaranteed the following:

- Rights to private property
- Equality before the law
- Freedom of religion

Napoleon gave every man the control of family by denying women the right to inherit, buy or sell property. He also centralized the bureaucracy. All power rested in the hands of the officials in Paris where the ministers of the government supervised a vast bureaucracy. In the departments, a prefect appointed by the central government enforced orders from Paris, conscripted soldiers, accumulated taxes and looked over the public works.

Napoleon established a new order of non-hereditary nobles to reward good service. These officials were called notables and gained their status because of their talent.

9.3 DEFENCE OF NATIONAL CONVENTION, REFORMS AND FOREIGN POLICY

In 1795, Napoleon got an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader. It was the occasion when he successfully defended the National Convention against attack of mob by employing and using his artillery. He succeeded in saving the Convention from collapse and completely obliterated its enemies. In admiration of Napoleon's role, the directory decided to give him the authority of French Army.

In 1796–97, Napoleon won victories against Austria and Sardinia and further enhanced his military fame. Thereafter, he decided to proceed against Egypt and Syria with a view to strike at the heart of the British Empire.

The idea received full support from the Directors, who considered Napoleon's presence in Paris as highly dangerous and saw it to their advantage to send him to Egypt on a military adventure. However, Napoleon's ambitions received a shattering blow when his forces suffered a defeat at the hands of Lord Nelson in Battle of Nile. Therefore, Napoleon was forced to make his way back to France.

9.3.1 Deepening Contradictions within the Napoleonic Empire

Napoleon had far-reaching ambitions to expand his empire and his policies had less and less of progressive elements. He focused more on annexation of countries. Napoleon looted and sacked the lands he conquered. He plundered and robbed them dry of their industrial raw materials, money and other forms of wealth. The national integrity of many peoples of Europe was threatened and the national liberation movements began to grow up, only later to play an important part in bringing down the French Empire.

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with the appropriate words.

(a) The _____ Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes.

(b) After a victory at _____

Napoleon declared that he would adopt the children of all the soldiers.

2. State whether true or false.

(a) Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as France's leading military leader. He defeated the British when they tried to conquer France in 1790.

(b) Napoleon belonged to the Jacobin Club.

Popular resistance in Spain

In Spain, the Spanish people rose against the foreign conquerors and guerrilla activities began. A 20,000 strong French Army commanded by General Dupont surrendered to the guerrilla forces at Baylen in July 1808. An angered Napoleon ordered for Dupont's court martial and decided to send large forces to Spain. Saragossa was stormed and the Spanish people fought to the last man which revealed their determination to die than submit to their future conquerors.

The resistance in Spain did not subside even after the defeat at Saragossa. It rather set an inspiring example to the other peoples of Europe. Carbonari, an Italian secret society, was organized to liberate the country from French occupation. In Prussia, national patriotic movement took many forms to fight oppression. In Konigsberg, a society known as the Tugendbund or 'Union of Virtue' was set up by officers and students. The peasants of Austria started a guerrilla resistance movement in the Austrian Tyrol, which threatened the French occupation.

Napoleon ignored these ill omens as he was power drunk and turned into a despotic monarch. National liberation movements were developing at a very fast rate and instead of curbing them; the emperor started an unwanted irresponsible war against Russia.

9.3.2 Reforms of Napoleon

The Napoleonic era saw reforms in many spheres. Let us discuss them one by one.

1. Legal reforms: In 1804, Napoleon reformed the French legal system. The system of laws was in a highly disturbed state. Laws were not codified and were formed on the Roman law, ancient custom or monarchial paternalism. During the Revolution, several laws were altered. It was easier said than done to decide what law applied in a particular situation, and laws were not uniformly applied to everyone.

The muddle of laws were codified and written noticeably in order that the people could decide what law applied. It included much of the Roman law. For the very first time in history, the law was based on logic and founded on the concept that all men were equal before the law. It assured individual rights (except for women and blacks) and the protection of property. In short, it codified the various ideals of the Revolution. The Napoleonic Code became overwhelmingly influential to other European nations in the 19th century.

2. Governmental reforms: Napoleon centralized the government machinery, putting control decisively in the hands of the national government. It became well-organized. Development in the civil service and the military was based on merit instead of rank. The taxes were applied to all evenly.

3. Educational reforms: Napoleon built several new lycees (the lycée is the second, and last, stage of secondary education in the French educational system), schools for boys age 10 to 16. He identified the significance of education in producing citizens competent for filling positions in his administration and military. Although he did not build a system of mass education, education was more accessible to the middle class than previously. At a meeting in 1807 he declared:

Of all our institutions, public education is the most important. Everything depends on it, the present and the future. It is essential that the morals and political ideas of the generation which is now growing up should no longer be dependent upon the news of the day or the circumstances of the moment. Above all, we must secure unity: we must be able to cast a whole generation in the same mould.

He assumed education as a means of indoctrinating 'right-thinking' citizens from an initial age. He did not think about the need to educate girls, because they could learn everything they needed from their mothers. They were not supposed to be active citizens of the country.

9.3.3 Foreign Policy in the Napoleonic Era

Napoleon contributed to administrative reforms in European countries. He introduced far-reaching reforms in France to strengthen the administration. Some of the reforms introduced by him included recruitment to government posts on the basis of merit; establishment of a common system of law to assure equality to all French citizens; religious freedom to all citizens; and improvement in the system of judicial administration.

These reforms were so popular that the successors of Napoleon could not diverge from them. Even the people of other European countries were attracted by these reforms and tried to copy his administrative system in their country. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Prominent among these countries were:

- Holland
- Belgium
- Spain
- Federal State of Rhine
- The Grand Duchy of Warsaw
- Switzerland
- Italy

In most of these countries, feudalism and serfdom were totally abolished and the citizens were assured full religious freedom. They also significantly borrowed from Napoleon's legal code. No wonder the reforms introduced by Napoleon in France were gradually introduced in other European countries.

Napoleon, to a great extent, contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe. In his enthusiasm to make France a great nation, he brought a number of other European countries like Spain, Germany, Portugal and Prussia under his control.

The French soldiers by their presence in these countries taught the people that nation was above everything else and no sacrifice was big enough for the cause of the nation. It was this spirit of nationalism that ultimately inspired the people of various European countries to rise against Napoleon and assert their independence.

Finally, Napoleon unconsciously contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy. He contributed to the unification of Germany by amalgamating a number of small German states into a federal unit and providing them an excellent system of administration. Thus, he taught the Germans, first lessons of unity which ultimately culminated in the unification of Germany in 1870.

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Similarly, he also promoted the spirit of national unity among the Italians by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a Republic of Italy. Foscolo, the Great Italian poet, has described Napoleon as the liberator of Italy.

Thus, we can say that despite enormous loss of human lives, which was caused due to military adventures of Napoleon, his rule proved to be a boon for the countries of Europe insofar as he implanted the principles of French Revolution, encouraged the growth of democracy, provided impetus to reforms, promoted nationalism and contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy.

9.4 BEGINNING OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

The Ninth of Thermidor (28 July 1794) was the start of the Bourgeois counter-revolution. After Robes Pierre was assassinated, the Deputies of the Convention continued to falsely assert their loyalty to the cause of the revolution; but soon abandoned their hypo-natural attitude and show their true colours.

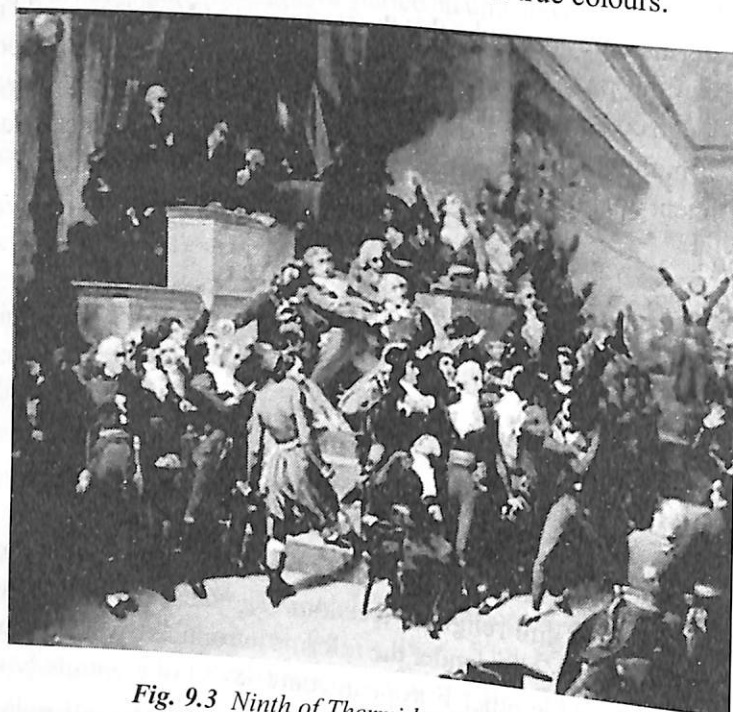


Fig. 9.3 Ninth of Thermidor (28 July 1794)

Source: <http://www.1st-art-gallery.com/Raymond-Auguste-Quinsac-Monvoisin/The-Ninth-Thermidor-1840.html>

'Jeunesse Doree' or 'Golden Youth' was a band of wandering and wealthy youth now took over the streets. The Thermidoreans controlled the representatives of a new section of the Bourgeoisie, which thriving on speculation had grown during the revolution, in the Convention and the Government organs. The fixed prices were abolished and commerce was given complete freedom resulting in escalation of prices and speculation reaching new heights. The poor sections of the society starved while tremendous profits were accumulated by the traders and the speculators.

