



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



MAHIS-408  
**History of the World  
(1453-1815) – II**

**MA HISTORY**  
2nd Semester

# **HISTORY OF THE WORLD**

## **(1453-1815)-II**

**MA [History]**

**Second Semester**

**MAHIS – 408**

**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 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:**

#### (1) 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 Counseling 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/Counseling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counseling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University. The Counseling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counseling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in their respective subjects.

**SYLLABUS**  
**History of the World (1453-1815)-II**

**UNIT I: INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION**

- a) Industrial Revolution
- b) Development of Industrial Capitalism

**UNIT II: AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

- a) Causes,
- b) Events
- c) Impact

**UNIT III: FRENCH REVOLUTION**

- a) Causes,
- b) Events
- c) Impact

**UNIT IV: NAPOLEAN**

- a) Rise of Napoleon
- b) Reforms of Napoleon
- c) Causes of downfall

**UNIT V: CONGRESS OF VIENNA**

- a) Background
- b) Provisions
- c) Critical Estimate

## INTRODUCTION

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 maturation 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 five units:

Unit 1: Describes the Industrial Revolution that saw the transition to new manufacturing processes

Unit 2: 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 3: 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 4: 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 5: 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 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Industrial Revolution
  - 2.1 Structure and the Organization of Industry
  - 2.2 Shortcomings of Family Businesses
  - 2.3 Nature of Technical Change
- 3 Scientific and Technological Background of Revolution
  - 3.1 Stages of Industrial Revolution
- 4 Effects of Industrial Revolution
  - 4.1 Progress of Science and Technology
- 5 Development of Industrial Capitalism
  - 5.1 Introduction of Machines
  - 5.2 Industrial Capitalism: Meaning and Definition
  - 5.3 Socialism: The Position of the Working Class
  - 5.4 A comparison between Capitalism and Socialism
  - 5.5 Free Market Economy
- 6 Summary
- 7 Key Terms
- 8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 9 Questions and Exercises
- 10 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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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 it went through and how it gave rise to industrial capitalism.



# 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

## 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*

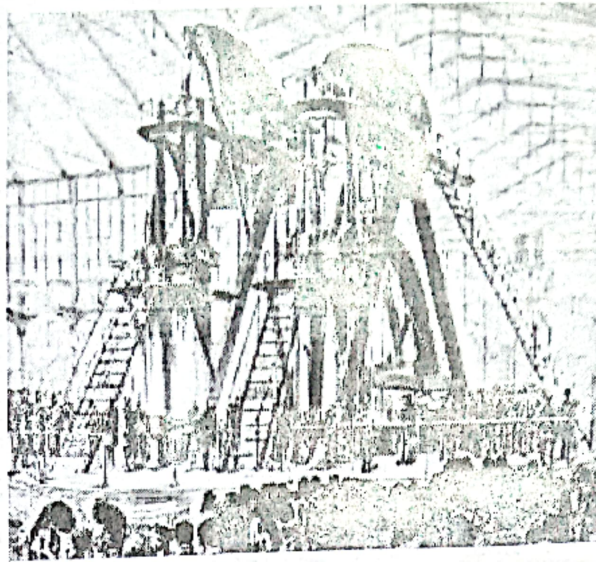
Year	Population England and Wales	Population Scotland	Total population Britain
1760	6,736,000 (estimated)	-	8,000,000 (estimated)
1801	8,892,000 (1st census)	1,608,420	10,500,000
1851	17,927,609	2,888,742	21,000,000
1901	32,527,843	4,472,103	37,000,000