With the destruction of the Jacobin Club by the Golden Youth in November 1794, the onset of the counter-revolution began. The Girondins and Feuillants and other counter-revolutionary groups settled their scores with the Jacobins.

Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with the appropriate words.

(a) In _____, Napoleon won victories against Austria and Sardinia and further enhanced his military fame.

(b) Napoleon _____ the government machinery and put the control in the hands of the national government.

4. State whether true or false.

(a) In 1804, Napoleon reformed the French legal system.

(b) Napoleon unconsciously contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy.

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The major social and democratic achievements of the autocratic Jacobins were done away with. A new constitution which abolished universal voting rights and reinstated electoral qualifications based on property was drafted in 1795.

The directory

In accordance with the new constitution, the end of 1795 saw the transfer of power to the Directory (an executive of 5 'directors') and 2 legislative chambers the council of the ancients and the council of the 500. It was the new avaricious and speculative Bourgeoisie who controlled the Directory and the two chambers. This ruling group looked upon the urban poor which it feared greatly. This formed the basis of the anti-popular reactionary policy it followed.

Having captured the wealth of the former land owning nobles, the new Bourgeoisie could not allow the reinstatement of the old regime. The attempts of the royalists to recapture power were annihilated by the anti-monarchist government and it showed that the Directory did not have any semblance of a coordinated policy. In its attempt to compromise between the right and the left this vacillating policy was nick named 'bascule' or 'political sea-saw'.

Gracchus Babeuf carefully planned a conspiracy known as 'conspiracy of equals', and it was exposed by the Directory in 1796. Babeuf was the first communist revolutionary and hoped to eradicate private property using the dictatorship of the minority. He propagated a very primitive egalitarian and signally failed to understand and appreciate the role of the proletariat.

The conspiracy petered out with the execution of Babeuf. Now the right threatened the Directory, and in 1797 a monarchist coup loomed large and the Directory had to resort to force to defend itself. Because of this political sea-saw, the Directory soon found itself losing most of its erstwhile authority and the confidence of the people in general. It had to try hard to keep itself in power.

9.4.1 Napoleon as the First Consulate

Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 Napoleon vowed to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation. This was the opening of a political coup, and by the next day evening the Directory and all its organs was swept away in a highly and demonstratively legal fashion and a new order of the consulate was established.

Napoleon's real motive behind the latest coup was to get rid of all the sacred principles and set up his own unlimited dictatorship.

Coup d'Etat, known as the 'Constitution of the Year VIII', was drawn up naturally according to Napoleon's instructions. It was extremely short and the terms were not very clear. It stated that France was to remain a republic as before and the slogan liberty, equality and fraternity were retained along with the revolutionary calendar introduced by the Convention. The power of execution was passed from the Directory to the three councils; and the two legislative chambers were replaced by the senate, the state council, the tribunate and the legislative body. The government appointed deputies for these choosing from proposed candidates. But these were ineffective as power was more apparent than real.

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The First Consul General Bonaparte held the real power in his hands; and until he carried out his Coup d'Etat in 1799, Napoleon was just known as the finest generals among the others such as Moreau, Jourdan and Massena.

Aware of his own credibility among his people, Napoleon gave an emotional speech before the coup, and quietly and inconspicuously removed the republic and the principles of the revolution. He eradicated the parliamentary system and the local self-government and replaced it with a strong centralized administration covering the whole country. The Ministry of the Interior and police seeped into all lives of the nation—social and political life and spiritual and private life.

Joseph Fouché, an erstwhile priest and an extreme Jacobin, was the head of the police network. He was cunning, mendacious, treacherous, and a master of intrigue. Fouché with a desire for reprisals against Jacobins and royalists, blamed the Jacobins for any upheaval in the country. He suppressed the freedom of the Press and managed to get a dozen newspapers closed down. The 13 newspapers which survived were all turned into government organs.

As you have read that Napoleon saved the Directory from the anger of the mob, he got a chance to hold some power and participation in the administration. He thus drafted the Constitution of the Year VIII and secured his own election as the First Consul. Thereafter, Napoleon decided to reside within the Tuileries. This made Bonaparte the most influential person in France.

Campaign of 1800 and end of the Second Coalition

In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered into Italy. Here, French forces had been almost entirely driven out by the Austrians, whilst he was in Egypt.

Realizing that police measures were inadequate to strengthen his power, Napoleon led the French Army into Northern Italy where the main Austrian forces were deployed. Choosing the most difficult route across the Alps, by way of the high Grand St. Bernard Pass, they appeared in the enemies' territory; and on June 14 Napoleon succeeded in defeating the Austrian Army at Morengo.

At the same time, at Hohenlinden, General Moreau defeated the Austrian Army. The Austrians gave up and signed the Treaty of Luneville on 9 February 1801. The terms were dictated by the victor and France annexed Belgium, and all German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. Austria had to recognize the 'daughter republics' Helvetian (Switzerland), Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa area) and cisalpine (Lombardia) though they were totally dependent on France with Piedmont having French occupation.

The war started badly for the French after he made strategic errors; one force was left besieged at Genoa but managed to hold out and thereby occupy Austrian resources. This effort and French general Louis Desaix's appropriate reinforcements, permitted Napoleon hardly to avoid defeat and to triumph over the Austrians in June at the important Battle of Marengo. His brother Joseph negotiated peace in Lunéville and concluded that Austria, supported by the British, would not recognize France's newly gained territory. As negotiations became more and more fractious, Napoleon ordered one more to strike at Austria. France emerged victorious. As a result, the Treaty of Lunéville was signed in February 1801; the French gains of the Treaty of Campo Formio were reaffirmed and increased.

Napoleon becomes Emperor

Also, around this time, Napoleon became the Consul for life and soon after, he was crowned Emperor of France. However, as emperor, he still had several issues such as revolt in Haiti. Besides losing this war, Napoleon was defeated in a key naval battle of Trafalgar by Lord Nelson of the British Royal Navy.

Royalist and Jacobin plotted against Napoleon when he became France's ruler. These plots included the Conspiracy des poignards (Dagger plot) in October 1800 and the Plot of the Rue Saint-Nicaise (also famous as the infernal machine) two months later. In January 1804, the police of Napoleon came to know and averted an assassination plot against him that involved Moreau. It was apparently sponsored by the Bourbon former rulers of France. On the recommendation of Talleyrand, Napoleon ordered the kidnapping of Louis Antoine, Duke of Enghien, in infringement of neighbouring Baden's autonomy. After a covert trial, the Duke was executed, even though he had not been engaged in the plot.

On the basis of the assassination plot, Napoleon justified the recreation of a hereditary monarchy in France, with himself as the emperor, saying that a Bourbon reinstatement would be tricky if the Bonapartist succession was entrenched in the constitution. Napoleon crowned himself as Emperor Napoleon I on 2 December 1804 at Notre Dame de Paris and then crowned Joséphine the Empress. At Milan Cathedral on 26 May 1805, Napoleon was crowned King of Italy with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. He established eighteen Marshals of the Empire from amongst his top generals to secure the loyalty of the army.

9.5 BOURGEOIS EMPIRE OF NAPOLEON

A new bourgeois monarchy was established under the one-man dictatorship of Napoleon. It was powerful, rich, lavish and brilliant, but not feudal in its character. Bonaparte abolished many of the democratic freedoms and persecuted the democrats ruthlessly. He went out of his way to protect and strengthen the bourgeois gains. All his social and civil legislation promoted only the interests of the Bourgeoisie and land owning peasants.