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

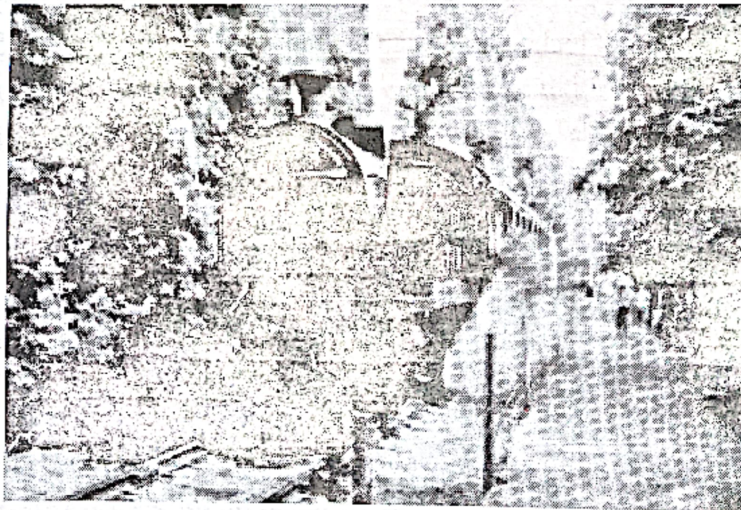
The first steam engine was invented by Newcomen in 1712. This was further developed by James Watt and Boulton between 1763 and 1775. The steam engine was initially adapted to provide power to all types of machines. This made it the most 'enabling technology' of the time. With time, the steam-driven machines (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.



*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. 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.

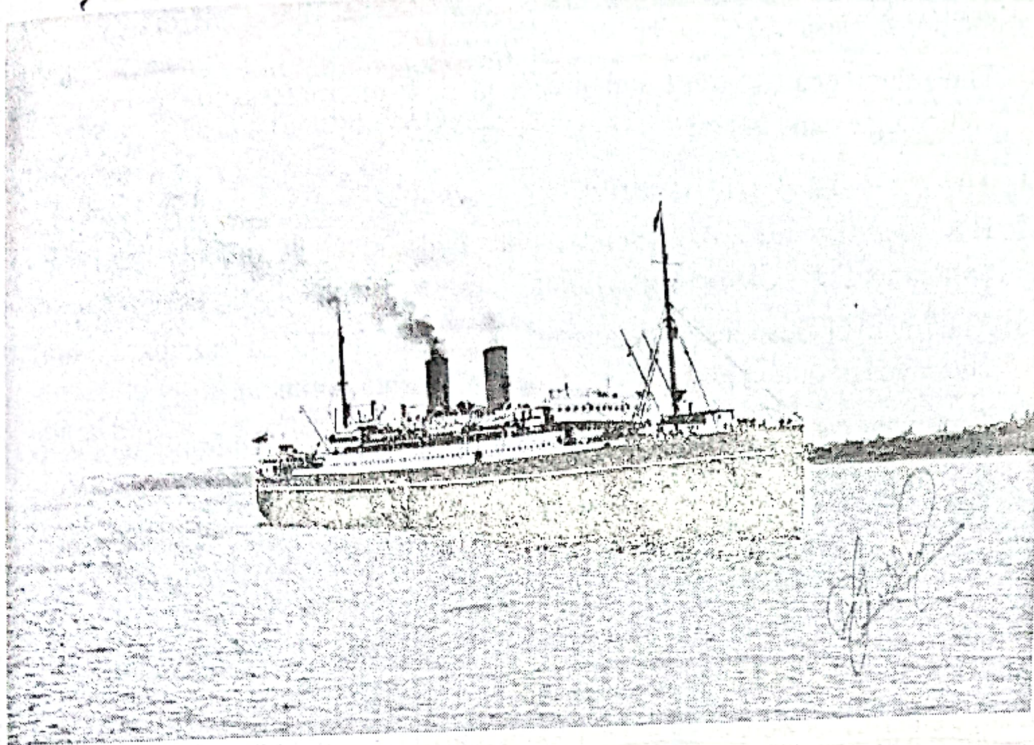
Technological advancement also accelerated economic growth and the first phase of Industrial Revolution converged around 1850 into the next phase. Post 1850, the rapid development of steam-driven transport systems like shipping and railways (Figure 6.2), made inroads into new markets in Britain and across 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

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*

## 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 Wedgwood.

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.