There was also the question of dynastic succession and the emperor began to make plans for military successes. The French bourgeoisie wanted to dominate Western Europe but neither England nor the old feudal monarchies of Europe were prepared to accept the ascendancy of this new bourgeois empire. Notwithstanding the peace treaties of 1801 and 1802, both sides were preparing seriously for war.

The Third Coalition

A large-scale war was fought in Europe by the autumn of 1805. A powerful French coalition was set up on a promptings of English diplomats and was duly joined by England, Russia and Austria. Prussia was also ready to attack France. Napoleon made the Austrian Army taste defeat at Ulm on the 20th October, and on 13th November Vienna was occupied. Meanwhile on 21st October, the English Navy under the capable command of Admiral Nelson annihilated the Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar.

The invasion of Britain was abandoned by Napoleon and the Battle of Ulm was made up by the Battle of Trafalgar and the balance of power was restored. Napoleon routed the Austrian and Russian armies on 2 December 1805. This battle was waged

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Check Your Progress

5. Fill in the blanks with the appropriate words.
 - (a) Napoleon drafted the Constitution of the _____.
 - (b) In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered into _____.
6. State whether true or false.
 - (a) Napoleon faced a revolt in Haiti.
 - (b) Napoleon crowned himself as Emperor Napoleon I on 2 December 1804 at Notre Dame de Paris.
7. Was Jacobin conspiracy a context for appointing Napoleon as the commander of the French armed forces? Give reasons in support of your answer.
8. List a few victories of Napoleon Bonaparte.

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at Austerlitz and was known as the 'battle of three emperors'. Emperor Francis of Austria along with Czar Alexander of Russia fled the battlefield amidst hopeless confusion.

After Austria's surrender, the Treaty of Pressburg was signed on 26th December. This had humiliating terms as a result of which the Holy Roman Empire vanished and the expanding French empire gobbled up a sizeable part of the territory. The French gained political prestige of great magnitude.

The Fourth Coalition

In 1806, Russia and England were joined by Prussia, Saxony and Sweden in the Fourth Coalition against France.

The Prussian Army with its iron disciplinary regimentation promised a swift victory over the revolutionary anti-Christ. The Prussians were defeated decisively within a pace of six days in two battles fought almost at the same time at Jena and Auerstadt. It began on 8th October 1806.

The Prussian retreated abandoning town after town and the Prussian Fortress equipped with huge artillery guns and 22,000 strong Garrison surrendered without resistance at Magdeburg. Ironically, Marshall Ney in command of the French advanced forces had not even fired a single shot. Within a month, the War of Prussia subsided.

The Russians were swimming against strong currents. On 7th and 8th February of 1807, at Preussisch-Eylau, a tough battle was fought between the French Army and the Russian Army. The losses were more but the outcome was indecisive. On 14th June, at Friedland, Napoleon gained major victory.

The Treaty of Tilsit

Napoleon and Alexander hoping to end hostilities met at Tilsit, signed a peace treaty for a Franco-Russian alliance on the 7 July 1807, on the promises of Napoleon to give his firm support for the Russian claims in the Middle East. Russia recognized the conquests and reforms of Napoleon in Western Europe.

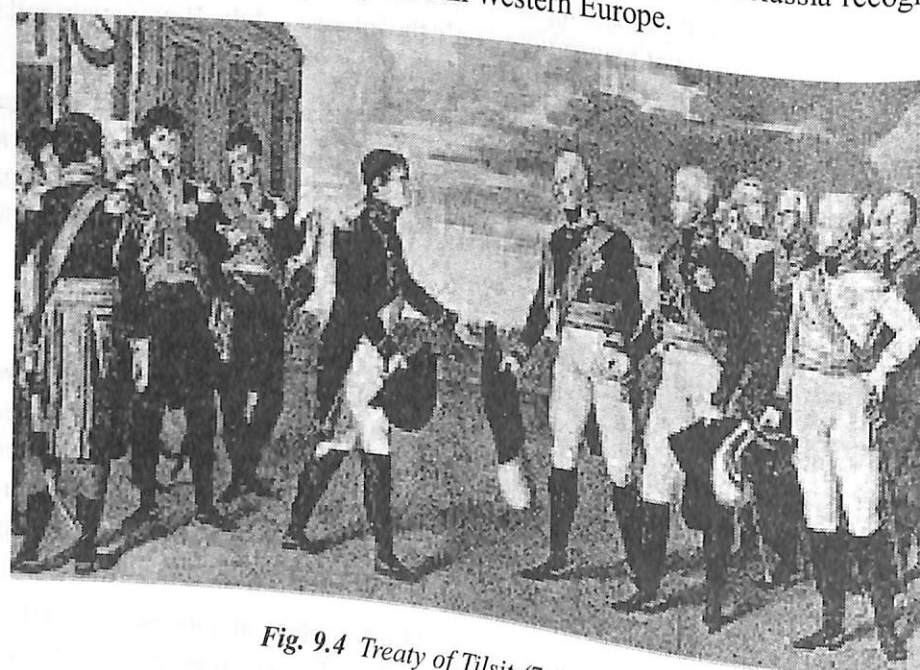


Fig. 9.4 Treaty of Tilsit (7 July 1807)

Source: http://www.napoleon-series.org/ins/weider/c_peace.html

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Thus Russia and France became allies against England and joined the Continental System. This resulted in the blockade of British Isles in 1806 and 1807. Napoleon thought to subjugate England either by starvation or capitulation.

The Fifth Coalition was mustered by England in 1809 and it waged a war with Napoleon's Empire. Austria was France's main enemy and in two or three months her armies were defeated. In October 1809, Austria, which had French occupation, had to accept a humiliating peace.

Reasons for the Napoleonic victories

The French Empire in the year 1809 included Belgium, Holland, Northern and Central Italy, Illyria and Dalmatia. An Italian kingdom was set up in Northern and Central Italy and Napoleon's stepson Eugene de Beauharnais was the regent. The vassal states of the French empire were the remainder of Western and Central Europe. The Spanish throne was adorned by Napoleon's brother Joseph and his brother-in-law became the King of Naples.

Napoleon was the head of the Confederation of the Rhine which covered the bulk of the Western German states. Napoleon's younger brother Jerome ruled the Kingdom of Westphalia, which was the part of the former Prussian territory. Prussia and Saxony were now the allies of France, while Russia maintained friendly terms with Napoleon; and by 1809, he had achieved complete hegemony over Europe.

Napoleon was so successful because he had a rare capacity for work. He was bold and decisive and possessed an iron will. Though short and slight, Napoleon had the gift of asserting his authority over the others. He was an extremely talented leader of men and he chose able and gifted helpers to be with him. There were other equally efficient commanders like Davout, Ney, Murat, Massena, Berthier, Lannes and others, but Napoleon by his sheer vitality eclipsed them all.

Napoleon's wars, waged against the feudal absolutist states of Europe, showed a clear progressive phenomenal. French troops after winning a state, abolished old feudal practices and replaced them with more progressive bourgeoisie's social patterns. It practically destroyed the Holy Roman Empire and wiped out hundreds of tiny small German states with feudal particularism and disunity. He made a signal contribution to the progress of the German people.

9.6 CAUSES OF DOWNFALL

In this section, we would discuss the reasons that led to the invasion of Russia and also the happenings that caused Napoleon's defeat in this war.

9.6.1 Invasion of Russia

The Congress of Erfurt decided to protect the Russo-French coalition, and the leaders had a gracious personal relationship after their first meeting at Tilsit in 1807. However by 1811, tensions had built up and Alexander, the Russian Emperor, was under pressure from the Russian nobility to call the alliance off. An initial symbol that showed that the ties had deteriorated was the Russian's virtual desertion of the Continental System, which resulted in Napoleon threatening Alexander with grave consequences if he formed a coalition with Britain.

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By 1812, Alexander's advisors advised on a possibility of an invasion of the French Empire and the recapture of Poland. After receiving intelligence reports on Russia's war groundwork, Napoleon expanded his Grande Armée to more than 450,000 men. He ignored repeated suggestion against an incursion of the Russian heartland and organized for an offensive campaign.

Napoleon did not declare war on Russia. But on the night of 24th June 1812, his troops marched treacherously and crossed the Niemen. Napoleon advanced swiftly capturing town after town, and was confronted by the Russian First Army near Smolensk. The Russian Army was commanded by Barclay de Tolly and he was supported by the Second Army led by Bagration. After a fierce battle, the Russian Army retreated with a bulk of its garrison intact.

In an effort to gain increased support from Polish nationalists and patriots, Napoleon named the war 'the Second Polish War'—the First Polish War was the Bar Confederation uprising by Polish nobles against Russia in 1768. Polish patriots wished for the Russian portion of Poland to be joined with the Duchy of Warsaw and an independent Poland established. This demand was rejected by Napoleon. He states that had promised his ally Austria this would not take place. He refused to manumit the Russian serfs due to concerns this might incite a reaction in his army's rear. The serfs later assigned atrocities against French soldiers during France's retreat.

The Russians foiled Napoleon's aim of a decisive engagement and rather retreated deeper into Russia. A short attempt at resistance was made at Smolensk in August; the Russians were overpowered in a series of battles, and Napoleon resumed his move forward. The Russians again prevented battle, however, at a few places this was only achieved because Napoleon unusually hesitated to attack when the opportunity arose. Due to the Russian army's scorched earth tactics, the French found it very difficult to forage food for themselves and their horses.

The Russians finally offered battle outside Moscow on 7 September: the Battle of Borodino resulted in about 44,000 Russian and 35,000 French dead, wounded or captured, and may have been the bloodiest day of battle in history up to that point in time. However, the French had won, the Russian army had recognized, and withstood, the major war Napoleon had hoped would be decisive. According to Napoleon, 'The most terrible of all my battles was the one before Moscow. The French showed themselves to be worthy of victory, but the Russians showed themselves worthy of being invincible.'

9.6.2 Defeat of Napoleon

The Russian army retreated back and left Moscow city. Napoleon entered the city, thinking its fall would end the battle and Alexander would come to negotiate peace. However, on orders of Feodor Rostopchin, the city's governor, instead of capitulation, Moscow was burned.

Kutuzov, feeling bad about abandoning Moscow, set about to work out a new plan of action to drive the enemy out of the country. The Russians had to take in new reinforcements and train them.

Kutuzov was a shrewd man and could foresee Napoleon's resultant plans of action. It took an unexpected route and kept his army intact. Napoleon lost track of the Russian Army and did not know where they were.

The Partisan detachments as instructed by Kutuzov made surprise attacks against the French. They were able to take prisoners and were able to recover much

of the looted material. On October 1812, the Battle of Tarutino was fought and Russia won the battle. The Battle of Maloyaroslavets made Napoleon realize to what extent the Russians had been reinforced. In the mid of November, an exhausted French Army approached the River Berezina and a fierce battle ensued during the crossing and the French suffered a loss of thousands of soldiers.

After a month, thinking about the loss of control back in France, Napoleon and his army left (Figure 9.5). Thus, Napoleon could not win the war; however, by the time of his return, the harshest winter had set in. Due to this, more than half of his remaining army died on the way to France. He was terribly defeated in this war and never ever could recover from the losses.



Fig. 9.5 Napoleon Returns from Russia

The French suffered greatly in the course of a ruinous retreat, including from the harshness of the Russian Winter. The Armée had begun as over 400,000 frontline troops, but in the end fewer than 40,000 crossed the Berezina River in November 1812. The Russians had lost 150,000 in battle and hundreds of thousands of civilians.

Napoleon facing defeat abandoned his army and fled to safety secretly in the beginning of December. He travelled in a simple carriage to Paris, hiding his face under thick fur collar, with the intention of mustering a new army. The patriotic war of 1812 saved Russia from the invasion of the foreign conqueror. It also shattered Napoleon's ambition of enslaving the Russian people.

Napoleon returned to France and gathered all those capable of bearing arms and set out to meet the Russian troop with his new army. Meanwhile, the Russian Army had made their way to Germany. Europe after hearing the defeat of the *Grande Armée*, rose up to give battle. Prussia, Austria, Saxony and other states formed the anti-French coalition and marched westwards. At the Battle of Leipzig, which lasted from 16–19 October 1813, the allies defeated Napoleon conclusively and forced him to retreat. This battle was called the 'battle of the nations'. But Napoleon displayed amazing energy and tough leadership in the battle of 1814. He had many small victories which were negligible to reverse the course of war.

The allied forces under the command of Alexander of Russia marched victoriously into Paris on 31 March 1814. Napoleon signed an act of abdication at Fontainebleau. He was exiled to Elba for life.

The Bourbons were restored to their throne by the allied monarchs and brother of Louis XVI count of province was brought to Paris with an escort of allied armies.

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He had been living in exile for 25 years, and was now proclaimed Louis XVIII of France.

9.6.3 Factors that led to the Downfall of Napoleon

Defeat in the war with Russia changed the fortunes of Napoleon. This prompted the other European power to form a coalition and defeat Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. Due to more defeats by the Austrians in Italy and the British in Spain, Napoleon relinquished his crown in the April of 1814. The French government was handed over to the king Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI. Louis XVIII restored the White Flag of the Bourbons and recognized Catholic Christianity as the state religion; however, he left most did not alter many changes that were incorporated due to the Revolution.

Despite Louis XVIII's attempts at conciliation, Napoleon remained extremely popular. In March 1815, he escaped from exile on the Island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and overwhelmed him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was sent to the Island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic and died there in 1821. Louis XVIII retained the French throne and France was permitted to retain the borders of 1790.

It is just not possible to point out every factor that resulted in Napoleon's defeat. However, among the main causes of his defeat, the following can be pointed out:

- Napoleon never had adequate naval power. Even after the Battle of Trafalgar, the Royal Navy, which had held the dominance for many years before, was almost unchallenged. Napoleon's lack of sea power meant that the French danger of invasion to Britain was done away with.
- Without sufficient naval power, Napoleon's Continental System had several loopholes. This System became a far greater burden to the nations that fell under Napoleon's control instead of to Britain, whose natural resources backed her wealth and authority to increase quickly during these years, in spite of her considerable losses to privateers and the numerous bankruptcies.
- Britain was very powerful as it had gathered the support of allies to beat France. Eventually, their collective forces beat Napoleon at Trafalgar. He gave up the thought of invading Britain. French troops were intercepted by Horatio Lord Nelson at Trafalgar.
- Spain and Germany assaulted on France. Spain used guerilla tactics. Napoleon lost 300,000 men. He handed over the throne of Spain to his brother, and made changes in the religion. The Spanish did not like it, and when the French cruelly tried to crush the revolts, the Spanish got even crazier.
- Napoleon's catastrophic Moscow campaign of 1812 had its origins in Alexander's denial to carry on his support of the Continental System in his effort to manage the whole coastline of Europe.
- Thereafter, Napoleon attacked both Spain and Portugal. He misjudged the national resistance to him in both these countries.
- He also made a serious miscalculation after British forces had entered Portugal under Wellesley in 1808. British sea power was once again of vital significance in this case.

- The Battle of Talavera (1809) was a conquest of a united British and Spanish army, followed by Fuentes D'Onoro, 1811 and Salamanca, 1812. The French never recovered from these defeats.
- Nationalism had its maximum support from the middle class of Europe which was unfavourably affected by Napoleon's taxation and Continental System.
- After 1807, Napoleon's judgment declined; for instance, he believed that Moscow was the heart of Russia and that to confine it would result in Russian defeat. This was of course proven wrong.

9.7 IMPACT OF NAPOLEONIC ERA

There are very few examples of men who have dominated an age; Napoleon is one of them. He had many characteristics that made him great, such as:

- He was charismatic.
- He was a master psychologist and politician.
- He was ambitious to the point of self-destruction.

He started wars that resulted in vast devastation and a new political order. He shaped his times, but was also product of his times as he went with the currents of his respective history and adeptly diverted those currents to suit his own requirements. However, he ultimately failed in his venture.

To a great extent, Napoleon's career was the outcome of the military and political forces, which he obtained from the Revolution and mended for his own aims. In military affairs, he was lucky to take over the military improvements that came into fashion during the French Revolution such as mass conscription, which made feasible the use of block tactics to attack in column and get rid of the need for supply lines, thus making French armies highly mobile. Therefore, the two main features of Napoleonic warfare—massed firepower and mobility—were previously present when he began his career. However, it was Napoleon's brilliance that knew how to use them efficiently in his first Italian campaign against the Austrians.

Politically, France had suffered a complete decade of revolutionary chaos by 1799, rendering the government unsteady and corrupt. Church policies were disliked, principally since they had triggered uncontrolled inflation. People were sick of this chaos and desired a more stable government that would render their lives more secure. Thus, the interaction of military innovations that made Napoleon a national hero and the desire for a strong, secure government that Napoleon assured resulted in his seizure of power in 1799. More military victories against the Austrians in Italy permitted him to strengthen his position of power and he declared himself the emperor of France in 1804.