## 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.

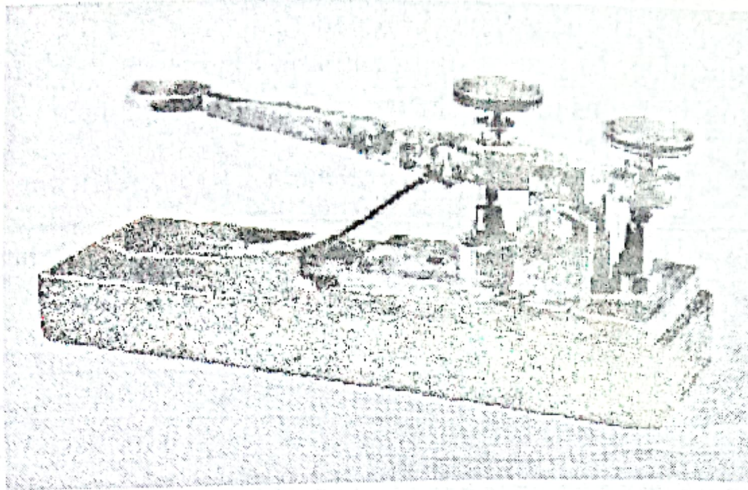
The fact that Britain was the one to lead the Industrial Revolution contributed to its decline, fuelled by the degrees of complacency and arrogance. This created a culture of resistance to move with the times and overall industry failed to invest in new plant and equipment, develop new products and processes 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.

### 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.



*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.

### 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.

## 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

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.

### 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.



## 4 EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

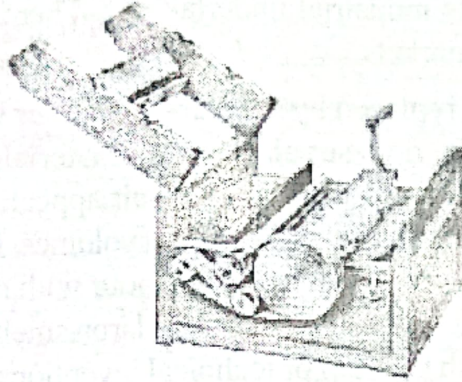
The working conditions in mines were horrible, to say the least. Furthermore, women and children were employed as they could be paid lower wages than adult male workers. Child labourers possessed another advantage—they could easily crawl through the narrow passages in mines. The situation in factories 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*

#### **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.

## 5 DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

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 railway which opened in 1825 between Manchester and Liverpool, a distance of 40 miles in between. In the years 1825, 26 and 1827 railway construction work started in the United States, France and Russia respectively. An amazingly total length of 6000 miles were covered in 1825 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.

#### **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.

#### **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.

### **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.

### **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

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.

### **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 the 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'.

## 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 was initially adapted and used to provide power for a whole series of machines 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.

- 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'.

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## 7 KEY TERMS

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- **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.

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## 8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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



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 terms 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

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## 9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### 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.

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## 10 FURTHER READING

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# UNIT 2 AMERICAN REVOLUTION

## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Revolution in America
  - 7.2.1 Ideologies behind the American Revolution
- 3 Causes of the American Revolution and War of Independence
- 4 Events of the American Revolution and War of Independence
- 5 Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Paris
  - 7.5.1 Declaration of Independence
  - 7.5.2 Treaty of Paris
- 6 Results and Significance of the American Revolution
- 7 Summary
- 8 Key Terms
- 9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 10 Questions and Exercises
- 11 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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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.

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## 1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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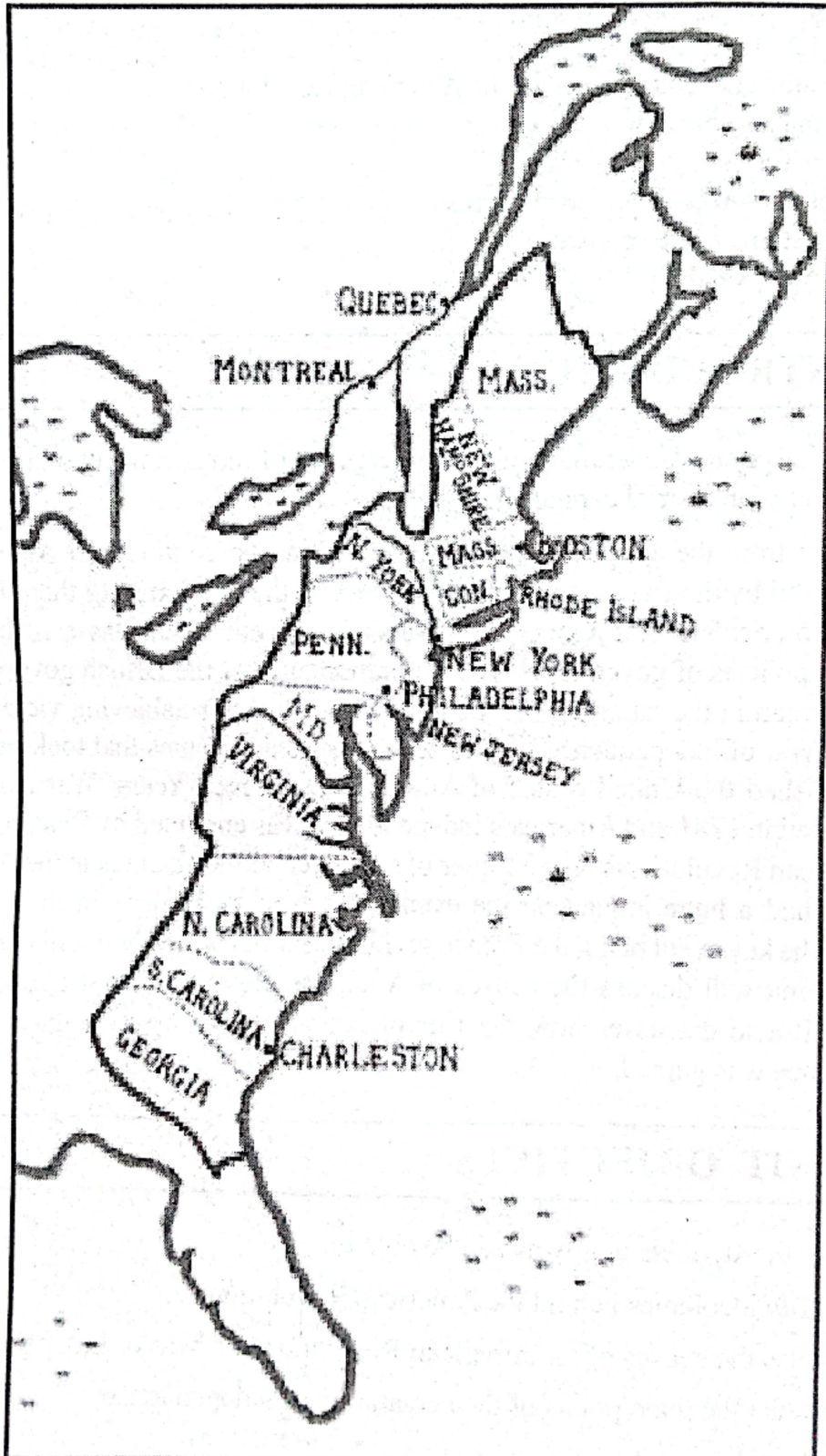
After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- 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



## 1.2 REVOLUTION IN AMERICA

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.



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

- 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 Government, nor any real Liberty. And this public Passion must be Superior to all private Passions. Men must be ready, they must pride themselves, and be happy to sacrifice their private Pleasures, Passions, and Interests, nay their private Friendships 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.

## 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.

### 2.3 CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

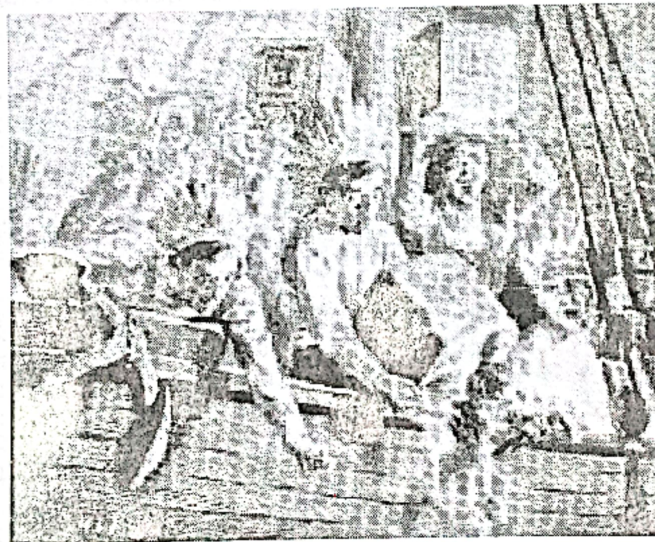
Some the factors that led to the war of independence have already been discussed before. Some additional and interesting facts about this revolution are as follows:

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 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.

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, a 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.

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## 7.4 EVENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

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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

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.