Napoleon was also a very active administrator. His internal reforms did a great deal in consolidating a few accomplishments of the French Revolution and suppressing others. One way to review his government of France is to look at how it conformed to the revolutionary motto: 'Liberty, fraternity (i.e., nationalism), and equality'. For political and civil liberties, Napoleon mainly suppressed them with firm censorship and the organization of a virtual police state to protect his authority.

However, Napoleon saw equality as a politically practical idea that he could keep up with little threat to his power. After all, everyone, at least all men, were

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Check Your Progress

- State whether true or false.
 - The Congress of Erfurt decided to protect the Russo-French coalition.
 - The First Polish War was the Bar Confederation uprising by Polish nobles against Russia in 1768.
- Fill in the blanks with the appropriate words.
 - Napoleon never had adequate _____ power, which meant the British had an edge over the French.
 - The Battle of Talavera (1809) was a conquest of the British and _____ armies against the French.

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equally under his power. One of his main achievements as a ruler was the institution of the Napoleonic Civil Law Codes, which made all men equal under the law. At the same time, these codes maintained men's legal power over women.

Napoleon saw nationalism as crucial to maintaining the faithfulness of the French people to his government. After all, it was the fortitude of nationalism that had inspired its armies in a extraordinary series of victories that had in particular benefited Napoleon and permitted his rise to power. For Napoleon, the trick was to establish a personality cult around himself so that the French people would recognize him with France itself and thus make loyalty to him comparable to loyalty to France. Though, by identifying public loyalty with one man, Napoleon unintentionally weakened the inspiring force of nationalism and thus his own authority.

In general, Napoleon's internal policies consolidated France and permitted it to rule most of Europe after a sequence of victorious military campaigns. Naturally, he founded his style of rule in the countries he won. However, he incorrectly thought that the administrative and legal changes of the Revolution he carried to the rest of European countries could be separated from the concepts of Nationalism and Liberalism (liberty and equality) that had offered those reforms life and substance. Thus, Napoleon's imperial rule unintentionally promoted these concepts of nationalism and liberalism.

Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe, and these concepts would spread in new waves of revolution by mid-century. Europeans took these concepts, along with the influential new technologies set free by the industrial revolution, to set up colonies all over the globe by 1900. Paradoxically, when their subjects used them in their own freedom struggles after the Second World War.

Check Your Progress

11. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.

(a) Napoleon was a master _____ and politician.

(b) Napoleon's career was the outcome of the military and _____ forces.

12. State whether true or false.

(a) Napoleon was a very active administrator.

(b) Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe.

ACTIVITY

1. Make a chronological list (table) of the Napoleonic wars. Also mention the result of each war.
2. Write a report on the Continental Blockade policy of Napoleon. Refer to Wikipedia for information.

DID YOU KNOW

Napoleon Bonaparte instituted lasting reforms, including higher education, a tax code, road and sewer systems, and established the Banque de France (central bank).

9.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes.
- Numerous contemporaries admired Napoleon not only for his military achievements, but also because he put the ideals of the Revolution into practise.

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- Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769–5 May 1821) was a French military and political leader during the latter stages of the French Revolution. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815.
- Napoleon was a great Leader. He stabilized the national budget and set up the Bank of France. He controlled prices, began public works to put people to work and supported new industry.
- Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes to standardize the legal system. The most significant was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806.
- In 1796–97, Napoleon won victories against Austria and Sardinia and further enhanced his military fame. Thereafter, he decided to proceed against Egypt and Syria with a view to invade the British.
- Napoleon centralized the government machinery, putting control decisively in the hands of the national government. It became well-organized. Development in the civil service and the military was based on merit instead of rank. Taxes were applied to all evenly.
- Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Prominent among these countries were: Holland, Belgium, Spain, Federal State of Rhine, The Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Switzerland and Italy.
- Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 Napoleon vowed to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation. Napoleon's real motive behind the latest coup was to get rid of all the sacred principles and set up his own unlimited dictatorship.
- On June 14 Napoleon succeeded in defeating the Austrian Army at Morengo. At the same time, at Hohenlinden, General Moreau defeated the Austrian Army. The Austrians gave up and signed the treaty of Luneville on 9 February 1801. The terms were dictated by the victor and France annexed Belgium, and all German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. Austria had to recognize the 'daughter republics' Helvetian (Switzerland), Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa area) and cisalpine (Lombardia) though they were totally dependent on France with Piedmont having French occupation.
- France became the leading power in Western Europe after the Treaty of Luneville.
- In 1806, Russia and England were joined by Prussia, Saxony and Sweden in the Fourth Coalition against France.
- Napoleon and Alexander hoping to end hostilities met at Tilsit, signed a peace treaty for a Franco-Russian alliance on the 7 July 1807, on the promises of Napoleon to give his firm support for the Russian claims in the Middle East. Russia recognized the conquests and reforms of Napoleon in Western Europe. Thus Russia and France became allies against England and joined the Continental System. This resulted in the blockade of British Isles in 1806 and 1807.
- The resistance in Spain did not subside even after the defeat at Saragossa. It rather set an inspiring example to the other peoples of Europe. Carbonari, an

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Italian secret society, was organized to liberate the country from French occupation.

- The Ninth of Thermidor (28 July 1794) was the start of the Bourgeois counter-revolution. After Robes Pierre was assassinated, the Deputies of the Convention continued to falsely assert their loyalty to the cause of the revolution; but soon abandoned their hypo-natural attitude and show their true colours.
- Aware of his own credibility among his people, Napoleon gave an emotional speech before the coup, and quietly and inconspicuously removed the republic and the principles of the revolution. He eradicated the parliamentary system and the local self-government and replaced it with a strong centralized administration covering the whole country. The Ministry of the Interior and police seeped into all lives of the nation—social and political life and spiritual and private life.
- Realizing that police measures were inadequate to strengthen his power, Napoleon led the French Army into Northern Italy where the main Austrian forces were deployed.
- On October 1812, the Battle of Tarutino was fought and Russia won the battle. The Battle of Maloyaroslavets made Napoleon realize to what extent the Russians had been reinforced.
- At the Battle of Leipzig, which lasted from 16–19 October 1813, the allies defeated Napoleon conclusively and forced him to retreat. This battle was called the 'battle of the nations'. But Napoleon displayed amazing energy and tough leadership in the battle of 1814. He had many small victories which were negligible to reverse the course of war.
- In March 1815, he escaped from exile on the Island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and overwhelmed him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was sent to the Island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic and died there in 1821.
- In general, Napoleon's internal policies consolidated France and permitted it to rule most of Europe after a sequence of victorious military campaigns.
- Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe, and these concepts would spread in new waves of revolution by mid-century.

9.9 KEY TERMS

- **Annex:** To take control of a country, region, etc., especially by force.
- **Battle of Tarutino:** Was a part of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which took place in October 1812; was the first battle won by the Russian Army after the Battle of Borodino.
- **Bourbons:** French royal family descended from Louis I, Duke of Bourbon (1270–1342); whose members have ruled in France, Spain, Naples and Sicily.
- **Conservatism:** A political and social philosophy that promotes retaining traditional social institutions.
- **Coup:** A sudden overthrow of government that is illegal and often violent.

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- **Guerrilla:** A member of a small group of soldiers who are not part of an official army and who fight against official soldiers, usually to try to change the government.
- **Middle class:** The social class between the working class and the upper class.
- **Pope:** The leader of the Roman Catholic Church, who is also the Bishop of Rome.
- **Reform:** To improve a system, an organization, a law by making changes to it.
- **Revolt:** A protest against authority, especially that of a government, often involving violence; the action of protesting against authority.

9.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) French, (b) Austerlitz
2. (b) False, (b) True
3. (a) 1796–97, (b) Centralized
4. (a) True, (b) True
5. (a) Year VIII, (b) Italy
6. (a) True, (b) True
7. Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 Napoleon vowed to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation. Napoleon's real motive behind the latest coup was to get rid of all the sacred principles and set up his own unlimited dictatorship.
8. On June 14 Napoleon succeeded in defeating the Austrian Army at Morengo. At the same time, at Hohenlinden, General Moreau defeated the Austrian Army. The Austrians gave up and signed the treaty of Luneville on 9 February 1801. The terms were dictated by the victor and France annexed Belgium, and all German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. Austria had to recognize the 'daughter republics' Helvetian (Switzerland), Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa area) and cisalpine (Lombardia) though they were totally dependent on France with Piedmont having French occupation.
9. (a) True, (b) True
10. (a) Navel, (b) Spanish
11. (a) Psychologist, (b) Political
12. (a) True, (b) True

9.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the 18th Brumaire Coup d'Etat of 1799.
2. Write a short note on the early life of Napoleon.
3. List a few factors that led to the end of the Napoleonic era.