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## **5 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE TREATY OF PARIS**

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

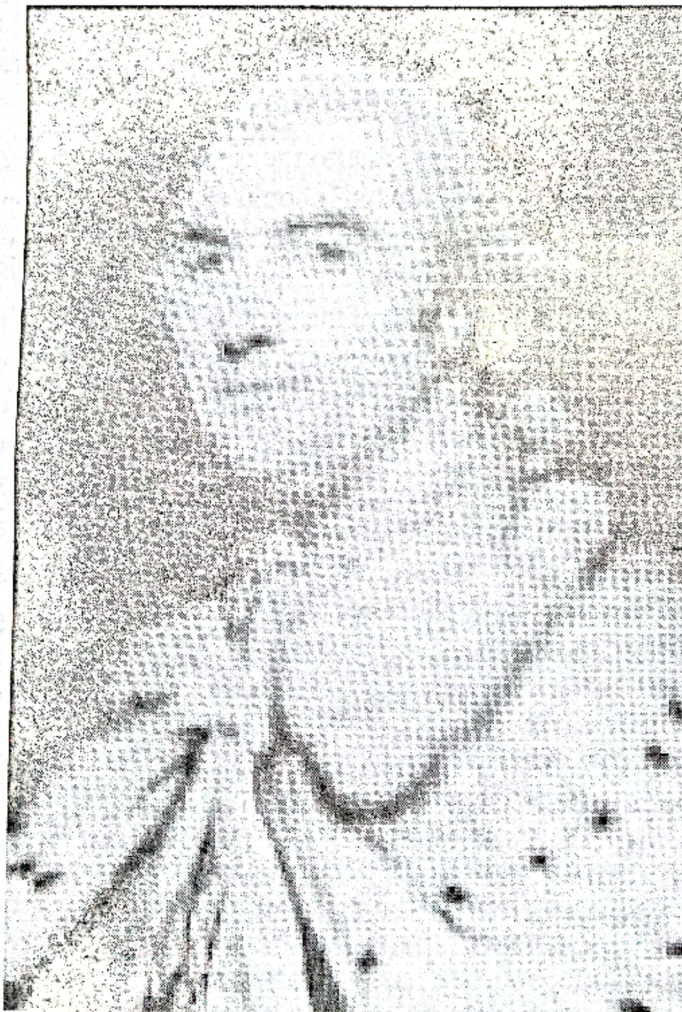
### **.5.1 Declaration of Independence**

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.

## 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.

## 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.

## 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.

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.

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## 7.7 SUMMARY

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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.

- 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.

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## 8 KEY TERMS

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- **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.

- **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.

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## 9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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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

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## 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.

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## 11 FURTHER READING

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# UNIT 3 FRENCH REVOLUTION

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## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Causes of the French Revolution
- 3 Events During the French Revolution
  - 3.1 States General of 1789
  - 3.2 National Assembly: 1789–1791
  - 3.3 Tennis Court Oath
  - 3.4 Storming of the Bastille
  - 3.5 Socio-Political Structure in the Summer of 1789
  - 3.6 Declaration of the Rights of Man
  - 3.7 Wealthy Bourgeoisie Come to Power
  - 3.8 The Varennes Crisis
  - 3.9 Overthrow of the Monarchy
  - 3.10 Struggle between the Jacobins and Girondins
  - 3.11 Uprising of 31 May–2 June, 1793
- 4 Aims of the New Constitution
  - 4.1 National Convention
  - 4.2 Working towards a Constitution
  - 4.3 The Revolution and the Church
  - 4.4 Constitutional Crisis
- 5 Impact of the Revolution
- 6 Summary
- 7 Key Terms
- 8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 9 Questions and Exercises
- 10 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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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 on 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

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.

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## 1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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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

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## 2 CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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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 life.



*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, 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.

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 Necker, 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*

## 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.

### 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

### **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.



*Fig. 8.3 Tennis Court Oath*

### 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. The people captured arms shops and armories and seized tens of thousands of guns. 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 fervour, 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 artillery men opened fire and broke the chains of one of the drawbridges. 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.

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.

### 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 nobles and 663 deputies of the Third Estate. In his research, it was found that Second Estate comprised chiefly of men from the military while the Third Estate was led by the people from the legal profession.

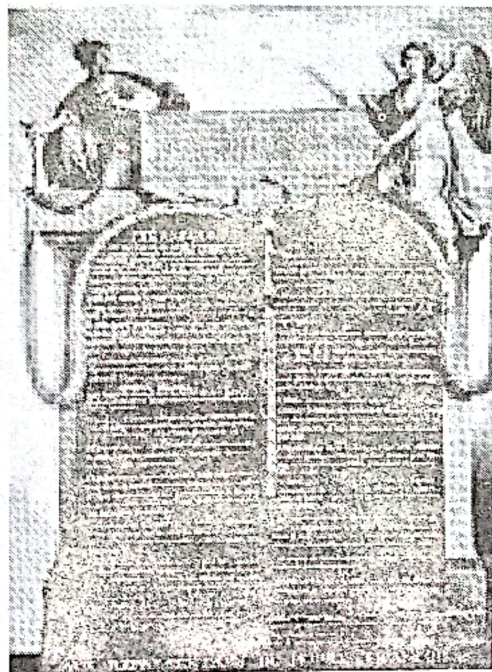
The most prominent figures of the Assembly known as the 'Right' were: Jacques Antoine Marie de Cazales who represented the aristocracy and the Abbey Jean-Sifrein Maury who was a representative of the church. Pierre Victor, Baron Malouet, Trophime-Gerard, Marquis de Lally-Tollendal, Stanislas Marie Adelaide, 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.

### 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

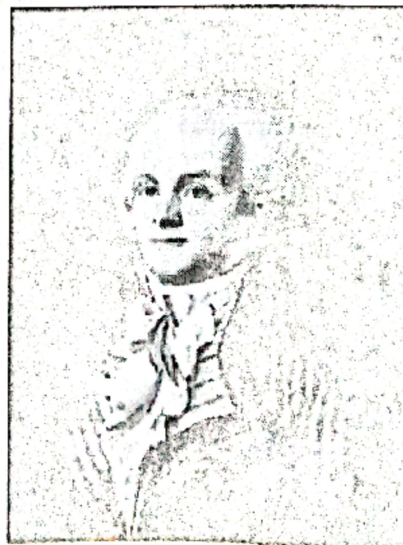
taxes on a different scale could vote and be elected. Hence, out of 26 million people, only about 4,300,000 were eligible for political rights.

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 commerce came to a standstill because orders for luxury goods had stopped with the 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*



*Fig. 8.8 Jean-Paul Marat*

Revolutionaries like Maximillien 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.

### **§.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 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.

### § 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 conspired in the courts and they became treacherous only because the people rose 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.

### 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 government. The commercial, industrial and landowning bourgeoisie from 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.

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.

### 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](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.

## 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.



### 3.4.1 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 1795–99 was accepted by the convention in August 1795. The last meeting of the 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'.



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—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.

## 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.

### 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

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.

#### 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.

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### 5 IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION

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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.

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## 6 SUMMARY

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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.

- 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.

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## 7 KEY TERMS

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- **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.

- **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.

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## 8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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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

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## 9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### 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.



## 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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## 10 FURTHER READING

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# UNIT 4 NAPOLEON

## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Rise of Napoleon
  - 2.1 Early Life and Career
  - 2.2 Napoleon and the Revolution
  - 2.3 Napoleon and the French State
- 3 Defence of National Convention, Reforms and Foreign Policy
  - 3.1 Deepening Contradictions within the Napoleonic Empire
  - 3.2 Reforms of Napoleon
  - 3.3 Foreign Policy in the Napoleonic Era
- 4 Beginning of Counter-Revolution in France
  - 4.1 Napoleon as the First Consul
- 5 Bourgeois Empire of Napoleon
- 6 Causes of Downfall
  - 6.1 Invasion of Russia
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  - 6.3 Factors that led to the Downfall of Napoleon
- 7 Impact of Napoleonic Era
- 8 Summary
- 9 Key Terms
- 10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 11 Questions and Exercises
- 12 Further Reading

## 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.



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.

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## 1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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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

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## 2 RISE OF NAPOLEON

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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.



## 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

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.

## **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.

## **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.

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## **3 DEFENCE OF NATIONAL CONVENTION, REFORMS AND FOREIGN POLICY**

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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.

### **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.

## 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.

### 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 lycées (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.

### 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.

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.