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4. Give a detailed account on the deepening contradictions within the Napoleonic Empire.
5. Write a short note on the foreign policy implemented by Napoleon.
6. List a few reasons that led to the victories in the Napoleonic era.

Long-Answer Questions

1. What was the impact of the French Revolution on Napoleon's career? Discuss the relations between Napoleon and the French state.
2. Describe the reforms brought about in the Napoleonic era in the administration.
3. How fairly did Napoleon perform as the First Consul and the emperor?
4. Explain the factors that led to the change in Napoleon's fortune due to the invasion of Russia.
5. What is the impact of Napoleon on the modern history?

9.12 FURTHER READING

McLynn, F.; *Napoleon: A Biography*, Skyhorse Publishing Company, New York, 2011.

Dwyer, Phillip. *Napoleon: The Path to Power*, Yale University Press, Yale, 2008.

Johnson, P.; *Napoleon*. Viking Press, New York, 2002.

UNIT 10 CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Unit Objectives
- 10.2 Congress of Vienna—Background
- 10.3 Provisions—Work of the Congress
- 10.4 The Holy Alliance
- 10.5 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)
- 10.6 Reaction in Europe after 1815
 - 10.6.1 Austrian Empire
 - 10.6.2 The German Confederation
 - 10.6.3 Disappointment of the Liberals
 - 10.6.4 Reaction in Germany
 - 10.6.5 Restoration in Spain
- 10.7 Italy, a Geographical Expression
- 10.8 Critical Estimate
- 10.9 Summary
- 10.10 Key Terms
- 10.11 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 10.12 Questions and Exercises
- 10.13 Further Reading

10.0 INTRODUCTION

Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, the four powers which were instrumental to overthrowing Napoleon in a series of wars (the Napoleonic Wars), convened the Congress of Vienna at Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. The Vienna Congress was drafted to restore peace in Europe and realign the social and political order to prevent imperialism within Europe. But the Congress was shaped with conservative political and social views. What it achieved politically was to reinstate balance of power and legitimacy. Socially, the Congress stopped most revolts and uprisings. From 1815 to 1848, the Congress of Vienna was successful in ensuring peace and order in the region.

Metternich, the chief minister of autocratic Austria and the country's representative at the Congress, wanted to contain France. To ensure that France remains politically and militarily weak, the Congress of Vienna purposely surrounded the country by stronger nations. Metternich also wanted legitimate governments in these countries. Hence, the Bourbons of France, Spain, and Naples were restored, so were the ruling dynasties in Holland, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Modena. Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England formed a Concert of Europe that promised gave each other support if revolutions broke out. The Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England agreed to defend the status quo against any threat to the balance of power. Spain revolted in 1820 and the revolution was suppressed by the French troops. Also in 1820, Austrian troops were ordered to stop the revolution of Naples.

In this unit, you will learn about the Congress of Vienna, an effort by the four major adversaries of Napoleon to rob France of its power and in the process redraw the map of Europe.

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10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the factors that set the background from the Vienna Congress
- Explain the provisions and the working of the Congress
- Analyse the working of the Holy Alliance and Quadruple Alliance
- Assess the role of Metternich since the fall of Napoleon
- Describe the reaction in Europe after 1815
- Critically view the political composition of Europe in the post-Napoleonic era

10.2 CONGRESS OF VIENNA—BACKGROUND

The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to the twenty-five years of war. Napoleon's eastward march to Russia spelled his doom. The strong French army of 422,000 soldiers was left to die in the harsh winter of Russia in 1812. Though Napoleon managed to return home with 30,000 troops, Paris was lost in 1814 and Napoleon had to flee.

The Allies (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain) began negotiations and realignment of European territories even though Napoleon made a dramatic return to rule France for a Hundred Days (March–July, 1815). The Congress' signed the Final Act (the Second Peace of Paris) nine days before Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo on June 18, 1815.

The fall of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult situations for diplomats of the time. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly affected by his enterprises, all were profoundly affected by his fall. The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was followed by reconstruction of Europe. This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. Present were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and the diplomats of Europe of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most noticeable. All the powers were represented except Turkey.

10.3 PROVISIONS—WORK OF THE CONGRESS

The main task of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, returned to his throne, and Genoa was returned to him. There was a general understanding that the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the re-arrangement of Europe. That is to say, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should be restored. However, this principle was ignored according to the suitability of the Allied powers.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the Vienna Congress?
2. Name the major players and participants at the Congress.

Demands of Russia

The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given back to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the 18th century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus, largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality, to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian emperor was to be King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Prussia

Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces on the condition that she should be indemnified elsewhere. She, therefore, fixed her attention upon the rich kingdom of Saxony with important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, as compensation. Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims, but Austria, England and France opposed them stoutly. The latter even agreed to go to war to prevent the aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favourable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him. They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom; that, as further compensation, Prussia should receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coast line on the Baltic.

Russian acquisitions

Russia emerged from the Congress with a good number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks, also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Austrian acquisitions

Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories

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which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.

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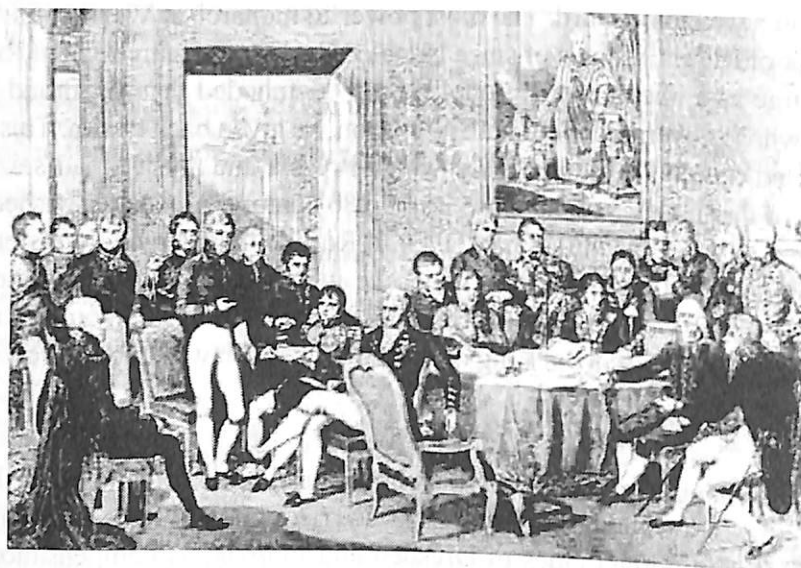


Fig. 10.1 A portrait of the Vienna Congress

Source: <http://pub.uvm.dk/2008/democracycanon/images/figur25.jpg>

English acquisitions

England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire. She retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea; Malta and Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.

The Map of Italy

Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy. The general principle of action had already been agreed upon, that Austria should receive compensation here for the Netherlands, and that the old dynasties should be restored. Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria took provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, from which position she could easily dominate the peninsula, especially as the Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louises, wife of Napoleon, and as princes, connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to then thrones in Modena and Tuscany. The Papal States were also re-established.

No union or federation of these states was affected. It was Metternich's desire and such it was.

Changes in the map of Europe

Other changes in the map of Europe, now made or ratified, were these:

- Norway was taken from Denmark and joined with Sweden

- Switzerland was increased by the addition of three cantons which had recently been incorporated in France, thus making twenty-two cantons in all
- The frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched.

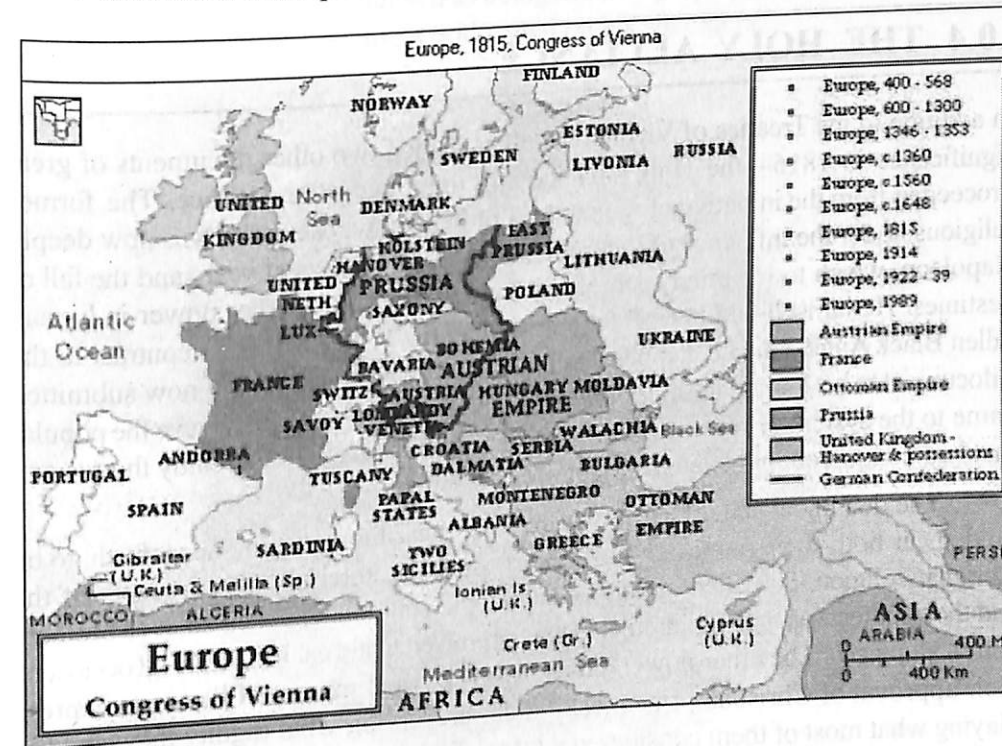


Fig. 10.2 Map of Europe.

Source: <http://edtech2.boisestate.edu/lockwoodm/FrenchRev/images/CongVien.jpg>

Character of the Congress

The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were inconvenient, incomprehensible and loathsome. The rulers rearranged Europe according to their desires, disposing of it as it were their personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. Theirs could be no 'settlement' because they ignored the factors that alone would make the settlement permanent. The history of Europe, after 1815 was destined to witness repeated, and often successful, attempts to rectify this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna.

Criticism of the Congress

Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years. It is impossible to discover in these negotiations the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements. Not that these titled brokers neglected to attempt to convince Europe of the nobility of their endeavors. Phrases, such as 'the reconstruction of the social order', 'the regeneration of the political system of Europe' durable peace based upon a just division of power were used by the diplomats of Vienna to impress the people of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage. But the people were not deceived. They witnessed the

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Check Your Progress

3. What did the Russian emperor want during negotiations?
4. Prussia was unwilling to give up her Polish provinces and wanted to be compensated. (True/False)
5. _____, _____, and _____ opposed Russia and Prussia's demand for territory.
6. Austria retained Finland. (True/False)
7. What did England gain from the negotiation at the Vienna Congress?
8. Italy remained a collection of independent states. (True/False)
9. The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats, but they accepted the ideas of nationality and democracy. (True/False)

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unedifying scramble of the conquerors for the spoils of victory. They saw the monarchs of Europe, who for years had been denouncing Napoleon for not respecting the rights of people, acting precisely in the same way, whenever it suited their pleasure.

10.4 THE HOLY ALLIANCE

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a document to his immediate allies—Prussia and Austria—and which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign.

The document stated that it was the intention of the powers, henceforth, to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. The other powers, thus, asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the 'holy allies'.

The Quadruple Alliance

The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe. The Congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

10.5 PRINCE METTERNICH (1773-1859)

Klemens Wenzel von Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance can be estimated from the phrases such as 'era of Metternich' and 'system of Metternich'. He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the 19th century.

Check Your Progress

10. Who was instrumental in the formation of the Holy Alliance?
11. Who were the signatories of the Holy Alliance?
12. What is the Quadruple Alliance?

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A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions, his foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomatists, thoroughly at ease amid all the intriguing of European politics. His egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born 'to prop up the decaying structure' of European society. He felt the world rested on his shoulders.



Fig. 10.3 Klemens Wenzel von Metternich

My position has this peculiarity he says, that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be. He asks the question, Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how? He admitted at the end of a long career that he had 'never strayed from the path of eternal law', that his mind had 'never entertained error'. He felt and said that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his execration of the French Revolution. His life-long role was that of incessant opposition to everything comprehended in the word. He denounced it in violent and lurid phrases. It was 'the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron, the hydra with open jaws to swallow up the social order'. He believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself God's lieutenant in supporting it. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. He regarded the talks of liberty, equality and constitutions as pestilential. He defied himself as a man of the status quo. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness; such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced he was the resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence and aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only 'change daylight into darkest night'. Such was the man who succeeded Napoleon in the center of the European stage.

Check Your Progress

13. Metternich was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy too. (True/False)
14. Metternich believed in democracy. (True/False)

10.6 REACTION IN EUROPE AFTER 1815

10.6.1 Austrian Empire

The Battle of Waterloo, remarked Napoleon at St. Helena, will be as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as the battle of Philippi was dangerous to the liberties of Rome. Napoleon was not exactly an authority on liberty, but he did know the difference between enlightened despotism and unenlightened.

The style was set by Austria, the leading state on the Continent from 1815 to 1848. Austria was not a single nation like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly Germany, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north, Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of the middle Danube; to the south, beyond the Alps, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, purely Italian. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were the Germans, forming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars (modyorz), originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube valley since the 9th century and forming the dominant people in Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Romanians, a different people still, in eastern Hungary.

Austria, a land of the old regime

To rule twenty-nine million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792-1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on different factors. Of these, the nobles occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service and got enormous exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants, who formed the mass of the people, lived in deplorable conditions. They were even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Condition of Austria in 1815 favoured few, and oppression and misery for the masses.

The police system

It was the purpose of the government to maintain status quo, and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835-1848). During this period, Metternich was the chief minister. His meddlesome police, an elaborate espionage system, and a vigilant censorship of ideas. Censorship was applied to theaters, newspapers and books.

Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, and educational institutions. In education, political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Particularly, the government feared the universities because of new ideas. Spies even attended lectures. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. The government insisted on having a complete

list of the books that each professor took out of the university library. Students were not allowed to study abroad or form societies.

Austrians were not allowed to travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best protection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich labored with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, particularly in Germany and in Italy.

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the center of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

10.6.2 The German Confederation

One of the important problems presented to the Congress Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which he had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation, which was the government of Germany from 1815 to 1866. The Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states. The central organ of the government was the Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by different sovereigns and serving during their pleasure. They were to be, not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation, but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to make war upon each other, and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed.

The Confederation was a union of princes, not of peoples. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been tremendously aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. All the more progressive spirits felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an 'infamous object', and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers; not one of whom was willing to surrender any particle of his authority. Intense was the indignation of all liberals at what they called this 'great deception' of Vienna.

10.6.3 Disappointment of the Liberals

The liberals desired unity, they also desired liberty. They wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; and they also wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. Metternich, even more opposed to free political institutions than to a strong central government, succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point too. The latter were put off with only vague

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and doubtful promises, which, were never realized, save in the case of a few of the smaller states.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany on the same principles that prevailed in Austria, and in this he largely succeeded. Certain incidents of the day gave him favorable occasions to apply the system of repression. Repression according to him was the only sure cure for the ills of this world. One of these was a patriotic festival held in 1817 at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. This was a celebration organized by the students of the German universities and it expressed the vigorous liberalism of the students, their detestation of reaction and reactionaries. Sometime later, a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue (Kcot—so-bo), who was hated within the university circles as a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich, who was seeking the means of establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria. He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the famous Carlsbad Decrees (1819).

Through their provisions, Metternich became the virtual controller of the Confederation. These decrees were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. They signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. They really determined the political system of Germany until 1848. They provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate 'harmful doctrines', that is, who should in any way criticize Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions, and once so removed, could not be appointed to any other positions in Germany.

The student association were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into any other. By these provisions it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus, free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

10.6.4 Reaction in Germany

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia. He never kept this promise. On the other hand, he inaugurated a peculiarly odious persecution of all liberals, which was marked by many acts as inane as they were cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

10.6.5 Restoration in Spain

In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain, and until 1814 had kept the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own brother Joseph on the vacant throne. The Spaniards rose against the usurper and for years carried on a vigorous guerrilla warfare, aided by the English and ended finally in success. As their King was in the hands of enemy they proceeded in his name to frame a government. Being liberal-minded, they drew up a constitution, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modeled on the French Constitution

of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of the people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document, however, did not have long to life as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the overthrow of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Vigorous and efficient in stamping out all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about eleven million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve the conditions. Moreover, it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country, and the government had made no serious efforts to put down the rebellion.

Revolution in Spain (1820)

Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything before it and forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise, henceforth, to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Thus, revolution had triumphed again, and only five years after Waterloo. An absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of the people. Would the example be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany, and France, only to blaze forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were forthcoming.