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## 4 BEGINNING OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

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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.

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.

### **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.

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.

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## **5 BOURGEOIS EMPIRE OF NAPOLEON**

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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

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.

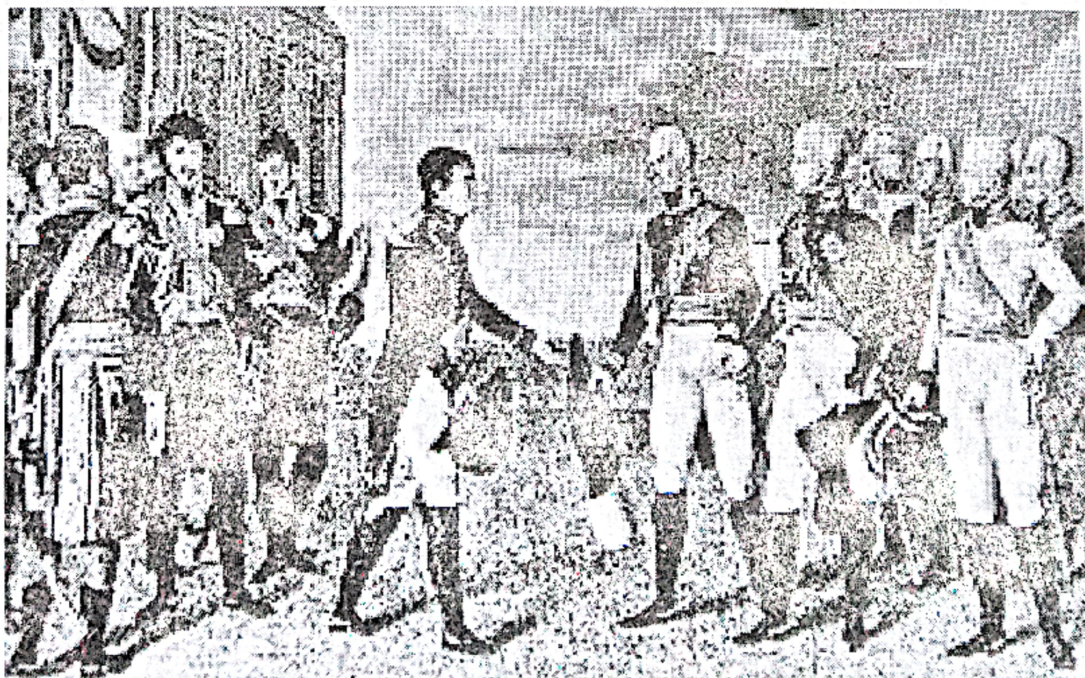
The Prussian Army with its iron disciplinary regimentation promised a swift victory over the revolutionary anti-Christ. The Prussians were defeated decisively within a pace of six days in two battles fought almost at the same time at Jena and Auerstadt. It began on 8th October 1806.

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)*

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 phenomenon. 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.

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## **§.6 CAUSES OF DOWNFALL**

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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.

### **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.

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.'

## § 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.

He had been living in exile for 25 years, and was now proclaimed Louis XVIII of France.

### 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.

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## 7 IMPACT OF NAPOLEONIC ERA

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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

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, these European powers, like Napoleon became victims to the power of these concepts when their subjects used them in their own freedom struggles after the Second World War.

### 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).

## 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.





- 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

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.

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## 9 KEY TERMS

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- **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.

- **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.

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## 10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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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 18<sup>th</sup> 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

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## 11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### 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.



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?

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## **12 FURTHER READING**

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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 5 CONGRESS OF VIENNA

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## Structure

- 0 Introduction
- 1 Unit Objectives
- 2 Congress of Vienna—Background
- 3 Provisions—Work of the Congress
- 4 The Holy Alliance
- 5 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)
- 6 Reaction in Europe after 1815
  - 5.1 Austrian Empire
  - 6.2 The German Confederation
  - 6.3 Disappointment of the Liberals
  - 6.4 Reaction in Germany
  - 6.5 Restoration in Spain
- 7 Italy, a Geographical Expression
- 8 Critical Estimate
- 9 Summary
- 10 Key Terms
- 11 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 12 Questions and Exercises
- 13 Further Reading

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

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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.



## 1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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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

## 2 CONGRESS OF VIENNA—BACKGROUND

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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 diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814–June 1815). Never 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.

## 3 PROVISIONS—WORK OF THE CONGRESS

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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.

## **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 18<sup>th</sup> 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

which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.



*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 possession, as has been said, of the richest and, in a military sense, the strongest 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 their 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 that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, a geographical expression, 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.

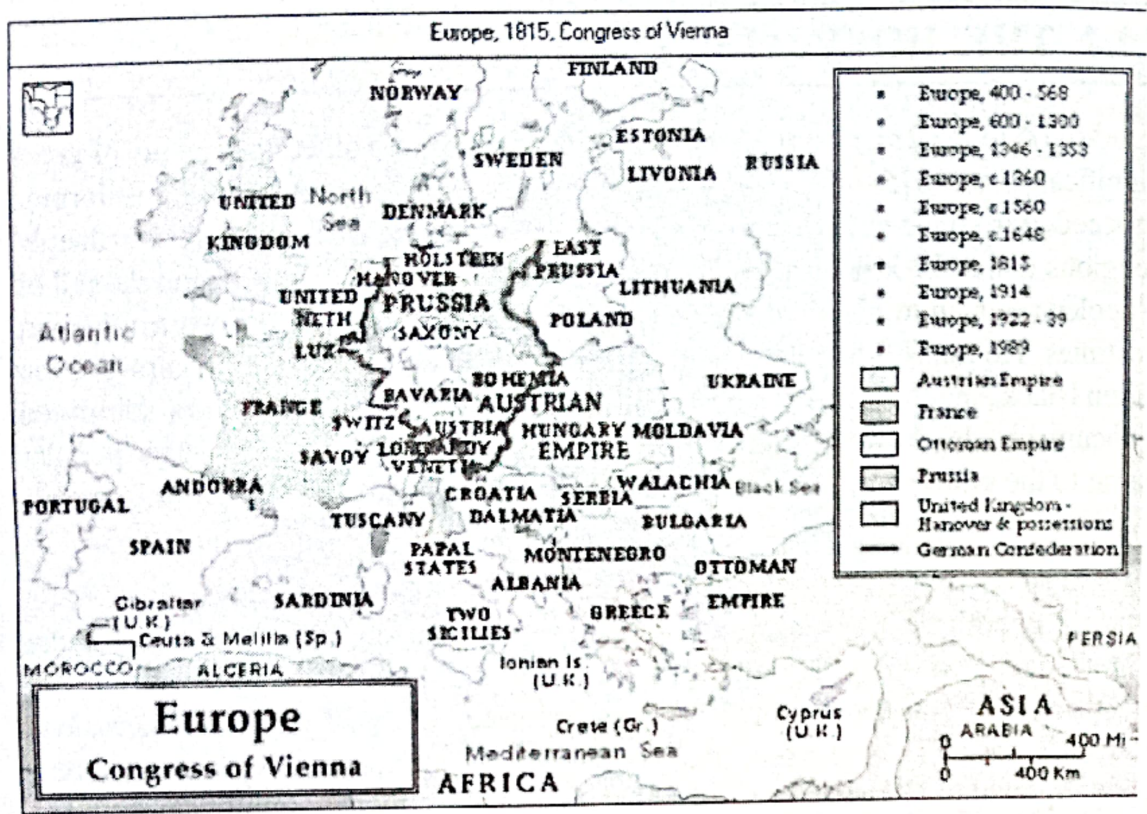


Fig. 10.2 Map of Europe.

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. There 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

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.

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## 4 THE HOLY ALLIANCE

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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.

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## 5 PRINCE METTERNICH (1773-1859)

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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 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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.

### 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 was that of absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the 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 system, 'at war with human nature, at war with the modern spirit', rested upon a meddling 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.

## **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.

## **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

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 associations 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.

#### 6.4 Reaction in Germany

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signaled 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.

#### 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.

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## **7 ITALY, A GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION**

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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

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.

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## **8 CRITICAL ESTIMATE**

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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), Metternich was able to secure the official condemnation of these revolutions in Italy 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 Hübnér 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.



## 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 that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, a geographical 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.

- 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.

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## 10 KEY TERMS

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- **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.

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## 11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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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



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, Russia, 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 (Magyars), 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

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## 12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### 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?

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## 13 FURTHER READING

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