10.7 ITALY, A GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. There were, henceforth, ten of them—Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not 'fashionable'. The one was given to Piedmont, the other to Austria.

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was dependent on Austria. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. Thus, was Austria the master of northern Italy; master of southern Italy, too, for Ferdinand, King of Naples, made an offensive and defensive treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was, thus, a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian

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Check Your Progress

15. What were the two main races in Austria during this period?
16. How many states did the German Confederation have?
17. The German Confederation constituted a nation of independent states. (True/False)
18. The _____ represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe and signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany and Austria.
19. The military was the key figure behind the Spanish Revolution of 1820. (True/False)

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princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria's strength in comparison with theirs was that of a giant compared with that of pygmies. Italy was notoriously reduced to a geographical expression.

Reactionary policies of the Italian princes

Italy again became a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. None of the states had parliament. There was neither unity nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. Following the restoration, the princes became absolute monarchs. They did little to hide the hatred for the French and made all efforts to extinguish any sign of their presence. They abolished all constitutions and laws, and institutions of French origin. Vaccination and gas illumination were forbidden for the simple reason that the French had introduced them. In Piedmont, French plants in the Botanic Gardens of Turin were torn up. French furniture in the royal palace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. In every one of the states there was distinct retrogression, and the Italians lost ground all along the line—politically, industrially, socially. In most, the Inquisition was restored. Education was handed over to the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of everything that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention to 'the class called thinkers'.

Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots with petty spirits. Moreover, most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined. The natural result of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, and bided their time.

In 1820, a revolution broke out in Italy. It started with military insurrection in Naples. The revolutionists demanded the establishment of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew much about it but because it was democratic. The king immediately yielded, and the constitution was proclaimed.

10.8 CRITICAL ESTIMATE

Thus, in 1820 the Revolution, hated by the diplomats of 1815, resumed the offensive. Spain and Naples overthrew the regimes that had been in force for five years, and had adopted constitutions that were thoroughly saturated with the principles of Revolutionary France. There was likewise a revolution against the established regime in Portugal. There was shortly to be one in Piedmont.

Metternich, the most influential person in Europe, who felt the world resting on his shoulders, had very clear views as to the requirements of the situation that had arisen. Anything that threatened the peace of Europe was a very proper thing for a European congress to discuss. A revolution in one country may encourage a revolution in another, and thus the world, set in order by the Congress of Vienna, may soon find itself in conflagration once more, the established order everywhere threatened. By a series of international congresses, at Troppau, Laibach, and Verona (1820-1822), and Spain and then to have armies sent into those peninsulas, which speedily restored the old system, more odious than ever.

Thousands were imprisoned, exiled, executed. Arbitrary government of the worst kind and thirsty for revenge was meted out to the unfortunate peoples. Needless to say, Metternich was quite satisfied.

I see the dawn of a better day, he wrote. Heaven seems to will it that the world shall not be lost. The Holy Alliance, by these triumphs in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain, showed itself the dominant force in European politics. The system, named after Metternich, because his diplomacy had built it up and because he stood in the very center of it, seemed firmly established as the European system. But it had achieved its last notable triumph. It was now to receive a series of checks which were to limit it forever.

Having restored absolutism in Spain, the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies. In this purpose they encountered the pronounced opposition of England and the United States, both of which were willing that Spain herself should try to recover them but not that the Holy Alliance should recover them for her. As England controlled the seas she could prevent the Alliance from sending troops 'to the scene of revolt. The President of the United States, James Monroe, in a message to Congress (December 2, 1823), destined to become one of the most famous documents ever written in the White House, announced that we should consider any attempt on the part of these absolute monarchs to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. This attitude of England and the United States produced its effect. After this no new laurels were added to the Holy Alliance. A few years later Russia was herself encouraging and supporting a revolution on the part of the Greeks against the Turks, and in 1830 revolutions broke out in France and Belgium which demolished the system of Metternich beyond all possible repairs.

ACTIVITY

Find out why the Holy Alliance failed to survive.

DID YOU KNOW

In the 19th century, three names—Napoleon, Metternich, and Bismarck—left tremendous imprint on Europe. Interestingly, all three of them lived to see their own fall. Metternich remained the longest in the leading position of 'coachman of Europe'. Nothing better characterizes the great statesman than what he repeatedly said, proud and aristocratic as always, to Baron A. von Hübner a few weeks before his death: "I was a rock of order" (un rocher d'ordre).

Metternich married thrice—in 1795 to Maria Eleonora, granddaughter of Princess Kaunitz, by whom he had seven children; in 1827 to Maria Antonia, Baroness von Leykam, by whom he had a son, Richard Klemens; and in 1831 to Countess Melanie Zichy, by whom he had three children.

Check Your Progress

20. Name the states under Italy which were restored with the Congress of Vienna.
21. Italy came under the dominance of Austria with the settlement of Congress of Vienna. (True/False)

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Check Your Progress

22. In the early 1820s, Spain and Naples revolted. (True/False)
23. Revolutions broke out in France in _____.

10.9 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to twenty-five years of war.
- The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was followed by reconstruction of Europe. This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814-June 1815). The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward.
- The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe.
- Prussia wanted the rich kingdom of Saxony with important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, as compensation.
- Dissension among allied powers caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favourable for his return from Elba.
- Russia emerged from the Congress with a good number of additions.
- Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.
- England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire.
- Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy.
- No union or federation of these states was affected. It was Metternich's desire expression, and such it was.
- The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were inconvenient, incomprehensible and loathsome.
- Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years.
- In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance.
- The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe.
- Klemens Wenzel von Metternich was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy. He felt the world rested on his shoulders.

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- Metternich's thinking appears singularly negative, which consisted of his execration of the French Revolution.
- Austria was not a single nation like France, but was composed of many races.
- It was the purpose of the Italian government to maintain status quo, and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835-1848).
- Austrians were not allowed to travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given.
- Austrians were not allowed to travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given.
- The German Confederation was a union of princes, not of peoples.
- The Liberals wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; and they also wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close.
- Metternich became the virtual controller of the Confederation.
- Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received and became a breeding place of conspiracies.
- After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy.
- Italy again became a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. None of the states had parliament.
- Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots with petty spirits. Moreover, most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined.
- Thus, in 1820 the Revolution, hated by the diplomats of 1815, resumed the offensive.
- Having restored absolutism in Spain, the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies.

10.10 KEY TERMS

- **Carlsbad Decrees:** were a set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung on 20 September 1819 after a conference held in the spa town of Carlsbad, Bohemia.
- **Carbonari:** They were groups of secret revolutionary societies founded in early 19th century Italy.

10.11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. After the defeat of Napoleon, first in 1814 and again in 1815, the allied powers of Great Britain, Austria, Prussian and Russia convened the Vienna Congress (from September of 1814 to June of 1815) to redraw the territory of Europe to

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- suppress imperialistic designs of any country, and restore power of the states. The larger aim was to restore peace and stability in the region.
2. Those present at the Congress were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and the diplomats of Europe of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most noticeable. All the powers were represented except Turkey.
 3. Russian emperor Alexander I demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be returned to him. He wanted to join this region with that part of Poland which was with Russia.
 4. False
 5. Austria, England and France
 6. False
 7. England retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea; Malta and Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.
 8. True
 9. False
 10. The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815.
 11. Austria, Prussia and Russia were the signatories of the Holy Alliance.
 12. The Quadruple Alliance was an alliance signed between England, Russian, Austria and Prussia on 20 November 1815 which said these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe.
 13. True
 14. False
 15. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were the Germans, forming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars (modyorz), originally an Asiatic folk.
 16. The German Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states.
 17. True
 18. Carlsbad Decrees
 19. True
 20. Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states such as Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not fashionable.
 21. True
 22. True
 23. 1830

10.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Question

1. What was the character of the Congress?
2. Write a note on the Spanish Constitution of 1812.
3. What was the need to form a Holy Alliance?
4. Critically analyse Metternich's role after the fall of Napoleon.
5. The German Confederation was a loose league of thirty-eight independent states. Discuss.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the reactionary policies of the Italian princes.
2. Why were the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance formed?
3. Describe the ways in which conservative political and social views shaped the peace settlement of the Congress of Vienna.
4. What were the demands of Russia and Prussia?
5. What criticisms would you make of the Congress?
6. What is Metternich's historical significance?
7. Describe the government of Austria after 1815. What was the German Confederation?
8. Why were the Liberals of Germany disappointed with the work of the Congress of Vienna?
9. What was the course of events in Germany after 1815? What were the Carlsbad Decrees?

10.13 FURTHER READING

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